FACULTE DES LETTRES

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by

Henry Bruce Macleod Best

Maîtrise ès Arts (Histoire)

de l'Université Laval

GEORGE-ETIENNE CARTIER

- 1 -

May, 1969
The subject of this work is George-Etienne Cartier, patriot, lawyer, politician, nation-builder, French-Canadian. Our challenging task is to examine the career of Cartier, to try to find out what kind of man he was, how he came to be involved in most of the major events of his life-time, and what influence he had on these events.

The Troubles of 1837, the development of Responsible Government, railways, commercial expansion, legal developments, the abolition of seigniorial tenure, advances in education, the increasing ability of French-Canadians to operate well within the British parliamentary system, the establishment of the Canadian federation: in all these events that span over thirty-five years of great change in Canadian society George-Etienne Cartier was closely involved.

The following study was made possible through the assistance and co-operation of many persons. Particular thanks are due to the Cartier family.

Dr. Georges-Etienne Cartier should be mentioned first. He, Madame Cartier, and their family received me into their home in the most gracious and friendly manner and allowed me to photocopy all the papers in their possession. Dr. Cartier is descended from Joseph Cartier, the elder of the two brothers who established themselves on the banks of the Richelieu in the late eighteenth century. Sir George-Etienne, and most of the other members of the family to whom we talked, are descended from the younger brother, Jacques.

Jacques-Antoine Cartier of Saint-Antoine and Dr. Côme Cartier of L'Annonciation, both grand-sons of Côme Cartier, Sir George's brother and sometime law partner, were both very interesting to talk to when we visited them in their homes. Jacques-Antoine had a magnificent épergne that had been presented to Sir George. Part of Dr. Côme's garden in the County of Labelle was enclosed by the iron fence, including a beautifully wrought reproduction of the arms of Sir George, that had at one time surrounded the Cartier family plot in Côte-des-Neiges cemetery. Both since deceased, Dr. Côme, at over 90, practised with both a son and a grand-son for the last years of his life.

The Demoiselles Berthe and Eugénie Cartier, of Montreal and Saint-Antoine, are grand-daughters of Côme Cartier by their father's second marriage. They received me most cordially in both homes.

These four grand-nephews and grand nieces of Sir George made
every effort to recall or locate any detail that might be of assistance. None possessed any papers.

A great-grand-nephew, Monsieur Lucien Lusignan, recently retired from the Library of Parliament in Ottawa, kindly allowed us to use the genealogical tree that he had drawn up for the purposes of the succession. Monsieur Lusignan is the great-grand-son of Léocadie Cartier, Sir George's sister, who married Joseph Lusignan.

Madame Joseph-Wilfrid Déziel of Montreal, a descendant of Joseph Cartier, provided clippings and genealogical information.

Concerning the Fabre family, Madame Jules Fournier gave us fascinating reminiscences of the Fabre household when she lived there as a young girl with her widowed mother, and grand-mother. (Mesdames Louis-Joseph Surveyer and Edouard-Raymond Fabre).

Monsieur Paul L'Africain of Montreal, a grand-nephew of Lady Cartier, replied very helpfully to our questions. Neither he nor Madame Fournier knew of the existence of any papers.

Monsieur François Rinfret, the great-grandson of François-Pierre Pominville, Cartier's long-time law partner, answered our questions very sympathetically.

To the many other relations and descendants of colleagues and friends of Sir George-Etienne Cartier whom we visited or to whom we wrote or telephoned, our sincere thanks.

In visiting various archives and other possible sources we were greatly assisted by the unfailing hospitality of many people who made it possible for us to carry out research. Most particularly we remember with deep appreciation the many weeks spent in the homes of Dr. and Madame Jean Lacerte of Quebec City, Mr. A. J. D. Browne of Montreal, and Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Morrison of Ottawa.

Obviously our principal sources were found in the many archives and libraries we visited. The Public Archives in Ottawa contain vast records that have been used extensively, particularly the Macdonald and the Brown Papers, as well as the few Cartier papers already mentioned. We offer our special thanks to Messrs. William Ormsby and Wilfrid I. Smith for their unfailing patience and the breadth of their knowledge. The Parliamentary Library in Ottawa provided facilities for several months as we painstakingly read La Minerve and photocopied all references that could be helpful in reconstructing the life of George-Etienne Cartier. Miss Pamela Hardisty of the Parliamentary Library has been of continuing help.
In Montreal, Monsieur Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, Chief Archivist of the Superior Court, has been invaluable in letting us have genealogical and other information.

Monsieur Jules Bazin and Mademoiselle Germaine Laflamme of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Montréal readily gave their assistance.

Monsieur Antonio Dansereault, the Archivist of Saint-Sulpice, was unfailingly polite. The present lack of classification in these archives and the resulting inability to use such an undoubtedly rich source was one of the greatest disappointments in our work.

The staffs of the Archives of the Archbishoprics of Montreal, of Saint-Boniface and of Rimouski, the Seminaries of Trois-Rivières and Nicolet and the Bishopric of Saint-Hyacinthe were all friendly and most anxious to co-operate in our search for documents.

We owe special thanks to the Archivist of the Archbishopric of Quebec, the Rev. Armand Gagné, whose interest and background knowledge of the period were invaluable. The late Mgr. Arthur Maheux, Archivist of the Seminary of Quebec, was a good friend and adviser. His successor, the Rev. Honorius Provost, was also of great assistance.

Mademoiselle Béatrice Binet of the Archives de la Province de Québec rendered valuable service by transcribing selected manuscripts. Anyone who has tried to read the hand-writing of George-Etienne Cartier must realize how terribly time consuming this can be. The anecdote is told by Benjamin Sulte, for many years secretary to Sir George, that on one occasion P-J-O Chauveau wrote Sir George a note: "Votre calligraphie, qui est cependant meilleure que la mienne, fait que je n'ai pu lire ce qu'il y avait dans l'enveloppe de la lettre que vous m'avez adressée. J'ai trouvé, toutefois, que ces hiéroglyphes avaient un aspect bienveillant et je vous en remercie (1)."

Dr. Murray G. Ross, President of York University, has shown infinite understanding in helping to arrange for us to have time in the summers of 1966, 1967, and 1968 so that this work could be completed.

Monsieur Luc Lacourcière, the Director of Canadian Studies at Laval University, has provided many helpful suggestions and much encouragement.

Our parents, Dr. and Mrs. Charles H. Best, generously allowed us to use their farm in Halton County, Ontario, as our pied-à-terre where we set up our library and stored our records throughout the researching and writing of this biography.

We are also indebted to our aunt, Miss E. L. Mahon, who kindly

1. Benjamin Sulte, dans George-Etienne Cartier, p. 46.
contributed to the cost of having the draft of this work typed.

We are grateful to the Canada Council, the Eli Lilly Foundation and the Centennial Commission for grants that enabled us to carry out the research for this thesis.

For the typing of the semi-final manuscript we owe a large debt to Eileen Jane Best, who, with patience and necessary humour has learned to interpret our hieroglyphics.

The supervisor and staff of Secretarial Services in the Faculty of Arts and Science of York University undertook the arduous task of producing the final copy. Miss Sylvia Zingrone, also of York University, helped in innumerable ways.

It is unlikely that this work would ever have been completed without the unfailing help, patience and encouragement of two people. Professor Jean Hamelin of Laval University, the Thesis director, has understood the problems created by distance, time and the frustrations of not finding the hoped for major sources and at all times he has done his best to alleviate these. Our wife, Jancyna Ramsay Best, has made it possible to carry through, giving us the encouragement to do what at times appeared impossible.
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ABBREVIATIONS

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A A R Archives de l'archevêché de Rimouski.
A C A M Archives de la chancellerie de l'archevêché de Montréal.
R L B Registres de Lettres de Mgr. Bourget.
A C M Archives du Collège de Montréal.
A C N R Archives of the Canadian National Railways in Montreal.
A C R Archives du Château de Ramezay, Montréal.
A E S H Archives de l'évêché de Saint-Hyacinthe.
A J M Archives Judiciaires de Montréal.
A P Q Archives de la Province de Québec.
A S N, S B Archives du Séminaire de Nicolet, Succession Bois.
A S Q Archives du Séminaire de Québec.
A S S Archives de Saint-Sulpice.
A S T R Archives du Séminaire des Trois-Rivières.
B R H Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.
C A N J Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal.
C B Collection Baby, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Montréal.
C H A A R Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report.
C H R Canadian Historical Review.
C L a F Collection La Fontaine, Centre d'Etude du Québec, Montréal.
C O Colonial Office.
F S C Fonds de la Succession Cartier (Montréal).
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<td>Manitoba, Saint-Boniface, archevêché, archives.</td>
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<td>M S R C</td>
<td>Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada.</td>
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<td>Public Archives of Canada.</td>
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<td>R A P Q</td>
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I. SOURCES

A. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Fonds de la Succession Cartier

This collection of approximately 125 items is unclassified. It is the property of the Succession Cartier in Montreal and we were permitted to photostat all documents which were then arranged in an album. The page numbers in the references refer to this particular album. Unused by any previous researcher, as far as we know, this collection yielded a number of political and personal letters of significance as well as bills, invitation cards and many other items.

2. Public Archives of Canada

a) Manuscript Group 26 (Prime Ministers' Papers)

Macdonald Papers, A

This collection was examined in considerable detail for the period up to 1874. Because of the dearth of material classified specifically as Cartier Papers the Macdonald Papers were of the greatest importance.

b) Manuscript Group 27 (Political Figures, 1867-1948)

(i) Cartier Papers, ID 4.

This includes a number of items that were previously classified as the Suite Papers. Though of interest this collection comprises mainly official documents relating to Cartier. The correspondence is of secondary importance.

(ii) Galt Papers, ID 8.

These papers were examined for correspondence between Galt and Cartier.

c) Manuscript Group 24

(i) Buchanan Papers, D 16.
These papers were examined for correspondence between Isaac Buchanan and Cartier.

(ii) Brown Papers, B 40.

The correspondence between George Brown and his wife, Anne, and between George Brown and such colleagues as Alexander Mackenzie and Luther Hamilton Holton has been of considerable assistance.

(iii) Ellice Papers, A 2.

These papers provided a few items of interest.

3. **Archives de la Province de Québec**

   **Collection Langevin**

   This comprises the collection Chapais and the Langevin family papers more recently acquired. This collection was especially useful as it provided a considerable number of letters from Cartier to Langevin giving information and opinions of importance.

4. **Ecclesiastical Archives**

   a) **Archives de l'archevêché de Québec**

   Documents of interest were sought in several sections. Those most productive were G. (Gouvernement) and V. G. (Vicaires généraux)

   b) **Archives de l'archevêché de Rimouski**

   As the Diocese of Rimouski was created in 1867 the only section of interest to us was the correspondence of a political nature during the first seven years.

   c) **Archives de la Chancellerie de l'archidiocèse de Montréal**

   After considerable searching in these archives it was found that the most helpful sections were RLB (Registres des Lettres de Mgr. Bourget) and Dossier 465.101 titled "Compagnie de St-Sulpice."

   d) **Archives du Collège de Montréal**

   The account books and the academic records of the period during which George-Etienne Cartier and his brothers were students of the Sulpiciens provided some very sparse
information.

e) Archives de l'évêché de Saint-Hyacinthe

The correspondence of Mgr. Charles Larocque, who became Bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe in 1866, is contained in the Registres des Lettres des Evêques de Saint-Hyacinthe, Série I.

f) Séminaire de Nicolet, Succession Bois

The only section in these archives that produced anything of special interest was the Succession Bois. The Curé Louis-Edouard Bois of Maskinongé carried on a considerable correspondence with Dr. Jean-Baptiste Meilleur. Politics were discussed at length and the name of George-Etienne Cartier appeared frequently in these papers. Series VI and Series VIII were of particular use.

g) Archives du Séminaire de Québec

The Archives and Library of the Seminary of Quebec provided some photographs of interest and some early issues of La Minerve that were not available elsewhere.

h) Archives de Saint-Sulpice

These undoubtedly rich archives, situated in the basement of the Presbytery of Notre-Dame, yielded very little of interest. It is our hope that before long they will be available for research purposes.

i) Archives du Séminaire des Trois-Rivières

The sections of special interest here were A 4 (Politico-religious matters) and B 3 (Correspondence: Mgr. Joseph-Callixte Marquis, Luc Désilets and Joachim Boucher). In the second section was a very full correspondence between the Curé Luc Désilets of Cap-de-la-Madeleine and Mgr. Louis-François-Richer Laflèche of Trois-Rivières.

j) Archives de l'archevêché de Saint-Boniface

These very rich archives were unclassified at the time we visited Saint-Boniface. Most of the items used were simply listed "Documents historiques, Correspondance." Fortunately, this material was not lost in the recent fire which destroyed the Cathedral.
5. **Archives of the Canadian National Railways**

Situated in Montreal these archives, still in the process of being organized, produced the Minute Books of the Grand Trunk Railway Administration.

6. **Archives du Château de Ramezay**

Two letters of interest from Edouard-Etienne Rodier to George-Etienne Cartier were traced to the Château de Ramezay from incomplete copies in the Public Archives in Ottawa. A partial account book for Cartier's legal affairs and a number of paintings of interest were also found here.

7. **Archives Judiciaires de Montréal**

These archives yielded much information concerning births, marriages and deaths of various people of interest.

8. **Collection LaFontaine**

This most important collection is the property of the Société Historique de Montréal. For many years it was unavailable for study but copies of the great majority of the items were found in the Archives de la Province de Québec. Since the LaFontaine Papers have been classified by the Centre d'Etude du Québec our photostats have been checked.

9. **Collection Baby**

The Collection Baby, housed in the Library of the University of Montreal, has provided a few items of interest.

10. **The Public Archives of Ontario**

The papers of Sir Richard Cartwright provided some correspondence of interest particularly that carried on with Sir A. T. Galt.

11. **Archives du Département des Etudes Canadiennes, Université Laval**

The P-J-O Chauveau Papers provided some correspondence of interest.

12. **The Houghton Library of Harvard University**

The Dr. William Inglis Morse Collection provided some Joseph Howe material.
B. PRINTED SOURCES

1. Newspapers

Several newspapers were consulted for particular purposes such as L'Aurore des Canadas, L'Avenir, Le Canadien, Le Courrier du Canada, L'Echo de la Session, The Globe, The Herald, Le Journal de Québec, The Montreal Gazette, Le Pays, and others. However, because of the lack of material directly concerning George-Etienne Cartier it was decided to study La Minerve in detail in order to reconstruct something of the day-to-day life of our subject. A reasonably complete series of La Minerve was available in the Library of Parliament in Ottawa and several thousand photostats were made of every article or news item which could possibly be of interest throughout the whole of Cartier's life. Missing issues were obtained from the National Library of Canada or from the Archives du Séminaire de Québec.

2. Public Records

a) Legal Reports

Mathieu, M. Rapports Judiciaires Revisés de la Province de Québec, Vols. I - XXIII, Montreal, C. O. Beauchemin et Fils, 1891-1899, 23.5 cm.

Lower Canada Reports, Décisions des Tribunaux du Bas-Canada, Rédacteurs: MM. Lelièvre et Angers, Québec, Imprimerie de E. R. Fréchette, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1860, 1861, 24 cm. In the same series there appeared in 1856 two volumes titled Seigniorial Questions: A Compilation, Containing the Seigniorial Act of 1854, the amendment to the Seigniorial Act, of 1854, the Questions submitted by the Attorney General for Lower Canada, the Counter-Questions submitted by divers Seigniors, the Proceedings and Decisions of the Special Court constituted under the authority of the Seignorial Act of 1854, the Pleadings and Memoirs of the Advocates, and the Observations of the Judges, etc. Vol. A and Vol. B, Québec, A. Côté, and Montréal, Duvernay Brothers, 1856, 23.5 cm.

b) Parliamentary Papers


Journals of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada. The Journals of the House provided an interesting and impersonal account of the subjects considered by the Commons, including any documents or correspondence that was tabled.

Parliamentary Debates of the Dominion of Canada. The Debates of the early years of Confederation are known as the "Cotton Debates."

Parliamentary Companions and Parliamentary Guides. These publications provided useful facts about elections and individual M.P.s and Senators.

The Civil Code of Lower Canada, edited by Thomas McCord, Secretary to the Codification Commission, Montreal, Dawson Brothers, 1867, 475 p., 16.5 cm.


Report of the Royal Commissioners Appointed by Commission, addressed to them, under the Great Seal of Canada, bearing Date the Fourteenth Day of August, A.D., 1873. Ottawa, 1873, 221 p., 23 cm.

Accounts and Statements of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada on 31st December, 1855. Including Amalgamation Agreement, including the Grand Trunk, The St. Lawrence and Atlantic, the Quebec and Richmond Railways, etc., and Contract for Construction of Tubular Bridge
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III. STUDIES

A. THESES

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INTRODUCTION

It is difficult for us to remember when French Canada and its history first caught our attention. In any case, after undergraduate studies at the University of Toronto, it was decided to apply to Laval University to do work in the History of New France. Following the completion of the Master's Degree and the course work for the Doctorat de l'Université, it was still our intention to continue in the same field of research in the Ancien Régime; but circumstances intervened.

A move to Ottawa brought new interests. The Centennial of Confederation was not far away and everyone from John Diefenbaker to Réal Caouette was quoting the major political figures of the Confederation era, each for his own purposes. Biographies had recently been published or were in preparation of such outstanding English-speaking political figures as John A. Macdonald, George Brown and Alexander Mackenzie. Little was known, however, of their French-Canadian contemporary, George-Etienne Cartier. As we looked at the statue by Louis-Philippe Hébert directly outside our window in the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings we decided that more should be known of this most important person.

Our understanding of the events of his life-time and of the role that he played in the nineteenth century is different now than it was fifty years ago when the last biography was written. Also, as we shall mention later, all the previous biographies left a great deal to be desired. It can not be denied that we also had some hope that by better understanding the motivations of those involved in launching the Canadian federation 100 years ago, we might possibly discover what was required to improve the work that they had started, and what changes were needed to bring it up to date.

This was not to be the "definitive biography" of George-Etienne Cartier. J. Christopher Herold in his biography of Madame de Staël writes that "definitive biographies can be written only about people who are quite dead (1)." Cartier is not in that category as long as he is quoted and the value of his accomplishments is debated. We agree further with Herold when he writes that even when subjects of biographies are still very "alive," "the definitive biographer gives them the coup

Thus, despite an at least partial awareness of the problems involved, the conclusion was overwhelming that another biography of George-Etienne Cartier must be written: not merely a series of anecdotes or a hymn of praise, but as complete an examination of his life and contributions as possible based on the fullest information available of our subject.

Aside from articles in various publications, there are six biographies of Sir George-Etienne Cartier and one collection of speeches that should be mentioned.

In 1873 Louis-Philippe Turcotte, author of Le Canada sous l'Union, wrote a short book that provided some useful information (3). Restricted in scope, it is nevertheless of interest because it was written immediately after the death of the baronet.

In 1893, Senator Joseph Tassé, at one time Editor of La Minerve, edited a massive volume of Cartier's speeches (4). Though containing many errors, this work is exceedingly valuable. Approximately 160 speeches have been gathered, mainly from La Minerve but also from other newspapers, and each is introduced by a few paragraphs of background material. The latter is rather biased politically but occasionally provides a fact not available elsewhere.

In 1907, Alfred-D. De Celles, the Librarian of Parliament, published Cartier et Son Temps, a volume which has often been quoted by other writers (5). Certainly not a profound work, it nevertheless provides many details. Monsieur De Celles also wrote the biography of Cartier that forms part of the Makers of Canada series (6). De Celles based his writing very largely on previously published books, articles and speeches.

2. Ibid.

3. Louis-P. Turcotte, Sir G. E. Cartier, Ministre de la Milice, Québec, Léger Brousseau, 1873.


5. Alfred-D. De Celles, Cartier et Son Temps, Montréal, Librairie Ducharme, 1907.

The major work to date on Sir George-Etienne Cartier is that published in 1914 by John Boyd, a Montreal journalist (7). Found in most public libraries and in many homes this book is a product of the great interest in Cartier that surrounded the period of the centenary of his birth. Books, articles, monuments, speeches, all appeared in profusion. John Boyd obviously set out to produce a laudatory picture of his subject. His book is the result of considerable work and will always be of value. It is impossible, however, to escape the conclusion that he is simply being too nice. Controversial matters or facts which would reflect badly on Sir George are minimised or simply not mentioned. He gives a very interesting picture, but only a partial one. Fortunate in being able to interview people who actually knew Sir George, he has not made good use of these opportunities.

There are two other short works that are the product of the same period of interest in Cartier. Charles-Edouard Lavergne published a small book in 1914 that adds nothing in particular to our knowledge (8). Benjamin Suite, the Secretary to Sir George for some years, published one of the volumes in his interesting series, Mélanges Historiques, on his late chief (9). Without giving a great deal of new information, Suite does, however, provide many views of Cartier that are of great interest.

Some more recent attempts have been made to write a full biography of Cartier, but none was completed. Professor J. I. Cooper of McGill University spent considerable time searching for Cartier material and the results can be seen in his helpful articles. Professor Jean-Charles Bonenfant of Laval University has also contributed greatly to our knowledge and understanding of Cartier’s career by his articles.

The great problem, however, has been the almost total lack of any Cartier Papers. For this work we have searched every likely place that could be imagined for almost ten years. The Public and Provincial Archives, the Archives of the Seminaries, Bishoprics and Archbishops, the homes of many collateral descendants of Cartier and of descendants of his close relations and colleagues who could be located; all have been hopefully visited, but to little avail. There is a small


collection in the Public Archives in Ottawa, but this is very limited
and consists mainly of a few papers that might well have been left in a
drawer of the Minister's desk on his final departure for England in
1872. The most interesting collection and, indeed, the only one of any
size that to our knowledge was not available previously was that very
kindly opened to us by Dr. Georges-Etienne Cartier, distinguished sur-
geon of the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital in Montreal. This unclassified and
varied lot of approximately 125 items belongs to the Succession Cartier.
It yielded a number of pieces that were important in terms of Cartier's
personal and legal affairs, but the considerable number of letters of
political interest were nevertheless not of major significance. It is
possible that these are the papers listed in 1873 on a slip of paper
found with other material as a "travelling bag full of private papers"
in the possession of François Pominville, Cartier's law partner (10).

Were there ever any Cartier papers? Even this is not certain.
Speaking in the House of Commons in 1864, Cartier spoke of a motion pro-
posed by a Grit member and said: "Je la conserve comme document histo-
rique, ainsi que je fais de tant d'autres depuis 1848, l'année où je me
suis engagé dans la vie publique; et aucun de ces papiers ne sortira de
mes mains après ma rentrée dans la vie privée (11)." This
does not tell us much but it is the only suggestion that Cartier was
keeping political papers for some future purpose. Louis-P. Turcotte in
his short biography of Sir George published the year the baronet died
said: "Quelques journaux ont mentionnés que Sir George laissait, sur
l'histoire contemporaine, des mémoires secrets qu'il aurait expressément
ordonné de ne publier que dix ans après sa mort. Nous ne doutons pas
que ces écrits soient précieux, et qu'ils seront religieusement conser-
vés (12)." Was this true and if so what happened to these papers? It
has been suggested verbally that some Cartier papers were lost in a bank
fire not long after his death. Where? What papers? No-one seems to
know. It has also been suggested that Benjamin Sulte destroyed the
papers on the orders of Lady Cartier. Again, this remains a rumour.

The undoubtedly important facts of the relationship between Made-
moiselle Luce Cuvillier and George-Etienne Cartier are very difficult to
trace. It would seem likely that there was correspondence. Aside from
references in some of Maurice Cuvillier's letters to missives from his
sister to Cartier nothing has been found. It is not difficult to imag-
ine that Cartier might unburden himself of his opinions on people and
politics in writing to such an intelligent woman, but it is also

10. F. S. C., p. 94.
probable that she may have destroyed any such letters.

In general we have been able to obtain access where desired from Rimouski to Saint-Boniface, although patience has been required, as in one instance where a space of over five years intervened between our being made aware of the existence of certain papers and permission being granted to photocopy and use the same items.

The present lack of classification in the Archives of Saint-Sulpice, and the resulting inability to use such an undoubtedly rich source, was one of the greatest disappointments in our work. As Monsieur Bayle and his successors at Saint-Sulpice were among the executors and beneficia­ries of Sir George it is entirely possible that private papers might have been left in these discreet hands (13). Writing in 1881 Philippe-Baby Casgrain mentioned the Seminary of Montreal as the most reliable place to obtain information about the Cartier family (14).

It is always possible that the mirage of a trunk full of Cartier pa­pers and memoirs will one day turn into reality. This mirage has tempted us for many years. However, we were finally persuaded not to give up hope of eventually finding the hidden treasure - but to organize the available material and set it to paper.


CHAPTER I

THE EARLY YEARS

The distant family background of the greatest French-Canadian leader of the nineteenth century is without much known detail. In vain do we look for a link with one named Cartier, who was massacred by the Iroquois in 1690 or with l'Ermite de Saint-Barnabé, who for 39 years lived alone on an island in the St. Lawrence River off Rimouski (1). There were several other families of the same name in New France, the earliest dating probably from around 1673 (2).

Among the earliest wisps of local colour that we can find in the records of the Cartier family is the licence granted in 1788 by Lord Dorchester to one "Joseph Paradis of the parish of Saint-Antoine in the district of Montreal, Shopkeeper, to utter and sell Wine, Brandy, Rum, or any other spirituous liquors by retail, to be drank out of his House (3)." This Joseph Paradis was the maternal grandfather of Sir George-Etienne Cartier.

Although the wording of this document may be slightly amusing to us


today, it points out the main occupation of the forbears of Sir George-Etienne Cartier both before they settled on the Richelieu River and after, up to the time of the birth of the future baronet. They were involved in commerce.

The family that interests us in this study is that of Pierre Cartier of Prulier, diocèse d'Angers, in France. Although Sir George seemed to accept it as a fact, and many historians have agreed rather by default, it seems almost certain that Pierre Cartier was not the younger brother nor even a close relative of Jacques Cartier, the famous navigator from Saint-Malo, although he may well have been related. About 1738 Pierre Cartier and his wife Marie Beaumier sent their son, known as Jacques Cartier dit l'Angevin (from Anjou), to the new world. Jacques was engaged in exporting salt and fish to Europe from Quebec. In 1744 he married Marguerite Mongeon at Beauport, and they had six children. The two oldest were both boys who became merchants and moved to the Richelieu area. The second boy, Joseph, married Marie-Anne Cuvillier in Quebec in 1752. Marie-Anne Cuvillier was the daughter of Augustin Cuvillier I, and the great-aunt of a very fascinating and rather shadowy lady whose path we shall cross at a later date. Joseph settled at Saint-Denis in 1768. He became a very successful merchant, moved to Saint-Hyacinthe, and eventually back to the Richelieu at Saint-Antoine. Of his numerous children, the one who is of particular interest here is Eusèbe Cartier, fifth child of Joseph, who inherited his father's business at Saint-Hyacinthe and prospered, as well as being very active
politically. Eusèbe was married to Angélique Bouthillier, sister of Dr. Thomas Bouthillier (4). The two names, Eusèbe Cartier and Thomas Bouthillier are seen together at the meeting of the Six Counties leading up to the Troubles of 1837 and at other stirring occasions. Eusèbe Cartier did not seem to suffer however; he became Prefect of his county, Legislative Councillor, Justice of the Peace and Colonel of the Militia. He passed on his business to his nephew Rémi Raymond, who was also involved in politics, particularly as a member of the Assembly from 1863-1867.

Joseph, the oldest child of Eusèbe, is also worthy of mention. It is he who was helped by his uncle Jacques II to take over the business when Jacques III showed little interest in it. About 1800 Joseph built a house of imposing proportions similar to those of the house in which George-Etienne was born, but situated in the village of Saint-Antoine itself. This house still stands today.

One of Joseph's sons was Dr. Henri Cartier, who accompanied his cousin George into exile in 1837, and apparently shared with him a penchant for writing. Henri Cartier was a doctor at Vaudreuil.

Returning to Jacques Cartier II, he settled directly at Saint-Antoine and there married on September 27, 1772, Cécile Gervaise, niece

4. Dr. Thomas Bouthillier of Saint-Hyacinthe represented that County in the Assembly from 1834-1838, and from 1841-1851. He escaped to the United States after taking part in the Battle of Saint-Charles.
of the first curé of Saint-Antoine. Of their several children two survived, Jacques III and Cécile. Cécile married Louis-Edouard Hubert of Saint-Denis in 1796. M. Hubert was a very successful man in business, but the Troubles of 1837-38 ruined him, although he does not appear to have taken an active part either politically or militarily himself. Jacques III was the father of George-Etienne (5).

These genealogical peregrinations, although dry, do help to prepare the ground, and a look at the world of the Richelieu at the end of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th shows where Jacques Cartier II and Jacques Cartier III fit into the landscape.

The valley of the Richelieu River, or as it is sometimes spoken of in early accounts, the Chambly River, the Iroquois River or the Sorel River, plays a very important part in the early history of Canada. Following only the St. Lawrence, and possibly the Ottawa in importance, the Richelieu River served as a means of communication from earliest times. The area became well known agriculturally as a granary and also saw some very important political events. The river flows north-east from Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence. The possibility of an important inland water route is not entirely forgotten even today, and we might well see Montreal and New York thus connected. One can consider a triangle with Laprairie, Saint-Jean and Sorel at the three angles. The short base is

5. The genealogical details are mainly gleaned from family papers found in the Fonds de la Succession Cartier in Montreal. See Appendix I for a Genealogical Chart of the Jacques Cartier family.
formed by the 15 miles between Laprairie and Saint-Jean. The two sides are of virtually the same length—Laprairie to Sorel being a slightly wandering 56 miles, St. Jean to Sorel a somewhat straighter 54 miles. It is this latter side, the east side, that is formed by the Richelieu River. Leaving Saint-Jean on the west bank we arrive at Chambly village and fort 10 miles away. Another trip of about equal distance brings us to Beloeil. About 8 miles further we find Saint-Marc, with Saint-Charles across the river. The same distance again brings us to Saint-Antoine, with Saint-Denis on the opposite bank. Going on about 8 miles we are in Saint-Roch, with Saint-Ours facing it. Then after another 10 miles we come to Sorel, at the entrance to Lac Saint-François. Across the triangle from Saint-Antoine to Verchères on the St. Lawrence is perhaps 10 miles by road.

Saint-Antoine is situated on a curve in the river with sloping banks down to the water. The river widens somewhat here, making room for two small islands, once much larger than at present. One was used as a mooring place for the river boats when the water was too low to come to the bank. Imagine the scene as viewed by Champlain when he first mounted the river in 1603 with unbroken forests on either bank; but gradually the woods fell back as settlement advanced. Saint-Antoine was part of the Seigneury of Contrecoeur. It has never been a large or bustling village and the two imposing edifices today are the stone church and a massive stone house. This latter building as already stated is similar to that in which George-Etienne Cartier was born. The
older Cartier house, perhaps the most famous of the district, was situated at the edge of the village and was known as the "House of the Seven Chimneys." It was built by Jacques Cartier II in 1782. The house commanded a good view of the river, with a small stream that has now almost disappeared flowing close by. Members of the family still talk of the private wharf of which they were proud. River boats could stop at the Cartier property - it was not necessary to go to the wharves in the village. The house itself is described as being built in three sections, with large fire-proof rooms for merchandise at either end. One section was the store with grilled windows and a stone floor; another room above it for finer goods, also with grilled windows and doors and stone floor. In another part was a large room or salon, with a small office for valuable papers, and a second office, with a safe, above the first, connected by a small staircase.

Jacques Cartier II bought grain from the farmers of the area and sold it through Quebec. We have no records of the extent of his trade. The family records state that his nephew Joseph, who took over his business, regularly sold over 500,000 bushels of wheat to England (6). This figure appears to be very high, especially during times of agricultural crisis, such as occurred in the 1820's. The Richelieu was not deep so it was necessary to transfer merchandise to other boats at Sorel. The name of Jacques Cartier II appears often in the records of the period.

He took an active part in the military action of 1776 and for several weeks billeted British soldiers in his home. Saint-Antoine did not see any action, but Montgomery had reached Saint-Jean and the records show us that it was necessary for Jacques to have a passport to go to Sorel to pick up his merchandise. For the trip to Sorel, Captain J-Bte. Ménard-Brindamour issued the document, for the return Col. Allan MacLean (7).

Writing to François Baby, the Quebec City merchant who later became Adjudant-General of the Militia, Jacques Cartier remarked on Sept. 1, 1775: "Rien de Nouveaux . . . nous sommes bien tranquille. L'on ne parle plus des Bastones il lui a une grande pelotte [sic] (8)." This was, of course, before the rather abortive attempts of the Americans to win French-Canadian support.

Jacques Cartier II represented the electoral division of Surrey (later Verchères) in the Legislative Assembly at Quebec from 1805-1808 and 1809-1810 but there is no record of his activities in the Assembly. He little knew that his grandson would one day succeed him there. He also became lieutenant-colonel of the militia and commanded the troops from Saint-Antoine, Saint-Denis, Saint-Marc, Saint-Charles, Contrecœur and Verchères. In 1813 he was transferred to the new division of Verchères and was later succeeded by Louis Bourdages of patriote fame.

7. Ibid., p. 131.
8. C. B. Jacques Cartier à François Baby, 1 sept., 1775.
On October 15, 1812, Jacques Cartier wrote a letter on militia matters to Austin Cuvillier, then a young Montreal merchant and adjudant of the 5th Battalion of Militia in Montreal (9).

There is one business venture that comes to light which is of some interest. Family records tell us that Jacques Cartier II inaugurated the first postal service in the Richelieu valley in 1800. This service joined Saint-Antoine and Saint-Denis with Saint-Ours and Sorel. It was also extended to include Saint-Hyacinthe. This last route did not exist for too long. A letter from the notary Bourdages explains the cause for complaint on the part of the citizens of Maska (Saint-Hyacinthe) (10). He explained that the charges levied by Jacques Cartier were excessive and a better arrangement could be had elsewhere. There is no record of who won this dispute.

Jacques Cartier II had assured the proper handling of his business, through his nephew Joseph as we have already seen. He died in 1814 the same year as the birth of his illustrious grandson. Jacques Cartier III, son of Jacques II and father of George-Etienne, was born at Saint-Antoine in 1774. In 1798 he married Marguerite Paradis. Jacques III was a delightful, generous man, with definite ability but lacking in ambition. He apparently spent very little time on business matters. He was also Lieutenant-Colonel in the militia like his father, though the title seems

to have been rather honorary than otherwise in his case. He was a fairly rich young man, but, like many others of like inheritance in this period properly called "Le bon vieux temps," he was somewhat prodigal. Many accounts are given of the lavish hospitality provided by the leading families of the Richelieu valley. People travelled back and forth from house to house. Fine clothes were the rule, imported liquors, wines and delicacies were much in evidence, as well as the best that the country could provide. The English officers stationed at Fort Chambly were delighted to grace many gatherings. The Seigneurs de Saint-Ours of Saint-Ours; Deschambault of Saint-Denis; Debartzch of Saint-Charles; de Rouville of Beloeil; Drolet of Saint-Marc; and Malhiot of Contrecoeur, made up the nucleus of this profligate band that tried to outdo each other in hospitality. Much music was heard, and Jacques Cartier III was very proud of his good voice. Family tradition tells that when the choir would sometimes be off-key during the divine service, Jacques would, from his pew at the front of the Church, sing out loudly to bring them back to the correct pitch and this was accepted by the congregation as his perfect right.

The second floor of the House of Seven Chimneys contained several guest-rooms, decorated in different colours - red, yellow, green, blue and gray. Jacques III's eldest daughter, Marguerite, told of her father being delighted to have all the guest-rooms full. He performed a small ceremony every morning of knocking briskly at each door singing a short couplet appropriate to the colour of the room, and serving each guest a
small glass of Jamaica. Marguerite Cartier was said to have added: "les dames aussi prenaient leur petit verre, c'était le bon vieux temps (11)." Jacques Cartier III died at Saint-Antoine in 1841. Although his son spent some time at home during the stirring events of 1837-38, it is not known what part, if any, Jacques III played at that time.

Madame Jacques Cartier III had a more positive character than her husband. She was a very religious woman, interested in the education of her children, in helping the poor and in other good works. She was, however, tolerant of her bon-vivant husband, but it was from her that her eighth child learned his love of hard work. Apparently the Récollet brothers, who spent two weeks at Saint-Antoine each year teaching catechism before there was a school, always found their home with the Cartiers (12).

It was in an atmosphere of the military action of the War of 1812, and of slightly shabby gentility at home, that George-Etienne Cartier was born, the eighth child, on September 6th, 1814. The registry gives the spelling of the name as George-Etienne Cartier, which can be accepted as correct. In later life he usually signed Geo. Et. which does not help us. The marriage registry at Notre-Dame de Montréal (1847) shows

11. Ibid., p. 132.
12. Most of the details of the Cartier family life are gleaned from verbal contact with members of the Cartier family in Montreal and in Saint-Antoine.
Georges - but this is in the text, not in Cartier's own signature which is Geo-Et. The Act of burial at Notre-Dame shows George again. This English spelling is especially reasonable in the light of the war underway at the time of his birth and because of the military station of the father. It is not unreasonable that he should name his son after the British monarch of the time.

In a letter from François-Pierre Pominville to Adolphe Chapleau after the death of Sir George, Cartier's law partner wrote:

"... Quant à l'orthographe de Sir George, il me fait plaisir de vous informer qu'il m'a avoué avoir reçu ce nom au baptême en l'honneur de George III, alors roi régant d'Angleterre, et pour cette raison il signait George qui est la manière anglaise (13)."

The god-parents were Etienne Gauvreau and Claire Paradis. The priest was Bonaventure Alinotte, curé of Saint-Antoine from 1806 to 1834 (14). George-Etienne was one of a numerous family. The eldest, Jacques-Elzéar, died while studying at the Collège de Montréal. The next, Sylvestre, studied theology at the Séminaire de Québec, then became a doctor at Saint-Aimé. Nothing further is heard of him although he died an old man in 1885. The next, Antoine-Côme, was a notary but he never practised. He was a farmer and lived in the House of the Seven Chimneys until his


14. Abbé Cyprien Tanguay, Répertoire Général du Clergé Canadien par Ordre Chronologique depuis La Fondation de la Colonie jusqu'à nos jours, Québec, C. Darveau, 1868, pp. 133-134.
death in 1884. Several of his grand-children are still living, including the Demoiselles Berthe and Eugénie of Montreal and Saint-Antoine. Next came Marguerite who never married and is remembered as the grande-dame of her generation. Then came Emérente who married Doctor Jean-Baptiste Desrosiers of Saint-Hugues. Number six was François-Damien, born in 1813. He was the classmate of his younger brother in College, brilliant in his studies and in the practice of his profession with his brother. The family holds that it was Damien who prepared the cases, while George got the credit by pleading them in court. Whether this is true or not it becomes evident from other papers that all was not well between the two brothers, and that indeed their partnership did not last. It is said that Damien, who died a bachelor in 1865, resembled most closely his cadet in physical appearance. The youngest of the family was Léocadie, married to Dr. Joseph Lusignan of Saint-Ours. Antoine-Côme and George-Etienne kept a brotherly affection for their younger sister, who was widowed at an early age.

As there was no school either at Saint-Antoine or at Saint-Denis, George-Etienne and his brothers received all their early education from their mother and from the Récollets. The boys were sent to the Collège de Montréal for their further education but the records there provide only a few very bare facts about the life of George-Etienne in that institution. In the registers for 1824 we find three Cartier brothers. Côme Cartier, "âgé de 15 ans" was in 4ème (15). Damien Cartier is

15. A. C. M. Régistre pour 1824.
listed as "âgé de 11 ans" in 6ème. George Cartier is given as 10 ans, also in 6ème. The accounts are paid for the three together in 1825-26 amounting to 126s. (shillings) followed by 18s.8d. The next book covers 1826-27 and 1827-28. The family are listed as "3 Cartier - Côme, Damien, Gge Etienne (16)." The sum paid for 1827 was 126s. and 14s.; for 1828 - 160s.

In the next book, 1828-29 the Cartiers are listed under "pensionnaires," the first time this was mentioned specifically. There are now four Cartiers listed from Saint-Antoine, Jacques having been added to the list. He was the oldest brother, who, as we have already seen, died while a student. For this year we have: "Cartier, Georges, 14 ans, Humanités, Pens. 441s fournis 16s 14. Total 457s 14." For 1829-30 we have "Cartier, George, frère des deux précédens [sic], 15 ans en Rhétorique (17)." For the next 2 years George-Etienne Cartier's name appears again with the Externes although there is no word as to where he lived. Thus in the Cahier des Externes for 1830-31 we have no list as before but the following 2 entries: "Cartier, Damien, de St-Antoine, 17 ans en Philosophie, sortie le 22 janvier, rentré le 3 mars," and also, "Cartier, George, frère du précédent, 16 ans en Philosophie." "Pour enseignement et pour fournitures des deux frères £4,1.8." In the Cahier des Externes we find the last account entries for the two brothers. For George-Etienne: "Cartier, George, frère du précédent 17 ans, 2ème en

17. Ibid., 1828-1829.
Philosophie. Ecole 1.8.4.
0.5.6.
£1.13.10. (18)"

The academic records of the College show that George-Etienne Cartier was a good student. However, it is of interest to compare Damien's record for the same years and then to see what became of the two brothers later:

**DAMIEN**

6th. yr. 1 prize, 1 accessit.
5th. yr. 1 prize.
4th. yr. 1st. in class,
2 - 1st. prizes.
3rd. yr. 1st. in class,
2 - 1st. prizes, 1 - 2nd.
prize, 1 accessit.
2nd. yr. no mention.
1st. yr. top student and
also 3 - 1st. prizes and
1 accessit (19).

**GEORGE**

6th. yr. (1824–25) 1st, prize in
Grammar.
5th. yr. (1825–26) 1st. prize in
Sacred History.
4th. yr. (1826–27) 1st. prize in
Profane History, Accessit in Latin Verse.
3rd. yr. (1827–28) 1st. prize in
Modern History, 2nd. prize in
Latin Verse, Accessit for a Latin Theme.
2nd. yr. (1828–29) end. prize in
Latin verse, 2nd. prize in Latin
Composition, Accessit in French Composition.
1st. yr. (1830–31) Accessit in
Latin Verse.

In his final year George received the great distinction of being chosen to publicly defend a Latin thesis in logic, metaphysics, and

18. Ibid., 1830–1831.
19. A. C. M. Régistres académiques.
ethics. The lawyer and politician of the future was already proving himself.

In the lists of students for the period there are several names that will be seen later. English, Irish, Scots and some Americans are found. The Collège de Montréal was more national and even international than most institutions of secondary learning today. The name of Benjamin Globensky appeared often in the Prize Lists, also Benjamin Papineau and Frederick Glackemeyer (20).

The site of the Collège at the time that George-Etienne Cartier was a student was on Saint-Paul Street west of McGill Street. The Superior of Saint-Sulpice at the time was Messire Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, while the Director of the Collège was Messire Jacques-Guillaume Roque. There is insufficient information as to the type of education that the Sulpicians imparted—particularly in the two years of Philosophy when a young man will form opinions that may be translated into political action at a later date. The Collège de Montréal needs the same sort of study as that undertaken by Claude Lessard on the Séminaire de Nicolet (21).

George-Etienne Cartier thought so highly of the Abbé Bayle, later Superior, that he defended the Sulpicians publicly and also kept personal contact with them in time of religious crises, both public and personal.

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20. Ibid.

While he was at school and later, the troubles between the Sulpicians and the Episcopacy arose that were to embroil Cartier in a very bitter controversy and cost him important political support from within his own party. A work published in France entitled *Traditions de la Compagnie des Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice* gives a very good account of the education received by the priests of the order (22).

Leaving the tutelage of the Sulpicians, Cartier entered the study of law. This meant that he became a clerk in the office of a member of the bar. Why George-Etienne entered the office of Edouard-Etienne Rodier is not known, but it is certain that if political aspirations existed they were increased by this connection, or if they did not exist at the beginning, they soon took root. Rodier, who must not be confused with the Charles-Séraphin Rodiers, uncle or nephew, appears to have been, next to Louis-Joseph Papineau, the greatest orator of the 1830's in the Patriote camp. His very short life (1805-1840) was filled with stirring events. He was elected to represent L'Assomption in the Legislative Assembly in 1832. Two letters written to his student from Quebec City during the session of 1832-1833 tell of interesting events, and they show something of the writer.

After giving a few instructions concerning the running of his Montreal office, Rodier wrote in detail of the political manoeuvres and of

the personality conflicts of the Assembly. He remarked at some length on the patriotic nature of the women of Québec who he considered were "des patriotes plus zélés que leurs maris (23)." Of one young woman of 17 years, Madame Huot, he wrote that she spoke "avec autant de facilité et dans une langue aussi pure et aussi élégante que Papineau." His advice given in a postscript was perhaps rather emotional yet most sincere and sound.

"Soyez toujours patriote; détestez toujours l'Aristocratie; méprisez l'orgueil et la morgue [sic] des sots parvenus et de la stupide noblesse: n'ayez jamais d'autre ambition que de vous élever un monument dans le coeur de tous vos compatriotes: celui-là est le seul impérissable: étudiez constamment: lisez tous les journaux: lisez l'histoire politique du pays: c'est de la jeunesse Canadienne que dépend le salut de la Patrie. "Je ne voudrais jamais avoir d'autre inscription sur mon tombeau que celle-ci. A son enfant la patrie reconnais­sante (24)."

Through Rodier it was very easy for Cartier to make the acquaintance of the political figures of the day such as LaFontaine and Papineau. Edouard-Etienne Rodier is recalled as a very well-endowed man whose quick temper and excesses did not hide a very noble character. He was involved in two duels and apparently seemed determined to either scare his adversaries or be cut down himself. Fauteux in Le Duel au Canada, aside from recounting the details of one of these duels - in 1834 - states that the repercussions among young French-Canadians who

23. A. C. R., E-E Rodier à G-E Cartier, 11 déc., 1832. See Appendix II for full text of both letters.

24. Ibid.
followed European events and thought of the period of the revolution of July 1830 are underestimated. Cartier may have read a copy of the Paroles d'un Croyant by Lamennais in the privacy of his room. This book was secretly imported, printed and distributed by Ludger Duvernay (25). It is certain, however, that the young Cartier was a member of the political association using the same name as the French Society: Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera.

The rules of this secret Association were set out in detail, requiring each member to furnish an essay on a political or literary topic. The executive of the forerunner of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste were Ludger Duvernay, président; Louis Perrault, vice-président, and Louis-Victor Sicotte, secrétaire et trésorier. The following notice is preserved showing that Cartier was one of the moving spirits of the new body:

"Quelques-uns de vos amis comptant sur votre patriotisme et votre désir d'avancer tout ce qui tient à votre Pays, ont cru vous faire plaisir en vous adressant un avis de vous trouver Samedi soir à huit heures, à l'Hôtel Nelson, marché Neuf, aux fins d'organiser une société tendante à promouvoir ce but honorable.

A. N. Giard
G. E. Cartier
L. V. Sicotte (26)"


Without a detailed account of the events of the 1820's and 30's in British North America that led up to the Troubles of 1837, some outline of the stage that matters had reached by the time George-Etienne left college would help to place his participation in a clearer light.

Up until shortly before the time young George-Etienne left Saint-Antoine to enter the Collège de Montréal relations between the French Canadians and the English in Quebec were fairly good. However, from this time on matters steadily worsened. Questions of land sales, language, immigration: in one phrase, the control of the government, were continuously fought over. By 1810, the control of the Assembly had been gained by the Popular Party, and by 1820 the use of the machinery of the Assembly was becoming quite familiar to the French-speaking members. Views such as those expressed by Craig in 1810 probably were still quite prevalent:

"You can have no idea of the set. Except for three or four Englishmen and a lesser number of Canadians of decent manners they are people with whom it is impossible I can have any connection not even in the Common Intercourse of a dinner. . . . We have likewise among our Legislators, the same number of Habitants, that is Farmers, men who cultivate their ground with their own hands and are immersed in Ignorance and Superstition . . . (27)."

The local-born members of the Assembly became proficient in the use of British parliamentary precedents in arguing their cases. Blackstone's commentaries were read and many lessons learned were soon put to good

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use. Thus the Assembly found backing for its insistence that money
bills should be controlled by the Lower House and many other principles
which the British official and merchant classes thought might be fine
for England but certainly not for British North America. Governors such
as Craig and Dalhousie did nothing to improve the situation. The Sir
George Prevosts and Sir John Sherbrookes were too few and far between in
colonial administrations. The struggle for power between the officials
and merchants in Quebec and Montreal, who became known as the "Château
Clique," and the supporters of the popular cause grew more widespread.
Petty annoyances such as the permanency of the Civil List were important
in principle and easy for all to understand. Dismissals of militia cap-
tains for refusing to obey certain ordinances or for attending protest
meetings took the conflict into the many widespread parishes. The Cap-
tains of Militia exercised a very definite influence and rivalled the
curés in importance even at this period. George-Etienne Cartier's fa-
ther and grandfather both held commissions of Lieutenant-Colonel in the
we
Militia, but we can find no record of Jacques III losing his rank.

The Canada Committee of the House of Commons in 1828 and its report
were very important happenings for British North America (28). Details
of mis-use of funds by officials, troubles concerning Seigniorial dues,
problems in obtaining title to new lands (particularly in the Townships),
mis-use of power by the Council, etc. received a thorough and sympathetic

28. Robert Christie, A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada,
hearing. It became obvious that the changes in Governors and the on and off interest of Whitehall had led to a generally chaotic situation where the members of the Assembly felt that they were subject to whims rather than to any policy. John Neilson of Quebec, Augustin Cuvillier of Montreal and Denis Viger, the personal representatives of Papineau, presented monster petitions to the Committee. Their reports were well received. All in all a fairly clear picture appeared for those who wished to see it and the Lower-Canadian Assembly showed in a favourable light. The testimony of James Stephen, the legal adviser of the Colonial Office, and perhaps the most capable official to hold a post in that Department during this period, was of great support to the popular delegation. Men such as Sir Francis Burdett, Joseph Hume, William Huskisson, J. A. Roebuck and Henry Labouchere espoused the popular cause in the British House but with no lasting effect despite their great efforts.

The conclusions of the Canada Committee apparently pointed to a happier and more enlightened era for Lower and Upper Canada. It was decided that the Constitution was not perfect but that maladministration was far more to blame for the troubles. Reform of the Councils and the condemnation of the officials for spending large sums without the approval of the elected Assembly were well received by the adherents to the popular cause. Criticism of the dismissal of militia officers and magistrates, and of libel suits against editors for disagreeing with the government, received still further applause.

Why then did matters worsen rather than improve? A number of
answers are valid. First, the new Governors were instructed to rely entirely on orders from the Colonial Office and such were often slow in coming and so contradictory as to be useless in content. The Assembly was reasonably co-operative for about two years, but the evidence built up that the British government was otherwise occupied and the members of the Château Clique gradually recovered their audacity. Despite the uneasiness of the Tories, the Assembly moved into consideration of constructive legislation. The report of Murray to Kempt in 1828 shows the reactions of the officials:

"So long as the Assembly is called upon to provide for and to regulate any portion of the Public Expenditure, it will virtually acquire a control over the whole. If the entire charge of the civil government of the Province could be limited to the amount of the Crown Revenue, it might be possible to act without any dependance on the Assembly . . . . It is sufficient to say that, under the existing law, the Executive Government of Lower Canada cannot be relieved from a state of virtual pecuniary dependence upon the Assembly by Constitutional means . . . (29)."

Representation was changed, allowing more members from very populous Seigniorial areas and for the first time giving the Eastern Townships a voice in the Assembly. The budgets of 1829 and 1830 were passed by the Council. As Mrs. Helen Taft Manning has stated in her excellent study The Revolt of French Canada 1800-1835:

"For the first time in history the Assembly were permitted to assume some responsibility for their own finances and they turned their attention with gusto to the consideration

29. P. A. C., G. 17, Murray to Kempt, 1828.
of public education, better agriculture, better roads, canals and other material improvements which were certainly much needed (30)."

For example, in 1828, 325 schools were in operation with about 12,000 pupils, by 1832 there were 1200 schools with 45,000 pupils. The advice of such pioneers in Canadian education as the abbé Holmes of the Seminary of Quebec was eagerly sought. Neilson, Cuvillier, and other moderate popular leaders were very pleased with the results, but perhaps somewhat horrified by the possible costs of future improvements in roads and other public works. Unfortunately, these moderate leaders to whom a great deal is owed by the cause of constitutional good government in Lower Canada lost control of the Assembly. The appointment of another Wellington General - Lord Aylmer - did not help the situation. He was French-speaking, but as many English Canadians are finding today, this is not all that is needed. Condescension and ineffectiveness were very deadly characteristics then as now and Lord Aylmer possessed both to a marked degree.

The Assembly was very suspicious of any abrogation of its rights and the reactions of the Colonial Office seemed to be less than sympathetic. In 1831 and 1832 a detailed budget was provided for the Assembly, which it rightly disregarded. Also, attempts were made to expand the Civil List. The Assembly lost confidence in the Colonial Office and

constructive negotiations came to a stand-still. The moderate leaders were now superceded and men like Louis Bourdages, Thomas Lee, Edouard-Etienne Rodier, and most of all Louis-Joseph Papineau held sway over popular emotions.

By 1832 George-Etienne Cartier was, as we have seen, embarked on the study of the law and simultaneously exposed to the inner workings of the popular group in the Assembly. Cartier would then have been a witness to two catastrophies that occurred in Montreal during 1832. The first was the cholera epidemic which killed at least 7,000 people. This was connected with the large and unorganised migrations of starving, unskilled Irish immigrants. The Government authorities were accused of introducing the cholera into Canada in the hope of decimating the French-Canadian population. It is interesting to note, however, that many of these Irish immigrants provided support and leadership for the more radical wing of the Assembly, and thus helped to swing the emphasis from British constitutional demands to more republican aims. The influence of some immigrants from the United States and of others such as Thomas Storrow Brown added to this. The story of the Irish migrations has been brilliantly told by Cecil Woodham-Smith (31). Many details about those who came to Canada are of great interest. Suffice it to say that the French-Canadian population generally showed great kindness to the survivors of the fever-ridden ships who left Grosse Ile Quarantine Station.

with little hope for the future. Aside from the cholera the French Canadians were fearful that the massive immigration of English-speaking settlers was calculated to drown the French language and culture.

The less terrible disaster had, however, very important repercussions. This followed upon the calling to the bar of the Council and the arrest for libel against the Council of Daniel Tracey, the Editor of the Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser, and Ludger Duvernay, the editor of La Minerve. They were in prison for 35 days. Duvernay we have already met and shall see again. Tracey was a doctor who arrived from Ireland in 1825, practised medicine, and from 1828 edited the Vindicator until his death in 1832. Duvernay had reputedly written in La Minerve of January 2, 1832: "The existing Legislative Council, being perhaps the greatest nuisance we have, we should adopt measures to rid ourselves of it and demand its abolition in such a way as to achieve that end (32)."

Audet and Malchelosse in Pseudonymes Canadiens state, however, that it was Charles Mondelet who wrote the series of articles in La Minerve during the session of 1831-32 signed "Pensez-y-bien (33)." Meetings were held to protest the unwarranted action of the Council. During speeches delivered in Montreal on January 21, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, Dr. Robert Nelson, and Charles Mondelet were very inflammatory. Tracey's fame grew rapidly and he was nominated for the Assembly in the area of

32. La Minerve, 2 janv., 1832.

Montreal West. The election was boisterous and Tracey finally won by three votes. However, the magistrates became very nervous and finally called upon Col. Macintosh, the Commander of the Garrison, for help on May 20. Among the magistrates was Augustin Cuvillier, who had now retreated from the rapidly evolving popular stand. In the ensuing mêlée on May 21 the troops fired and three people were killed. The coroner's inquest that followed saw Louis-Joseph Papineau leading the accusations against the authorities with very great enhancement of his public image. This real breach of British Law, which expressly prohibits the presence of regular armed soldiers at a polling place, dealt a very heavy blow to the peace of Lower Canada.

The session of 1832-33 showed a very distinct change again. The moderates were being discarded. Dominique Mondelet and Philippe Panet became unpopular when the former replaced the latter on the Council, Panet going to the bench. Mondelet refused to accept his salary as a member of the Assembly, but the fact that he had accepted a post from the Government was enough. Cartier's opinion on this point given in a speech before the Legislative Assembly in July of 1866 is of interest:

"Les hommes politiques d'alors, disait-il, ne paraissent pas avoir compris l'importance du système de la responsabilité. Quant, en 1830, (sic pour 1831), M. Panet fut appelé au Conseil exécutif du Bas-Canada on y fit pas d'attention, bien qu'il fut déjà membre de L'Assemblée législative. Mais il en fut autrement pour M. Dominique Mondelet. C'était un avocat distingué, fort versé dans les lois, à la tête d'une clientèle considérable. Il représentait, à l'Assemblée, le comté de Montréal. Cette nomination était l'introduction du gouvernement responsable dans le Bas-Canada; M. Mondelet, ayant un
siège à l'Assemblée, y aurait défendu les mesures du gouvernement mais y aurait, lui aussi subi les influences de la Chambre, qui l eut obligé d'insister auprès de ses collègues, pour obtenir les réformes demandées. La Chambre toutefois, n'eut pas cette vue juste des choses. Elle considéra M. Mondelet comme un espion et, dans un moment malheureux, elle résolut de l'espulser. Tous ces faits ont leur importance, et je ne crois pas inutile de les rappeler maintenant que nous jetons les fondements d'un gouvernement provincial (34)."

There is no record of Cartier's opinion on the same point in 1832. However, he did receive a first-hand account of events in the Assembly from Rodier, who delighted in the discomfort of the Solicitor-General, Charles Richard Ogden.

"Nous avons été tout prêts hier au soir de chasser Ogden, c'est à dire, de l'envoyer en prison pour avoir dit à LaFontaine à propos du 21 mai, qu'il était un fêlon. Je lui ai aussi tombé sur la carcasse et peu s'en est fallu qu'on en soit venu aux mains. L'orateur a fait apologie devant tout le public, s'est rétracté plusieurs fois bien humblement, était pâle comme la mort. Malgré cela nous voulions l'envoyer en prison, mais l'orateur et le père Bourdages nous ont prié de nous contenter de l'apologie, et LaFontaine a été obligé d'en passer par là. Il y a eu beaucoup de bruit et les galeries ont été vidées une fois. Sir George a donné une partie de son témoignage. Les Québécois ne l'avait jamais cru si bête. L'enquête doit continuer vendredi prochain (35)."

The Assembly gave vent to all its accumulated grievances against the Tenures Act of 1825 and the Seigneurs, the cholera epidemic, the events of May 20 - 21, the Montreal magistrates, the Councils, the British


35. A. C. R., E-E Rodier à G-E Cartier, 12 déc., 1832. See Appendix II.
Government, and the British American Land Co.

The session of 1834 was spent in drafting the 92 Resolutions. Auguste-Norbert Morin and Louis-Joseph Papineau were the authors and Morin took them to England. They covered the grievances mentioned in the last paragraph and many more. They were used as the platform for the election of 1834. Many moderates such as Augustin Cuvillier, who had been M.P.P. for Laprairie, did not even run again after being censored for lack of support of the resolutions and indeed only four members who had voted against the resolutions were re-elected. Dominique Mondelet, Jules Quesnel, John Neilson, and Andrew Stuart, were no longer forces to be reckoned with.

The election of 1834 saw Cartier's name appear as working for the candidatures of Louis-Joseph Papineau and of Robert Nelson, two people with whom he later had close contact. In the same year an event occurred that is officially regarded as the founding of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society in Montreal. On the evening of June 24, 1834 a dinner was held in the garden of John McDonnell, a Scots lawyer sympathetic to the patriots, on the site of the Windsor Station on Saint-Antoine St. and Duvernay was the organizer. Some discussion has since arisen as to whether the Society was not actually founded until later and indeed legally such would appear to be the case, but the important thing is that such dinners have been held regularly, and are still held today despite some interruptions, the first of which occurred only a very few years later when many of the organizers and guests were south of the
border. In 1834 the speakers were Jacques Viger, Mayor of Montréal, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, Doctor E. B. O'Callaghan, Thomas Storrow Brown, Charles-Ovide Perrault, Edouard-Etienne Rodier, etc. (36). It is noted that Mayor Viger sang, as did George-Etienne Cartier. The young law student had written _O Canada, Mon Pays, Mes Amours_, for the occasion, and this is the only one of his poems that is still heard today (37). At the banquet of 1835, held at the Hotel Rasco, the young lawyer provided five verses of another poem of his own composition — _Avant Tout Je Suïs Canadien_. This song was used on many patriotic occasions and apparently later became the rallying song of the Fils de la Liberté:

"Avant Tout Je Suïs Canadien

(Chanté sur l'air: De la pipe de tabac)
Souvent de la Grande Bretagne
On vante et les moeurs et les lois;
Par leur vins, La France et l'Espagne
A nos éloges ont des droits.
Admirez le ciel d'Italie,
Louez l'Europe, c'est fort bien;
Moi, je préfère ma patrie:
Avant tout je suis Canadien.

Sur nous quel est donc l'avantage
De ces êtres prédéfinis?
En science, art de langage,
Je l'avoue, ils sont nos aînés.
Mais d'égaler leur industrie
Nous avons chez nous les moyens;
A tous préférons la patrie:


37. George-Etienne Cartier, Editions du Centnaire, Montréal, Librairie Beauchemin, 1914, pp. 68-69. See Appendix III.
Avant tout soyons Canadiens.

Vingt ans, les Français de l'histoire
Ont seuls occupé le crayon;
Ils étaient fils de la victoire,
Sous l'immortel Napoléon.
Ils ont une armée aguerrie,
Nous avons de vrais citoyens;
A tous préférons la patrie:
Avant tout soyons Canadiens.

Tous les jours l'Espagne se vante
Des chefs-d'œuvre de ses auteurs.
Comme elle, ce pays enfante
Journaux, poètes, orateurs.
En vain, le préjugé nous crie:
Cédez le pas au monde ancien;
Moi, je préfère ma patrie:
Avant tout je suis Canadien.

Originaire de la France,
Aujourd'hui sujet d'Albion,
A qui donner la préférence,
De l'une ou l'autre nation?
Mais n'avons-nous pas, je vous prie,
Encore de plus puissants liens?
A tous préférons la patrie:
Avant tout soyons Canadiens.

G. E. Cartier (38)."

Cartier later became Secretary of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society on its reorganization in 1843, under the presidency of Denis-Benjamin Viger. It is of interest to note that Cartier and Viger were not always good friends, as we shall see later.

May 16, 1834, saw the organization of a political action group, the "Central and Permanent Committee of the District of Montreal," a more

38. Ibid., pp. 123-124.
effective and centralized body than the "Committee of Vigilance and Correspondence" that had been formed previously in each county. The "Central" committee had representatives of the counties of Chambly, Vaudreuil, Berthier, Laprairie and Richelieu. George-Etienne Cartier and the Chevalier François-Marie-Thomas de Lorimier were appointed joint secretaries. "Petit Georges," as he was often called, was luckier than his colleague who fled after the battle of Saint-Eustache, returned with Robert Nelson in February, 1838, and was hanged in 1839. The aims of this Committee, which met in Edouard-Raymond Fabre's store on Notre-Dame Street, were published in the Vindicator of July 3, 1835. The nine points covered the civil liberties demanded; improved communications; better, cheaper and faster justice; religious freedom; the abolition of undue interference on the part of the British Government or the troops; and finally, the application of the proceeds of the lands to the maintenance of a national system of education under which all the youth of the province might be secured of an equal and equitable education (39).

Papineau kept in contact with William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada, with O'Connell and his followers in the British House, and appointed J. A. Roebuck as the representative of the Assembly at Westminster. Roebuck tried hard but was unable to accomplish much. One meeting was held with Mackenzie in Montreal, but, aside from some alarmed officials in Whitehall, the co-operation between Upper and Lower Canada

39. The Vindicator, July 3, 1835.
was unproductive. Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia and the reform leaders in New Brunswick would have no part of Papineau.

The Chartist Movement in Britain gave moral support to the patriote cause with an address to "The People of Canada" from the Working Men's Association. The Permanent and Central Committee of the County of Montreal replied, G. E. Cartier being among the signatories (40).

The year 1835 produced no great events as everyone waited to see if the Gosford Commission set up by the British Government to enquire into the unrest in Upper and Lower Canada, might produce any change for the better. Indeed, the Commission had little to offer, but Gosford, the new Governor, made the best of the situation. Sir Francis Bond Head, on arrival as Lieutenant-Governor in Toronto, made matters extremely difficult by publishing all details of the Commissioner's instructions, the less conciliatory of which Gosford had kept silent.

The young law student, who seems to have spent a good part of his apprenticeship involved in politics, was admitted to the Bar of Lower Canada on November 9, 1835 (41). The Commission declaring Cartier "to be qualified for an admission to the Practice and Profession of the Law as Barrister, Advocate, Attorney, Solicitor, and Proctor in all His

Majesty's Courts of Justice in the said Province . . ." was signed by Lord Gosford, and by Dominic Daly, and declared that Cartier had passed his "Trials" before "James Reid, Esquire, Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench for the District of Montreal (42)."

This was the final legal document in a series that included petitions to the Governor stating that the young clerk had served his five years term on the 24th of October, 1835. The notarized document, dated October 23, 1830, binding Cartier to Rodier, is of interest (43). On October 24, 1835, Rodier attested that "le dit M. Georges Etienne Cartier a rempli ses devoirs d'Etudiant en droit en mon étude depuis la date de ce brevet avec exactitude et sans reproche (44)." Those who certified that Cartier was "un jeune homme de bonnes moeurs et de bonne conduite," included Louis-Joseph Papineau, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, Joseph Bourret, Toussaint Pelletier, Jean-Casimir Bruneau, and Louis-Gustave de Lorimier (45). It is not certain whether Cartier struck out on his own or not, but it seems likely that he continued to work with Edouard Rodier.

Writing to his brother-in-law, Edouard-Raymond Fabre, who was later to become George-Etienne Cartier's father-in-law, the dashing young

42. P. A. C., M. G. 27, ID4, Vol. 6.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
Charles-Ovide Perreault wrote at this time: "Notre Ami Rodier est autre qu'à Montréal: sédentaire, laborieux et d'une sagesse exemplaire. C'est édifiant (46)." Rodier was likely, therefore, to appreciate having a young man of Cartier's calibre, who had already proved his integrity as his student, to hold the fort in Montreal while he was gone.

The political stalemate continued on through 1836. Papineau was hesitating before open revolt, although many of his lieutenants were pressing onwards to an open break. There is no record of Cartier's views at this time. The list of those who subscribed, in September of 1836, to the fund to compensate Ludger Duvernay for his losses in 1832 and 1836 provides a very interesting, if incomplete roll of the popular supporters of note. Three members of the Cartier family are represented: Côme Cartier, G. E. Cartier, and Joseph Cartier (47).

The Russell Resolutions of April, 1837, were a final blow to any hopes for averting a clash. Meetings of an openly hostile character were held all over the province, particularly in the area around Montreal, to the north of the city, and in the Richelieu valley. By September 9, eighteen magistrates and thirty-five militia officers, including seven members of the Assembly, had been dismissed for attending protest meetings. On September 4 the founding of Les Fils de la Liberté occurred,

adopting the principle of colonial independence. Cartier was a member of this body. This Association issued a month later an address to the young men of British North America, setting out the reasons why the colonists must have control over their own government. Some phrases appear to be based on the American Declaration of Independence.

One meeting of the Fils de la Liberté, held in the yard of the Ottawa Hotel on Saint-Jacques Street, on November 6, ended in the celebrated clash with the Doric Club, formed of young government supporters. A number of wounds were received, windows broken, and the office of the Vindicator was sacked. Thomas Storrow Brown lost the sight of one eye (48).

It is not known when Cartier returned to his home area of the Richelieu, but it is probable that he went at about the same time as Papineau, Nelson, and others, and that one of the undelivered warrants for arrest issued on November 16th bore his name. In any case, in the letter he addressed to Lord Durham's Secretary from Vermont on September 20th, 1838, he states that he left Montreal on November 17th to visit his family (49). Thus it is not sure whether Cartier was present at the mass meeting of the Six Counties (Saint-Hyacinthe, Richelieu, Rouville, Verchères, Chambly, and L'Acadie) held at Saint-Charles on October 23

48. T. S. Brown, 1837, My Connection with it, Québec, Raoul Renault, 1898, p. 23.

and 24th. Papineau still urged restraint and it seems obvious now that although he was still the rallying point, he had lost control of events. Under the encouragement of orators such as Dr. Cyrille-Hector-Octave Côté, Thomas Storrow Brown, and Amury Girod, the 5,000 people present committed themselves to open rebellion. A number of resolutions were passed, one being moved by Antoine-Côme Cartier of Saint-Antoine, the older brother of George-Etienne.
REBEL TO RESPECTABLE LAWYER

After the Assembly of Saint-Charles a rather strange period of waiting occurred. As rumours of impending arrest for high treason circulated, more and more of the patriote leaders absented themselves from Montreal. Many of them went to the Richelieu area, to Saint-Hyacinthe, Saint-Denis, and Verchères. Sir John Colborne, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Canada, wrote to Sir Francis Bond Head, the erratic Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, from Sorel on November 6, the same day as the battle between the Fils de la Liberté and the Doric Club in Montreal: "The alarm in this district is great, and rapidly increasing. In fact, the counties between Longueuil and the upper part of the Richelieu are in a state of revolt (1)."

On November 13 Colborne wrote to Lord Gosford, the Governor-in-Chief, from Montreal: "The affairs of the Province have in a few days taken a turn so decidedly serious and alarming, that not a moment ought, I think, to be lost in preparing for the worst and for an extensively combined revolt."

Colborne continued, giving names and places where possible:
"... Dr. Côté in Acadie, Mongeau in Rouville are generally accompanied

by five or six hundred persons many of which are armed - at Laprairie, St. Francis and St. Charles armed parties are actively employed in forcing the Habitants to enrol . . ."

The Richelieu area was rightly detailed as the centre of revolt: "St. Hyacinthe is, I understand, to be the Head Quarters of the Revolutionists and it is said that Papineau yesterday was invited to go there and declare himself and that Wd. Nelson is to take the lead in case of his refusal (2)."

Saint-Hyacinthe was certainly the scene of much activity with, among others, Dr. Thomas Bouthillier and George-Etienne Cartier's cousin, Eusèbe Cartier, in charge of the organization. Various declarations made by residents of the area several months later attested to Eusèbe Cartier's great activity in the patriote cause (3). Wolfred Nelson was at his home in Saint-Denis. It is presumed that George-Etienne Cartier was at his parents' home in Saint-Antoine. On the 16th, warrants were finally issued for the arrest of most of the patriote leaders and, an unusual occurrence, a number of blank warrants were also issued. Most of those concerned were, as the authorities must have been aware, safely outside of Montreal. A number of relatively unimportant people were jailed.

It is difficult to understand why, when it was decided to send a

2. Ibid., I, p. 20.
constable after those for whom warrants had been issued, the two quarry chosen were the notary Pierre-Paul Demaray, and Dr. Joseph-François Davignon, both of Saint-Jean. Neither was a big fish in the patriote pond. They had both been present at the Assembly of Saint-Charles, but they had not taken any active part in the proceedings and thus, according to the reasons given in the warrants, were in the same position as six thousand other people. Actually the real reasons seemed to be that these two had made themselves very unpopular with some influential Tory supporters in the area. Constable Mâlo, backed up by 18 members of the Montreal Volunteer Cavalry commanded by Lieutenant Ermatinger, set out on the mission that was to light the fuse of armed resistance. The two patriotes were duly arrested and handcuffed, put in a cart, and the parade started back to Montreal, using the long Chambly route. The word parade is used advisedly as Mâlo and his guard apparently wished to either tempt the patriotes or scare the populace in general, or both. In any case, the whole region was indeed aware of what had happened and the patriotes decided to free their captive friends. Bonaventure Viger, the chief of the patriotes in the Boucherville area, who was later banished with some thirty others, ambushed the constable and freed Demaray and Davignon. Ermatinger and Mâlo returned to Montreal and, probably to save face, gave the report that the whole population was up in arms.

The news of Bonaventure Viger's exploit and the realization that the government was willing to use armed force to capture its opponents gave rise to renewed activity throughout the countryside. Two days
later, on November 19, George-Etienne Cartier harangued the citizens of Saint-Antoine after mass. The only available report of this occurs in the Herald of Tuesday, November 21st:

"On Sunday the congregation of the church at St. Antoine was addressed by Mr. Cartier, a young advocate of this city who recommended that a "liberal regiment" should be immediately formed, which he would lead to death or victory in attempting to release his brave compatriots from the gaol, but he met with but little success, as at the muster, his regiment, including himself, numbered only four individuals (4)."

Biased perhaps, but the young Cartier was undoubtedly anxious to prove himself. However his ideas, nourished in Montreal, were too radical for the more careful habitants of Saint-Antoine. Most of the activity in the Richelieu area was for the purpose of preventing further arrests such as took place at Saint-Jean rather than with any idea of attacking government forces.

Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine made a last-ditch attempt to avoid real trouble by going to Quebec City on the 19th and asking the Governor to call the Assembly. Lord Gosford did not do so and thus lost an excellent chance to prevent the violence that was sure to follow.

Almost immediately two forces left Montreal. The first, under Colonel George Augustus Wetherall, went to Chambly, meeting no resistance and indeed seeing very few people along the way. The second,

under Colonel Charles Stephen Gore, the Deputy Quartermaster-General, was to go to Sorel, then up the Richelieu to Saint-Denis, dealing with any patriotes who dared to show their noses in that area. It was then to meet the first expedition at Saint-Charles, which was by now pinpointed as the headquarters of the patriotes.

The mis-adventures of the next few days are very well known and are not open to too much question. Gore left Montreal by the "Saint George" on the 22nd with two companies of the 24th under Lieutenant-Colonel Hughes, one company of the 32nd under Captain Markham, one field piece, and twelve members of the Montreal Volunteer Cavalry, the same unit that had not distinguished itself at Longueuil. Picking up two companies of the 66th at Sorel, of which Gore took personal charge, a night march was started which was supposed to bring this considerable force to Saint-Denis by dawn. Actually, because of the weather, first rain and then very cold, and because of a decision to go around Saint-Ours, which added five miles to the route, Gore did not arrive at Saint-Denis until between nine and nine-thirty in the morning. By this time the whole area was alerted, and patriote leaders from as far away as Saint-Hyacinthe and Verchères were gathering reinforcements to go to Saint-Denis. From perhaps two hundred men in the morning the total number who were present at Saint-Denis probably mounted to seven or eight hundred by the end of the day, but some of these only arrived when the battle was over. One unexpected informant was Lieutenant George Weir, who started out from Montreal with dispatches for Sorel, and arrived there
only after the main body of troops had been and gone. Not realizing
that Gore had made a detour around Saint-Ours, Weir took the river road,
was stopped by a patriote picket and taken to Wolfred Nelson at Saint-
Denis. He there boasted of all the troops that were coming, in an ef­
fort to scare the patriote leaders. Unfortunately, the next morning,
when he was being moved, he attempted to escape and was killed.

The situation at Saint-Denis was hardly one of highly organized
military preparedness and this strengthens the belief that Nelson and
his supporters wished only to prevent the arrest of those for whom war­
rants had been issued, rather than engage in battle. Arms varied from
the parade cannon of the local militia unit to pitch-forks and stones,
with a variety of guns in between.

The actions of Papineau on this day, the 23rd of November, may
never be known exactly, but they certainly led to a furious exchange
several years after the events. Papineau and his supporters say that
Nelson tried to persuade the great tribune to leave, as he was too im­
portant to the cause to lose by a chance shot, and if he were known to
be harboured in Saint-Denis it would just make it harder for the village
if it were taken. Thus Papineau left the village in the early morning,
going to Saint-Charles, then returning to Saint-Denis the next day
before crossing the border. A few months later, and again in 1848, ac­
cusations were levelled at Papineau that he had fled the scene. Fernand
Ouellet simply states that on the morning of the 23rd, before the
combat, after a discussion with Edouard-Raymond Fabre of the Banque du
Papineau left Saint-Denis, an action that he would later have some difficulty in explaining (5).

The events of the rest of the day can be summarized quite briefly. It would appear from the various reports that the soldiers fired the first shots. The patriotes were spread out among various houses and other buildings, but the two main places that had been hurriedly fortified were the distillery owned by Dr. Nelson, and the large house known as the Saint-Germain house. Despite a number of charges, the troops finally withdrew at about three o'clock in the afternoon.

What was George-Etienne Cartier's part in the battle? First of all, there is no question that he was there. There does not appear to have been any immediate discussion of his role but, some years later, in the midst of bitter political battles, various challenges were issued that he had been somewhat less than brave.

The first of these occurred in June 1844 when Guillaume Lévesque returned from banishment and chose to challenge Cartier, and in October of the same year when an unidentified correspondent who signed himself "xyz" made certain allegations against him. The first case ended in a duel, or almost a duel, as we shall see later. The exchanges that are of particular interest are those that took place in 1848. One Henri Lappare made certain accusations in L'Avenir of the 9th of August and

succeeding issues. He charged that both George-Etienne Cartier and his cousin Henri had been more liabilities than heroes during the battle of Saint-Denis, that they had pleaded with Dr. Nelson to retreat and that a crossing made to Saint-Antoine to seek ammunition placed them in no danger whatsoever. Further, Lappare stated that the two Cartiers arrived back with the ammunition half-an-hour after the British troops had left the field (6).

La Minerve published a number of duly witnessed and attested replies to these insulting letters, including one by Dr. Wolfred Nelson on the fourth of September. Nelson contradicted Lappare's testimony point by point and added that he was not aware of the accuser's bravery under fire (7). Other eye-witness accounts published in La Minerve predictably support Dr. Nelson's version of the events.

If some question of Cartier's conduct had arisen earlier it would be difficult to discount the accusations of cowardice but given the political situation in 1848 it would appear that he indeed acquitted himself well in the patriote cause. It is of interest to note that almost all the chronicles of this period mention Cartier's role in more or less detail. Thus Filteau, Lavergne, Routhier, Turcotte, Boyd, Fauteux and De Celles all give accounts, many of which are based on

6. L'Avenir, 9 août, 1848. See Appendix IV.
7. La Minerve, 4 sept., 1848. See Appendix V.
earlier writings (8). However, L-0 David in his *Patriotes de 1837-1838*, published in 1884, makes no mention of Cartier at all, even though he does recount the incident of the re-inforcements crossing the river from Saint-Antoine (9). However, in *Biographies et Portraits* published in 1876, David wrote of Cartier:

"C'est lui que Nelson chargea, durant le combat, d'aller à St. Antoine chercher des secours et des munitions. Il parait avoir rempli avec zèle la mission qui lui fut confiée, et rien ne justifie les accusations dont il fut victime à ce sujet. D'ailleurs M. Cartier n'a jamais pu être lâche; rien n'était moins dans sa nature (10)!"

The battle of Saint-Denis was to be a short-lived victory. Twelve


g) Alfred-D De Celles, *Cartier et Son Temps*, Montréal, Librairie Beauchemin, 1907, pp. 10-11.

9. L-0 David, *Patriotes de 1837-1838*, Montréal, Eusèbe Senécal, 1884, p. 34.

10. L-0 David, *Biographies et Portraits*, Montréal, Beauchemin & Valois, 1876, pp. 149-150.
patriotes were dead, including Charles-Ovide Perrault, a young lawyer of
Montreal, who was the uncle of Cartier's future wife. The British troops
apparently lost about thirty of their number.

Nelson decided to set about re-building the hurriedly prepared for-
tifications at Saint-Denis in preparation for another attack. However
they were not needed as the battle of Saint-Charles on the 25th did not
last long and apparently broke the back of the resistance in the
Richelieu. Thomas Storrow Brown, the General of the military wing of
Les Fils de la Liberté, was in charge here. He still suffered greatly
from his beating at the hands of the Doric Club, and was apparently less
than effective. It is of interest to note that Brown was not an Ameri-
can liberal as has often been presumed, but born in St. Andrews, New
Brunswick, the son of a Tory merchant who fled Boston in 1776 (11). It
does not seem clear whether George-Etienne Cartier was at Saint-Charles
or not. Some writers seem to presume that he was, others make no men-
tion of him, but there are no eye-witness accounts of his actions that
day. However, Brown states:

"On Monday the 27th, alarmed with a report that Col. Wetherall
would attack St. Denis, the place was evacuated. Dr. Nelson,
the present Sir George E. Cartier, myself, and a few others,
passed the day seated very stupidly in a swamp, a few miles
back from the Richelieu. In the evening we learned that
Wetherall was on the march back to Montreal, and the next day
we returned to St. Charles, and St. Denis. I had considered
Wetherall's success at St. Charles of little moment - only a

"Lexington" and, if favoured by the usual bad weather of the season, his command would be made prisoners before they recrossed the St. Lawrence. On the contrary, his success proved decisive."

Brown added:

"We continued at St. Denis with a small armed party till 2nd December, when, on the second approach of Col. Gore there was a second evacuation. Dr. Nelson, myself, and four others, passed over to St. Césaire in the night to take to the woods. At the end of three days we got separated. I escaped after various vicissitudes through the States; my companions were captured (12)."

The first of December a proclamation was issued by Lord Gosford announcing that a reward of £200 would be paid to anyone capturing Wolfred Nelson, Thomas Storrow Brown, Joseph-Toussaint Drolet, Dr. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, Jean-Joseph Girouard, William Henry Scott, Dr. Cyrille-Hector-Octave Côté, or Edouard-Etienne Rodier (13). There is no mention of Cartier here. Instead of going directly to the United States, George-Etienne and his cousin Henri, who was later a doctor at Vaudreuil, spent the winter not far from the scene of hostilities, near to the place where Petit George's future father-in-law was also in hiding. A correspondent in Le Courier de Saint-Hyacinthe later recounted the events that followed. The two young men hid in a farm house not far from Saint-Antoine where the habitant Antoine Larose fed

12. Ibid., p. 37.
them. An account appeared in *Le Canadien* as follows:

*Nouvelles de Montréal*

La nouvelle de la mort du jeune George Cartier trouvé gelé dans les bois, est confirmé. C'était un jeune homme doué au plus haut point des qualités du coeur et de l'esprit, et devant lequel s'ouvrait une des plus brillantes carrières (14).

The suggestion is made that it was the victim himself who had the report prepared to fool the British authorities. Difficulties arose, however, when the suitor of a servant-girl in Larose's house discovered the two hidden patriotes and threatened to inform the British. George-Etienne and Henri took no chances and struck out for the American border (15).

Auclair, in *La Revue Canadienne*, adds that the two cousins were taken across the border by an Alexandre Casavant dit Ladébauche, in casks on his cart (16). Auclair adds that the family at Plattsburgh, he gives the name as Gregory, was known to the Cartiers, as several of them had gone to stay in Plattsburgh in order to learn English. From Plattsburgh Cartier moved to Burlington, Vermont. The *Vergennes Vermonter* of February 8th announced that he had arrived safely in Vermont: "George

15. L-O David, *Biographies et Portraits*, pp. 150-151. See Appendix VI.
Cartier, a Patriot of some distinction, who was supposed to have been frozen to death in the woods in Canada, is now living in a village of this state (17)."

An unknown correspondent writing from St. Albans to Duvernay at Rousses Point on May 19, says: "Les Deux jeunes Cartiers, George et Henri, que l'on nous a dit l'Hiver dernier avoir été gelés dans le Bois, sont arrivés ici jeudi soir venant du Canada ils ont été 5½ mois cachés dans Verchères et Saint Antoine, ils sont repartis à midi pour Plattsburgh (18)."

Later in the same letter there is a comment about the problems of the exiles: "Nos amis, M. Demaray, Les Bouthillier et Cartier ont le visage depuis quelque temps comme des Melons Français, le Cheval se ménage à l'ordinaire, les dépenses sont toujours économisé [sic] tous les jours de plus en plus."

Edouard-Elisée Malhiot, in writing to Duvernay from Swanton on May 24 says that he saw the two Cartiers at Plattsburgh (19). Joseph-Amable Berthelot, the associate of Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine who was later to join Cartier's law firm, wrote to Duvernay from Montreal on May 26 that the two Cartier cousins had reached Plattsburgh eight days

17. Vergennes Vermonteer, Feb. 8, 1838, p. 3.
19. Ibid., p. 131.
previously (20). In view of these accounts it would seem likely that the two Cartiers arrived in the U.S.A. sometime in early May.

George-Étienne Cartier moved around somewhat and on June 17, according to the diary of Amédée Papineau, the son of Louis-Joseph, we find him dining at Saratoga with the Papineau family and L-H LaFontaine, who had just returned from France. The young Papineau writes: "Papa les engage à nous accompagner, mais ils sont résolus à partir, le premier pour le Canada, le second pour le champ de bataille (21)."

Cartier was apparently anxious to join Robert Nelson in his planned invasion of Canada. LaFontaine and Cartier went to New York at this point, though there is no record of what they did there (22). Perhaps the older and wiser man used this occasion to persuade the younger one to abandon his ideas of joining Nelson and instead to return peacefully to Canada when possible.

On the 28th of June, 1838, Lord Durham, the newly arrived Governor from whom so much was hoped for on both sides, issued a proclamation banishing certain of the prisoners then in jail, forbidding others for whom warrants for high treason had been issued, but who had fled the country to return without express permission, and releasing all others  

22. Ibid., p. 175.
on bail. The name of George-Etienne Cartier is included in the Ordinance to provide for the Security of the Province of Lower Canada, among those for whom warrants for high treason had been issued (23). In a letter to Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, written the day after the Proclamation was issued, Lord Durham expressed the hope that order would return to Lower Canada in as short a time as possible (24). A member of the Governor's staff went to try and talk to Papineau. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, although unable to find the patriote chief, talked to George-Etienne Cartier at Burlington, apparently in an effort to persuade him to return to Canada and abandon any idea of further insurrection (25). Wakefield vehemently denied that he had been sent on such a mission by Lord Durham or had reported to the Governor on his return. He wrote in The Spectator that he was greatly disturbed with the course of action that Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine and Augustin-Norbert Morin seemed to be recommending to their people, and that he hoped to meet Louis-Joseph Papineau in order to persuade him to use his influence in favour of an end to any thought of further armed resistance on the part of the patriotes (26). Wakefield was to continue briefly his connection with Canada after the departure of Lord Durham. He represented Beauhar- nois in the Parliament of the United Canadas from 1842 to 1844.

24. Ibid., pp. 1-3.
26. The Spectator, p. 1109, Nov. 24, 1838.
The letters in the Duvernay papers and in other sources give us some idea of the life led by the exiles. It was easier for the two young Cartier cousins than for many others who had families at home, or whose means of livelihood had been destroyed. It is not known with what George-Etienne Cartier lived, but verbal tradition states that Francis Godschall Johnson sent money to his friend from Montreal (27).

With time heavy on his hands the young exile turned to writing poetry. The results were not unlike his earlier efforts, certainly not masterpieces of the literary art. Writing in 1893 Wilfrid Laurier recounted a chance meeting with the young rebel turned Minister of the Crown. While waiting at Lévis for a train during the session of the Provincial House in 1871 Laurier reminisced:

"Sir Georges était, cette fois-là, du nombre des passagers attardés. Il vint à nous et se mit à causer avec beaucoup d'entrain. Il en vint à nous parler de ses poésies; il nous chanta même une de ses chansons, pas celle que tout le monde connaît: "O Canada, mon pays, mes amours" mais un autre (28)."

The song in question dates from 1838 (29). A letter to Edouard

27. Note: Johnson, later Sir Francis, was five years younger than Cartier. Born in England, educated in France and Belgium, so that he was bilingual, he came to Canada in 1834. He was called to the Bar of Lower Canada, and was Governor of Assiniboia from 1855 to 1858. Appointed a judge of the Superior Court of Montreal in 1865, he became Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Quebec in 1889. See P-G Roy, Juges de la Province de Québec, Québec, Imprimeur du Roi, 1933, p. 277.


29. A-D De Celles, op. cit., p. 13. See Appendix VII.
Rodier from Montreal dated July 13, and signed "Louison" stated that arrangements were in preparation for the return of George-Etienne Cartier and other exiles to Montreal (30).

There is some suggestion that Cartier took part in the abortive attack led by Robert Nelson on November 4, 1838, but this is very difficult to believe. On September 20, he had written to the Honorable Charles Buller, Civil Secretary to Lord Durham, expressing great surprise at finding his name among those proscribed and asking for assurances of his safety should he return to Montreal (31).

Anyone who could write such a letter must indeed succeed in politics. There is no reply on record but George-Etienne returned in mid-October to Montreal, he later mentioned the 15th. The disallowance of Durham's edict of June 28 was promulgated in Canada on October 9, and with this Cartier was free to return if he wished. On October 15, Cartier wrote to Duvernay in New York to say that he was hoping to leave for Montreal shortly, as soon as he had some indication of what his reception might be. It is interesting to note that the young man sends his respects to "l'infatigable McKenzie," presumably William Lyon Mackenzie (32).


31. R. A. P. Q., 1925-1926. Evénements de '37-'38, No. 897. See Appendix VIII.

32. Ibid., Vol. 8, 1911, pp. 42-44.
On the 18th Edouard Rodier wrote to Duvernay that Cartier had followed Perrault. However, not everyone was happy to see certain of the patriotes return meekly to Montreal. Duvernay, Côté, Robert Nelson, and others railed against those whom they felt had forgotten their old comrades. L-0 David suggest that Cartier was worried about being arrested again after the brief mêlée in November. According to this account, unfortunately given without reference to primary sources, Cartier and his cousin, René-Auguste-Richard Hubert, hid in a house owned by a Mr. Moffatt, a staunch British Montrealer. One of the magistrates heard of the hiding-place and sent a message to the two young men that they could return to their normal routines without fear of molestation (33). True or not, the story has its amusing aspects.

In any case George-Etienne Cartier wrote on November 17 to Thomas E. Goldie, the Civil Secretary to Sir John Colborne, saying that he had returned to Montreal on October 15 of the preceding year and had since lived quietly, his conduct being described as "la plus paisible et la plus irréprochable." He denied any part in the recent troubles but stated that various threats of arrest had been made by various individuals. Wishing to avoid "toute molestation immeritée" he requested the authorities to take note of his statements (34).

It was 1839 before George-Etienne Cartier returned to his law

33. L-0 David, *Biographies et Portraits*, pp. 151-152.
practice in Montreal, started probably in 1836 with his brother François-Damien. Most of the information available about Damien is oral tradition. He was in the same year at the Collège de Montréal with his younger brother, was a brilliant student, finishing first in his class, although it is perhaps prophetic that it was George who was chosen to publicly defend a Latin thesis in logic, metaphysics, and ethics. This same sort of relationship appears to have existed later on. Damien Cartier's name does not appear often in the court registers and indeed, as already mentioned, one family tradition states that it was Damien who prepared the cases and his brother who then got the credit in court. Whatever the case may be, the partnership did not go well and a document dated December 28, 1840 showed that Damien was not to share in the revenues as a partner but only receive what his brother wished to give him (35). There is little record of what Damien did from this time until his death in 1865. He was present at his younger brother's wedding in 1846. A letter in 1860 from the oldest brother, Antoine-Côme, the notary who farmed the family land in Saint-Antoine, states that all was not happy, as well as giving some details of the family holdings at this time. Damien suffered from a "manque d'énergie et sa tendance à boire (36)."

After several changes made in his will of 1847 during the succeeding two years a phrase appears in George-Etienne Cartier's last will, made in

35. F. S. C., p. 95. See Appendix IX.
36. Ibid., pp. 44-45. See Appendix X.
1866: referring to his brother who had died "me devant au delà de Mille livres, courant . . . (37)" It would thus not be overstating the case to say that Damien had a number of problems, financial among others.

During the summer of 1841 Jacques Cartier III died at Saint-Antoine. We do not really know what he thought about his youngest son's activities over the preceding few years but there is some suggestion that he was not entirely happy. His contacts with the British over the years had been cordial and he was thus probably not prepared at 63 years of age to see his son take up arms in the patriote cause. By this time he was in a poor financial situation, so the Troubles did not affect him to the same extent as his brother-in-law, Louis-Joseph-Edouard Hubert of Saint-Denis. Hubert did not take an active part himself but his son, René-Auguste-Richard was very much in the middle of events (38). René-Auguste-Richard Hubert enters the present picture when he and George-Etienne Cartier concluded a document on December 31st, 1841, regulating a number of details in the wills of their respective fathers, each representing all the members of his side of the family mentioned in the will (39). The younger


38. Note: After his studies at the Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe the young Hubert, who was three years older than his first cousin George-Etienne, articulated and was admitted to the Bar on April 16th, 1836. He was present at the battles of Saint-Denis and Saint-Eustache, and was finally arrested by the celebrated constable Comeau at Saint-Antoine, January 5th, 1838. He was set free on bail of £2,000 July 7th. Francis-J. Audet, Le Barreau et la Révolte de 1837, M. S. R. C., 3e Série, 1937, Tome XXXI, p. 87.

Hubert was named Protonotaire of the district of Montreal on January 11th, 1866, occupying this post until his death in 1884.

George-Etienne seems to have thrown himself into the new era of the Union with enthusiasm, building up his law practice and taking an interest in politics as a follower of LaFontaine. Many of his old friends did not appreciate his relatively easy adaptation to the new order and even sought to embarrass him. Writing to Duvernay from New York on June 5th, 1839, Dr. Eugène-Napoléon Duchenois says "Nos amis du Canada sont vraiment dégoutants, outre la bête conduite de Ouimet envers vous, l'on me dit ici que tous les soirs les fameux républicains Hubert, Cartier, etc., etc. se rencontrent chez Sword avec les canibals du Doric Club et s'en donnent à coeur joie voilà qui est édifiant, c'est à faire crever de honte et de mépris (40)."

Duvernay published Le Patriote Canadien in Burlington from August 1st, 1839 to February 5th, 1840, a total of 27 issues. In general the tone of the paper is radical, talking of overthrowing the government, and giving news of Patriotes, both in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. On October 9th, 1839, Duvernay published the words of "O Canada mon Pays! mes Amours!" and below "Georges-Etienne Cartier, de Montréal." On November 6th a report appeared entitled "Le Levé du Gouverneur." A list of more than sixty names was printed which included George-Etienne Cartier, and

40. A. P. O., Papiers Duvernay, No. 303, "Ouimet" is André Ouimet, ex-Président of the Fils de la Liberté.
then Duvernay commented bitterly:

"Il se trouve dans cette liste, plusieurs noms 'que nous ne nous attendions guère à voir figurer dans cette affaire.' Une courbette dans le salon d'un gouverneur, où les noms de tant de victimes fume encore, et où les noms de tant de victimes sont incrits [sic] en caractères ineffaçables, était bien déplacée, surtout de la part des hommes qui votèrent les 92 Résolutions, et de ceux qui prirent une part active aux procédés du Comité Central et des Fils de la Liberté (41)!!!"

As might be expected Cartier did not appreciate these references, and he made this clear in a letter to Duvernay of January 10, 1840, to which he attached a bill (42). The young lawyer had decided to adapt himself to the new circumstances in which he found himself and his country and he did not want to be compromised in the eyes of the authorities by the results of what he referred to as Duvernay's malice. He was determined to make a success of his law practice and to co-operate with moderates like LaFontaine in working for improvements in the lot of his countrymen. The stance of a revolutionary was unacceptable and must be discarded and the role of the industrious young lawyer assumed.

A happier event appears to have been the marriage of Louis de Roquebrune (or Louis-Isaac Laroque as he was also known) and Henriette Hertel de Rouville in 1840, described in a pleasant passage from Testament de Mon Enfance by Robert de Roquebrune:

41. Le Patriote Canadien, Nov. 6, 1839.

42. A. P. Q., Papiers Duvernay, No. 394, Cartier a Duvernay. See Appendix XI.
"Un jour, mon père m'emmena dans sa chambre, ouvrit une grande armoire et tira un habit d'un tiroir. Il était bleu, à haut col de velours. Des boutons dorés et gravés le fermaient sur une chemise à jabot. "C'est l'habit que portait Louis de Roquebrune le jour de ses noces avec Henriette Hertel de Rouville en 1840. Leurs 'garçons d'honneur' étaient Georges-Etienne Cartier et Thomas-Lewis Drummond. Ces quatre jeunes gens avaient vécu des heures tragiques pendant la Rébellion de 1837 (43)."

Of interest in the same account is the comment on the social life of the time:

"Après les dramatiques années de 1837 et 1838, on éprouva le besoin d'oublier, de s'amuser. L'hiver de 1840 fut particulièrement brillant à Montréal. Les bals, les dîners se succédaient. On en donnait dans les manoirs de la campagne. Les jeunes filles, les femmes étaient toutes amoureuses des rebelles. Ces garçons qui avaient combattu sur le Richelieu, dans les Deux-Montagnes étaient des héros. Ils avaient vaincu la mort (44)."

Louis Perrault in writing to Duvernay on September 22, 1840, gives news of various sorts, including a dinner given by LaFontaine for Francis Hincks: "M. Hincks du Toronto Examinier est en ville depuis 8 jours, a diné chez LaF. vendredi passé, avec Walker, Berthelot, George Cartier, D-B Viger, Drummond, etc. Vous voyez que maître L. sait bien jouer ses cartes pour paraître le chef du parti, en invitant M. D-B V (45)." Signs of events to come in 1844 are already on the horizon.

44. Ibid., p. 63.
45. A. P. Q., Papiers Duvernay, No. 437. D-B V. was Denis-Benjamin Viger.
Dr. Henri-Alphonse Gauvin wrote to Duvernay on October 9, shortly after the Doctor had returned to Montreal with his Yankee wife following his exile, sojourn in France and in Vermont, talking of the disposition of his personal effects and making some remarks about the political scene including "Lafontaine, Cartier son aide-de-camp et beaucoup d'autres, ne pensent qu'à l'union, et à faire élire L. H. L. qui j'ai peur le sera (46)."

Not long before his return to Canada in 1842 Duvernay received a letter from François Amiot, written on February 20, describing his attempts to collect some debts due the disgruntled publisher. Of one vain try he writes: "J'ai vu il y a plus de quinze jours George Cartier, auquel je me suis donné à dire que vous lui aviez écrit, sans avoir reçu de réponse de sa part. Il m'a dit alors qu'il s'agissait d'argent à vous envoyer; mais que c'était plutôt une avance que de l'argent à vous positivement dû, que telle et telle somme avait été payée par lui ou par d'autres pour les funérailles de votre père; que d'ailleurs la presse des affaires du bureau l'avait empêché de s'occuper de cela jusqu'à présent . . . , qu'il y verrait (47)."

The problems between Cartier and Duvernay did not prevent them from co-operating to some extent after the latter's return to Montreal until his death in 1852, for La Minerve supported Cartier in his election of

46. Ibid., No. 448.
47. Ibid., No. 541.
1848 and provided sympathetic coverage of other events in which the younger man was involved.

Over the next few years it is possible to have a fairly good view of the life of the young lawyer. There is no question that he was busy, both with his law practice and with politics.

The election of 1841 at Terrebonne saw violent scenes with the Stone Breakers, toughs hired in Montreal, taking part in a very violent fashion against the candidature of Monsieur LaFontaine and in favour of Dr. Michael McCulloch, the Tory. After his defeat LaFontaine wrote an account of what he knew about the riot in a letter to the electors of the county and Joseph-Amable Berthelot and George-Etienne Cartier, among others, corroborated his version (48).

However, by September 18, 1842, Cartier was able to write to his mentor congratulating him on his appointment as Procureur-Général for Lower Canada (49). The fight for responsible government was not entirely won as yet but with the formation of the first Baldwin-LaFontaine government an important step forward was made. The contrary attitude of Sydenham gave way to the co-operative approach of Bagot. That LaFontaine and his supporters appreciated the conduct of affairs by the new Governor is shown on a number of occasions. The newspapers carried

48. C. LaF., No. 00645B.
49. Ibid., No. 00179.
announcements for and accounts of an Assembly in his honour. On January 9th, 1843 a few months after it had reappeared on the Montreal scene, *La Minerve* printed a notice inviting all those who wished to join a long list of prominent citizens in a public meeting on January 12th, 1843. The purpose of the gathering was to show support for Sir Charles Bagot whose health was precarious (50).

Among the thousand names listed we find Geo-Et Cartier. On the 12th the resolutions which were passed are listed, among others, one moved by J-W Dunscomb, member for Beauharnois, and seconded by G-E Cartier, requesting that a committee be set up to draw up an address based on the motions passed for presentation to Sir Charles. The issue of the 16th reproduces some of the speeches delivered at the rally and announces that the Mayor, M. Jos. Barret, together with Messrs. Smith, Beaubien and Monk are leaving for Kingston to present the resulting address to the Governor (51). Unfortunately the speech which George-Etienne Cartier undoubtedly delivered was among those not reported.

All was not public meetings. *La Minerve* of January 30th gives an account of two legal cases which it was thought might be of interest to the public. Both were cases of libel. In the first MM. G. E. Cartier and Johnson (possibly Francis G. Johnson) lost with £2,10,0 damages awarded; in the second MM. G. E. Cartier and Smith won, with £25 damages awarded.

50. *La Minerve*, 9 janv., 1843.
awarded. Saturday, January 28th was a busy day. As the writer says, "L'examen des témoins de part et d'autre a donné lieu à diverses discussions et a duré bien longtemps (52)." One can only wonder if the presiding Judge, Honorable Jean-Roch Rolland, would have agreed with the opinion expressed many years later by another distinguished occupant of the Bench, the Honourable Sir Adolphe-Basile Routhier, who said:

"Or le nouvel avocat de Saint Antoine ne savait pas réveiller doucement son juge. Il avait le ton batailleur et cette voix de clairon qui vous entre dans les oreilles comme une vrille. Quand l'argument ne paraissait pas convaincre le tribunal, il le pousait avec plus de force, il le prolongeait, il le répétait avec une insistance nerveuse qui avait l'air de dire: il m'importe peu de vous ennuyer, vous êtes payé pour cela." "Les juges n'aient pas ça," added Routhier, "mais les clients l'aient, et Cartier ne fut pas longtemps sans prendre place dans les premiers rangs du barreau. Avec une activité fêbrile, une endurance au travail extraordinaire il se plongea dans les livres de droit et les dossiers; et bientôt la clientèle que j'ai appelée une grande dame lui accorda ses faveurs, et lui présenta sa séduisante compagne, la fortune (53)."

On the 8th of April another public notice appeared, signed this time by two thousand people, in favour of another assembly in honour of Sir Charles Bagot's retirement, and the arrival of the new Governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe. The first gesture was well deserved but the population was soon to find out that the second was to no avail. Thus resolutions such as:

"Que les citoyens de Montréal prient Son Excellence Sir

52. Ibid., 16 janv., 1843.
Charles Metcalfe de leur permettre de témoigner leur satisfaction de voir un gouverneur cher au pays, remplacé par une personne dont la réputation distinguée, sous le rapport des lumières, de l'Expérience, et de l'esprit de justice, doit faire naître pour le pays, des espérances fondées de bonheur et de prospérité, fruit d'une égale protection pour tous les sujets de sa majesté,"

were soon thrown in the face of the supporters of Responsible Government. However, Come-Seraphin Cherrier moved and Cartier seconded this resolution. The latter's speech was reported in the press, including a reference to hoarseness which Sir Adolphe Routhier might have considered the result of too much shouting in court (54). The theme of the young lawyer's remarks forms a sharp contrast to the revolutionary views held so short a period before. Cartier went to great lengths to develop the idea that Canada would be a better, more noble country because there were citizens of both English and French background. He stressed that the English-speaking Canadians had nothing to fear from those of French tongue. French Canadians, he said, "ne veulent point des droits exclusifs, et... sont prêts et ont toujours été prêts d'aider et donner support à toute administration qui les traiterait avec justice et impartialité (55)."

The meeting of organization or re-organization of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, depending on which founding date is accepted took

54. La Minerve, 13 avril, 1843.
55. Ibid. See Appendix XII.
place on June 9, 1843, with George-Etienne Cartier as the Secretary, while Denis-Benjamin Viger was the President, and Cartier's future father-in-law, Edouard-Raymond Fabre was Vice-President of the main section. It has been remarked that Cartier took little active share in the Society's affairs in the '40's, and such may well have been the case once the Society was launched again (56). It is interesting to note the increasing frequency with which the name George-Etienne Cartier appeared in the newspapers and in the letters of the period. People began to expect their correspondents to know of whom they were talking.

In October of 1843 the Law Firm of Cartier and Cartier became involved in a case that was to pass from court to court until it was finally settled by the British Privy Council in 1851. Early in 1843 the Church of Boucherville had been burned, allegedly by sparks from the steamer St. Louis, owned and operated by Augustin St. Louis. The Quebec Assurance Company paid the claim to the fabrique of Boucherville and then sued the owners of the vessel. The Cartier brothers represented the defendants, who eventually lost the case (57).

The by-election in Montreal during March and April of 1844 was brought about by the resignation of Benjamin Holmes. It was a test case for the general elections of the autumn. Cartier spoke at a meeting in


the Hotel Nelson where Lewis Thomas Drummond was nominated as the Reform candidate. In *La Minerve* between March 4 and April 29, a number of reports are given of various meetings in different parts of the city.

George-Etienne expressed his views on the political crisis, blaming Governor-General Metcalfe for the resignation of the Baldwin-LaFontaine government, and the denial of responsible government that led to it. Metcalfe had, with imperial approval, tried to reverse the too-liberal views of his predecessor, Sir Charles Bagot, and after a period without constitutional advisers after the resignation of his ministers in November of 1843 he had formed a Tory cabinet. Denis-Benjamin Viger was the Lower-Canadian leader of the new cabinet, and Cartier gave him little sympathy. The language used to flatter the crowd has not changed much in more than a century (58).

The eleventh of April saw the official nominations, with Messrs. Thomas Molson and L. T. Drummond opposing each other. Monsieur Viger, of whom we shall hear more later was doing his best to persuade the French-Canadian electors that a vote for Mr. Molson was really a vote for him, not for the Molson-Moffatt group backed by the *Herald*. The polling places were announced, the first was in the Quartier de la Reine, at the Pesée à Foin, Place des Commissaires. Cartier was Drummond's representative at this poll. Of the five other official representatives, two are also of interest. F. G. Johnson was the man in

58. *La Minerve*, 28 mars, 1844. See Appendix XIII.
the Quartier du Centre, situated at the "Maison de la Pompe, près de la Banque de Montréal," while J-A Berthelot did duty in the Quartier Est at the "Pesée du Marché Neuf, rue St. Paul (59)." Drummond won by 900 votes but only after one man, Julien Champeau, had lost his life in the Quartier de la Reine. La Minerve stated: "Nous devons à l'énergie et à la persévérance infatigable de G. E. Cartier écr. avocat, la mise en accusation des prévenus."

George-Etienne Cartier was obviously a man of honour who did not deal lightly with those who he felt had insulted him. A celebrated example of this occurred in June of 1844 when one Louis-Guillaume Lévesque became involved in an argument with Cartier in the Nelson Hotel and apparently raised his hand in anger but did not actually strike the fiery young lawyer. Lévesque was also a patriote who had been condemned to death in 1839, banished instead, and had spent several years in France. He returned to Montreal in late 1843 and became a lawyer. From his companion in the slightly comical affair that followed it is apparent that Lévesque had become imbued with "liberal" ideas while in France. Lévesque became a translator for the Assembly and no more is heard from him till his reported death following a drinking bout in 1856 (60). In any case, Cartier felt that honour was the order of the day, and it was only at the last minute that the two seconds settled the affair.

59. Ibid., 29 avril, 1844.

60. Aegidius Fauteux, Patriotes de 1837-1838, p. 303.
Letters which appeared in *La Minerve* on June 24 and June 27 explained some details in the words of those present. Cartier's second, his cousin René-Auguste-Richard Hubert, stated very rightly that the whole affair did not warrant the extensive publicity it obtained, but the two principals did not appear willing to let the matter drop and a furious exchange of claims and counterclaims took place over the details of the supposed insult (61). George-Etienne Cartier, the rising young lawyer and politician, was a man of very strict honour, if not a sense of humour. What was the position of the young lawyer from Saint-Antoine in the political events of the period? Thomas Falconer, a colleague of J. A. Roebuck, the radical member of the British House of Commons, wrote to Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine from London in July of 1844 referring to Cartier as one of the Canadian leader's lieutenants (62). Cartier served in this capacity during the election of the fall of 1844. Denis-Benjamin Viger, first cousin of Louis-Joseph Papineau, having joined in the ill-fated Viger-Draper ministry, the reform forces were determined to bring about his defeat on his attempt for re-election. A pamphlet entitled, *The Ministerial Crisis: Mr. D-B Viger and his position*, by "A Reformer of 1836" gives a contemporary reformer's view. Published in Kingston in 1844 it is probably from the pen of Francis Hincks.

Viger's adversary in Richelieu County was Dr. Wolfred Nelson, also

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61. *La Minerve*, 24 et 27 juin, 1844. See Appendix XIV.
62. C. LaF., No. 00346.
of patriote fame. On the 28th of September, Viger spoke in Saint-Denis, and Cartier replied. He repeated his definitions of the key issue of the time - the principle of ministerial responsibility, praised Sir Charles Bagot for his recognition of this principle and blamed his successor for his reactionary views.

Denis-Benjamin Viger was first saluted as one who had suffered for his principles by being imprisoned in 1837 and then blamed for having misled his compatriots during the same dark period. This was not an entirely consistent stand on the part of the speaker. His explanation of the events of 1837 is of interest and, in retrospect, at least partly correct. "Les événements de 1837 ont été mal interprétés. Le peuple avait plutôt pour but de réduire au néant cette minorité oppressive, que d'amener une séparation de la province d'avec la mère patrie (63)." The young orator finished with a dramatic appeal to the citizens of Saint-Denis, calculated to stir their emotions and produce enthusiastic applause.

"Electeurs de Saint-Denis, vous avez fait preuve de courage le 22 novembre 1837, quand, armés de quelques mauvais fusils, de lances, de fourches et de bâtons, vous battiez les troupes du Colonel Gore! J'étais des vôtres et je crois n'avoir pas manqué de bravoure. Aujourd'hui, je vous demande une preuve plus grande, mieux raisonnée de patriotique intelligence, je vous conjure de repousser par vos votes, arme encore plus formidable, ceux qui veulent continuer l'oppression en vous privant des avantages du gouvernement responsable. Oui, électeurs de cette noble paroisse, faites votre devoir,

63. Joseph Tassé, Discours de Sir Georges Cartier, Montréal, Eusèbe Senécal, 1893, pp. 1-3. Also La Minerve, 30 sept., 1844.
A rousing speech to be sure! Cartier's political stand was solid even if his blame of Viger for misleading his compatriots in 1837 bears scrutiny less well. Die-hards such as Papineau and Duvernay may have criticized the easy political virtue of such as LaFontaine and Cartier, but Viger's transformation from a patriote to a position of anti-Responsible Government is far more difficult to explain. Viger was beaten and later found a seat in Trois-Rivières until he retired to the safer confines of the Legislative Council in 1848.

George-Etienne Cartier was becoming well known as a political figure. One indication of this was that political adversaries took the trouble to challenge his reputation in the press. One accusation was replied to in a letter from Cartier in which he referred to his anonymous opponent as "vil et calomniateur" and the letter as "un tissu de mensonges et de faussetés (65)."

An article in L'Aurore des Canadas of October 11 roused the ire of Cartier once more. This pro-Viger paper published a letter signed "xyz" in which the young supporter of LaFontaine was described as being much braver of speech than of action (66). Cartier rose to the bait and

64. Ibid.
65. La Minerve, 5 oct., 1844.
having had no success in eliciting the identity of "xyz" from François Cinq-Mars, the Editor of L'Aurore, he wrote a letter to La Minerve in which he referred to his accuser as "vil et lâche" and to the newspaper concerned as "ce journal taré (67)."

1845 was a relatively quiet year for political activities. George-Etienne Cartier was establishing himself as a successful lawyer and had a good start on a political career. It was time, at thirty-one, that he think of establishing a family. According to Lactance Papineau, Cartier and Louis-Antoine Desaulles, the patriote who later became Editor of the Rouge paper Le Pays, had been turned down by the two demoiselles Debartzch in favour of penniless strangers (68). If this is true it is not particularly surprising after the treatment the Seigneur of Saint-Charles received from the hands of the Patriotes during the recent "Troubles."

One family where George-Etienne Cartier was welcome was that of Edouard-Raymond Fabre. Raymond Fabre appears to have been a very influential and industrious man who was almost forgotten until Monsieur Edouard-Fabre Surveyer presented a very well-researched lecture about him which was published in the proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada (69). Edouard-Raymond Fabre was born in 1799. He went into business

67. La Minerve, 11 oct., 1844.


at a young age in Montreal and some nine years later went to Paris to work in the "Librairie" of his sister's father-in-law, Monsieur Hector Bossange. He returned to Montreal in 1823, and set up business for himself - books, church ornaments, and French patent medicines. He married Luce Perrault in 1826. She was the sister of Louis, publisher of the *Vindicator*, and of Charles-Ovide, the brilliant orator, who died of wounds on the morning after the battle of Saint-Denis. Three children, all of whom reappear in this account, survived. Edouard-Charles, born in 1827, became the first Archbishop of Montreal. Hortense, born February 28, 1828, became Madame Cartier. Hector, born in 1834, was a journalist who became the first Canadian Commissioner-General in Paris in 1882, after seven years in the Senate.

Edouard-Raymond Fabre was active in the elections from 1827 on. He helped finance the mission of Viger, Neilson and Cuvillier to London, and his shop became a centre for discussion among the Liberal leaders. Denis-Benjamin Viger and Edouard-Raymond Fabre are credited with supporting Duvernay's *La Minerve* in its early stages in 1828-29, before its circulation began to grow. Fabre was also behind the continued publication of the *Vindicator*, stopped after the death of Dr. Tracey in 1832. He left the publishing to his brother-in-law, Louis Perrault, while Dr. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan became the Editor.

Fabre founded the "Maison Canadienne" - an importing firm of short life that attempted to break the monopoly of the British firms in this area of commerce, and the "Banque Canadienne," the first financial
Although he did not take an active part in the armed conflict of 1837-1838 he fled Montreal and hid with his family at the home of the Curé of Contrecoeur, François-Louis L'Heureux. Among those known as "choyayens" who helped the authorities search out the patriotes was reportedly Austin Cuvillier, whose name we have already seen, and whose family plays a somewhat shadowy role at a later date in this narrative. Monsieur Fabre returned to Montreal, was imprisoned for one month, and then released. In 1841 he agreed to stand for election to the Assembly from Verchères but an accident prevented him from being present at the nomination and another took his place. Fabre was very active as Treasurer of the "Association de la Délivrance" for the purpose of repatriating political exiles. Two letters dated 1846 on this subject found in the Cartier family papers are copies of letters sent by Edouard-Raymond Fabre on behalf of the exiles (70). Sufficient funds were raised to pay the passage of the eleven exiles who remained in Australia. The main difficulty was the transmission of the funds. J. A. Roebuck, the British M.P. for Bath, continued his long record of help to French Canadians by attempting to assist the exiles.

Fabre showed political tendencies that differed from those of the younger Cartier. In March of 1844 he wrote to his sister, Mme Bossange, in Paris, about political events. Talking of the election Fabre stated

his support of Viger and his sorrow that the "Canadiens" were divided.

He blamed LaFontaine and Drummond for the situation and wrote movingly of his faith in his old chief, Louis-Joseph Papineau:

"C'est malheureux, il n'y a que ce brave patriote M. Papineau qui pourrait nous tirer de cette fausse position, il est le désiré de tout le monde, Anglais comme Canadiens. Je n'ose pas lui proposer de revenir, ce cher compatriote et ami, car il a tant de raisons d'être dégoûté de la vie publique, mais s'il revenait comme il serait bien reçu, l'accueil que l'on lui ferait, l'indemniserait un peu des jours amers qu'il a passés sur la terre d'exil, pour moi je le désire ardemment (71)."

In writing to his son Edouard-Charles, who was studying in France, the father mentioned that he had bought a building in St. Vincent Street for a house and store (72). This was the same street where Cartier later had his office. In a letter dated the 12th of June, 1846, we learn of the proposed marriage between Hortense Fabre and George-Etienne Cartier (73). As well as saying that the young couple planned to go to New York and Washington for a three week honeymoon, Fabre made it clear that he had spared no pains or expense in the education of his daughter. However, he was very pleased with the match, describing his future son-in-law as an excellent lawyer and "certainement un des premiers partis de Montréal." A photograph found in the Archives of the Seminary of Trois-Rivières and captioned "G. E. Cartier avant son mariage" shows an

71. Surveyor, loc. cit., p. 100.
72. Ibid., p. 101.
73. Ibid., p. 102.
intense face with bushy dark hair and mutton-chop whiskers (74).

Again on the 28th Fabre wrote to his sister giving some details of the wedding:

"Maintenant parlons noce, c'est mon ami M. L'Heureux, curé de Contrecœur, qui a marié ma fille, il y avait huit carrosses et beaucoup de curieux dans l'Eglise, la cérémonie a été belle. Voici les noms des invités du côté du marié: M. et Mme LaFontaine, M. et Mme Morin, le Dr. W. Nelson et sa dame, deux frères Cartier, deux cousins, J-A Berthelot et Mr. Drummond. Du côté de la mariée; le curé de Contrecœur, ses tantes Delorme, Cuvillier et Nowland, M. et Mme Gravel, Adolphe, M. et Mme Lévesque, la Mère Perrault, M. Mme et Mlle Lamontagne, Hector et Gustave, plusieurs nous ont manqué; de ce nombre se trouvant M. et Mme Trudel. Nous avons pris un excellent déjeuner à dix heures et demie et à midi nous sommes allés reconduire les mariés jusqu'à Laprairie. Il faisait un temps superbe, le soir à 6 heures tous ces amis sont venus dîner avec nous. Le tout a été très bien, les compliments et les éloges abondent, notre fille est un bijou, notre gendre est un homme de grand talent, enfin nous sommes très contents de ce mariage (75)."

From the description one would conclude that this was the perfect match but such was not to be the case. In the years to come, George and Hortense Cartier were not at all happy together.

Returning from his honeymoon, Cartier set to work in his law office and continued to be active in political and community affairs. A-D De Celles has remarked "It is surprising to note how numerous are the ready and fluent speakers among the French population, and how few are fit to

74. A. S. T. R.
75. Ibid., p. 102. See Appendix XV for Marriage Record.
lead (76)." Cartier, on the contrary, was never eloquent but he spoke
more and more and always seemed to be master of his material. He was
indeed "fit to lead." On August 10, 1846, a mammoth outdoor meeting
took place with 6-7,000 people gathered on the Champs de Mars to hear
three hours of speeches in support of the Montreal to Portland Railway.
LaFontaine was the Chairman, and Cartier, Drummond, C-S Cherrier and
Wolfred Nelson were among the speakers (77). Cartier's speech was re-
produced a few days later (78). He spoke glowingly of the marvels pro-
duced by railways in Europe and in the United States, showing particular
admiration for the business initiative of the Americans. Cartier posed
three questions: should the road be built, could it be done, and would
it be profitable? He gave a resounding affirmative to each question.
This was the first of many occasions when Cartier spoke in favour of
railways, a subject that was to occupy a considerable portion of his
career. His first speech was characteristic of those to follow, full of
facts and ringing with sincere but hardly eloquent prose.

A small note in the press during August of 1846 shows that the
young lawyer had now reached a position where he could contribute to
worthy causes. A bad fire had taken place at Laprairie and a list is
published of those who had contributed to the aid of the victims. Lord

(Makers of Canada).

77. La Minerve, 10 août, 1846.

78. Ibid., 13 août, 1846.
Cathcart, the Governor-General headed the list with a contribution of £50, matched by the Seminary of Montreal and the Bank of Montreal. Further down the list we find "George Etienne Cartier, £5 (79)."

The little office at 3 rue Saint-Vincent was a very busy place. Cartier was working very hard and his clients rewarded him well. By early 1847 he was able to move into a house on Notre-Dame Street, number sixteen east is the present number on the stone building. More space was needed as Hortense was expecting a child. On April 27 a daughter was born and baptized by a young French priest, Father Jean-André Cuoq, Marguerite Joséphine, with her maternal grand-parents as proud god-parents (80).

As his family and professional responsibilities increased, George-Etienne Cartier also became more involved in politics. The elections of 1847 were very bitter and hard fought, exactly the sort of contest that appealed to the eager lawyer of thirty-three. The Reformers under Baldwin and LaFontaine were determined to upset the uneasy coalition of various stripes of Conservatives. The correspondence between Baldwin and LaFontaine is very illuminating for the details of various individual constituencies and candidates (81).

Cartier showed interest in the east end of Montreal that was later

79. Ibid., 20 août, 1846.
81. C. LaF., No. 00438.
to be his political home in a meeting to nominate a candidate from Montreal East for the City Council. The meeting, as reported in La Minerve of February 8, 1847, was held at Ennis' Hotel. Cartier proposed a motion to the effect that he and several others, including Duvernay, ask M. André Ouimet, who possessed large properties in that quarter, to stand, and another to thank M. Pierre Jodoin for his four years of service. The Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society continued to attract Cartier's interest during this period, and there are repeated references in the press to motions he moved or seconded (82).

As a man of family and of means it was only fitting that Cartier should have a will. Dated November 1st, 1847, his first will on record named his wife as executor (83). The only trouble appears to have been with his brother Damien. Codicils dated April 6, 1848, and two dated November 10, 1849, concern Damien, the latter changes necessitated by the death of Mme Jacques Cartier, whose burial at Saint-Antoine took place on April 26, 1848 (84). It is only at a later date that the rather ordinary document cited in this chapter gives way to a most unusual will indeed.

82. La Minerve, 17 mai, 1847.
83. F. S. C., pp. 96-97. See Appendix XVI.
84. F. S. C., pp. 98, 99.
CHAPTER III

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

The instability of the forces within the Assembly demanded some re-dress. The Sherwood-Daly Government with its one French-Canadian member was not a good balance, and even Denis-Benjamin Papineau, the younger brother of Louis-Joseph, did not represent a very large or forceful segment of his countrymen. The Address opening the session in June of 1847 passed by two votes. Commercial problems weighed very heavily on the country. It was 1849 before the adjustment to the Free-Trade era showed encouraging results. Communications in the form of telegraphs saw a rapid expansion during the period 1847-1851. It is of interest to note that it was in 1847 that John A. Macdonald first graced the ministerial benches - as Receiver-General. The session was not a brilliant one. Some legislation, like the Rebellion Losses Bill was put forward, but not pressed. Even pro-ministerial papers such as the Montreal Morning Courier condemned the Government for lack of action and self-interest on the part of individual ministers. Typhoid from the thousands of Irish who were literally dumped in Canada hurried the close of parliamentary business. Finally, the patient Elgin dissolved the Assembly even though the full term was not finished, and issued election briefs to be returned by January 24, 1848. The political scene was already seething. The Liberal Party was repairing some of the splits within its ranks and its popularity was at a high point. As in 1841, it was from Quebec that the
initiative in terms of a programme came. "L'Association constitutionnelle de la réforme et du progrès" was formed in Quebec and published a manifesto that served as a basis for the platform in the elections that followed (1).

Cartier was apparently closely involved in the elections. A letter from T. C. Aylwin to LaFontaine on November 13 shows that he was concerned with matters in various areas of the province (2). Robert Baldwin was also interested in the services of Cartier. Writing to LaFontaine on May 8 he described some of the problems he was facing in Upper Canada and mentioned the County of Essex in particular. Colonel John Prince, the dictatorial Independent member, was very difficult to beat, but if a suitable candidate could be found Baldwin wanted to know if Cartier could visit the County "and give a filip to our French-Canadian friends there (3)." However, Prince was unopposed when election day arrived.

Although he did not go to help the Upper-Canadian reformers, Cartier was very active in the Montreal region. He joined James Leslie, Augustin-Norbert Morin, John Young, and Welfred Nelson at a meeting in December in support of LaFontaine and Benjamin Holmes. Both were

2. G. LaF., No. 00450.
3. Ibid., No. 00448.
elected but it was not long before the Annexation Movement was to separate the two members for Montreal. Holmes became First Vice-President of the Annexation Association of Montreal. La Minerve finished its report of Cartier's speech in its issue of December 16, 1847, with the observation that "M. Cartier fut écouté avec attention et entendu avec plaisir par l'assemblée, qui admirait en lui, comme les citoyens de Montréal l'ont fait souvent, le zèle ardent et l'énergie, qui l'animent pour les intérêts publics (4)." Such ringing praise no doubt encouraged the young orator to try his own wings in the political arena.

The elections were a resounding success for the Reform Party, especially in Lower Canada where there were only five or six Conservative seats left. The list of members elected is impressive. When the House met on February 25, Augustin-Norbert Morin was elected Speaker and the Government was defeated by a vote of 54-20. Messrs. LaFontaine and Baldwin returned to the ministerial benches, and the House was recessed to allow the Ministers to be re-elected. James Leslie, the President of the Executive Council and the member for Verchères, was appointed to the Legislative Council and in 1849 became Provincial Secretary. Thus the by-election in Verchères was caused technically by the Minister's elevation to the Upper House rather than by his appointment to the cabinet. La Minerve of March 23 made this announcement:

"Comté de Verchères - On apprendra avec plaisir que G. E.

4. La Minerve, 16 déc., 1847.
Cartier, Ecr., a consenti à se porter candidat pour ce comté, en remplacement de l'hon. M. Leslie, qui doit être appelé au conseil législatif. L'élection est fixée à mardi prochain; P. Ménard, Ecr., est nommé officier-rapporteur. Il nous semble qu'il est tout-à-fait superflu d'émontrer ici tous les titres que possède M. Cartier à la représentation, et particulièrement à celle du comté de Verchères qui a fait si souvent ses preuves de patriotisme. - Plusieurs des ancêtres de M. Cartier ont représenté ce comté en parlement, il en est natif lui-même et y possède encore des intérêts considérables. Ainsi il ne pourrait être mieux représenté sous le rapport des intérêts particuliers. Quant aux titres que M. Cartier s'est acquis à la confiance des électeurs, sous le rapport des talents, des connaissances et des principes, ils sont très bien connus. Les sacrifices en tout genre qu'il a déjà fait pour la cause du pays sont nombreux; dans toutes nos difficultés politiques, dans nos élections contestées, on a toujours trouvé M. Cartier à son poste, et à l'avant-garde. Nous espérons donc que le comté de Verchères, qui a si souvent récompensé le mérite, saura le reconnaître encore en cette occasion (5)."

After preparing himself since his return from exile, George-Etienne Cartier finally was ready to enter politics as a candidate for the Parliament of the United Canadas. The occasion was propitious. He had refused several counties in the recent elections but Verchères had just elected a Liberal, as indeed it had done since 1841, and Cartier as a native son had good reason to expect success in the by-election. His law practice had prospered to the point where he felt that he could afford to enter politics, his ambition needed this sort of outlet to gain greater influence, and the Liberal majority ensured that he would be on the Government benches. The speeches Cartier gave show that he had very well-defined views on political and economic subjects, views

5. Ibid., 23 mars, 1848.
that were practical rather than theoretical. He was in favour of responsible government and of railways. He was against the Tories and those such as Denis-Benjamin Viger who compromised their fellow countrymen. At thirty-three we have a picture of a determined and successful young candidate who left little to chance. He planned his career carefully and was willing to wait for the proper combination of circumstances before throwing his hat in the ring. The report of the official nomination in *La Minerve* left little doubt of the views of Ludger Duvernay, the Editor (6). Cartier was described as a very superior candidate. The only point that Duvernay seemed to be troubled about was the fact that Cartier was a resident of Montreal, while his opponent, the merchant Amable Marion of Contrecoeur, had his home in the county. This type of argument has been raised against many candidates but *La Minerve* was able to underline the fact that George-Etienne Cartier was born in Verchères County, he had land there, and several members of his family continued to reside there.

On April 7 Cartier was elected by a good majority, a fact not unduly surprising in a Liberal County following the Reform victory of a few months earlier. The polls were counted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M. Cartier</th>
<th>M. Marion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verchères</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrecoeur</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint-Antoine</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Ibid., 30 mars, 1848.
Thus Cartier had a majority of 186 over Monsieur Marion. The votes in Saint-Antoine and Contrecoeur are not surprising, being the home parishes of the two candidates, but the disparity in favour of M. Marion in Verchères, and in favour of M. Cartier in Varennes, is hard to explain. It is possible that the curé of Varennes who recently said the nuptial mass for the daughter of his old friend and the young lawyer might have had some effect. The winner's message to his constituents is a model of what to say under such circumstances, and finishes with a special mention of the temperance movement and particularly the strength of this group in the parish of Varennes. There seems to be some suggestion that all the pious and the pure voted for M. Cartier (8). It should be remembered that this was the period when a wave of temperance, led by the Grand Vicar Mailloux and the Abbé Chiniquy, swept Lower Canada (9).

Amable Marion appears to have taken the defeat rather badly and in order to hit back at his opponent he repeated insulting remarks attributed to Cartier concerning certain Saint-Paul Street merchants. Whether

7. Ibid., 6 avril.
8. Ibid., 10 avril.
9. Later known for his split with the Church, the renegade priest wrote Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, etc. See Marcel Trudel, Chiniquy, Montréal, Editions du Bien Publique, 1955.
Cartier made the remarks or not the words quoted in L'Avenir of August 9 were certainly not complimentary. The merchants were said to be uneducated and generally lazy, they wasted their time smoking and speaking "cheval." Finally Cartier is quoted as boasting that he could make them do as he wished (10). Cartier's opinion of Marion is expressed in very strong terms and a formal charge was sent to the hapless merchant from Contrecoeur calling him a liar and bringing the attention of the public to his conduct (11). Politically, Cartier could not do otherwise than deny all although it is entirely possible that he did make the statements attributed to him and furthermore it is very likely that what he said was true. Cartier's opinion of Marion is less important than Marion's opinion of Cartier. The small-town merchant was smarting from the political defeat and from the victor's acid pen, but his description of Cartier, though intemperate, represented the views of many who crossed swords with the petulant little lawyer of Notre-Dame Street. Marion wrote that Cartier's nature was "bouillant, irréfléchi, impétueux, enrichi d'une dose considérable de pédantisme." He continued by attacking

"ses habitudes inciviles, brusques, sa belle façon de se poser avec morgue et fatuité en face d'une personne, qui ne consent pas d'être d'accord avec lui en tout et partout, et qui ne le comprend pas, lorsqu'il est incompréhensible, et de lui dire, "vous ne comprenez pas," ou bien encore de dire de l'acte de quelqu'un qui le contrarie un tout soit peu, "c'est une bêtise, ça ne comprend rien, ça ne connaît rien," et mille autres petites

10. L'Avenir, 9 août, 1848.
11. La Minerve, 3 août, 1848.
Times have changed. Today such a personal attack would be unacceptable although the laws of libel are much looser than was the case in 1848.

As a result of economic depression and political discontent, the annexationist movement that has always existed, although sometimes relatively quietly, in Canadian life, was strong in the late forties. A movement of repeal of the Union had been very strong in 1841 and 1842, and this gained strength again and combined with the movement for annexation. The unhappy Louis-Joseph Papineau lent his still great influence to the cause and a number of Rouge figures such as the man of many colours, Louis-Labrèche Viger; the pugnacious Joseph Doutre; Toussaint-Antoine-Rodolphe Laflamme, the past-president of the Institut Canadien; and Jean-Baptiste-Eric Dorion, one of the founders of L'Avenir, worked in favour of repeal and sometimes of annexation also. Joseph Cauchon, the Editor of Le Journal de Québec and the M.P. for Montmorency, wrote LaFontaine on April 26 giving some details of his intelligence of the plans of the annexationists and encouraging the Montreal leader to send Cartier and others to a proposed public meeting to "lutter avec acharnement contre une agitation si malheureuse (13)."

12. Ibid.
13. C. LaF., No. 00485.
The editorial committee of *L'Avenir* was a very capable group of Rouge leaders consisting of Labrèche Viger, Doutre, Laflamme, J-B-E Dorion, the lawyer Joseph Papin, Charles Daoust, and Louis-Antoine Dessaules, the nephew of Louis-Joseph Papineau. Looking for political prey, the proud and quick-tempered young member for Verchères provided an ideal target. On August 2 a short comedy appeared in *L'Avenir* that must have thrown Cartier into a rage (14). The characters were Georges, Ludger, le Dr., Hector, and Octave. It did not take much imagination for these to be identified as Cartier; Duvernay; Nelson; Hector-Louis Langevin, a young law student in Cartier's office who later reached great prominence; and Louis-Octave LeTourneux, of *La Revue Canadienne*. The players presented a scene of stupidity and bumbling in political organization that was less than flattering to all of them. Cartier rose boiling to the bait and within a matter of hours he appeared at the editorial offices of the Rouge paper and demanded the identity of the author of the offending drama so that he could deliver him a formal challenge to a duel. Jean-Baptiste-Eric Dorion, known as *L'Enfant Terrible*, offered to accept the challenge. Cartier disdainfully replied "Je ne me bats pas avec un marmouset," a reference to the fact that Dorion was of very small stature, even shorter than Cartier himself (15). Joseph Doutre, although not the author, accepted the challenge. Early in the

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14. *L'Avenir*, 2 août, 1848. See Appendix XVII.

morning to the north of Mount Royal went Cartier with Dr. Leprohon and R-A-R Hubert as seconds, and Doutre with Dr. J-Emery Coderre and W. Dorval. As the climax approached a detachment of police arrived led by Damien Cartier, his brother's law partner. The combatants were requested to return home and to appear before a magistrate in the morning on a charge of disturbing the peace. Unfortunately, we have no record of the scene at the magistrate's court. However, this was not the end of the affair. Doutre and his friends said that George-Etienne had arranged for the police for his own protection. Of course, the fiery young man would not accept this and another date was set. This time the place chosen was near Chambly. Shots were duly exchanged without result. _La Patrie_ added: "Les duellistes retournèrent en ville et restèrent de cruels ennemis comme avant (16)." The press battle raged on until early September with witnesses swearing statements on either side. Part of this testimony has already been cited in Chapter II. Henri Cartier wrote to protect his own name and that of his cousin.

Henri Lappare, a poor notary of Saint-Denis, seems to have been used by the Rouges in trying to destroy Nelson and Cartier. _La Minerve_ affected disdain as in its introduction to a series of testimonials:

"On nous a adressé les documents suivants pour être publiés. C'est la meilleure et la seule réfutation dont on pouvait faire usage pour repousser les attaques et les accusations inconvenantes lancées par M. Lappare contre deux citoyens honorables de cette ville. En lisant ces documents, venant

16. Ibid.
de personnes respectables, le public aura la preuve que MM. Nelson et Cartier ont été indignement et faussement outragés (17).

There are many indications that Cartier worked closely with the editors of La Minerve though they did not always do his bidding. One letter to Duvernay, written on August 6, 1848, states: "J'aimerais à vous voir de suite pour m'entendre sur la manière et le ton dont je dois écrire." Apparently a reply was needed to an article in L'Avenir (18).

In any case the furor finally died down as in most political battles. A final note appeared in the report of the law case of Louis-Antoine Dessaulles vs. Ludger Duvernay arising out of the Tuque Bleue affair where the appellant asked $12,000 from the defendant for loss of reputation. The nephew of Papineau received £100 but the interesting point is that when the lawyers for Duvernay, (MM. Drummond, Loranger, et Dumas) during the trial asked Dessaulles if he was the author of the farce he replied, "Oui, cet écrit est de moi (19)."

Several very important questions held the attention of the country, among them the Rebellion Losses Bill, seignorial tenure, the clergy reserves, electoral reform, changes in the trade laws, and colonization. Colonization became a very important effort and societies were formed

17. La Minerve, 10 août, 1848.
19. La Minerve, 20 déc., 1849.
for its encouragement. This problem was indeed pressing as a Committee of the Assembly in 1849 reported that twenty thousand French Canadians had emigrated within the past four years (20). The areas looked to were the Eastern Townships; the Ottawa, Saint-Maurice, and Saguenay valleys; Gaspé, Rimouski, Kamouraska and L'Islet counties. The government backed the private initiative of the colonization societies as did the Church. Efforts were made to open roads and to make lots available at reasonable rates with sure right of ownership. The owners of many large areas, particularly in the Townships, were guilty of exploitation of squatters and made it very difficult to free the land for settlement. Cartier showed a great interest in colonization throughout his career but his involvement in the early meetings of L'Association des Townships smacks very much of political manipulation.

The first open meeting of the Association des Etablissements Canadiens des Townships was held on April 5, 1848, in Bonsecours Market. The crowd overflowed the hall. On the platform sat Bishop Bourget side by side with Louis-Joseph Papineau, recently returned to politics as the Independent member for Saint-Maurice. The resolutions revealed that the Association grew out of a meeting of young people held at the Institut Canadien. Mgr. Bourget was to change his views about certain members of this organization. The names of Edouard-Raymond Fabre, Pierre Blanchet, Louis Perrault, Joseph-Ubald Beaudry, Dr. J-Emery Coderre, Louis-

Labrèche Viger, Joseph Papin, Joseph Doutre, J-B-E Dorion, and Rodolphe Laflamme appear prominently in the proceedings. The ultranationalist Rouges were obviously behind this very laudable and apparently successful start. The ministerial press showed its pique by criticising the lack of order at the April 5 meeting (21).

The township of Roxton near Saint-Hyacinthe was chosen for a pilot project and the cooperation of Alexander Tillock Galt of the Canada Land Company was secured. A great deal of publicity accompanied every move of the Association, with announcements emanating from the temporary headquarters of the law office of MM. Doutre and Labrèche Viger, 14 St. Vincent Street (22).

La Minerve and its supporters could stand it no longer. When another meeting was called for July 14, George-Etienne Cartier, backed by Messrs. Langevin, Coursol, and other staunch bleus, was present to attempt to influence the proceedings, and especially the election of the officers of the central committee. Cartier managed to obtain the floor. He assured the three hundred persons gathered in the market hall that he and his friends would do everything possible to further the aims of the Association. After some very thinly veiled comments about the necessity of such an organization being non-political, Cartier proposed a whole slate of candidates for the central committee. This proposal

21. La Minerve, 6 avril, 1848.
22. L'Avenir, 7 juin, 1848.
was turned down after the Chair's ruling on the subject was appealed. The strategy was not as effective as desired, and seeing that his candidates were not about to be elected, Cartier and his friends retreated. A packed meeting this must have been, one of many (23). Both sides took part in this sort of political child's-play. Accusations of foul-play were hurled back and forth in the press for some months to come (24).

Another important issue, that of electoral reform, was not settled for a long time, at least until a solution was found in Confederation. Some elements of the population wanted Representation by Population. The Rouges and the Clear Grits made this an important plank in their platforms. Backed by Le Canadien and L'Avenir, with Louis-Joseph Papineau as their chief, the Rouges began their uneasy alliance with the Clear Grits. Papineau had at first promised to support the LaFontaine-Baldwin administration despite the fact that he was against both the Union and Responsible Government but he was an opposition man and soon became the leader of such bright young men as A-A Dorion, Dessaulles, Laberge, Papin, Labrèche Viger, Doutre, J-B-E Dorion, Blanchet, and Laflamme, who were radical to varying degrees in their views. Antoine-Aimé Dorion, whose name appears often in competition with that of Cartier, is compared to the latter in a rather interesting passage written by Louis-Michel Darveau: "Vers la même époque, en 1850, croyons-nous,

23. La Minerve, 17 juillet, 1848.
24. L'Avenir, 22 juillet, 1848.
il (P-G Huot) établit, de concert avec ses amis, La Chambre de lecture de Saint-Roch. Huot était alors l'antagoniste de Cauchon. Autant celui-ci était conservateur dans sa conduite, autant Huot se montrait libéral dans ses écrits et modéré dans ses actions. Le même contraste se voit dans Dorion et Cartier (25)."

The more moderate view held by the ministry was that the number of seats should be increased to 65 both in Upper and in Lower Canada. This would provide better representation for more populous areas but still keep the vital balance intact. La Minerve, published by Ludger Duvernay and edited by Antoine Gérin-Lajoie and Raphael Bellemare, Le Journal de Québec of Joseph Cauchon, La Revue Canadienne of Louis-Octave LeTourneux, and The Pilot founded by Francis Hincks, were the ministerial voices on this subject (26). The populations of Upper and Lower Canada were now almost equal, and with the greater immigration to the Upper Province it was evident that this section would soon be more populous. During the memorable session of 1849, which opened on January 18, changes in the representation act were proposed. The House saw some new faces in the ministry, with Drummond replacing Aylwin as Solicitor-General, after the former's appointment to the

25. L-M Darveau, Nos Hommes de Lettres, Montréal, A. A. Stevenson, 1873, pp. 104-105.

26. An announcement in La Minerve of September 21 stated that Antoine Gérin-Lajoie had been admitted to the Montreal Bar after being examined by Côme-Séraphin Cherrier and George-Etienne Cartier. Gérin-Lajoie established his law office in the building next to La Minerve.
bench (27). George-Etienne Cartier and Alexander Tillock Galt took their seats for the first time starting an Association that was to last for many years. After Elgin gave the speech from the throne, in both English and French, the House started a protracted debate on the Address. LaFontaine gave one of his more famous speeches on this occasion. A man of great eloquence, the Lower-Canadian leader expressed his views on the position of his compatriots in the Union and replied to Papineau's negative opinions,

"Quelles auraient été les conséquences de l'adoption du combat à outrance qu'on nous reproche de n'avoir pas adopté? Si alors les représentants du Bas-Canada s'étaient tenus isolés, au lieu d'accepter les offres qui leur donnaient le moyen de faire disparaître cette clause de proscription, les Canadiens n'auraient jamais pris part à l'administration; ils auraient été écrasés."

Talking of the fact that it was only through taking an active part in the process of Government that it was possible to obtain the safe return to Canada of people such as Papineau himself, LaFontaine continued:

"Voilà cependant l'homme qui, obéissant à son ancienne habitude de déverser l'injure et l'outrage, ose en présence de ces faits, m'accuser, ainsi que mes collègues, de vénalité, d'amour sordide des emplois, de servilité devant le pouvoir (28)."

These words must have found complete agreement with the new member for Verchères.

27. C. LaF., No. 00550, 24 oct., 1849.

The bill to change the representation required a two-thirds majority but when the votes were counted the margin was missed by one. Louis-Joseph Papineau, the lone French-Canadian dissenter, was blamed for the defeat. However, a bill changing the rules for elections was passed, making the Sheriffs the Returning Officers in Upper Canada, the "registreurs" in Lower Canada, and instructing that the voting should be held on two days (29). Business was improving with the efforts of Hincks and better world trade conditions. Cartier signed a petition as far back as June 12, 1848, in favour of a mass meeting, "pour exprimer notre opinion sur la loi impériale de navigation ainsi que sur l'ouverture du Saint-Laurent aux vaisseaux de toutes les nations, et désirant exprimer notre approbation sur la mesure récemment soumise à la Chambre des Communes, par M. Labouchere, au sujet de la première question qui concerne le Canada... (30)."

An Assembly was held at Verchères on November 2, chaired by Cartier's rival Marion. However, all seems to have gone well for the member, and resolutions were passed concerning Seigniorial Tenure, Navigation, the Indemnity, Electoral Reform, etc. The report stated that "George-Etienne Cartier, ecr., représentant du comté de Verchères, dans le parlement provincial, addressa ensuite à l'assemblée avec son habileté ordinaire diverses observations et remarques sur la tenure seigneuriale, sur la navigation de Saint-Laurent et autres sujets qui furent

29. Statuts Refondus du Canada, ch. 6, amended in 1855 and 1858.
30. La Minerve, 12 juin, 1848.
écoutés avec une grande attention et accueillis par les applaudissements de l'assemblée (31)." Later in the proceedings, a resolution was passed thanking the M.P. for his presence (32).

A mass meeting in Montreal at the Marché Bonsecours passed resolutions for the repeal of the Navigation Acts and appointed a Committee, of which Cartier was a member, to further this end (33). Cartier's own interest in business matters is shown by his first speech in the Assembly on February 5, 1849, during the second reading of the Reciprocity Bill. Following Papineau, who spoke in favour of complete free trade Cartier sounded very like him (34). His main argument was that the cereals that Lower Canada had to export were needed in New York State and that the prices there were good. He questioned the value of collecting customs duties on many products only to spend a large proportion on the administration and collection thereof. It is of interest to note that Cartier states that he had visited Boston the previous summer but he does not say in what connection. He also draws attention to the fact that he owns a farm himself in Verchères County. *Le Canadien* of February 9 reported the debate and the final comment, if not complimentary, is at least amusing: "M. Cartier est free-trader, beaucoup, tout plein

31. Ibid., 2 nov., 1848.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 30 nov., 1848.
34. *La Minerve*, 8 fév., 1849 & *Le Canadien*, 5 mars, 1849. See Appendix XVIII.
et puis encore . . . M. Cartier parle à la chambre avec la même volubilité qu'au barreau, et assez dans le même genre (35)." The editor compares this with the maiden speech of Joseph-Charles Taché, the member for Rimouski who later became Deputy Minister of Agriculture, made in the same debate and described as containing "ni emphase, ni timidité, mais une argumentation serrée et appuyée de faits, un langage ferme, précis et convenable (36)." In the middle of these stirring events Hortense Cartier gave birth to a second daughter, baptised Marie-Hortense on January 27. The infant's uncle, Damien Cartier, was the godfather while her mother's cousin, Madame Antoine Lévesque (née Delphine Perrault) was the godmother (37). George-Etienne wrote to his brother-in-law, Dr. Jean-Baptiste Desrosiers, announcing the new arrival and commenting: "J'aurais préféré un fils (38)."

With improved construction methods, the era of canals was giving way to one of railways, a mode of transport that was useable year round. A bill passed at the session of 1849 promised that any line with seventy-five miles built could apply for a guarantee of 6% interest on one-half the cost under certain conditions. This was altered in 1851 to include only certain routes - particularly the Grand Trunk. On February 15, Cartier presented the petition for the St. Lawrence and Atlantic

35. Le Canadien, 9 fév., 1849.
36. Ibid.
which later became part of the Grand Trunk (39). He noted that the thirty miles from Montreal to Saint-Hyacinthe were already opened. According to Turcotte, the whole of the Assembly had turned out for this gala occasion (40). Cartier showed a very detailed knowledge of railway affairs in the United States making comparisons between the slow start on railway construction in Canada and the great strides being made south of the border. Discussions were active in favour of the Intercolonial to link Upper and Lower Canada to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick but it was many years before this was completed, after many financial and political problems.

On March 15 the Assembly was considering another area of business, the incorporation of the "Compagnie de transport de Québec." Much opinion appeared to be against the particular advantages this company was requesting but Cartier was in favour and drew again on his knowledge of the United States in stating how similar companies in New York were given preferential treatment in order to encourage trade (41). LaFontaine presented an act to make a number of changes in the Lower Canada judiciary, including two new districts at Three Rivers and Sherbrooke, and a circuit court. The Canadian Parliament passed an enabling act for the Amnesty to all those banished after the Troubles. The Premier

40. Turcotte, op. cit., p. 89.
41. La Minerve, 19 mars, 1849.
presented the Rebellion Losses Bill in similar form to that drawn up by the preceding government (42). One of the most furious fights in Canadian Parliamentary history followed. Everyone from Dr. Wolfred Nelson to Colonel Allan MacNab was called a rebel (43). Nelson tried to help matters at one point by seconding an amendment that those convicted of treason or deported be excluded from the consideration of the bill but the Tories voted against that too (44). Finally the bill was passed 48-23 (Cartier's vote registered with the majority), and by 28-14 in the Legislative Council. Royal sanction was given by Lord Elgin on April 25 (45). This touched off what can truly be called a race riot. Crowds gathered on the Champ de Mars and the ignominious attack on the Parliament buildings and the burning of them followed. The very important library was an inestimable loss. Attacks were also made on some private homes and it is of interest to note an unsigned letter dated March 26 found in the LaFontaine papers. It informed a Monsieur A. Provost that the house he owned in Saint-Paul Street which LaFontaine rented, was in danger of being burned. The anonymous writer added: "Toronto has set an example which I learn is intended to be followed here, to save your houses from destruction therefore, I think you should at once insist on Mr. LaFontaine's removal. You have no

42. Ibid., 18 juin, 1849.
44. Ibid., pp. 108-109.
45. Ibid., pp. 110-111.
time to lose (46)."

The Assembly met on the 26th in the Bonsecours Market and later in other quarters belonging to a Mr. Hayes (47). There is no record concerning Cartier's whereabouts on the evening of the 25th but the next day he was at his seat in the improvised chamber. The Hotel Donegana burned at about the same time and there was some suggestion that political venom was involved.

The Annexation movement that grew up because of commercial problems was given a great impetus by the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill. Much was heard of French domination and like phrases. In early October, a manifesto to the people of Canada was published by a group of Conservatives, Americans, and Rouges urging a peaceful separation from Britain and an equitable union with the United States. Messrs. John Molson, A-A Dorion, John Rose, Luther Hamilton Holton, Joseph Doutre, and many others signed, and Messrs. Papineau and Galt were absent but agreed with the sentiments expressed. A protest against this measure was published on October 15 (48). A number of members of the legislature from the Montreal region, sixteen in all, expressed their regret at the opinions in the Annexation Manifesto. The counter-manifesto of which George-Etienne Cartier was one of the authors, stated that the present form of government

46. C. LaF., No. 00523.
47. Turcotte, op. cit., p. 114.
48. La Minerve, 15 oct., 1849. See Appendix XIX.
offered the best solution to the ills of the country and the best expectations for the future.

In writing to LaFontaine on October 24, Cauchon remarked that Duvernay was for annexation, that La Minerve in general was causing trouble, and that Chauveau refused to sign the counter-manifesto for fear of being on the wrong side (49).

Montreal would never again be the capital. On a motion by Mr. Sherwood, the House decided 33-25 to ask the Governor to hold the parliament alternately in Toronto and Quebec City. The minority on this vote made strange bed-fellows as it included MacNab, LaFontaine, Papineau and Cartier. The member for Verchères was understandably opposed to the capital moving away from the city in which he lived. Elgin indeed decided to finish out the next two years in Toronto, then move to Quebec City for four years.

Towards the end of the session Cartier presented and saw passed unanimously the act of incorporation of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste and merited the thanks of the Association at its meeting of June 4 (50). The session was prorogued on May 30.

Cartier appeared in many roles during this period. He was not often heard in the Assembly but was obviously very active. On February 21

49. C. LaF., No. 00550.
50. La Minerve, 6 juin, 1849.
he had seconded the nomination of Amable Prévost at a meeting held in the Hôtel Dubois opposite the Bonsecours Market to select a candidate for Montreal East in the municipal elections. In one issue of La Minerve Cartier's name is mentioned in three different enterprises (51).

He was present at a meeting of merchants called to discuss the St. Lawrence and Champlain Canal, urging the acceptance of the plan no matter what site was chosen. He signed a petition in favour of the City Council giving a guarantee for £125,000 to the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway. In an announcement of the "Compagnie D'Assurance sur la Vie du Canada" he figures as a Director, along with Francis Hincks, William Workman and others. The Assembly, requested on the 26th in favour of the railway, took place on the 31st (52). Cartier was there to speak in favour of the guarantee and to propose a motion suggesting that the City become a stockholder in the route. On August 13 another meeting was held about the canal and it was decided to send a committee, of which Cartier was a member, to visit Saratoga and take part in discussions there with interested representatives from the State of New York. After their meeting on the 21st, the committee reported a successful visit in a meeting on the 30th. Cartier seconded a motion to accept their report and added that they had been well received in Saratoga.

The years 1850 and 1851 were quieter ones in the public scene. Cartier took part in the annual general meeting of the St. Lawrence and

51. Ibid., 30 juillet, 1849.
52. Ibid., 2 août, 1849.
Atlantic Railway as might have been expected. Some discussion took place about appointing ad-hoc judges for the Circuit Courts. In writing to LaFontaine on February 6, Drummond suggested that Cartier would be fine but that he preferred to be exempted (53).

At a meeting held on March 26 to discuss participation in the Universal Exposition of 1851 in London, Cartier spoke in the confident and industrious style for which he was becoming well-known. He exhorted his countrymen to extend themselves to produce the very best products so that the world would see what Canada could do. Let us make a start, he said, and even if we don't win any first prizes this time perhaps we will at the next Exposition. Cartier finished with the words: "Commencons par avoir confiance en nous-même et mettons-nous à l'oeuvre en conséquence (54)."

The session opened on May 14 in Toronto. The Clergy Reserves, the abolition of Seigniorial Tenure, and the question of representation took up a good part of the debates while the reorganization of the Postal Service was the most solid accomplishment of the session. On June 5 a discussion arose about militia appointments and from there accusations began to fly about the early days of the Union. Papineau accused LaFontaine of having agitated in favour of the Union, the Premier denied this. Cartier entered the fray stating that indeed LaFontaine had been one of

53. C. LaF., No. 00595.
54. La Minerve, 28 mars, 1850.
the few people who had actively agitated against the union. The member for Verchères then gave some explanations of his own views on the subject, until he was advised by the Speaker (55) to return to the subject that was on the order paper. Cartier stated that he had refused to join with LaFontaine in agitation against the Union because he thought that such action was pointless. "J'étais d'opinion que sous les circonstances existantes, l'Angleterre pouvait gouverner comme elle le voulait, et donner à la province la constitution qui lui plaisait (56)." Further, despite the fact that he did not approve of the manner in which the union had been accomplished, he did think that it was a good practical move and was pleased with the resulting benefits. Thus Cartier is definitely on record as being in favour of the Union.

The abolition of Seigniorial Tenure was a matter of great importance to Lower Canada and the debates on the subject occupied many hours in the Assembly. On June 25, 1850, George-Etienne Cartier expressed his views on the subject. He said that Seigniorial Tenure was a bad form of providing land from the very beginning and the sooner it was done away with the better for all concerned. He stressed the need to be fair to all parties but saw no reason why this could not be done. To the Seigneurs who were worried about losing their lands he made a statement that exposed his oft-repeated views about the value of property and the

55. Augustin-Norbert Morin, ou Auguste-Norbert Morin.
56. La Minerve, 10 juin, 1850.
danger of radical ideas. "La constitution a pourvu heureusement à ce que la Chambre se compose d'hommes possédant des propriétés. Nous avons ainsi la garantie qu'ils n'agiront pas comme les socialistes et les radicaux de Paris (57)." These views were followed by a careful examination of the problems attached to the duties of both the seigneur and the censitaire, showing a clear understanding of the details of the situation. The measure before the House was to provide an amelioration in the conditions on the Seigniories. It was defeated, however, and LaFontaine decided to press for abolition rather than doing the job piecemeal.

The member for Verchères was ready to express his views on all major topics that came before the Assembly. Three days after his speech on Seigniorial Tenure he spoke in support of the Government measure to increase the number of seats in the House to 150, always maintaining the balance between the two sections of the Province. Addressing most of his speech to the "apôtres de la démocratie (58)" Cartier attempted to persuade them that although the present measure did not provide for representation by population it did promise better government for the people of the United Canadas. Stating that even the electoral system in that paragon of democracies the United States, in the view of the radicals, was not truly democratic, he hoped that all but the most Tory members would vote for this bill.

57. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 23-25.
58. Ibid., pp. 27-29.
A small note in La Minerve of October 10 announces that Hector-L Langevin, Ecr., having completed his law studies first with Monsieur Morin and secondly with Monsieur Cartier, has been admitted to the Bar of Lower Canada. Langevin had joined Cartier's firm after Morin's election to the Speakership in 1848. Langevin undoubtedly gained some political training as well as legal knowledge during his years with these two men. In a letter to LaFontaine dated December 10, Drummond wrote that Cartier was one of three Montreal lawyers to be given the honour of Conseiller de la Reine. One can only think that this was pleasing to the 36 year-old lawyer who later was to receive even greater honours in the name of the Queen (59). On November 28, a meeting was called for the organization of the Montreal and Prescott Railway. Cartier's name again appears prominently. He was also very active in conjunction with John Young in helping to improve the Port of Montreal. The first deepening of the channel in Lake St. Peter was attempted in 1847 but a more successful job was done in 1851, giving 20 feet of draft. Later the legislature took over this work as a public venture. Turcotte writes, "Cette entreprise, qui fut due surtout à l'énergie de MM. Young et Cartier, contribua puissamment au progrès de la ville de Montréal (60)."

Canals at Chambly and at Saint-Ours made the Richelieu navigable to Lake Champlain and from there the Americans had a canal to the Hudson and thence to New York.

59. C. LaF., No. 00673.

60. Turcotte, Le Canada Sous l'Union, p. 154.
The month of January, 1851, saw Cartier absorbed in the affairs of the Montreal Bar. A new set of tariffs had been promulgated by a Committee of the Bar. However, Côme-Séraphin Cherrier and George-Etienne Cartier formed a dissident group and the points of law were argued in the press.

The last session of the Third Parliament opened in Toronto on May 20. The address was passed without division in one day, an unheard of occurrence. Cartier took part in a debate about the tariff reported in *La Minerve* of July 19, and made some explanations in the debate on a bill to incorporate the Montreal and Kingston Railway. In a report of August 21 on the debate re the Halifax and Quebec Railroad, Cartier gave arguments full of statistics to prove that the proposals of the Government should be accepted. LaFontaine wished to defer legislation on the "Abolition" till the next session, but some members, including Robert Baldwin, who retired during the session, and Cartier, were ready to prolong the session if necessary. Turcotte states that LaFontaine was tricked into continuing and this was why he resigned. This may well have been one reason, but surely a minor one (61). In an address to the Queen proposed by William Hamilton Merritt, the member for Lincoln and recently retired Commissioner of Public Works, to open discussions re Union with the lower provinces only seven votes were recorded in favour. The session closed on August 31. LaFontaine's retirement occasioned a

message signed by a number of his fellow members expressing their regret. On October 1, a huge banquet was held in his honour in Montreal. One hundred and forty people sat down to dinner in the St. Laurent Hotel, Cartier being among the headtable guests. No fewer than eleven toasts were drunk, accompanied by suitable music in each case (62). The issue of La Minerve, October 4, states that unfortunately the reporter was unable to take down the excellent speech given by M. Cartier. After perusing the menu, we should not be unduly surprised. The Montreal Gazette provides little more information saying that its reporter was also absent. However from this source we are told that on good report the young M.P.P. treated the "general affairs of the Province in a clear and lucid manner," and that his speech "was particularly remarkable for its excellent sense and sound judgment (63)." Rhetorical phrases perhaps but for the publicity-conscious young politician surely better than nothing.

Francis Hincks took over the Administration and formed a new Cabinet in concert with Augustin-Norbert Morin, who for the past three years had filled the Speaker's Chair with great ability. James Leslie, Cartier's predecessor in Verchères, retired from the Cabinet, but continued in the Legislative Council and later in the Senate of Canada eventually completing fifty years of public life. In October Cartier was present in his county like a good M.P.P. when a giant ploughing match was held at Varennes. As the elections approached Le Canadien stated what appears to

62. La Minerve, 2 oct., 1851.
63. Montreal Gazette, Oct. 6, 1851.
have been a fact - that George-Etienne Cartier was offered the post of Solicitor-General but refused, not for political but for professional and personal reasons (64). Apparently he was not yet ready to give his full time to politics. There was no question in the mind of the Member for Verchères about his capacity to fill a Cabinet post. He was simply not prepared to give the time necessary for such duties, particularly since the seat of Government had moved away from Montreal. He had not yet arrived at a financial position where he believed that he could take the amount of time away from his law practice that a Cabinet post demanded. On November 2 a meeting took place in Montreal where Cartier seems to have arranged that Benjamin Holmes not be the candidate, but that he be replaced by one Alfred LaRocque. The latter was not elected but the other Reform candidate, John Young, was. Cartier's own nomination took place on December 1 and he was elected by acclamation. On December 9, Cartier appeared at the proclamation of the election in Montreal and thanked the voters of French expression on behalf of Mr. Young (65). The Gazette of December 8 criticized Cartier for using insulting language about Mr. Badgley, the other member elected. Peevishly the Editor wrote: "We are sorry to say he indulged in ill-timed, offensive language against both Mr. Papineau and Mr. Badgley, which was much out of place on such an occasion (66)." La Minerve maintains that on

64. La Minerve, 11 nov., 1851.
65. Ibid., 9 déc., 1851.
66. The Gazette, Dec. 8, 1851.
the contrary Monsieur Cartier was very polite. Obviously the definition of "polite" varied from one political persuasion to another.

1852 brought a similar round of activities as the preceding year. Public meetings were held to discuss the Quebec-Halifax Railway and Cartier took a prominent part in the proceedings. On January 20, a report of the "Soirée des Pompiers" appeared in the press. Monsieur Fabre, Cartier's father-in-law presided. The last two paragraphs read: "MM. Cartier, Leeming et Alfred Perry parlèrent après son honneur, n'oubliant pas de faire aux pompiers les compliments qu'ils méritent par leur zèle et leur intrépidité en toute occasion." George-Etienne Cartier lost no occasion to be seen and heard by the citizens of Montreal. "La danse commença vers les onze heures et finit vers les six heures du matin, les rafraîchissements, qui étaient abondants et excellents, étaient fournis par M. Leblanc, de la Place-d'Armes (67)." There is no record of what Monsieur Cartier did the next day!

On June 7 the General Assembly of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste was held and Cartier's name appears on several occasions. He nominated Ludger Duvernay for a second term as President. The many fires that devastated the city led to long discussions about requiring houses in Montreal to be built of stone or brick. Cartier pronounced himself in favour of these more permanent forms of construction (68).

67. La Minerve, 20 janv., 1852.
68. Ibid., 31 juillet, 1852.
Exactly one month later, after the House had opened on August 19, Cartier spoke during the debate on the Throne Speech. This was reported on September 2 by *La Minerve* saying that it was an extremely good speech, given in English as it was aimed at the Upper-Canadian members. However, on September 7, *La Minerve* says it got the text of the speech all mixed up, and proceeds to give the account from the *Journal de Québec* (69). The speech was so full of statistics that the reporters had great difficulty in taking notes. The first account said that Cartier had maintained that the system of government in the United States was less expensive than that of Great Britain, where in fact it was the contrary position that the member for Verchères had taken. Such a mistake would not be treated lightly by the young politician who expected to be reported not only fully but accurately.

Cartier covered several topics of interest. He showed a very clear understanding of finance in his discussions of banking in the United States and in Canada. He took William Henry Boulton, the son of Judge D'Arccy Boulton and member of the Assembly for Toronto, to task for his criticisms of the Canadian economy. He also differed with Mr. Boulton's contention that the debates in the American Congress were much freer than those of the Canadian Assembly. To illustrate this view he cited the discussion of annexation that had been permitted in Canada while the American legislators had refused to discuss the abolition of slavery. Cartier made it clear that he greatly admired the United States in some

69. *Ibid.*, 7 sept., 1852. See Appendix XX.
things, finishing with the phrase: "personne plus que moi n'apprécie les
Etats-Unis et n'admire leur énergie; je suis Américain, M. l'orateur,
mais je ne suis pas annexioniste." This speech also shows Cartier's
views on another subject that was much under discussion - that of the
extension of the suffrage. He was in favour of granting the vote to all
that owned property but was adamant in his refusal to admit the princi­
ple of universal suffrage. He cited the problems that had arisen from
the acceptance of advanced views in this area in France and in the
United States. As far as Canada was concerned, Cartier stated: "Dans
notre pays, tout homme qui le veut peut devenir propriétaire. Celui qui
est trop paresseux ou trop vicieux pour travailler et acquérir du bien,
celui-là n'est pas digne d'avoir le droit de voter."

On the subject of a secret ballot, Cartier expressed his opposition
to this proposal, explaining that it was the cause of much difficulty in
the U.S.A. where many people sold their votes several times over. The
idea of an elected Legislative Council did not arouse the same strong
opinions from the member for Verchères. He was not in favour of such a
move, however, and stipulated that if a similar change did come about it
was essential to maintain a substantial property qualification. This
speech caught the notice of the Globe reporter who sent a fairly full
account to his editors (70).

When John Young resigned as Commissioner of Public Works on

70. The Globe, Saturday, Sept. 4, 1852.
September 20, Cartier was offered the post. Two days later he gave his reasons for refusing to accept the portfolio. Describing himself as "ni riche ni pauvre (71)," he said that acceptance of the portfolio would have imposed personal sacrifices but that this was not the only reason. He was disturbed by the intention of the Government to make the Legislative Council elective without providing for a sufficiently high property qualification. Once again the strong belief in the value of property is stated clearly and with great conviction. "La propriété est l'élément qui doit gouverner le monde, et la propriété doit aussi régir la propriété. L'homme qui a acquis des biens est généralement intelligent, énergique et moral." To make sure that everyone understood, Cartier added: "Ce n'est pas tant la propriété que je considère que la garantie qu'elle offre que son possesseur doit être un homme économe, industrieux et honnête." On all other matters Cartier declared that he was perfectly in agreement with the Government. La Minerve discussed this whole matter further on September 25, wondering if the £2,000 qualification suggested by Cartier was not too high but agreeing with his principle. "Les législateurs sont les gardiens de la propriété publique, et il n'est que juste que le soin de sauve-garder la propriété soit laissé à ceux qui l'ont acquise honorablement. C'est de l'essence même du self-gouvernement (72)."

As might be expected other journals such as Le Canadien attacked

71. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 31-33.
72. La Minerve, 25 sept., 1852.
Cartier on his rather strict definition of those who qualify for office (73). The Globe of September 23 merely reported Hincks' statement that Cartier had refused the promotion because of his views on the property qualification for the Legislative Council but that "In other particulars, M. Cartier agreed with the policy of the Government (74)."

The session of 1852 saw the member for Verchères much in evidence. He became Chairman of the Railway Committee of the House, a position he was to hold until his death.

Cartier sponsored the bill to incorporate the Grand Trunk Railway through the amalgamation of several lines. The Quebec to Richmond line was opened in 1854, the Montreal to Toronto by 1856, and the whole route from Rivière-du-Loup to Sarnia, including the Victoria Bridge, by 1860 (75). The Company of Peto, Brassey, Betts, and Jackson of London undertook the construction. The Grand Trunk Bill finished its third reading on November 2 (76). Among other items of interest the Representation Bill finally received its two-thirds approval, raising the total number of members to 130.

George Brown and Cartier clashed on the Bill to incorporate the Collège Ste-Marie in Montréal. Brown found the Jesuits by far the most

73. Ibid., 23 oct. et 2 nov., 1852.
74. The Globe, Sept. 23, 1852.
75. La Minerve, 20 oct. et 26 oct., 1852.
76. Ibid., 6 nov., 1852.
dangerous of all Catholic orders and did not hesitate to say so (77). The two opposing M.P.P.'s were also members of the Select Committee on the Sabbath Observance which was set up after much discussion (78).

George-Etienne Cartier's views on the Jesuit College bill were fully reported in The Globe of November 16 (79). The reporter, after mentioning that he often referred to Mr. Cartier's views in the House, continued: "He denied that the question was a religious one. It was, he contended, an educational question altogether, no matter though the college was to be solely managed by Priests, or its property held by them." Referring to George brown and his supporters, he said: "In Lower Canada . . . we despise the opinion of those who view these institutions as does the member for Kent, and his brawling supporters in Upper Canada."

The House was recessed from November 10, 1852 to February 14, 1853. The new year saw the first trans-Atlantic steamship service established. In 1855 this contract was given to Messrs. Edmonstone, Allan & Company. In 1853 a Special Committee on Education was established with Louis-Victor Sicotte as the Chairman and Cartier as a member (80). During a debate on the 18th of February, Joseph-Edouard Turcotte, the member for

77. Ibid., 13 nov., 1852.
78. The Globe, Sept. 16, 1852.
79. Ibid., Nov. 16.
Saint-Maurice, complained that there were too many schools and that the government's funds were being wasted. The member for Verchères rose to the defence, claiming that the system was good enough but that the people were not prepared to elect progressive School Commissioners (81). Indeed, the great problem in education in 1853 and much later was that the people were unwilling to invest their taxes in education.

The perennial question of improved navigation of the Richelieu River appeared once more at the top of the Order Paper and the member for Verchères spoke in favour of such a development. Another topic of debate that again filled many days of the Assembly's time was the abolition of Seigniorial Tenure. Christopher Dunkin, the well-educated lawyer who later sat in the Assembly, the House of Commons and finally on the Bench, came to the bar of the House as the lawyer for several of the Seigneurs, ably presenting the case for his clients. Cartier replied that the bill before the House was the fairest possible to all sides and he believed that the Seigneurs were being recompensed for all the real value of their lands and their prorogatives (82).

The increase in the number of seats in the Assembly had been held up on two occasions, in 1849 and in 1851, by the lone vote of Louis-Joseph Papineau. A two-thirds vote was required for such a change. When the bill to allow election of Legislative Councillors was forwarded

81. La Minerve, 25 fév., 1853.
82. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 35-37.
to the British Parliament the two-thirds rule was withdrawn at the same time. Although there had been some demands for this in the Canadian Assembly and in the press it was not government policy. The changing of this rule caused considerable difficulty at a later date (83). When the House turned to its final consideration of the bill re the Legislative Council in 1853, Cartier again spoke at length, saying very little that was new, but repeating his arguments from earlier sessions. He admitted that the measure was necessary in order to inject some new blood into the Council but continued to insist on a substantial property qualification (84). Two statements in this speech are of particular interest as giving some insight into George-Etienne Cartier's views on public life. Concerning youth in politics he stated: "Toute constitution qui éloigne la jeunesse de l'industrie pour la jeter dans la politique est mauvaise. Il faut apprendre aux enfants à gagner de l'argent à la maison avant qu'ils s'occupent de politique." For a man in his thirties this is a stern view indeed. The other statement of interest concerns the value of education in politics: "L'instruction, selon moi, n'est pas un titre suffisant pour être éligible. Un homme peut dévorer vingt bibliothèques sans être plus apte à la législation. Il est de ces hommes qui ont essayé de la législation en Allemagne et en France, et nous savons à quoi ont abouti leurs tentatives." A natural enough statement for a hard-headed practical lawyer, but hardly such as to please intellectuals.

84. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 39-42.
The Grand Trunk Railway is an enterprise with which the name of George-Etienne Cartier is closely connected over a period of many years. May 4, 1853, saw the announcement of the officers of the Grand Trunk and news of the sale of bonds. Under Solicitors in Canada we find "G. E. Cartier, écr., M.P., Montréal, and John Bell, écr. of Belleville." The Minute Books of the Grand Trunk Company are now the property of the C.N.R. in Montreal. The first meeting in Canada took place in Quebec City on Monday, July 11, 1853. On page 2 we read "Resolved - That Messrs. Swift and Wagstaff of No. 30 Great George Street, Westminster, London, be the Solicitors of the Company in England. That George E. Cartier, Esquire, of Montreal be the Solicitor of the Company for Canada East (85)." Cartier's name appeared in virtually all discussions of railways. As Chairman of the Assembly Committee on Railways, he reported to the House in Quebec on May 7 the proposed amendment of the bill for the Rawdon Railroad and for the incorporation of the Perth and Kemptville and the Prince Edward Railways. Small lines were springing up all over the country.

Cartier still kept his close connection with the Bar of Montreal during this period. La Minerve of May 7 states that he was appointed to the Committee of examination of candidates with Messrs. LaFontaine, Day, Loranger, and Robert McKay. The House was prorogued on June 15, after a very lengthy session. Cartier was glad to be back in Montreal where he

could attend to his law office and have some time with his wife and daughters. There was an addition to the family to become acquainted with. On June 5, a third daughter was born to the Cartiers, and was baptised Reine-Victoria, an interesting name for the daughter of an "ex-rebel." With the additional business coming from the Grand Trunk George-Etienne Cartier was able to form a partnership with another lawyer of note. Joseph-Amable Berthelot had articled with Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine and had then become a partner in his mentor's law firm. With LaFontaine's elevation to the bench as Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in August of 1853 Berthelot joined in association with Cartier until his own elevation to the Bench in 1859 (86).

On February 6, 1854, a number of citizens of the County of Verchères met at Saint-Antoine to discuss the abolition of the Tenure (87). The M.P.P. was present and took part in the proceedings. Legal business also came from the constituency to the firm of Cartier and Berthelot. An alleged assault on a Monsieur Lamothe following Mass on Christmas Day at Saint-Ours led to a case in the Court of Queen's Bench in Montreal on January 17, 1854 where the M.P.P.'s firm represented the defendants, Messieurs Chevalier and Mogé. The Court records do not indicate whether politics entered into the dispute but the case was dismissed (88). On

87. La Minerve, 11 fév., 1854.
March 10 the firm of Cartier and Berthelot represented a merchant whose goods in a stall at the Marché Bonsecours had been destroyed by the leakage of oil and spices from the store of Messieurs Rivet et Doray on the floor above. The Mayor and Corporation of Montreal were directed to pay damages of £35 for not keeping the premises in fit state (89).

The municipal elections in Montreal of February, 1854, form a link in a very puzzling and incomplete chain of the relations between George-Etienne Cartier and the Fabre family. We have seen the delight with which the young lawyer was welcomed into that family. We have seen the gradual separation of political views, probably exacerbated by Cartier's efforts in defeating Papineau in the elections of 1851 in Montreal, while Fabre, who was Mayor at that time, gave the old tribune his full support. Fabre retired from the Mayoralty in 1852 but, by 1854 when the position had become one elected directly by the people, he was again a candidate. A notice appeared in Le Pays of February 22 soliciting his permission to allow his name to stand. This was followed by six to seven hundred signatures (90). The other candidate, supported by La Minerve, was Dr. Wolfred Nelson. He, too, had a large following and eventually won when the votes were counted on March 7, by a margin of 69. Fabre was not to live long - he was felled by cholera on July 11, 1854.


90. Edouard-Fabre Surveyer, Edouard-Raymond Fabre, dans M. S. R. C., Section 1, 1944, p. 106.
Where does Cartier fit into this picture? He apparently backed Nelson against his father-in-law. Louis Darveau writes in 1873: "Ceux qui se mêlaient activement d'élections, il y a vingt ans, se rappellent encore aujourd'hui, de cette lutte mémorable que fit à feu M. Fabre, feu le docteur Wolfred Nelson, le héros de Saint-Denis, soutenu par feu Sir Cartier. Cette élection est resté célèbre à cause de l'ardeur et de l'opiniâtreté de ceux qui y prirent part (91)." Darveau adds that Cartier, "fit de l'élection du docteur Nelson, sa propre affaire, pour ainsi dire . . . ," and in talking of Hector Fabre says, "Depuis plusieurs années, celui qui fait le sujet de cette biographie était, sous le rapport de la politique, aux antipodes avec le célèbre baronet défunt (92)." Did Cartier fight his father-in-law and his brother-in-law purely for political reasons? This seems plausible. His party feeling was so strong that he could have decided to sacrifice his family connections. There is no question, as shown by Cartier's will drawn in 1866, that he did not bear any love for the Fabre family. More specifically he was not on good terms with his wife as can again be seen by his will. Verbal tradition in the Cartier family allows that Madame Cartier passed on a report of a political meeting that had taken place in their home to either her father or her brother Hector. Her husband never forgave her for this. Sir Adolphe-Basile Routhier says that he carried on a long correspondence with Lady Cartier. In describing her he says,

92. Ibid., p. 233.
"Lady Cartier était une femme supérieure. Elle avait un esprit des plus brillants, assaisonné d'un peu de malice ce qui lui donnait plus d'éclat. L'esprit était d'ailleurs héréditaire dans sa famille (93)." In any case, this situation of the municipal election of 1854 certainly had an effect on Cartier's life and career. His father-in-law was a man of influence. His two brothers-in-law were much in view. Hector Fabre was still a student with Cartier's law firm. This must have led to rather difficult situations.

In a report of May 12, 1854, in La Minerve we find Cartier figuratively far away proposing a motion at a public meeting in favour of the British and French war effort against the Turks. A report of June 8 tells of the election of Cartier as President of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society for the year 1854-1855. This was an important honour for which he had worked diligently. It was soon followed by a setback and then by still greater honours. In the meantime, the House was opened in Quebec on June 13. Lord Elgin had been met on his return to Saint-Hyacinthe by a distinguished group who had gone out by train to meet him. Later all boarded the steamer "John Munn" for Quebec on the evening of the 12th. The Address only mentioned the Reciprocity Treaty enabling legislation as the ministers looked to elections and a more representative House before embarking on a full legislative programme. However, a majority of the members wished to move ahead with various measures. The Government

was defeated on an amendment to the Address. On the same day, June 20, Cartier defended the moves of the cabinet, and attacked any question of coalition with the Conservatives, although he was soon to be a member of just such a hybrid cabinet himself. George-Etienne Cartier was an excellent fighter when the waters were rough in the Assembly. He could hardly be called sensitive in his treatment of the motives that he assigned to his opponents, but there is no question that he was listened to. On this particular occasion he attacked Joseph Cauchon, the oft-dissatisfied Member for Montmorency, for simply wanting to overthrow the Government, without any thought for the thousands of censitaires whose fate depended on the passage of the abolition bill. Cauchon was accused of crying: "Ote-toi de là, que je m'y mette (94)." John A. Macdonald, the member for Kingston, was accused of being unfair to Lower Canada because he believed that it would be unjust to pay the indemnity to the Seigneurs out of the consolidated revenues of the Province. Louis-Victor Sicotte, the Member for Saint-Hyacinthe, was charged with vacillation. What did Sicotte want to do, Cartier asked; form an alliance with the Conservatives, or with George Brown, "un homme qui insulte chaque jour d'une façon outrageante à vos croyances, à vos idées." Sicotte reappears very soon upon the scene, and repays the member for Verchères for his gratuitous insults. Also on June 27, La Minerve reported at length the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations, with President George-Etienne Cartier in centre stage (95).

94. La Minerve, 27 juin, 1854.
95. Ibid.
Tragedy struck the Cartier-Fabre connection in early July. A printed notice dated July 8 invited friends of the family to be present on the 10th at the Cartier house at 20 Rue Notre-Dame for the funeral of the infant Reine-Victoria (96). It is probable that she was struck down by cholera like her grandfather Fabre, who died on the 11th. Despite the cholera, another type of fever was sweeping the country. The elections were approaching. A report of July 22 gives Monsieur Massue, the Mayor of Verchères County, as Cartier's opposition in this election. The sitting member was easily re-elected as can be seen by the statistics. The situation had changed greatly since Cartier's first election. The addition of the Parish of Ste. Julie had helped considerably, the vote in Varennes had changed sides, etc. "Comté de Verchères. - Nous annonçons avec plaisir que M. Cartier a été réélu dans ce comté. Voici l'état des polls qui nous a été fourni:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cartier</th>
<th>Massue</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contrecoeur</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verchères</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varennes</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ste. Julie</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloeil</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Marc</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Antoine</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>804</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majorité pour Cartier</td>
<td>190 (97)&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although both Hincks and Morin were defeated they were soon elected

96. McGill University Library, Montreal.
97. La Minerve, 1 aout, 1854.
elsewhere. The new House of 130 members provided a good majority for the important measures of Abolition of Seigniorial Tenure and the Clergy Reserves. But several obstacles stood in the way. The Ministry on September 3 proposed George-Etienne Cartier as Speaker. He was proposed by Robert Spence, M.P.P. for North Wentworth, and seconded by François Lemieux, M.P.P. for Lévis. A combination of Tories, Grits and Rouges defeated the motion 62–59. Cartier had a majority of 9 in Lower Canada, but was 12 down in the upper province. The Rouges then moved for L-V Sicotte, not expecting to have him elected and thus assuring the election of John Sandfield Macdonald. Hincks and Morin decided otherwise and voted for the member from Saint-Hyacinthe. During the debate Cartier was attacked by William Lyon Mackenzie as a friend of the Grand Trunk.

In trying to gather support for his candidate for the Speaker's Chair, Hincks had written unsuccessfully to A. T. Galt on August 13th.

"I must write you on the subject of the Speakership. There has been a sort of understanding that the Chair should be filled alternately from Lower and Upper Canada, and it is now Lower Canada's turn. Looking then to L. C. Members, I have no doubt whatever that Cartier is the best qualified, and would command more influence than any other... Now, I would like to know what view the Rouges are inclined to take. Would they stand by the claim of L. C. to the Speakership and vote for Cartier against Macdonald? Surely they would not prefer a man like Lemieux to Cartier (98)?"}

Apparently François Lemieux was persuaded to second the nomination and

thus could not have been too displeased with Cartier. It is difficult to know how much party rivalry and personal judgment played in the decision of the House. Hincks' comment that "Cartier is the best qualified, and would command more influence than any other" is a high compliment indeed.

The Government resigned and Sir Allan MacNab was called upon to form a new ministry. Along with John A. Macdonald and William Cayley of the Conservatives and Robert Spence and James Ross of the Liberals in Upper Canada, he approached Augustin-Norbert Morin. A Government was formed with the following members:

"Haut-Canada

Hon. Sir Allan MacNab, président du conseil exécutif,
Hon. M. J-A Macdonald, procureur-général, H. C.,
Hon. M. W. Cayley, inspecteur-général des comptes,
Hon. M. R. Spence, maître-général des postes,
Hon. M. John Ross, président du conseil législatif.

Bas-Canada

Hon. M. A-N Morin, commissaire des terres,
Hon. M. L-T Drummond, procureur-général, B. C.,
Hon. M. P-J-O Chauveau, secrétaire-provincial,
Hon. M. E-P Taché, receveur-général,
Hon. M. J. Chabot, commissaire des travaux publics (99)."

Cartier made it very clear that the Conservatives were the ones who were changing their tune, and that the coalition was of men, not of policies. This alliance was to last for some years receiving the support of Cau-chon, Loranger, Cartier and others. Cartier spoke in the House on

September 20 re the coalition, the Clergy Reserves, the Grand Trunk, and other matters. The version published by Tassé is purportedly direct but in fact very sketchy, that of La Minerve of October 7 more complete. This was the first of many occasions that Cartier felt it necessary to reply to charges that his position as solicitor for the Grand Trunk was incompatible with his seat in the Assembly. He compared his position to that of Antoine-Aimé Dorion: "Etre le solliciteur de la compagnie du grand tronc, en qualité d'avocat, n'ôte pas plus l'indépendance politique qu'être le solliciteur de la Banque du Peuple, comme l'est le membre pour Montréal (100)." Cartier continued his explanations in a typically direct and slightly petulant fashion:

"M. Cartier dit que des corps publics comme ceux-là sont des clients avantageux et qui payent bien; cependant, avant l'existence de cette compagnie, il avait l'avantage d'avoir une réputation professionnelle assez bien établie pour vivre sans ce secours. La compagnie ne l'a pas acheté, elle ne lui paye que le prix de ses services professionnels. C'est une injure de supposer qu'il est capable de sacrifier ses opinions pour obtenir une pratique dont il n'a pas besoin pour vivre honorablement (101)."

The Opposition forces ranged under the varied leadership of William Hamilton Merritt, George Brown, John Sandfield Macdonald, Antoine-Aimé Dorion, Michael Foley, Alexander Galt, and William Lyon Mackenzie. The Address was passed by a large majority. Cartier took an active part in the debates on a range of subjects, particularly those involved with

100. La Minerve, 7 oct., 1854.
101. Ibid.
business and finance.

During the final discussions of the Clergy Reserves Bill Cartier stressed that he voted for this measure because a majority of the members from Upper Canada were in favour of it. He then gave the members a lesson in the difference between the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada and the Ecclesiastical Properties in Lower Canada. "L'acte de 1791 ne fait pas un octroi de terres; il met seulement des terres de côté, ou en réserve. Les terres du Bas-Canada, au contraire, ont été données par le roi de France, et le don a été ratifié par la Grande-Bretagne, plus pour l'avancement de l'éducation que pour le support de la religion; et ce don ne peut plus maintenant être retiré (102)."

Attorney-General Drummond presented the bill for "l'abolition des droits et devoirs féodaux dans le Bas-Canada." This bill was similar to that rejected by the Legislative Council during the last session. It was extremely difficult to draw up, and certain modifications were made in the Legislative Council, but it was eventually passed. The preamble of the Act expressed the desirability of the changes to be made and declared that it was expedient to help the censitaires without doing injustice to the Seigneurs (103).

The Voluntary Act of 1845 which had been ineffective was repealed.

102. Ibid., 28 oct.

A Seigniorial Court was established on September 4, with Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine as Chief Justice. Drummond put a series of questions before the court, and the lawyers for the Seigneurs did likewise. Messrs. Christopher Dunkin, C-S Cherrier and McKay represented the Seigneurs, while Messrs. T-J-J Loranger, Barnard and François-Réal Angers represented the censitaires. The judges had to decide exactly what should be allowed in claims and it was May 1856 before they handed down their judgment. Some of the more important points decided upon were that the Seigneurs were obliged to grant land to colonists and that the Seigneurs could not sell their uncleared lands. The rate of the cens and rentes as stipulated in the contracts was maintained, as well as the corvées and other duties. Despite the arguments to the contrary the banalité was upheld as a right. Non-navigable rivers were judged to be the property of the censitaires and all wood reserves were abolished without compensation (104). This was indeed an extremely important measure for Lower Canada. LaFontaine's comment is not an exaggeration:

"C'était, comme le remarque M. LaFontaine, toute une révolution dans nos institutions; et cette révolution, qui dans d'autres pays, n'aurait pu s'opérer sans effusion de sang et sans remuer l'édifice social jusque dans ses fondements, s'accomplit paisiblement, à l'honneur de la population, sans trouble et sans aucune commotion (105)."

On November 27 Mr. John O'Farrell, the member for Lotbinière moved that the indemnity for M.P.P.'s living a long distance from the place of

105. Ibid., p. 244.
the session be increased from four to eight dollars per day. Cartier objected, giving his reasons and the bill was withdrawn at the request of M. Morin:

"M. l'Orateur,

Je m'oppose à toute augmentation de ce genre. Supposons que l'indemnité soit élevée à huit piastres par jour, et que les affaires du pays, par suite de son développement, un jour, exigent que le Parlement siège durant sept mois, comme la chose arrivera avant longtemps, la qualité de membres deviendrait une charge importante. Et dans ce cas, nous aurions à subir ici les mêmes maux que nos voisins à Washington. Pour moi, je voudrais que l'indemnité fut réduite à quinze chelins par jour (106)."

The Assembly was recessed for two months on December 18. Sir Edmund Head took over as Governor on the next day. Lord Elgin, to whom Canadians owe a great deal, departed for other challenges and a new era was about to dawn.

106. Tassé, Discours... , p. 53.
January 27, 1855, was an important day in the lives of a number of people in Canada. Augustin-Norbert Morin, Cartier's cousin by marriage and in many ways his spiritual political father next to LaFontaine, retired from politics and accepted a place on the bench of the Superior Court. He was later Commissioner for the Codification of the Civil Law of Lower Canada, and became Dean of the Faculty of Law at Laval University, a body from which eminent politicians have come as well as to which they have retired. Turcotte pays Morin a very high tribute: "Bien qu'il fut ministre pendant l'époque des chemins de fer et des grands travaux publics, qui donnèrent lieu à tant de spéculations individuelles, il sortit du cabinet aussi pur qu'il y était entré. Sa conduite fut toujours noble et exempte de tout blâme. Il fut l'expression parfaite de l'honnête homme politique, du bon citoyen et du sincère catholique (1)."

Francis Hincks retired shortly afterwards, was knighted, and came back to Canada in 1869 to become Minister of Finance after seeing colonial service duty in the Barbados and in Guinea. Joseph Cauchon the member for Montmorency, became Crown Lands Commissioner, and François Lemieux, the member for Lévis, became Commissioner of Public Works. The

Canada Gazette of February 3 also announced the following appointments: "George Etienne Cartier, Esquire, to be a Member of the Executive Council for the Province of Canada. The Honorable George Etienne Cartier, to be Secretary and Registrar of the Province of Canada, in the room of the Honorable Pierre Joseph Olivier Chauveau, resigned (2)." La Minerve rejoiced, "Nous sommes heureux de le voir dans la position qu'il occupe maintenant; nous en félicitons le pays et surtout le comté de Verchères qui l'a élu (3)." On February 2 La Minerve, in announcing Cartier's return to Montréal, adds that everyone seemed pleased by his elevation. "La presse même de l'opposition a trouvé peu de chose à dire à son détriment." This was not to last long. John Charles Dent, in writing of the new minister said: "He was destined to achieve a reputation great enough to enable him to dispense with ancestral honours (he refers to Jacques Cartier of Saint-Malo) and to win a very prominent place in the history of his country, though his fame is to some extent sullied by his connection with transactions which cannot be referred to otherwise than with reprobation (4)." The latter reference is undoubtedly to the C.P.R. scandal. Professor Donald Creighton in his biography of John A. Macdonald writes, quoting in part from a letter from the Attorney-General for Upper Canada to a Montreal journalist: "He was temperately, almost tepidly, enthusiastic about the new Provincial Secretary. The district of


3. La Minerve, 30 janv., 1855.

Montreal, he explained carefully, required another representative in the Cabinet: and Cartier, "a Montrealer body and soul," was the obvious choice. The Secretaryship required only "industry and method," both of which the new minister possessed to a remarkable degree. "He is active - too active," Macdonald wrote a little patronizingly, "and will do his work." Cartier, obviously, was still regarded as a diligent, slightly officious bureaucrat who could quite easily be kept in his place (5). J. M. S. Careless pays the young minister a direct compliment: "Short, stocky, and sharp-witted, his hair en brosse and bristling, he was a mass of aggressive energy no less formidable than George Brown (6)."

The opinions of colleagues and historians are of great interest. All reflect a certain point of view. Dent is anti-French-Canadian. John A. could not understand that the active Montrealer could see large issues as well as details and being very different in temperament would provide the ideal complement to himself. Careless admires a man who was just as aggressive as the subject of his biography but who had the judgment to learn to respect and like the man who represented much that his upbringing had taught him to hate.

Cartier was indeed "a Montrealer body and soul" but he had the capacity to appreciate the qualities of others as well as great impatience with those he considered fools. The moment had arrived when George-

Etienne Cartier felt that he was ready to take on the responsibilities of a Cabinet post. His law office was very successful. He now had the Grand Trunk account which promised to be remunerative. His ambitions required that he be a member of the body where decisions about economic matters were made. Once a Cabinet member Cartier was determined to advance as quickly as possible to a position of control and this he did. The comment by *La Minerve* that he was "digne sous tous les rapports de succéder aux LaFontaine et aux Morin," would be agreed to without reservation by the new Minister himself (7).

The responsibility for the reconstitution of the Lower-Canadian section of the Ministry fell on Etienne-Pascal Taché, who sat in the Legislative Council. Drummond remained as Procureur-Général and the Lower-Canadian House Leader. Messrs. MacNab, Macdonald, Cayley, Spence, and Ross remained as the Upper-Canadian ministers. Following the electoral law Cartier and the other new cabinet members had to return to their counties and stand for re-election. The opposition was out in force in Verchères. The Member was now a Cabinet Minister and worthy of the best efforts the Rouges could produce. Christophe Préfontaine of Beloeil was the opposition candidate. At Varennes Antoine-Aimé Dorion tried to accuse Cartier of Toryisme, because of the coalition. Monsieur Delisle, possibly Augustin-Stanislas Delisle of Varennes, replied in favour of Cartier, suggesting that Dorion had been elected by Tory votes in Montreal and even worse by the supporters of Father Gavazzi, the renegade

Italian priest who was causing such a stir by his speeches against the papacy (8).

At Verchères, the Rouges had Joseph Doutre to carry their banner, while there is no record of a Cartier supporter speaking on this occasion. Doutre had no reason to be kind to the sitting member and he reportedly let fly "une avalanche d'injures" and suggested that "le comté de Verchères devait le chasser à coup de fouets (9)." La Minerve suggested that the intemperate phrases of Monsieur Doutre "a produit dans l'opinion de la majorité de la paroisse jusque là assez mal disposée à l'égard de M. Cartier un changement qui lui sera favorable." However, such was not to be the case.

Joseph Papin, the newly elected Rouge member for L'Assomption, was scheduled to appear at Contrecoeur but he left the church steps free for Clément Dansereau, a resident of that parish whose son of the same name was to become Editor of La Minerve. Similar situations occurred in several other parishes where the Rouge speaker failed to show. La Minerve refers to the Rouges as "Les Mormons" possibly because they stood out from the bulk of the population (10).

The fact that Cartier was the solicitor for the Grand Trunk was

8. Ibid., 6 fév. See Robert Sylvain, Alessandro Gavazzi, Québec, Le Centre Pédagogique, 1962, Tome II, chapitres XIX, XX et XXI.
9. La Minerve, 6 fév.
10. Ibid.
held by the opposition to be something sinister. John A. Macdonald's letter must have had some effect on Chamberlain for although The Gazette was against the Grand Trunk it came out in favour of Cartier. The Herald took just the opposite position (11). La Minerve made every effort to make Préfontaine look like a "candidat malgré lui," reluctantly carrying the Rouge standard.

The last Sunday before the official nominations another round of "assemblées contradictoires" took place after Mass in front of the various parish churches. Cartier spoke at Varennes, opposed by Antoine-Aimé Dorion. Joseph Doutre returned to Verchères; opposed by Louis-Siméon Morin, newly called to the bar but an excellent speaker. Monsieur Papin kept his date at Contrecoeur this time; Thomas-Jean-Jacques Loranger, the newly elected member for Laprairie, opposed him. At Beloeil Noël Darche spoke for Préfontaine while François-Pierre Pominville, later to be Cartier's law partner, spoke in favour of the sitting member.

The official nomination took place at Verchères. Joseph Papin spoke for Monsieur Préfontaine but La Minerve reported that Cartier spoke for several hours "sans emprunter la langue et les poumons d'un autre comme son adversaire (12)." In this speech Cartier took great pains to refute in detail the various charges that the Rouges had hurled against him and against the Government. He spoke at length about the

11. Ibid., 9 fév., 1855.
12. Ibid., 16 fév., 1855.
benefits of the Seigniorial Tenure Bill, repeating the arguments he had already used in the Assembly. He defended once again his vote on the Clergy Reserves Act. The attempts to brand him a Tory were repulsed with vigour. The new Provincial Secretary stated that he expected that educational questions would occupy a large proportion of his time. He had refused a portfolio on two occasions, he said, but now he was ready and he asked the voters of Verchères to ratify the choice of the Governor-General (13). The string of pejorative terms applied to Cartier in this election is indicative of the bitterness of the struggle. Aside from the Grand Trunk connection he was described by one of the more extreme journals as "the partisan of monopoly, defender of lucrative posts, upholder of privileges, supporter of corruption, ally of the seigniors, and enemy of the censitaires, the adversary of justice, champion of illegality, apostle of slavery, preacher of passive submission, a trafficker in human consciences, a Tory agitator, jobber," etc. (14). The voting took place on the 21st and 22nd and Cartier won by a margin of 186, tallied as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cartier</th>
<th>Préfontaine</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saint-Marc</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
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<td>Contrecoeur</td>
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<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varennes</td>
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<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sainte-Julie</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloeil</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint-Antoine</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


14. John Boyd, Cartier..., from Le Moniteur, no date, p. 112.
The session had re-opened on February 23 and by March 6 Cartier was back in Quebec City, took his oath of office and occupied his ministerial seat. At the same time the Provincial Secretary's cousin, Eusèbe, took his seat as a Legislative Councillor for Saint-Hyacinthe.

One of the first people to approach the new minister was Mgr. Armand-François-Marie de Charbonnel, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto, asking Cartier's assistance in the establishment of St. Michael's College and St. Joseph's Convent (15).

The great questions that had occupied the Assembly for many years had changed somewhat. Ministerial responsibility had been won, the Seigniorial Tenure and the Clergy Reserves had been effectively dealt with in principle, if not as yet in detail. A new structure was developing that saw the more progressive of the Tories from the upper province combine with the moderate reformers of the lower province to form a party that bore the name Liberal-Conservative. Equality of representation for the two sections of the Province, the support of separate schools, opposition to overly democratic innovations; these were some of the policies that the Liberal-Conservative coalition supported. The opposition was composed of more disparate groups that were less able to combine effectively to form a government. The Rouges of Lower Canada were led by

15. F. S. C., p. 31, 9 mars, 1855.
Antoine-Aimé Dorion, Luther Hamilton Holton, and Joseph Papin. The Clear Grits of Upper Canada were led by George Brown and Alexander MacKenzie. Other more moderate liberals from Upper Canada were led by John Sandfield Macdonald and Michael Hamilton Foley, the editor and member of the legislature for Waterloo North. Public schools, electoral reform, varying hostility to Catholic institutions, and most important representation by population were some of the policies that the opposition groups could agree upon.

The session was not a particularly brilliant one. A municipal roads act for Lower Canada; a new Militia Act; the extension of the electoral franchise; a further guarantee of £900,000 to the Grand Trunk, bringing the total to £3,111,500; and a Bill to make the Legislative Council elective were the main items of legislation. The last bill was turned down in the Upper House, at least for the time being. Ministers and judges received a raise in salary, thus Cartier could expect £1,250 per annum. The seat of government question that was to be discussed interminably for several years received a lengthy airing. Cartier, along with Drummond, Loranger, and Dorion, wanted a fixed place. However, the majority, which in this non-ministerial division included Hincks, Cauchon, Brown and Chabot, felt it was wise to change periodically.

The "Archambault Affair" was brought up in the House on April 16 and lasted intermittently for more than a month (16). The returning

officer for Leinster and l'Assomption in the past elections was accused of withholding funds from his deputies. The case was complicated in that Archambault was an official of the Seigniorial Commission working in the County of Verchères. The affair seems to have eventually disappeared quietly without any court proceedings. The session closed on May 30, and preparations were made for the move to Toronto in the fall.

A short report in the press announces that "L'Hon. M. Cartier" was re-elected as President of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society for another year. How the troubadour of earlier meetings of this group must have enjoyed being addressed as the Honourable, and seeing his name with this prefix in the papers.

On October 21, 1855, when the body of Ludger Duvernay was moved to the cemetery of Côte-des-Neiges and a commemorative column was erected over the grave, it was George-Etienne Cartier who pronounced the oration. The speech, as reproduced in Tassé, makes no mention of Duvernay's involvement in politics, or the troubles of 1837 (17). This was looked after by the Honourable Thomas-Jean-Jacques Loranger who delivered the eulogy. Cartier spoke on his favourite theme of attachment to the soil as the surest means of survival of the French-Canadian nationality. He was probably right in this, though French Canadians of today find, that by accepting Cartier's advice too literally, they have neglected the field of business. Cartier was not against his countrymen

entering upon business or professional careers, but he believed that in such cases some of the profits should be invested in land. He himself had a continuing interest in the family holdings at Saint-Antoine, and he acquired some farm land in the County of Leinster. He owned, at his death, what later became very valuable properties in down-town Montreal.

On June 28, the Provincial Secretary sent a very formal letter to Jean-Baptiste Meilleur stating that the Governor-General accepted Monsieur Meilleur's resignation as Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, and thanked him for services rendered. Meilleur was a very interesting person, of whom not enough is known. He was a medical doctor who had spent several years as Professor of French at Dartmouth College. In 1834 he founded l'Assomption College and in 1842 was appointed the first Superintendent of Education. He made a very important contribution to the province and created the basis of the educational system, but, as so often happens, the changes he had brought about created animosities that made it hard for him to continue effectively and he was given the post of Inspector of Post Offices in Montreal. P-J-O Chauveau, who had resigned as Provincial Secretary, moved into the Superintendent's office. Meilleur had been much in favour of Cartier's nomination to the Cabinet. His letters to his old friend the Curé Louis-Edouard Bois of Maskinongé, often signed "Le Vieux," are full of details about politics and personalities. On February 3 he wrote "Les gens opposés à M. Cartier se disposent dit-on à lui faire éprouver leur puissance! Mais je pense qu'il n'y a rien à
craindre pour son élection (18)." Again on February 15: "L'élection de M. Cartier est chaudement contestée. Les gens de Québec ont plus de bon sens et de véritable patriotism que nos rouges . . . (19)."

One wonders what Chauveau would have thought of a description of his activities written by Meilleur on January 17, 1857. The ex-superintendent was less than pleased with his successor and was a very bitter man (20). At a later date his unhappiness included Cartier as well.

Just before Christmas a lavish Railway Festival was held at Toronto to which Cartier was invited. George Brown appears to have been a moving spirit and the Presbyterian seems to have forgotten the virtue of thrift for this occasion. All sorts of banquets, parades, etc., were organized. Professor Careless writes, "The banquet was a shining feast of optimism and cordiality. The innumerable speeches, the repeated prophecies of endless railway progress, were each applauded with unabated enthusiasm, while political foes congratulated each other back and forth in a rosy aura of goodwill and champagne. "My good friend, Mr. Brown," beamed Cartier, "and I call him my friend, although a political opponent . . . ." And, "seeing M. Cartier present, Brown was no less

19. Ibid., 9, No. 222.
20. Ibid., 11, No. 255.
genial in paying tribute to the City of Montreal... (21)." The Grand Trunk provided all types of legal business for Cartier and Berthelot. Many cases concerned accidents on the trains. One such was settled by a judgment given in Superior Court in May of 1855, where the railway company had to pay damages to an employee who lost work as a result of an accident (22).

It was during the fall of 1855 that the Universal Exposition in Paris was held. Messrs. Jean-Charles Taché and William Logan were the two Canadian Commissioners. They and Hector-L Langevin all published books on Canada. Canada was beginning to be known in the outside world. The Crimean War had given French and English a common cause. The tariffs with France were lowered and Canadian wood and grain started to flow directly to France while wine, fruits, and other French exports came to Canada. Certainly the habit of stocking a wine cellar became the custom with some people. A bill, found in the Cartier Papers in Montreal, covers the cost of transporting three hundred and sixty bottles of wine assigned to him (23). Almost a century after the French officials had withdrawn from Québec a French Consul took up residence there in 1859.

Before the new session opened in Toronto on February 15, 1856, the

Provincial Secretary and the Superintendent of Education were busy. The diary of the Rt. Rev. Francis Fulford, Anglican Bishop of Montreal, records on February 1, "... Cartier the Provincial Secretary and ... Chauveau the new Inspector of Schools called to speak to me of the intention of the Government respecting Model Schools. I took Mr. Hicks, the Master of our Model School to Mons Chauveau the following day and we had a long conversation. I hope that something will be done to raise the position of the teachers and provide better remuneration and then we may hope to have better schools (24)." Meilleur brought out the same matter of salaries in his letter to the curé Bois of January 17, 1857, already cited. Antoine-Aimé Dorion mentioned the bad state of education in the Province while taking part in the Throne Speech debate. On February 20 Cartier replied giving statistics to show that the number of schools had increased greatly during the preceding few years as well as the number of students in attendance. He reported that one Normal School had been established and that two more were needed (25).

This was part of what La Minerve of February 27 referred to as "une brillante improvisation de trois heures (26)." Two very important bills regarding education were presented and passed during the session. The first, which was assented to May 16 was entitled, "An Act to amend the

26. La Minerve, 27 fév., 1856.
Common School Laws, and further to promote Elementary Education in Lower Canada (27)." This Act in its twenty-one sections, established a Council of Public Instruction to make rules and regulations, and established regulations for both Catholic and Protestant Schools. The second bill, assented to June 19, was entitled, "An Act to make better provision for promotion of superior Education and the establishment and support of Normal Schools in Lower Canada and for other purposes (28)." As a result of this the Laval, Jacques-Cartier and McGill Normal Schools were established. The Journal of Public Instruction was first published in both English and in French in 1857. The report of the proposals put forward by Joseph Papin, the M.P.P. for L'Assomption, is very topical. He proposed a province-wide uniform system of schools without religious affiliation, supported by the state. By these means Papin hoped that the existing prejudices between Catholics and Protestants would disappear (29). The arguments over the relative merits of ecclesiastics or laymen as teachers have never ceased. Mgr. Charbonnel was not pleased with the vote of Cartier, Cauchon and others on an amendment by Mr. William Locher Felton, the member for Sherbrooke County to render the same justice to the Catholics in the Western Section received by the Protestants in the East. Cartier realized that although this was an excellent idea it was too explosive for the moment. The Bishop of Toronto wrote

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27. Statutes of the Province of Canada, 1856, p. 23, CAP, XIV.
28. Ibid., p. 229, CAP, LIV.
to the Provincial Secretary on April 5, reminding him of the duty of Catholics to follow the dictates of the Pope, the First Council and himself (30). Annexation murmurings across the border resulting from the British Overseas enlistment policy did nothing to stabilize the general situation. The Grand Trunk was given another £2,000,000 to finish its route but next year would see the same name on the order paper for the same purpose. The Bill to render the Legislative Council partly elective was passed. This kept the present members for life and elected forty-eight more for terms of eight years, twelve being elected every two years. This measure was only fairly successful as the areas were too big and thus the elections too expensive.

There is no record of the Provincial Secretary's impressions of Toronto as he moved from the Legislature to his office on Bay Street, and up the street to his roominghouse at Mrs. Elizabeth Dunlop's, Number Fifty-One, one house north of King Street on the west side. Etienne Parent, the Assistant Secretary, boarded at the same place so there was someone congenial to talk to late at night. It is unlikely that either boarder attended the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, situated next door (31).

The defeat experienced on the John Hillyard Cameron motion of March 10 to produce the charge given to the Jury by Judge Duval in the Corrigan

murder case exacerbated tensions further. The apparent harm was healed by a reverse vote. The case concerned a Protestant by the name of Robert Corrigan, who had lost his life in a brawl at a cattle sale in the parish of Saint-Sylvestre, Lotbinière County. The seven men accused of the murder, the Judge and the jury, were all Catholics and when a verdict of "Not Guilty" was given the press of Canada West took up a cry of "Romish domination" and such slogans. The report of the three Commissioners empowered to look into this affair contained the following phrase, "... the Commissioners have not discovered any occurrence or circumstance which could lead them to the conclusion that in the conduct of the case by the Judge, he was influenced by any improper bias or leaning in favour of the accused (32)."

The question of changes in the constitution arose again. Dorion made the significant statement that he would prefer a federal union, but if not then representation by population must prevail. Professor D. G. Creighton speaks of "The incessantly recurring difficulties of a country which was in form a unitary state, and in fact a half-acknowledged federal system (33)."

The MacNab-Taché Administration finally disintegrated over the Seat of Government Question. On April 19 Cartier presented facts and figures


about various cities, cost of buildings, etc. The House pronounced itself in favour of a fixed seat. Then by 62-51 Quebec was selected. The Government majority from the Lower Province swung the decision. On a further bill to provide the £200,000 necessary for buildings, amendments were defeated but only with a heavy proportion of Canada East votes. Messrs. Spence and Morrison resigned from the Cabinet and John A. Macdonald followed. Finally all the cabinet resigned and a new government was formed with Taché as the Leader, and Macdonald the Canada West chief. Drummond refused to cede his claim for the position of leader of the Lower Canada contingent and resigned. As a result on May 27, 1857, Cartier became Procureur-Général for Lower Canada. Timothy Lee Terrill replaced him as Provincial Secretary. The new ministry insisted that it was no longer a coalition but a cohesive party: the Liberal-Conservative Party. Both Mac Nab and Drummond felt that they had been ill-treated and they attacked the Government. One vote of non-confidence left the Upper Canadian contingent in a minority but a second provided the required double-majority and the business of the colony was carried on. Cartier, on May 30, gave his description of the new era (34). He maintained his sang-froid for which he was becoming well known. Detail by detail he gave a plausible explanation of the changes in the ministry. T-J-J Lor ranger, who so often vacillated from side to side, was asked to understand that the actions of the Government were not only constitutional but in the best interests of Lower Canada. La Minerve could well ask on

34. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 108-110.
June 3: "En face des mille et une difficultés qui entourent le nouveau ministère, que va-t-il faire? Dissoudra-t-il le Parlement (35)?" Car­tier replied to all critics with great confidence that he and the other ministers were fully capable of handling the affairs of state.

The "Seat of Government" question returned again to the floor of the House with George Brown stirring the pot at this point. Finally the House prorogued and the members returned home. La Minerve of July 22 announced that Cartier had arrived in Montreal a few days previously. A further report recounted that Cartier had not taken any holiday - he was busy preparing legislation for the next session (36). The Governor-General came through Montreal at the beginning of August and the Procureur-Général accompanied him on the Steamboat Doris to Quebec (37).

Cartier started in 1856 a correspondence with the Grand-Vicaire of the Archdiocese of Québec, Charles-Félix Cazeau, that was partly official but became more and more personal. A letter dated December 15 shows that Monsieur Cazeau was watching very carefully the actions of Dr. Egerton Ryerson in Upper Canada. Cartier explained that the Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada was indeed at fault in the way he was using certain monies, and finished with the rather amusing thought that "Dans la Hiérarchie Gouvernementale comme dans la Hiérarchie

35. La Minerve, 10 juin, 1856.
36. Ibid., 31 juillet.
37. Ibid., 2 août.
Sacerdotale, la tête n'est pas toujours responsable de ce qui est fait dans les degrés inférieurs de l'échelle (38)."

The Procureur-Général Est was becoming more widely known. Pierce Stevens Hamilton, the Editor of the Acadian Recorder in Halifax, wrote to Cartier with suggestions about a federation of the provinces of British North America and the role that the minister might play in such a development. Hamilton suggested that although he knew nothing of Jacques Cartier and was sure that this relationship would influence the minister to take the lead in establishing a great nation such as his ancestor might well have envisaged. A rather flimsy pretext perhaps but it is of interest to note the views of a Nova Scotian journalist on the subject of Union (39).

Most of the railway news of this period concerns deficits and other troubles. However, Montreal was not to be outdone by Toronto and on November 12 and 13 celebrations in honour of the Grand Trunk took place. Parades, speeches and a banquet were the order of the day. We have no record of George-Etienne Cartier making a speech but he was noted in the "enceinte réservée aux convives les plus distingués" at the banquet. Estimates of those taking part in the various parades and other festivities varied from ten to fifteen thousand. Mr. Heward, the ancestor of Mr. Heward Graffttey, until recently member for Brome-Mississquoi in the

39. F. S. C., pp. 32-33, Nov. 6, 1856. See Appendix XXI.
Federal House, sang the national anthem at the banquet (40). A booklet was published entitled Montreal in 1856, A Sketch prepared for the Celebration of the Opening of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, giving fifty pages of information about the city and the railways that serviced it (41).

La Minerve opened 1857 with a series of articles on the Hudson Bay Company Territories and their potential value to Canada (42). The House opened in Toronto on February 26, the Address mentioning the codification of the laws of Lower Canada, the administration of Justice, the organization of the civil service, colonization, etc. Judge William Henry Draper was sent to England in answer to a request from the Colonial Secretary that Canada's interests be represented in discussions about the future of the North-West. Draper's instructions were vague as the Government was not at all sure it wanted to tackle this problem at the moment, but the Clear Grits were calling for expansion and had propounded a doctrine of manifest destiny all of their own.

The question of the seat of government was raised again after the contradictory votes of the previous session. The Government decided to submit the question to the Royal Prerogative and proposed a vote of $900,000 for buildings wherever the site should be. Many amendments

40. La Minerve, 15 nov., 1856.
41. Montreal in 1856, printed by John Lovell, St. Nicholas St., 1856.
42. La Minerve, 3 janv., 7 janv., 4 mars, 1857.
were heard but none carried much support. Motions were heard in favour of Montreal (lost 38 to 75); Kingston (27 to 84); Toronto (30 to 81); Québec (14 to 100); and the most crushing defeat of all, a motion by Mister Patrick, the M.P.P. for Grenville, in favour of Ottawa lost by 10 to 101. The Government motion was finally passed on March 24 (61 to 50). Cartier's views were expressed in speeches he gave on the 17th and 20th. He covered his position as a Montrealer by saying that he would prefer the capital to be placed there. He said that he was sure, however, that the choice must fall on a site in Lower Canada. He gave an indication of what he knew the decision would be by saying "si, Sa Majesté ne veut donner raison ni à l'une ni à l'autre section de la province, alors elle désignera une ville appartenant pour ainsi dire à chacune d'elles et dont la population est mixte, elle choisira Bytown (43)."

On March 10 the Procureur-Général Est introduced a bill for the decentralization of justice in Lower Canada, the procedure of the courts, the provision of prisons, etc. The number of districts was increased from the seven provided for by LaFontaine in 1849 to nineteen. More judges were named and the French Civil Law was introduced to the Townships, making a uniform system in all of Lower Canada. Cartier expounded the details of the legislation in speeches in the Assembly on April 17 and April 20. On March 10 Cartier proposed three measures, the most important of which was the codification of the civil law and

procedure (44). This was a gigantic task. The author explained the necessity of the bill in a speech on April 27. Stating that the abolition of Seigniorial Tenure provided an ideal occasion for the codification of the laws Cartier spoke at great length about the difficulty of knowing what the law was when several different sources were used. He traced the history of codification from Justinian to Napoleon and assured the members that the greatest care would be exercised in the task to be undertaken (45). On November 28 Cartier wrote to LaFontaine asking him to become a Commissioner (46). The Chief Justice was unable to accept and Judge Augustin-Norbert Morin, with Judges Charles Dewey Day, and René-Edouard Caron were appointed. Judge Caron had gained notoriety among the patriotes by his service as Deputy Judge-Advocate-General at the court-martials in Montreal following the Troubles of 1837-1838 but this does not appear to have been held against him in 1859. Judge Caron had been a member of the Baldwin-LaFontaine and Hincks-Morin administrations before his elevation to the bench. He later served as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec from 1873 to 1876. They finished their arduous work in 1864. Turcotte remarks that "Cette oeuvre et celle de la codification sont certainement un des plus beaux titres que M. Cartier s'est acquis à la reconnaissance de ses concitoyens (47)." Undoubtedly this was

44. _La Minerve_, 14 mars, 1857.
46. C. LaF., No. 00821.
47. Turcotte, _Le Canada Sous l'Union_, p. 306.
one of the most important measures that Cartier undertook. At the same period Solicitor-General Smith of Canada West introduced "An Act further to secure the Independence of Parliament." This corrected a number of abuses by excluding certain officers such as Judges and Sheriffs from voting and barring from election anyone who held a salary from the government or had contracts with it. However, the two sections that were to enjoy an unexpected prominence read as follows:

"VI. If any Member of the Legislative Assembly or any elected member of the Legislative Council, shall, by accepting any office or by becoming a party to any contract or agreement, be disqualified under the foregoing provisions to continue to sit or vote in the said Legislative Assembly or Council, his election shall thereby become void, and the seat of such Member shall be vacated, and a Writ shall forthwith issue for a new election as if he were naturally dead; but he may be re-elected as a Member of either House if he be eligible under the first proviso to section three of this Act.

"VII. Provided always, that whenever any person holding the office of Receiver General, Inspector General, Secretary of the Province, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Attorney General, Solicitor General, Commissioner of Public Works, Speaker of the Legislative Council, President of Committees of the Executive Council, Minister of Agriculture or Post Master General, and being at the same time a Member of the Legislative Assembly or an elected Member of the Legislative Council, shall resign his office, and within one month after his resignation accept any other of the said offices, he shall not thereby vacate his seat in the said Assembly or Council (48)."

We shall see how before long an interpretation was placed on this last section that was, to say the least, not intended at the moment of its passage.

Railways were again in the air. On April 17 the Hon. Mister Cayley

48. 20 Vict., CAP, XXII, assented to June 10, 1857.
introduced a bill to come again to the aid of the Grand Trunk and bar-
ring members of the Government from being Directors of the Company (49).
It would appear that the Government was becoming a bit sensitive about
the connections of its members. Indeed on April 28, Sir Allan MacNab
expressed his suspicions about the affairs of the Company, making spe-
cial reference to the fact that Cartier was the Solicitor (50). The
Procureur-Général answered that he was not a Director of the Company and
indeed had seen very little business from the Company over the past
months. "De fait depuis 18 mois, il n'a pas donné dix opinions à la
compagnie, et à part cela il n'a rien à faire avec elle plus qu'aucun
membre de la chambre . . . Le gouvernement n'a pas l'intention de faire
l'apologie de la mal administration du chemin, car il ne la connaît
pas (51)." These assertions were only partly successful with the House.
However, it is of interest to note that Colonel George R. Stevens in his
research for his work on the Canadian National found that Cartier was
indeed remarkably little involved in the "wheeling and dealing" of the
Grand Trunk and the contractors (52). Although he did not so state in
his work Colonel Stevens found that the conduct of Galt and of Hincks
was much more open to question in this regard. It was proposed that the

50. Ibid., 5 mai.
51. Ibid.
52. G. R. Stevens, *Canadian National Railways*, Toronto, Clarke Irwin,
interest on the £3,500,000 be forgotten for the moment in order to permit the company to pay its expenses and 6% interest on its shares. The bill was passed (60 to 48) and enabled the Grand Trunk to finish its work. In fact the legal records show that at least the number of court cases involving the Grand Trunk had not been very numerous. There is no record of opinions given on matters that did not reach the Courts (53).

Unfortunately there was not enough money for the project so strongly supported by Cauchon - the North Shore route - and the member for Montmorency felt he could no longer continue in the Cabinet. However, later in the session a grant of land was made to help the situation on the north shore.

Cartier's anti-democratic feelings were expressed in a debate on April 20, on a motion by William Lyon Mackenzie in favour of the secret ballot (54). Strange companions perhaps, but the member for Verchères and the member for Toronto (George Brown) seemed to agree here. Cartier expressed once more his view that "l'électeur devait être responsable de son vote, non seulement à cause du privilège dont il jouit, mais encore à cause de l'exemple qu'il doit donner à ses concitoyens (55)." He once more stressed his belief that in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and in California the secret ballot had caused more corruption and violence

53. R. J. R. P. Q., Tomes IV, V, VI.
54. La Minerve, 25 avril, 1857.
55. Ibid.
than it had prevented. In reply to a suggestion by A-A Dorion that universal suffrage should be introduced Cartier stated that those who wanted the rights of a citizen should secure the required means.

One of the prices of public life is that one is on the list for donations of all sorts. This was particularly so when the contributions were published in the press. Thus the "comité du cabinet de lecture paroissial" expressed its thanks to contributors to its building fund in *La Minerve* of August 22. Cartier contributed £12 10s. During the recess the Procureur-Général made a tour of the Townships. The report of August 25 showed him at Saint-Jean. September 1 gives a report of a large banquet offered by the County of Mississquoi in Dunham. Hannibal Hodges Whitney, M.P.P., the Hon. Philip Henry Moore, Legislative Council member, and the Mayors of Dunham, Clarenceville, Farnham, Shefford, and Saint-Armand all turned out for the occasion. Addresses were presented congratulating the Minister on his contributions to the area through judicial and municipal reforms and the reporter writes that the guest of honour replied, "en peu de mots" a rather unusual occurrence not only for the speaker but for such gatherings in general (56).

The pressure of public business was such that the Procureur-Général took on another lawyer in his firm late in 1857, or early 1858. This was François-Pierre Pominville who was to remain faithfully with Cartier until the latter's death and died himself shortly after. There is no

record of a formal partnership until 1859 but Pominville's name starts to appear with Cartier's in the case records in 1858. In an action heard before the Superior Court in Montreal on Sept. 30, 1857, the firm of Loranger, Pominville and Loranger represented the Plaintiff against the firm of Cartier and Berthelot for the Defendant, the Grand Trunk Railway Company (57). In a new trial of the same case held before the Court of Queen's Bench on December 7, 1860, Loranger and Frères represented the Appelants while Cartier and Pominville represented the Respondents (58).

A very lengthy judgment was rendered in the Superior Court on November 23, 1857, involving the contention of Alexandre-Edouard Kierkowski, the Polish immigrant who later sat for Saint-Hyacinthe in the House of Commons. He contended that the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, which passed through his seigniory of Saint-François-le-Neuf, was now owned by the Grand Trunk and the lods et ventes should be paid on the mutation. The demand for over £1800 was refused by the Court (59). On the appeal to the Cour du Banc de la Reine a judgment was given on Dec. 9, 1859, reversing in part the decision of the lower court. Here the firm of Cherrier, Dorion and Dorion acted for the Appelant, Cartier and Berthelot for the Intimés. T. J. J. Loranger acted as Counsel for

58. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 69-83.
the defence (60). On Feb. 27, 1858, a case of a technicality of law in the Superior Court found the firm of Cartier, Berthelot and Pominville acting for the Defendant (61).

Governor Head was off to Britain for four months but by November 5 he was back in Montreal and, following a slight indisposition, left for Toronto, accompanied to the station by the Hon. George-Etienne Cartier, and by Henry Starnes, the Mayor of Montreal.

There is no record of Cartier's opinion at this date on the subject of a Confederation of the provinces of British North America. He was in Montreal staying at the Hotel Donégana as his family was away, at the time a series of editorials entitled *Le Bill de l'Union et la Confédération* appeared in *La Minerve* (62). This could well have been a trial balloon to elicit some reaction from the population. The whole argument of the four articles is summarized in the last paragraph. "Nous avons toujours regardé la Confédération des Provinces britanniques de l'Amérique du Nord comme une mesure politique dont le premier effet serait de faire disparaître tout à fait la nationalité Canadienne-française du sol Américain; de même, nous regardons aujourd'hui le Rappel de l'Union comme le sauvegarde et le remède à tous les malheurs présents et à venir (63)."

Under Cartier's direction the editorial opinion of La Minerve was to change. It is unlikely that the repeal of the Union would have met with his approval in 1857, yet there is certainly no indication that he had embraced the idea of Confederation. Election fever was in the air and everyone was wondering when a change would come. Jean-Charles Chapais, the M.P.P. for Kamouraska wrote asking the new Procureur-Général this question and received a rather vague reply.

"Je regrette qu'il ne soit pas de mon pouvoir de vous répondre catégoriquement sur la question de dissolution ou non dissolution. Vous devez comprendre que ma position Ministérielle m'impose silence. Dans le cas où une dissolution aurait lieu, il est à espérer qu'un tel mouvement ne prendra pas de surpise les Amis (64)."

On November 20 telegrams went out to the press from Toronto that for personal reasons Etienne-Paschal Taché had resigned as Premier and that John A. Macdonald of Kingston, the Attorney-General (West) had been asked to form a government. The Houses were dissolved on November 28. The papers were full of rumours about the composition of the new Cabinet. Creighton writes in a slightly patronizing tone: "Cartier, who had pushed his way rapidly to the front of the rather feeble and fluctuating group of French-Canadian politicians, was to be his (Macdonald's) principal assistant, almost his political equal; and Cartier's prodigious authority and influence in all that concerned Canada East could not be gain-said. Together they sat down to recruit the eastern section of the

64. A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Chapais, 26 sept., 1857.
Custom demanded two ministers from the Quebec area and three from Montreal; one of these five should be a Protestant. "Macdonald left most of the details to Cartier, who every once in a while, like a minor prophet bursting into revelation, would be "delivered" of a fresh set of names (66)." The scene as described by Professor Creighton could well have taken place. In any case Cartier was indeed the foremost figure from Lower Canada at this time and there is no question that he would insist that his very definite views about the Lower-Canadian contingent in the Cabinet must prevail. Great attempts were made to broaden the base of the ministry in Canada East. Narcisse-Fortunat Belleau, Mayor of Quebec and a member of the Legislative Council, became the Speaker of that body and a member of the Executive Council. This restored the Quebec City area representation in the Cabinet. The Speaker of the Assembly, Louis-Victor Sicotte of Saint-Hyacinthe, joined the Cabinet as Commissioner of Crown Lands. This attempt to win the support of Sicotte was not overly successful. He could be a very acid critic when in opposition but it was difficult to keep him satisfied. The other Quebec area representative in the Cabinet was Charles Alleyn an Irishman who had come to Quebec City as a boy and had married a daughter of Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé, the author and lawyer who was Seigneur of Saint-Jean-Port-Joli. Alleyn had been Mayor of Quebec and for thirteen years he represented that city in the Legislative Assembly. Thomas–

66. Ibid.
Jean-Jacques Loranger, the member for Laprairie, finished out the list of ministers as Provincial Secretary. Loranger was a relatively quiet person, really more interested in the law than politics, and he was willing to follow the lead of the Procureur-Général. All the Lower-Canadian members except for Cartier himself were new to the Cabinet. A-A Dorion had been offered the post of Provincial Secretary but after consideration he refused. It appears that he might have accepted but his lieutenants would not hear of such a move. The reasons he gave in his address to the electors of Montreal in the combat that followed were no doubt true but they probably did not tell the whole story. La Minerve of December 2 announced that John Young was retiring from politics and also that Messrs. Holton and Dorion were the only sure candidates in Montreal as yet. However, by December 5 the announcement was made that Cartier would run for Montreal as well as for Verchères, and his running mates were to be John Rose, the Solicitor-General, and John Starnes, the Mayor. A real contest resulted, especially with the announcement that the other Rouge candidate was Thomas D'Arcy McGee. Cartier's circular to the electors dated December 16 touched on several topics of interest to the electorate (67). He spoke of the Province obliging the Grand Trunk Railway to finish its route from Sarnia to Rivière-du-Loup. Speaking very much as a member of the Government rather than the Solicitor of the Grand Trunk he also spoke of the Victoria Bridge and of the great amount of financial aid that the Province had

67. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 139-140.
contributed to the railways. The need of sharing the expenses of the deepening of the St. Lawrence was also touched upon and he suggested that the commercial policies of the Opposition would ruin the commerce and industry of the city. The Attorney-General fought desperately. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the Irish patriot who had fled to the United States after the rebellion of 1848, had just arrived in Montreal after several years in New York and Buffalo publishing a newspaper called the American Celt. Although he was soon to alter his political affiliation, McGee ran in 1858 as a Rouge. Cartier produced a pamphlet critical of the Papacy reportedly written by McGee in New York (68). La Minerve repeated that both Dorion and McGee wanted to run with Cartier, not against him, but that he would not have them. Unfortunately, Cartier was not present for the official nomination in Montreal. His name was put forward by a citizen named N. Dumas. Cartier went to the official nomination in Verchères on the 4th where Monsieur Préfontaine was again his opponent, but was soon back in Montreal for the 12th and stayed there until election day on the 23rd and 24th. Meetings were announced for "la boutique de M. Eusèbe Ouimet, voiturier, Rue St-Antoine" on the 9th, and for the "Maison de la St. Vincent de Paul, Rue Visitation" for the 16th. Sicotte received big billing for this meeting, no doubt to show off the new catch and steal some of the Rouges' thunder.

All the old issues were dragged over and challenges (verbal this

68. La Minerve, 19 déc., 1857.
time, not leading to duels) were beyond number (69). Another large Assembly was announced for the 19th at "Tatersalls, Grande Rue St. Jacques." Another announcement invited friends of Messrs. Cartier, Rose, and Starnes to come to the election offices at no. 30, Petite Rue St. Jacques any time from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. (70). The voters were exhorted not to ask for the "ruine" of a Rouge Government. "Mr. Dorion et Holton se sont engagés à voter pour la représentation basée sur la population, s'il leur est impossible de diviser le Canada en plusieurs provinces avec un gouvernement fédéral. Ce serait votre ruine, Bas-Canadiens, et à vous surtout Montréalistes. Pour éviter ce danger, allez votez lundi, pour MM. Cartier, Rose et Starnes (71)."

Monday and Tuesday came and on Wednesday La Minerve sadly reported that Dorion, McGee, and Rose had been elected - that the Attorney-General was at the bottom of the polls. This "Singulier résultat" is given as follows:

"Les élections de Montréal ont produit un singulier résultat. La majorité des votes s'est amassée sur les noms de MM. Dorion et McGee: M. Rose est le seul du parti libéral-conservateur qui réunisse de même une majorité. Tel était hier soir le retour général qui donnait ce résultat.

Cartier ....................... 3670
Rose .......................... 4192
Starnes ....................... 4028
Dorion ........................ 4332


70. La Minerve, 19 déc., 1857.

71. Ibid.
Holton ......................... 4103
McGee .......................... 4301
M. Cartier a eu pour lui la majorité des canadiens-français; M. Dorion a été porté par un vote mêlé d'Irlandais, d'Anglais et de canadiens; et M. McGee par le Griffintown, un parti d'Écossais et quelques Canadiens. D'où il résulte que la nationalité Irlandaise se trouve à être la seule qui soit représentée, à être la seule qui ait amené les résultats de cette élection. Que les démocrates en soient fiers; nous le croyons. Que M. Holton soit vexé d'avoir déboursé de l'argent pour être à la fin rejeté de tous; nous le pensons bien. Que la première des villes de l'Amérique Britannique du Nord s'honore d'être représentée par M. McGee; nous le nions. Encore une fois; c'est un singulier résultat que de voir Montréal élire à la fois le chef de l'Opposition, un membre de l'Administration et un inconnu (72).

The succeeding issues provided a minute examination or post-mortem of the Montreal defeat. It was shown that Cartier had an overall majority of 502 votes in the French-Canadian sections over M. Dorion, while the latter had a majority of 723 over Cartier in Griffintown, the poor Irish district. It was presumed that the Griffintown votes had been bought. Almost like a voice out of another world comes a passage in a letter from Julie Bruneau Papineau to her husband, Louis-Joseph: ". . . c'est le second jour de l'élection; l'on ne sait comment elle se terminera, l'on est certain de faire élire Dorion et espérons de faire perdre celle de Cartier." And again on the election in Verchères: ". . . à Verchères Cartier aurait perdu, s'il avait un homme ce n'est que ce Préfontaine qui ne peut remporter dans tout le comté; et encore Cartier a bien du trouble il y est allé lui-même . . . (73).

72. Ibid., 23 déc.

One report gave Cartier a majority of 200 in Verchères, but this was never confirmed. It is only possible to speculate what thoughts were in the Attorney-General's mind that Christmas after such a rebuke in Montreal. There is no doubt that McGee helped the Rouge cause enormously, just as he would later help the Conservatives. La Minerve was obviously stung by the defeat as it carried its explanations on into January. The following passage commenting on the opinion of Le Pays is a good example. The reasoning is slightly tortured but the indignation at the "conclusion aussi étourdie qu'étourdissante" is very real:

"Il est de notoriété publique et certaine que le vote irlandais seul a déclaré M. Dorion l'un des représentants de la ville de Montréal; il est aussi reconnu et admis de tous que les irlandais n'ont voté pour MM. Dorion et Holton que parce que le nom de M. McGee leur était accolé; il est enfin incontestable que si le ministère n'avait mis à la raison les exigences impérieuses de M. McGee en refusant de se l'attacher, les candidats rouges auraient essuyé une défaite inévitable et absolue: voilà des faits et cependant l'organe de M. Dorion (Le Pays) refuse de les voir."

Pushing on valiantly La Minerve continued:

"Nous comprenons fort bien que le Pays n'aime pas à dire que M. Dorion est l'élu des irlandais, tandis que M. Cartier est celui de ses compatriotes d'origine française; cependant nous le lui passerions volontiers, s'il ne venait pas ajouter cette conclusion aussi étourdie qu'étourdissante (74)."

Le Pays concluded that because Dorion had beaten Cartier the Rouges were much stronger than the present government. The statistics poured on and in one article the statements of Le Pays were drawn up on one

74. La Minerve, 5 janv., 1858.
side of the paper while the actual results were listed on the other side. Thus such reports as: "Verchères - M. Cartier rencontrera encore M. Préfontaine au poll, et cette fois son compte sera réglé. La campagne électorale s'est ouverte sous les meilleurs auspices." (Le Pays) were lined up on one side while on the other appears the simple statement dramatically against the white page: "M. Cartier a été élu (75)." However, M. Préfontaine did not take his defeat lying down. On January 22 Dorion presented a petition before Judge Charles Mondelet against Cartier's election. The judge considered the petition and later referred it and others to the Assembly (76). The same fate awaited a petition by Messrs. Cartier and Starnes against the election of McGee. Henry Starnes had run for two seats also, and had been elected in Chateauguay. None of these petitions were successful.

Those newly elected in Lower Canada included some names that would be heard of in later years. McGee and Starnes have already been referred to. Christopher Dunkin, the Seigneurs' lawyer, was elected in Drummond and Arthabaska. Gédéon Ouimet, later Premier of Quebec, was returned for Beaufort. Hector-L Langevin made his début as member for Dorchester. Cartier wrote to Langevin on February 6th reminding him that the session opened in Toronto on the 25th and requesting his presence on the 24th so that the Government supporters could agree on a candidate for Speaker. Cartier assured his ex-student that he had the

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intention of suggesting "une personne qualifiée sous tous les rapports" although he did not name the individual (77). Langevin was a bit unruly for the Bleu chief's taste. When asked to move the reply to the Speech from the Throne the younger man refused, stating that he could not do so because the Speech did not contain certain measures that he thought should be there, including the introduction of a secret ballot (78). Macdonald was not happy about the election results in Upper Canada. Three ministers - Cayley, Spence, and Morrison - had been defeated and the Ministry was in a minority. The doctrine of the Double Majority or the idea that the Government must maintain a majority in both sections of the Province or consider itself defeated, was much discussed, as was the decision of the Queen that the capital should be at Bytown. La Minerve could not rejoice at the "Queen's choice," but it tried to make the best of the situation: "Nous ne sommes nullement de ceux qui se réjouissent de voir Bytown capitale des deux Canadas; d'autre côté, nous n'en sommes pas mécontents et pour plusieurs raisons (79)."

Before leaving for Toronto to prepare for the session, the Attorney-General took time to attend a meeting of the "Cabinet de Lecture" to hear Chauveau, the Superintendent of Education, give a "literary talk" on French-Canadian writing. Following the lecture, Cartier was asked to thank the speaker:

77. A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin.
78. Ibid., Langevin à Cartier, 25 fév., 1858.
79. La Minerve, 30 janv., 1858.
"... l'hon. Proc. Général a bien voulu adresser quelques mots de compliments à l'aimable et érudit littérateur, dire quelques chaudes paroles de patriotism suggérées par l'occasion, féliciter la plus jolie partie de l'auditoire sur ses grâces et son mérite et enfin rendre tribut au dévouement si sublime de notre Clergé pour répandre les plus hautes, comme les plus saines lumières dans la population canadienne-française (80)."

The Procureur-Général did not forget anyone when he wanted to be charming.

"No Separate Schools" and "Rep by Pop" provided the battle cries of the Clear Grits in Upper Canada where George Brown was able to establish more cohesive opposition. La Minerve chastised Dorion and his followers, and then gave way to some hilarity occasioned by the suggestion of a Captain Moodie at a Grit dinner, held at Montgomery's Tavern, that the Governor should be elected and George Brown should hold that post. In an article headed "Son Excellence George Brown, futur Gouverneur des Provinces du Bas et du Haut-Canada" the following paragraphs appeared:


Choking on its own humour the article continued:

"Ah! Monsieur Cartier, si vous aimez votre pays, qu'il y a

80. Ibid., 23 janv.
longtemps que vous auriez dû céder la place et prié Son Excellence de retourner pour toujours en Angleterre!
Que pense le 'Pays' cette fois, de la combinaison ministérielle, telle qu'organisée à la taverne Montgomery (81) ?

The choice of a Speaker aroused considerable discussion but when the session opened, the Honourable Henry Smith, the bi-lingual member for Frontenac and the Solicitor-General in the previous administration, was proposed by Macdonald and seconded by Cartier (82). After some debate, he was elected by 79 to 37.

Sandwiched in with the political news is a report that reminds us that the first trans-atlantic telegraph service had just been established. Messrs. Cartier, Ross, and Young were named Honorary Directors of the Transatlantic Telegraph Company (83). The Throne Speech mentioned changes in a number of laws concerning legal matters, and also the registration of voters, and contested elections. The Governor mentioned the success of the colonization roads and also of the Allan Line steamer service to England. Negotiations concerning the Intercolonial Railway and the North-West were to be reported upon, and the response from the Queen to the Seat of Government address was presented. For the first time in several years no aid was required for the Grand Trunk and the Speech brought a rather oblique reference to that fact by stating that the route would soon be finished. Dorion proposed an amendment on the

81. Ibid., 10 fév.
82. Ibid., 24 fév.
83. Ibid.
Tariff question which was lost 40 to 78. Cartier replied to Dorion's assertions and exposed the Government's policy in a speech delivered on March 8th. In this speech we find a statement that probably comes as close to any statement of the Minister's personal views on trade policy that can be found:

"Quant à moi, je le répète, je n'ai jamais été ni libre-échangiste absolu ni protectionniste absolu. Notre politique fiscale doit être basée sur nos besoins et se régler sur les circonstances économiques dans lesquelles nous nous trouvons, d'année en année (84)."

Not a ringing declaration of principle to be sure but the sort of down-to-earth pragmatic statement that one would expect from George-Étienne Cartier on a subject with which he was familiar.

On the same date, Alexander Tilloc Galt, the Grand Trunk Director who represented Sherbrooke, for the first time gave some support to the administration. He also described at length the advantages to be gained by a federation of all the colonies of British North America. On July 6, Galt presented three resolutions of great interest outlining his proposals for the constitutional changes that would result in a type of confederation (85). Cartier did not react publicly to Galt's ideas but there is no doubt that the question of Confederation was very much in his mind.

84. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 141-145.
85. La Minerve, 13 juillet, 1858.
A motion proposed by Joseph-E Thibaudeau, the member for Portneuf, was debated at length in the Assembly but finally defeated by a wide margin. "Que c'est l'opinion de cette chambre que toute tentative de législation affectant une section de la Province contrairement aux voeux de la majorité des représentants de cette section serait pleine de dangereuses conséquences pour le bien-être de la Province et donnerait lieu à beaucoup d'injustices (86)." This sort of motion underlined the problems that Galt was attempting to solve. The double majority principle was very difficult to practice except in matters that were of the greatest importance to one section or the other of the Province. However, all Governments tacitly accepted the principle, without in fact setting it down on the statute books. On March 19, the possibility of publishing the debates of the House was considered. Cartier appeared to be in favour, but was anxious to have the Miroir du Parlement published in French as well as in English (87). Thompson's Mirror of Parliament was indeed published in 1860 by Samuel Thompson, an English journalist who had previously been Editor of the Herald, the Daily Colonist, and News of the Week in Toronto.

A bill to incorporate the Orange Order was introduced on May 5 by George Benjamin, the member for Hastings North. John A. Macdonald had been an Orangeman since 1842 and stated he would support the bill.

86. Ibid., 20 mars.
87. Ibid., 24 mars.
Cartier stated that he was against secret societies, but he had some conciliatory things to say about the Orangemen. The bill was reserved for six months. Some criticism arose from the fact that such Catholic members as Cartier, Sicotte and Langevin had voted for the introduction of this bill into the House. On May 11, La Minerve explained the points of parliamentary procedure germane to the passage of bills and defended the conduct of the ministers. Cartier continued to have some contact with his old College although he did not return for many years to the actual buildings. However, on May 10, M. l'Abbé Dominique Granet, the Superior of Saint-Sulpice wrote to him thanking him for a copy of the book that the Minister had sent. Monsieur Granet thanked Cartier for his loyalty to his old college.

"De notre côté, instruits par nos anciens des importants services que vous nous avez rendus, et du zèle que vous avez mis dans des circonstances pour nous fort critiques, à soutenir notre bon droit; nous saisissions avec joie cette occasion de vous témoigner notre reconnaissance toujours vivante comme les heureux résultats de vos savants mémoires en faveur du Séminaire de St-Sulpice de Montréal (88)."

Les Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice were among the larger Seigneurs and were very interested in the details of the workings of the Seignorial Court. The Superior wrote to the Procureur-Général giving his views on a number of points of importance to the Order (89). Some buildings owned by the

88. A. S. S., Correspondance, Granet à Cartier, 10 mai, 1858.
89. Ibid., n. d.
Government in the City of Montreal were built on land belonging to the Sulpicians.

Contested elections took up a lot of time during this session. Lotbinière, Essex, Russell, Oxford, Québec, and Montréal all were examined in detail. La Minerve of June 5 opened with an editorial going over much of the same territory that had been so thoroughly examined the previous December and January, quoting the Gazette and suggesting again that foul play was responsible for the results in Montreal.

John Hillyard Cameron put forward a motion in favour of Representation by Population on June 9 (90). Cartier's views on the subject were expressed in a speech in the House on the same day. Cameron proposed to give one member to counties of 15,000 population; two to counties of 30,000; three where there are 45,000 inhabitants, etc. George Brown spoke in favour of the motion, and Cartier replied (91). He maintained that although the Union had been forced upon Lower Canada that section had done everything in its power to make the new system work. George Brown of Toronto and Michael Foley of Waterloo-North could well talk of "French domination" but such was not the case and the Clear Grits only wanted Representation by Population so that Upper Canada could impose its will on Lower Canada. The problem was not settled in 1858 and would be aired repeatedly for some years to come.

90. La Minerve, 15 juin, 1858.

On June 23, the Procureur-Général spoke in favour of amendments to the Separate School Bill presented in the Legislative Council by Colonel Taché. These amendments raised a great deal of furor as it was thought they were being introduced towards the end of the session in the Upper House in order to hide their true import. Cartier explained that in fact the bill was for purely administrative improvements, and did not change the rights of either Catholics or Protestants (92).

A subject that continued to draw differing opinions over a long period is that of capital punishment. Le Journal de Québec wrote at some length on the subject, reporting that Cartier had refused to order a stay in execution in a particular case, and congratulating him for upholding law and order (93).

The opposition became stiffer as the session progressed. Cauchon, Drummond, and Lemieux, all ex-Ministers, fought the Government. Chapais and Langevin, who had been counted upon earlier in the session, became more independent. In order to see the budget passed an arrangement was made between Messrs. Galt, Brown, Dorion, and J. A. Macdonald. However, on Friday, July 16, Dorion proposed an amendment that the House disapproved of the choice of the seat of government made by the Queen. Cartier and Sicotte attacked the subterfuge of the Rouge leader. La Minerve and Le Pays rose to heights of furor. Cartier was referred to

93. La Minerve, 6 juillet.
as a "Révolutionnaire (94)." This amendment was lost, but the Opposition would have its way. On July 28, MM. Thibaudeau, Dunkin, and Piché all proposed further motions in the same sense. On the division on the proposal of Eugène-U Piché, the member for Berthier, the Government lost 50 to 64. George Brown then proposed that the House be adjourned and that those who voted for the adjournment would thus be expressing lack of confidence in the Government. The ministers were upheld by a vote of 61-50, but the following morning Attorney-General Macdonald announced the resignation of the Government.

In writing to his elderly mentor who must have followed the political news with interest, Cartier said on July 31: "Je suis à faire mon déménagement pour faire place à mon successeur qui à 3 heures p.m. n'est pas encore connu. Il paraît que Brown rencontre des difficultés à former son Gouvèt. (95)." The last sentence was undoubtedly written with a sense of relish. La Minerve of August 3 had a headline of three lines, in increasingly large print:

"Un Nouveau Ministère!
Sa Formation!
Sa DEFAITE (96)!!!"

Such indeed was the case. George Brown had been asked to form a

94. Ibid., 22 juillet.
95. C. LaF., No. 00825.
96. La Minerve, 3 août.
Government, and he had agreed to do so, asking for a dissolution, and requesting Antoine-Aimé Dorion to be leader of the Lower-Canadian section. Dorion became Commissioner of Crown Lands, Drummond Attorney-General, Holton Commissioner of Public Works, Lemieux Receiver-General, Thibaudeau Minister of Agriculture, and Laberge Solicitor-General.

The House was convened and William Patrick, the member for Grenville, announced the names of the new Ministers adding that the policy of the Government would not be announced until after the Cabinet had been re-elected. This last move the Ministers were to regret. For months to come different members of the "Short Ministry" stated what the agreed programme had been. John Sandfield Macdonald stated that it had been drafted and on paper. However, it was never published and memories seemed to recall somewhat different policies on the same issue. In any case, immediately after Patrick's announcement, Jacques-Olivier Bureau, the member for Napierville, declared that Dorion's seat in Montreal was vacant and proposed the issuance of an election brief. Hector Langevin proposed an amendment:

"Que cette chambre, tout en ordonnant l'émission du dit Writ, cette chambre reconnaît qu'il est de son devoir de déclarer que l'administration, qui a été formée dans le cours de cette vacance, ne possède pas la confiance de cette chambre ni celle du pays (97)."

This amendment was passed 71 to 31. It was a very unusual procedure,

97. Ibid.
but this was the time for unusual political happenings. Thus the shortest lived ministry in Canadian history came to an end.
CHAPTER V

PRIME MINISTER

After the failure of the Brown-Dorion Ministry, the Governor called upon the member for Sherbrooke, Alexander Tillock Galt, to form a government. Galt stated that he was unable to do so and Head asked George-Etienne Cartier. Cartier accepted the challenge, asking his old colleague, the Attorney-General for Upper Canada, to join him in constructing a government. Macdonald reluctantly agreed – he had hoped to return to Kingston, his family, and his law practice (1). The only changes in the Cabinet were the retirement of Cayley and Loranger to allow Sherwood and Galt to enter.

The new Government formed on August sixth made no mistake about announcing its programme immediately. It was the same as that of the previous Conservative regime: federal union would be actively considered, the tariff would be revamped, and the choice of the capital would be left to the decision of the House. The new item of importance was that concerning union.

The members of the House must have thought for a brief time that the Ministers had taken leave of their senses. On August 6, Cartier was named Inspector-General; Macdonald, Postmaster-General. However, by the

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next day everyone was back in his usual slot. The Double-Shuffle had
occurred. Taking advantage of the clause in the "Act further to secure
the independence of parliament" already mentioned, new portfolios had
been taken and then a further change placed everyone where they had been
earlier (2). The move was apparently legal, as it withstood two tests
in the courts, but it was certainly questionable in principle. Perhaps
the rule that ministers had to seek re-election was not a good one but
the means of circumnavigating it were indeed rather novel. However, the
Premier made his own announcement, with some interruptions from "The

"Je présume que chaque membre de cette Chambre, familier
avec la loi de l'indépendance de la législature, com-
prendra parfaitement pourquoi ces nominations ont été
faites ainsi. La loi passée à la dernière session sur
l'initiative du présent Orateur, décrète que, si un mem-
bre de l'une ou de l'autre branche de la législature,
qui forme partie du gouvernement, se démet de son porte-
feuille et qu'il accepte un autre portefeuille dans le
mois qui suit sa démission, il ne sera pas tenu de de-
mander l'assentiment de ses électeurs. Dans le présent
cas, nous donnons loyalement et sincèrement ces informations à la Chambre, afin d'obéir à la lettre tout comme
à l'esprit de la loi (3)."

The fury of the Opposition knew no bounds. They were now left in a
position where their ex-ministers had to seek re-election when the Con-
servative ministers, except for those newly named, did not.

On the 16th, the Houses were prorogued. The session had not been

2. 20 Vict., CAP, XXII, Supra Chap. IV.
very productive but was certainly stormy. The government that was to have the longest tenure recorded during the Union period – 3 years and 9 months – now held the reins of power. In the speech from the throne, three items for the future were mentioned, the Hudson's Bay Company territory, the Intercolonial Railway, and the union of the various colonies of British North America. These were not accomplished immediately; but in time and after much debate all three were to hold great importance in our history and the first two became necessary ingredients of the third.

Before the Premier went off to London to try to further these giant schemes, certain elections had to be looked after. Twelve new Legislative Councillors were to be elected, the new ministers, and Messrs. Brown and Dorion were running for re-election.

Among the new members of the Upper House was Alexander Campbell, John A's law partner in Kingston. All the members of the Assembly were re-elected, Galt by acclamation. Dorion was given some fairly stiff opposition in Montreal (4). During the recess William Lyon Mackenzie, the Upper Canadian Patriot leader, who had been member for Haldimand since 1851, decided to withdraw from active political life. Shortly before the Premier and Messrs. Ross and Galt went to England, the Governor left for his summer residence. Cartier wired the Mayor of Quebec, Hector Langevin, to make sure that the Queen's representative received the proper honours upon his arrival at the railway station at Point Lévis.

4. La Minerve, 24 et 26 août, 1858.
The three ministers had to return home from London almost empty-handed. After Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the Colonial Secretary, recovered from his initial anger at the fact that the question of union was raised at all, he took time to consider the official communication signed by the three ministers. On the same date, October 25, a private letter was addressed to the Minister of the Colonies giving more detail of the type of federation envisaged. The ministers stated that they were "convinced that Her Majesty's Government will be fully alive to the grave nature of the circumstances referred to which are stated by them under the full responsibility of their position as advisers of the Crown in Canada." They further asserted that "the time has arrived for a constitutional discussion of all means whereby the evils of internal dis-sension may be avoided (5)." The reply was eventually received that Newfoundland was the only one of the lower colonies that had shown even passing interest in a broad union.

Dispatches passed back and forth concerning the Hudson's Bay Company Charter, the desire of the Canadians to acquire the North-West and their ability to govern and defend the territory. A period of ten years followed before the newly-constituted Dominion was in a position to take such responsibilities and Cartier again returned to London to work out the final terms. Delegates from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were in London in the autumn of 1858 to look into the third matter of interest

5. Skelton, Galt..., p. 239. See Appendix XXII.
to the Canadian ministers. This was the Intercolonial Railway, the link between the Canadas and the Atlantic that was so necessary if there was to be any question of union. The response to the request for a guarantee for this venture was in the negative. However, the proposal to Benjamin Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is of interest.

The colonial ministers explained that the cost of the Intercolonial would be offset by the monies saved in not having to transport the mails and other things from New York, the fact that Halifax was much closer to Britain than New York, etc. These arguments were to be added to the important consideration of having year-round communications on British soil.

There is no question that Cartier's position as the representative of French-Canadian interests was open to question with his approval of the federation proposals. How could the French-Canadian nationality be protected in a larger union? Cartier undoubtedly looked at the question of the survival of French Canada as of first importance but he also saw further than this and decided that if no political changes were made "Rep. by Pop." might well come eventually. Would it not be better to build a new system, including all the safeguards possible for his own people, and at the same time solving some of the economic and political problems that beset all of British North America? Cartier's interest in the Grand Trunk undoubtedly affected his decisions but he was sound in his judgment that the development of the railways was necessary for the development of the country.
While in London, the Canadian Ministers enjoyed the society of the great capital. On December 1, *La Minerve* quoted at length the comings and goings of the Ministers and particularly of the Premier. Cartier had visited Paris where he had been received by some very distinguished hosts. The Bulwer-Lyttons had entertained him in London, and many others. But the real point of excitement was that Queen Victoria had received Cartier at an audience at Windsor and then had invited him to stay there for three days (6). *Le Pays*, in its issues of November 28 and 30 rose to heights of anger at the idea of such a man as the present Premier going to Windsor and passing "trois jours en tête en tête avec Sa Majesté (7)." Worse still, the ex-Premier, Colonel Taché, again no favourite of the Rouges, visited England at the same period and was created Sir Etienne-Pascal Taché at the hand of the Queen. The Opposition press continually did everything in its power to prove that the Bleu leaders were disreputable and these marks of attention on behalf of the Queen were blows indeed.

Galt's account of the visit to Windsor was somewhat less flamboyant than that printed in *La Minerve*. In a letter to his wife he described the scene of the audience, the dress and manner of the Queen and Prince Albert and other details (8).

6. *La Minerve*, 1 déc., 1858.
In a later missive Galt wrote that Cartier was sailing on November 13. La Minerve tells us that he arrived back in Montreal on November 27, and was off again to Toronto the last day of the month. Unfortunately no letters in Cartier's own hand describing his visit to England and to France are available.

Jean-Baptiste Meilleur was among those who was unhappy with the honours bestowed on Canadian politicians in Britain. Writing to his old friend and confidant, the Curé Bois, he fumed:

"Hier, on disait de par la ville, que Cartier, le confédé-rationiste, a été fait chevalier Knight? Aujourd'hui on dit que c'est lui ou le colonel Taché ou tous les deux. Je dis que la dernière version sera vraie ou nos prétendants ne pourront pas parvenir à leur but d'ambition et de vaine gloire. D'ailleurs chacun aime à avoir le prix de sa conduite ou de son oeuvre. Que va faire Taché en Angleterre? Cependant, je n'ai pas d'objection à ce que ces hommes insatiables soient faits chevaliers du roi; pourvu qu'ils nous laissent la vie et la liberté de nous gouverner nous mêmes (9)."

The Official Gazette received in Montreal on January 7 announced that the Legislature would meet on the 29th of the same month. Cartier was very anxious to see the work of the codification of the Civil Code of Lower Canada proceed. He wrote to Judge René-Edouard Caron of Québec, later Lieutenant-Governor of Québec, asking if he would accept a position as one of the Commissioners (10). Caron, who had also been a member of the Seigniorial Court, replied asking a number of questions

about the terms of employment. He also wrote to Chief Justice LaFontaine saying that he had not in fact read the law in question, but was not at all sure that he wanted to become involved (11). Caron did accept, as well as Augustin-Norbert Morin, and Charles Dewey Day. Morin, according to Caron, was delighted at this nomination: "il est heureux - Sa Jugerie lui déplait autant à présent que la vie publique autrefois (12)."

Anticipating the difficult question of the permanent seat of government in Ottawa and the arrangements in Quebec for the four years until suitable quarters could be built in the new capital, Cartier contacted the members on whose vote he thought he could count asking them to be present from the start of the new session and to pair with an opposition member if they had to be absent. In a letter from Toronto to Hector Langevin in Quebec, whom he had heard planned to sail for Europe, he noted that, "si la décision de la Reine est maintenue par un vote de la Chambre, cette circonstance aura un heureux effet sur l'esprit des Capitalistes Anglais qui ont trouvé plus qu'étrange la conduite de la Chambre sur cette question durant la dernière session (13)."

With the opening of the session the seat of government question did

11. 20 Vict., Chap. 43.

12. C. LaF., No. 00827A, 11 janv., 1859. Judge Day, certainly not popular with the French-speaking citizens of Lower Canada because of his part in the trials of 1838, was nevertheless much respected by his English-language compatriots and served as Chancellor of McGill University from 1857 to his death in 1884.

indeed come to the fore as expected. Messrs. McGee and Dorion had just written open letters to the Mayor of Montreal promising to change the Queen's decision when they came to power. However, after a motion proposed by L-V Sicotte and seconded by Langevin to the effect that Ottawa should not be the capital was defeated by five votes, the question was a dead one. The Premier might have been wiser to let the Mayor of Quebec go to Europe as he had planned. However, Sicotte had resigned from the Cabinet on this point so his opposition was expected. Cartier, speaking in the House of February 22, was undoubtedly aware that he was making the best of a bad situation and that he was losing support because of the decision. He made every attempt to persuade the House that the decision was made and that it was fruitless to argue further.

"La Reine a consenti à décider en qualité d'arbitre; elle a fait connaître son intention par les dépêches du secrétaire d'État aux colonies, M. Labouchère; elle s'est conformée à la demande de notre législature, et il n'y a pas à revenir là dessus (14)."

La Minerve battled bravely to explain the Government's stand on many issues, but particularly on the seat of the government question. It reproduced all the documents possible and went over and over the arguments, refuting the charges of Le Pays and of a more recent rival "The True Witness." The explanations by Monsieur Sicotte for his resignation and his protestations of continued friendship for the Government were also given prime space. In his letter of resignation dated December 24,

1858, Sicotte had stated clearly that this was his only point of disagreement with the Government (15). Langevin and Sicotte were not entirely happy with Cartier's methods and found the firm bit used by the Bleu chief too restrictive. Writing to Langevin on March 29, 1859, Sicotte grumbled "L'ami Georges a le talent de faire naître des tempêtes à propos de tout, et c'est à cela qu'il doit d'avoir formé trois ou quatre gouvernements depuis 1855 (16)." Andrée Désilets, C. N. D., in her thesis on Hector Langevin, makes a very interesting statement of the views of the young member for Dorchester on the subject of his leader. "Le jeune député a du respect pour son chef, mais un respect dépourvu d'admiration vraie et d'estime profonde (17)." Backing up this phrase are a number of impressive quotations. The continuous rivalry between Montreal and Quebec probably contributed to the differences that arose from time to time between the two men but generally their relations seem to have been cordial and from a practical point of view very successful.

On February 8, Cartier delivered a rather rambling defence of the Government to the Legislative Assembly. He seemed to be intent on causing rifts in the opposition ranks as he quoted statements of several members and when challenged simply replied: "Je laisse aux membres de

15. La Minerve, 5 fév., 1859.
la gauche le soin de régler cette affaire entre eux (18)." George Brown attempted to elicit details of the costs of the commutation of Seigniorial Tenure over and above the sums planned for in 1855. It was indeed true that considerable extra funds were required, particularly as the Seigneuries of Saint-Sulpice, Deux-Montagnes and Montréal were now to be commuted, where they had been exempted under the law of 1854. Both the Superior of Saint-Sulpice, Monsieur Dominique Granet, and his successor, Monsieur Joseph-Alexandre Baile (19), visited their ex-pupil in Toronto to settle the details of the very complicated commutation of the lands held by the Order (20).

Governor Sir Edmund Walker Head, in writing to Herman Merivale of the Colonial Office on February 12, remarked that: "Cartier deserves great credit, he has parried abuse and odium from his civil supporters most manfully (21)." Cartier's diligence and great ability were combining with his experience as a Minister to produce a very astute politician. He was continually plagued by vacillating supporters during this period, a fact which may well have led him to the conclusion that iron party discipline was required. This he succeeded in accomplishing, but only in later years. Some critics, however, resented Cartier's firmness

19. Also spelt Bayle. Tanguay, _Répertoire du Clergé Canadien_, p. 179.
Jean-Baptiste Meilleur wrote in 1858:

"Le jeune Armand vient d'être élu pour Alma à une grande majorité. C'est un bon enfant, trop bon pour pouvoir s'émançiper la main pressante et tyrannique de Cartier. Armand est une pâte à être facilement pétrie par une semblable main. Alors il sera jouet, instrument à volonté. Voilà (22)."

Dr. Meilleur need not have been too concerned about the independence of the new member for Alma in the Legislative Council. On February 7, 1859, the Honourable Joseph-F. Armand proposed that no monies be spent on public buildings in Ottawa until some decision was made on the subject of Confederation (23). It is doubtful if the "tyrannique" Attorney-General was pleased by this action.

The Address was finally voted on February 15, after an amendment proposed by Dorion on the seat of government question was defeated 29-73 (24). During the regular business of the Assembly on February 18, Cartier moved that the House concur in the report of the committee to provide names for the Permanent Committees during the session. If the Attorney-General hoped that the lists would pass without comment he was mistaken. Michael Foley, the member for Waterloo North, wished to raise a number of points, particularly the injustice in the formation of the Public Accounts Committee and specifically the omission of the name of

23. La Minerve, 8 fév., 1859.
24. Ibid., 17 fév.
George Brown from this key body. Cartier replied in his most impetuous fashion that he was ready to accept a vote of non-confidence on the issue, that the opposition had their just share of the committee places and that Brown's name had been purposely left off as his conduct during the previous session in this body had been "une cause de scandale, non seulement pour la chambre, mais pour tout le pays (25)." He accused Brown of publishing committee reports in the Globe before they had been presented to the House and of sustained personal attacks on the then Inspector of Accounts, William Cayley. Professor Careless finds this action of the Premier "astounding" but obviously the rancour of the member for Toronto had been unusually great and A. T. Galt, the new Inspector-General, had no intention of putting up with the same sort of shotgun blast attacks (26). Touching Brown's competence in financial matters and his fidelity as a member, Cartier, on the 18th, charged that the Member for Toronto was less than assiduous in his attendance at Committee meetings, and that when he was present he spent all his time in political attacks while simple financial proposals had to be explained to him (27). George Brown returned to the Public Accounts Committee in 1861. The constant wrangling of the session of 1858-1859 seems to have exhausted Parliament. On February 24, La Minerve announced that all interest had practically disappeared from the debates and that everything

25. Ibid., 22 fév.
27. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 182-183.
was very quiet.

Cartier's legal office saw some changes as Joseph-Amable Berthelot was appointed to the Superior Court. A document of agreement with François Pominville specified that as long as George-Etienne Cartier remained a member of the Government, he would receive only one-fifth of the profits of the partnership, except for the fees received from the Grand Trunk Railway; Jackson & Company, Contractors; and the Chemin de Fer de Vandreuil, of which Cartier would receive two-thirds (28). From the number of cases that appeared before the Courts 1859 was a very busy year for the Cartier firm. Aside from Grand Trunk matters there was a great variety of other work ranging from a dispute over a collision in the Lachine Canal (29) to a difference between the Mayor and Aldermen of Montreal on one side and one of the City Assessors on the other (30).

One of the most important acts of this session concerned the changes in the tariff presented by Alexander Tilloch Galt. Galt was reasonably successful in putting the public finances on a more solid footing and the tariff and the consolidation of the debt were two prime factors involved. The ad valorem principle which applied duty proportional to the price of the goods rather than the physical units, proved a sensible measure although it increased the animosity between the

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28. F. S. C., p. 40, 5 mars, 1859. See Appendix XXIII.
30. Ibid., pp. 277-284.
merchants of Montreal and of Toronto.

The great changes that had been and were being effected in the judicial system of Lower Canada were beneficial and in some cases long overdue. However, it would have been very surprising if they had been brought in without any opposition. This source of trouble was certain not to go unnoticed indefinitely by the political opponents of the Attorney-General. Thus on March 15, a meeting of some 45 members of the Montreal section of the Bar was held to protest the actions of the Attorney-General on many counts. The more personal resolutions belong to those most directly connected with the political scene. Thus Rodolphe Laflamme proposed a motion censoring Cartier for recent comments about the constitution of the Court of Appeals. Joseph Doutre moved: "Que la charge de Procureur-Général, dans les mains de celui qui l'occupe aujourd'hui, a cessé d'être la charge du premier aviseur légal de la couronne, et a été ravalée à un simple emploi politique." One resolution that did not pass stated: "Que la conduite du Procureur-Général du Bas-Canada est tyrannique et oppressive, et n'est guidée par aucun autre principe que son ambition (31)." It is undoubtedly true that, as another resolution stated: "Que depuis l'hon. G. E. Cartier est devenu P-G du B-C les différentes lois qu'il a fait passer concernant la judicature ont mis la plus grande confusion dans notre système judiciaire et ont créés des difficultés sérieuses dans l'administration de la justice (32)." However,

31. La Minerve, 15 mars, 1859.
32. Ibid.
lawyers as a group were probably slow to adapt to change and the Attorney-General could not avoid disturbing them.

A politician considers himself lucky if he pleases one part of the population, even if he has displeased another. Thus only two days after the meeting of certain members of the Montreal Bar, more than five hundred people in Arthabaska approved a motion congratulating the Attorney-General for his firmness and justness of character and thanking him for the decentralization of the courts (33).

If the sessions of Parliament today did not last any longer than those of a century ago, the legislators would consider themselves very fortunate, but by the end of March 1859 the Premier talked of the general desire to see the Houses prorogued before Easter. He stressed the Saturday sittings that were required, and added that the Governor-General would also be very happy if business could be terminated as soon as possible. Brown's answer on this subject is typical of the slightly petty approach that irritated so many of his colleagues. He remarked that it was up to the House and not the Governor-General to decide on such a matter. *La Minerve* felt that the public was already tired of the deliberations of the members. Its Toronto reporter wrote on March 29: "Rien de nouveau sous les bruillards de Toronto (34)."

A reminder appears periodically of a matter that caused problems in


Cartier's time in the House and is still not entirely solved today. This is the question of divorce. On various occasions the bill to come to the aid of one John McLean was introduced. On April 2, Cartier expressed his views on the subject. He was opposed because divorce was a danger to society and he drew very graphic examples from California where divorce was possible, resulting in "un véritable état de polygamie (35)."

A large part of this session was taken up with discussions of financial matters and Galt ably led the debates. However, on April 4, in reply to a motion by William Hamilton Merritt, the New York born and raised financier and member from Welland, the Premier felt called upon to discount the suggestion that the constitution of New York State should be adopted in Canada (36).

At the opening of the sitting of April 5, the Premier rose in his seat and in his usual direct fashion dealt with certain rumours concerning divisions within the Cabinet about the legislation re Seigniorial rights that he was to introduce later in the week. He asserted that there were indeed far more diverse views on this subject in the ranks of the Opposition than in the Government (37). Three days later the Premier gave a lengthy and clear dissertation on the details of this complicated

35. Ibid., 7 avril.
37. La Minerve, 7 avril.
legislation. Critics of the legislation harrassed the Lower-Canadian leader at every paragraph (38).

The correspondent for La Minerve reported that the necessity to have expenditures made in one section of the Province balanced by monies given to the other section was carried to such an extreme that when it was found that public funds had been spent on portraits of four French-Canadian Speakers to hang in the Library, a great rush occurred to buy four small canvases depicting Indian scenes, reportedly of equal value, from an artist who spoke English (39). Whether there is any truth to this story or not it does point out the extremes to which the sectional rivalry might go. The bill for the abolition of Seigniorial Tenure was not likely to calm these passions. However, it was finally passed 66-28, after the House sat for 27 hours straight, on April 14 and 15. Turcotte remarks that: "Ce succès était dû à la libéralité des conservateurs dont les idées contrastaient singulièrement avec celles des clear grits, et surtout à l'énergie et à l'habileté que M. Cartier déploya, pour obtenir l'adhésion de ses collègues du Haut-Canada (40)." Forgiving a little partisanry this statement is correct. No other French-Canadian politician of the Union period succeeded as did George-Etienne Cartier in looking after the needs of his own people, often requiring

39. La Minerve, 14 avril.
him to engineer the passage of legislation that was vastly unpopular as far as the members for Canada West were concerned.

The press news of sectional conflicts and fiscal matters is sometimes broken by other items. Montrealers were writing to the newspapers complaining of the number of stray dogs and pigs that were loose, "dans presque toutes les rues de la ville (41)." Finally on May 4 Parliament coughed and died. The Minister of Finance was off to London to handle a number of the financial problems of Canada, including the negotiation of a loan. In this he was successful.

Few details are available of the Premier's actions for the remainder of 1859. Just five days after the end of the session he was in Quebec, conferring with his Commissioner of Public Works on the site of the building that was to house the Legislature until the final move to Ottawa (42).

La Minerve was left to mull over the happenings of the session and had more space to enter into polemics with rival newspapers. Both Le Pays and the Globe rumoured somewhat hopefully that the leaders of the Government in both Canada West and Canada East were about to retire, but this news was of short duration. Having visited Quebec, Cartier soon went to Ottawa to see how the construction work was progressing (43).

41. La Minerve, 14 avril.
42. Ibid., 2 mai.
43. Ibid., 21 mai.
On July 12 Cartier was in Toronto, and wrote to LaFontaine about judicial details (44). He makes no mention in his letter of the Orange celebrations that must have been taking place in the city. On the 16th, a warrant was issued over his name for $1,000.00 to pay certain printing costs concerned in the Codification of the Lower-Canadian Laws (45).

Early in September Cartier was in Quebec again, as a report of the rescue of a fisherman by the crew of the Lady Head, mentions that the Premier rewarded the seamen concerned (46).

The Premier was no doubt delighted to ride on the first train passing over the Victoria Bridge on November 24. He was on his way to Quebec, the report tells us. Such a frequent traveller must have really appreciated the relative ease of the crossing, now independent of the weather. Here also was another bright feather to put into his political cap. After a short "discours de circonstance" he hurried on his way (47).

Early in January 1860 the vacant post of Solicitor-General was filled by Louis-Siméon Morin. He was re-elected in Terrebonne on January 15 and 16 after a heated contest (48). Morin, who had taken part in

44. C. LaF., No. 00834.
45. F. S. C., p. 41.
46. La Minerve, 10 sept.
47. Ibid., 26 nov.
48. Ibid., 10 janv., 26 janv., 1860.
the last election in Verchères, was a brilliant speaker who gave promise of great things in parliament. Unfortunately, for reasons that are unknown, he faded very fast.

Sir Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine prepared a report during this period on the Amnesty granted those involved in the Troubles of 1837-38, for there are two letters from the Attorney-General to the Chief Justice dated January 13 and January 20 on this subject (49).

On February 28 Parliament assembled in Quebec City. The Speech from the Throne was not unduly controversial and passed at one sitting. The attention of the legislators was drawn to the reply from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to an invitation to open the new bridge named in her honour. The Prince of Wales would come in her stead. The good harvest of the previous autumn was noted and the improving state of the public finances cautiously recorded.

The temporal troubles of the Pope and the refusal of France to come to his aid drew a strong reaction in Lower Canada. Great meetings were held and priests and bishops preached support of the Papacy from the pulpit. The movement of the Papal Zouaves did not start until 1861. At one of the more important meetings held at Laval University on March 4, Cartier spoke at some length about the Papacy. He added a few comments about the liberty of Catholics in Canada:

49. C. LaF., Nos. 00850 et 00852.
"Comme catholique, j'aime à le reconnaître, nous vivons sous un gouvernement qui permet à Sa Sainteté de nous adresser des encycliques, qui permet de les lire dans vos cathédrales, de les faire lire dans les églises paroissiales par les curés, de les faire publier par la presse, sans que personne vous inquiète. Nous vivons, nous, sous un gouvernement où le catholique peut à la fois s'attacher au service de l'Etat et faire partie de l'association de Saint-Vincent de Paul, servir son pays et servir les pauvres (50)."

On two occasions, March 6 and March 16, the Premier entered the debate on a measure proposed by the Postmaster-General to increase the subsidy given to the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, better known as the Allan Line. This company was providing very competitive trans-atlantic service but the American and British Companies were very heavily subsidized. The measure passed, but there is no record that at the next elections any particular financial aid was either requested by or given to the ministers by Hugh Allan, as happened some eleven years later.

Two bills of great detail required infinite pains by the Attorney-General in their preparation and it is evident that a great deal of time in the latter part of 1859 must have been spent in this work. These were the Municipal Bill and the Mortgage Bill (51). Another act gave certain necessary additions to the bill to decentralize the system of justice in Lower Canada (52).

50. Tassé, op. cit., p. 205.
51. Ibid., pp. 219-220 and pp. 225-228.
52. Ibid., pp. 229-232.
Cartier spoke on March 27 and on April 13 in favour of a bill that divided the cities of Montreal and Quebec into three separate constituencies, and Toronto into two. The greater part of the discussion centered around the effects on the representation of Montreal. Cartier explained that there were three sections of the population, one English Protestant, a second Irish Catholic, and the third French Catholic, and the proposed method was the surest way to see that each could have a member in the House. Inevitably debate arose between the Attorney-General and Antoine-Aimé Dorion. Perhaps the latter saw that the new arrangement would cost him his seat. It is not impossible that this is exactly what the member for Verchères had in mind. During the month of April the House heard again the same arguments about the Double Majority and about Rep. by Pop. Very little, if anything, new was added. In answering a tirade by George Brown, George Benjamin, the member for Hastings North, gave some complimentary remarks about the Premier, saying that no member of the House had done more to unite the two races and establish harmony in the Canadas. However, Benjamin had blamed Lord Elgin's conduct regarding the Rebellion Losses Bill and Cartier felt constrained to defend the memory of the late Governor (53).

Certain members of the Montreal Bar tried to hold a meeting like the one held a year before to censure the Attorney-General for his proposed changes in the judicial system. However, the meeting, to have

been held on May 3, fizzled for lack of a quorum (54).

The constant movement of members in and out of the Cabinet made it difficult to establish a professional core of administrators and it also proved vexatious when the ex-Minister, often flattered by the opposition, came to grips with his recent colleagues in the House. One such case is that of T-J-J Loranger. On the subject of the Registration Office Bill, Loranger stung his chief of a short time previously to reply and in so doing Cartier listed some of the measures for which he had been responsible that he felt had been advantageous to his compatriots. He told Loranger that if he ever occupied the place of Premier "je lui souhaite de faire passer des mesures qui égalent en patriotisme celles dont je suis l'auteur." He continued:

"Ne sait-il pas combien j'ai dû travailler, lutter contre certains préjugés, pour obtenir que le chemin de fer du Grand-Tronc passât à travers le Bas-Canada, enrichissant ainsi mes compatriotes, augmentant la valeur de leurs terres et facilitant la colonisation? N'ai-je pas, par une loi passée en 1856, doté le Bas-Canada d'écoles normales et de trois mille écoles communes? N'ai-je pas rendu les biens des Jésuites à leur destination première? Qui a réglé toutes les difficultés par rapport aux townships? Sont-ce les lois françaises ou les lois anglaises qui y ont été introduites? Qui avant moi avait songé à la codification de nos lois civiles? Le code sera écrit dans les deux langues. La loi qui divise le Bas-Canada en plusieurs districts judiciaires est-elle désavantageuse à mes compatriotes? Cette loi ne permet-elle pas à un plus grand nombre de jeunes avocats de se distinguer (55)?"

54. La Minerve, 5 mai, 1860.
This last sentence was aimed at Loranger himself. The member for Laprairie had objected to the clause by which a close relative could be heard as a witness. Cartier replied that this did not lead to abuses in Upper Canada and he saw no reason why it should cause problems in the lower province. Cartier finished his list of the measures of which he was proud by mentioning the Seigniorial Bill.

Finally on May 19 the Houses were prorogued. On the tenth of June, the Premier was present at the closing exercises for the year of his Alma Mater, the Collège de Montréal. He spoke to the students, much in the same sense as anyone in his position, with pride and some nostalgia. He spoke of the education he had received there, and particularly of the Abbé Bayle, now Superior, who had been his teacher. He told the students that they were now in their turn, "l'espoir de la famille nationale" and reminded them that "c'est par votre ferme attachement à la religion de nos pères et à leurs mâles vertus que nous conservons notre nationalité canadienne-française (56). The reports tell us that on that occasion and later at a concert given on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, the song was heard that had been written for the meeting on the same day in 1834 by the illustrious graduate of the Collège - Premier George-Etienne Cartier (57). On June 26, a banquet was held in honour of the Hon. John Rose at the St. Lawrence Hall, but Cartier was unavoidably absent. The newspaper accounts do not say where he was.

56. Ibid., pp. 255-256.
57. La Minerve, 27 juin, 1860.
The whipping horse provided by the Brown-Dorion ministry and its policies was still trotted on to the scene periodically. The Globe and Le Pays exchanged charges and explanations with La Minerve. The Leader, the Herald, and the Journal de Québec also played roles in this never-ending drama. Centre-stage was to be monopolized for a few weeks by the visit of the heir to the throne. The Prince of Wales arrived in Halifax on July 30, however La Minerve could not resist a long article repudiating Le Pays for its continuous criticism of the Premier, finishing with these words:

"Qu'avez-vous donc à reprocher à M. Cartier. Sa vie privée ne défie-t-elle pas l'examen le plus rigoureux et le plus prévenu? Avant d'entrer dans la vie publique n'a-t-il pas, par son travail, son énergie et ses talents, conquis une place brillante au Barreau, et même avant cela n'avait-il pas fait preuve de patriotisme et de dévouement pour la cause canadienne. Depuis qu'il est au pouvoir a-t-il fait passer une seule mesure inique, ou une loi tyrannique? Manque-t-il d'énergie, d'initiative, de travail? Citez un seul fait contre son intégrité et son désintéressement. Il n'est pas poli pour ses adversaires, mais l'êtes-vous pour lui? Voilà huit ans que votre parti l'injure, qu'y a-t-il d'étonnant à ce qu'il se venge par quelques sarcasmes chaque fois que les hasards de la lutte mettent l'un de vous face à face avec lui. Car il est l'homme de la lutte, partout, en Chambre, sur les hustings aussi bien que dans son cabinet en présence des difficultés du gouvernement. Ah! vous avez beau dire, M. Cartier occupe la première place politique dans les deux Canadas et elle lui appartient bien de droit, et il la remplit de manière à faire de son nom un des plus remarquables de notre histoire. La postérité ne saura pas même le nom de ses détracteurs (58)."

On August 8, the Governor-General, the Premier, and other members of the

58. Ibid., 7 août.
cabinet, sailed from Quebec in the Victoria to meet the Prince of Wales at Gaspé. On August 28 we read the report of the official opening of the Victoria Bridge, an event that must have pleased Cartier very much. The Royal visit was marred, however, by the fact that the Duke of Newcastle would not allow the Royal Party to stop either at Kingston or at Belleville because of the Orange parades. This problem could not be overcome. The Orangemen had come to salute the Prince and they would not go home. John A. Macdonald explained to Newcastle that the Orange Order was perfectly legal in Canada, even if it was not in England. Macdonald apparently wrote to Cartier in Toronto, asking if another visit could not be organized to the two eastern Ontario centres. On July 11, a wire and a letter were sent, both in the same sense: that the programme would not allow such a change but perhaps a deputation from Kingston could meet with the Prince in Toronto (59). Macdonald was obviously worried about the political consequences of this fiasco. Although Newcastle took full responsibility for the decision not to enter the "Orange" decorated towns, the ministry had not heard the end of the matter and its position was weakened in Upper Canada.

The war between Le Pays and La Minerve carried on as before. The vote in favour of the introduction of the bill to incorporate the Orange Order, the alliance with the Conservatives of Upper Canada, the changes in the legal system; these and many other topics occupied column upon column.

In the midst of all this it is almost incongruous to find a letter from McGee to Brown dated October 1 from Montreal. The Irishman reports the startling news that in Quebec it is being rumoured that Cartier and Brown had had several talks aiming at a coalition (60). There is no record of a reply but the idea is almost impossible at this stage of events. McGee took the occasion of this letter to ask the member for Toronto to please curb the language of his writers in the Globe. He suggests that the words Priest-craft, Papish, Romish, etc., do nothing but create political trouble in Lower Canada.

The bitterness of the opposition journals carried on unabated into the new year. The census that was taken in January 1861 provided fuel for both sides in the Rep. by Pop. struggle, but placed the Lower-Canadian contingent more on the defensive. The Rep. by Pop. polemic became more and more fierce, with almost every newspaper in Canada contributing its editorial comment and quoting long passages from other journals. Every word that the leading political figures had said over the past years was weighed and put in the balance either for or against them as the policy of the editor dictated.

Parliament opened in Quebec on March 16. The speech from the throne was short, and various writers expressed the pious hope that the session would be also, although some skepticism was voiced that the members would be loath to go home before one month had passed and they

could collect their indemnity. Among the many matters on which the Gov-
ernment was taken to task during the Throne Speech Debate was the "in-
sult" given to the Orangemen of Kingston and Belleville the previous
summer. In replying the Premier stated clearly where the responsibility
for the decision lay and then added some comments of interest about this
secret society.

He compared the Orangemen to the Clear Grits, saying that the for-
mer were "bien plus modérés, bien plus tolérants vis-à-vis des catholi-
ques, que les réformistes qui obéissent aux ordres de M. Brown." On
secret societies in general Cartier said, "je déteste toutes les socié-
tés secrètes en général; je leur dis en ce moment, et je leur dirai con-
stantment, que le plus tôt elles seront abolies, sera le mieux et pour
elles-mêmes et pour la province; mais je dois rendre justice à ceux qui
travaillent avec nous dans la vie publique et reconnaître la tolérance
et la modération de leurs opinions (61)." Such expressions must have
been helpful to John A. in his political problems in Canada West.

The number of ex-Ministers in the opposition ranks mounted. Both
Sicotte and Loranger joined with Drummond and Lemieux, as well as J. S.
Macdonald and Foley of Upper Canada to form a moderate group. Dorion
and Brown were not included as being too radical. In response to a non-
confidence motion of Dorion's, the Premier stated that the Double Major-
ity was desirable but obviously not possible, and that the Member for

Montreal was the last person who should suggest it. After some compliments regarding his Upper-Canadian colleague, he made a slightly provocative and indeed prophetical gesture in the direction of the absent George Brown, suggesting that the Liberal leader from Upper Canada was incapable of forming a unified group (62). After a week's recess for Easter, the members returned to the battlefield. Election fever was in the air and personal attacks became more frequent. Replying to a barrage of criticism about the Premier, La Minerve, wrote, on March 28:

"M. Cartier n'est pas un orateur qui phrase pour poser et qui pose pour phraser, comme dirait Louis Veuillot, il ne parle point pour le plaisir de s'entendre, pour voir l'effet que ses paroles produiront sur les galeries, et si ce sont là les qualités dominantes d'un chef de parti, nous le déclarons hautement, l'honorable ministre a usurpé le siège qu'il occupe en ce moment. Mais si une longue expérience, un jugement sain, une haute intelligence, une grande perspicacité d'esprit, un tact délicat, de fortes études, une âme vigoureusement trempée, une fermeté à toute épreuve, constituent la grande politique, certes, nous pouvons le dire sans crainte, M. Cartier est digne d'occuper les plus hautes positions de la vie publique; et nous comprenons facilement toute la confiance que le parti des Bas-Canadiens repose en lui."

Having set the stage with these laudatory phrases, La Minerve asked rhetorically:

"Pourquoi donc cette guerre misérable que lui font aujourd'hui non seulement ses ennemis jurés du parti rouge mais ses anciens collègues d'autrefois, des hommes qui ont marché longtemps sous sa direction, qui, maintes fois, l'ont accablé de leurs louanges, qui lui ont décerné le titre de Père des Bas-Canadiens? Que l'on critique ses mesures

62. Ibid., pp. 265-266.
législatives, qu'on l'attaque sur ses principes politiques, sur ses doctrines constitutionnelles, nous n'aurons aucune raison de nous plaindre? Car après tout, les opinions sont libres, et lorsqu'on est doué d'une raison et d'une intelligence supérieures, il est possible que l'on s'aveugle jusqu'au point de se persuader que l'on a raison contre tous ses confrères; mais qu'on le taquine à propos de ses phrases, qu'on tâche de le tourner en ridicule parce que son style n'est pas élégant, qu'il est rude parfois, qu'on vienne dire en Chambre: "le discours de M. Cartier est au dessous du niveau du plus faible discours parlementaire," ce n'est point là de l'injustice, c'est du dépit! Eh! qu'importe que la phrase soit incorrecte, qu'elle soit boîteuse, si elle exprime une grande idée, si elle renferme un argument péremptoire, si elle force ses propres pensées! Avouez que votre oreille est délicate, depuis que vous siégez en dehors des banquettes ministérielles .... Nos orateurs les plus brillants ne font-ils pas fiasco, quelquefois (63)?

It is interesting to note that even the faithful La Minerve had to admit that Cartier's style of speaking could be "incorrecte" and even "boîteuse."

A measure proposed by T. R. Ferguson of Simcoe South envisaged a change in the representation by giving one member to a County of 15,000 people, two to a County with 20,000 etc. This brought a very long debate. William McDougall, the member for Oxford North and George Brown's lieutenant both in the Assembly and at the Globe office, exceeded even his mentor in vituperation, talking of foreign domination by French Canadians and warning darkly that if no other means were available to accomplish the emancipation of the population of Canada West, then an appeal to Washington would result. McDougall went too far. He drove

63. La Minerve, 28 mars, 1861.
all the Lower-Canadian representation, save one, and twelve members of the eastern section of Upper Canada to vote against the measure. McGee's pleas to Brown for greater moderation had obviously fallen on deaf ears. John A. Macdonald, in what is described as one of his greatest oratorical triumphs, stressed that the region from Kingston east, including the Ottawa Valley, might easily opt in favour of joining Canada East in any realignment as their markets were in Montreal. Many of the ex-Ministers, including Sicotte and Laberge, spoke against the measure. The Premier spoke for five hours, rehearsing all the arguments on the representation issue and concluding flatly that Rep. by Pop. would never be acceptable to Lower Canada. In this speech on April 5, Cartier teased the representatives of the Upper Province in a way that was to rebound in the elections to come. According to La Minerve, he said that the Grits were not as worthy as his compatriots of representation. This appeared in the Grit press as "the codfish of Gaspé Bay should also be represented, as well as the 250,000 Clear Grits of Western Canada (64)." Whether Cartier actually compared Clear Grits to codfish is difficult to verify. He may well not have but in any case the opposition newspapers did not really care - it made good copy. The explanation given by the Journal de Québec appears perfectly plausible:

"Le Premier Ministre expliqua ses paroles, jusque là mal entendues, mal comprises et mal interprétées avec un courage que n'a pu s'empêcher d'admirer l'opposition elle-même. M. Foley lui-même, avec la libéralité qui le caractérise, a

64. The Globe, April 11, 1861."
On April 5 Cartier spoke for several hours on the representation issue. He stated that the excess in population of the western part of the union over the eastern was no more in 1861 than the number in the opposite favour had been in 1841. Drawing the conclusion that Canada West had no reason to complain he concluded: "Je pense que l'Union peut bien fonctionner encore dix ans." The Premier went to great lengths to show that Britain had rejected representation by population as undesirable and then regaled the members of the House with a discourse on one of his favourite topics: the failure of the American system of government. He said: "Quant à moi, je n'aime pas le système américain .... Mon opinion a toujours été que le gouvernement des Etats-Unis durera aussi longtemps qu'il y aura des territoires à peupler, mais que, quand la population sera dense, il se trouvera trop faible pour triompher des difficultés." Comparing the system of a responsible cabinet and the cabinet of "fonctionnaires" that existed in the United States Cartier declared: "J'aime le régime de responsabilité pratiqué en Angleterre, et,

65. La Minerve, 16 avril, 1861.
si aujourd'hui les Américains sont à la veille de conflits déplorables, cela est dû entièrement à l'irresponsabilité des chefs de l'administration (66)."

Ferguson's motion was defeated 67-49. Cartier's position in Lower Canada was undoubtedly weakened during this session, but it was more a question of dissatisfaction because of accumulated political favours not granted, than because of issues. It is true that some of the more liberal members who had previously supported the government were now in the opposition because of impatience with the lack of solutions to several basic problems. What was the alternative course? La Minerve and the Premier himself asked this question on many occasions. The only answers they received were Rep. by Pop. and annexation, and quite rightly neither was satisfactory to the French Canadians. News of the war between the states appears periodically in the Canadian papers of 1861. At least one report told of Canadians being pressed into service by the Union authorities. Large numbers of those working across the border returned to their homes. A telegram dated April 22 from A. G. Ward of Boston asked either Cartier or Galt for rifles stating: "Our supply of rifles near exhausted - can we probably if necessary procure Enfield rifles from Canada on Official applic. - Every nerve is strained for the defence of the Capital." Galt replied simply: "No arms are at disposal of Canadian Government (67)."

67. F. S. C., p. 46.
Despite the fact that the measures in favour of Rep. by Pop. had been repulsed in the House the newspaper polemics continued. The Globe trumpeted: "Were another French-Canadian leader in power, less bigoted and less firmly bound, there would be comparatively little difficulty in securing justice from Lower Canada!" La Minerve translated this by saying: "Ce qui veut dire en bon français lorsque nous avons placé au pouvoir des Canadiens-français moins religieux et moins énergiques, nous écraserons le Bas-Canada (68)." May 18 brings us a report of an "affaire d'honneur" between Louis-Antoine Dessaulles, the editor of Le Pays and Louis-Siméon Morin, the latter being accused concerning certain articles about the session of Parliament he had supposedly written in La Minerve. Morin replied that he was not the Parliamentary Correspondent for La Minerve and demanded a retraction. Who was the writer in question? No certain answer can be given to this question, but the style is much more subjective than that of previous sessions.

The session was closed on May 18. Both sides jockeyed for position awaiting the elections to be called. The Premier was back in Montreal by May 26. La Minerve summarized the wishes of the opposition by one very expressive phrase: "Ote-toi de là que je m'y mette (69)." On June 10, the writs were issued. The contest was lively but not in the same class with the disorder and corruption of 1857. Cartier ran in the

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68. La Minerve, 4 mai, 1861.
69. Ibid., 1 juin.
newly-established constituency of Montreal East only, not in Verchères. His adversary was the now rather isolated radical member for Montreal, Antoine-Aimé Dorion. The readers of La Minerve were reminded that in the preceding elections, although absent for a part of the campaign, Cartier won a majority in the three sections that now made up the Eastern Division. The ministerial candidate in Montreal Centre was the Hon. John Rose. He resigned as Commissioner of Public Works and was replaced by the member for Montmorency, Joseph Cauchon, on June 13. June 21 saw a large assembly in favour of the Premier at the Place Viger. The next evening at 7:30 another meeting was held at the Fire Station, rue Visitation (70). Here all did not go well. One man stepped forward and slapped the Premier in the face and a general tumult followed. Cartier was able to speak for about half-an-hour when the noise and missiles forced him to stop. A similar situation occurred the following evening (71). Nomination day was the 26th. Notices encouraged support for the ministerial candidate: "Les amis de M. Cartier sont priés de se réunir à onze heures, au coin des rues Amherst et Ste. Marie, pour accompagner M. Cartier au lieu de la Nomination, Place Papineau" and "Les Amis de M. Cartier sont priés de se rendre à la Nomination, Aujourd'hui, vers 11½ heures, au Quarré Papineau (72)." Cartier was nominated by Monsieur Poupart, and seconded by a Mr. Molson and a Dr. Trudel. The

70. Ibid., 22 juin.
71. Ibid., 26 juin.
72. Ibid.
exact identity of these men is difficult to verify but Molson was probably John Thomas Molson, and Dr. Trudel could have been François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel, then attached to La Minerve and later a Senator. Dorion refused to speak until after Cartier. The Premier spoke briefly:

"Je représente ici le gouvernement dont je suis chef, depuis 1858. On m'accuse, on a accusé mes collègues de corruption; on nous a reproché d'avoir violé la constitution, d'avoir fait des avances d'argent au Grand Tronc, sans la permission des Chambres, d'avoir placé le siège du gouvernement à Ottawa, eh! bien, je demande que l'on réitère ces accusations en ma présence, et je m'engage à donner les explications les plus claires et les plus explicites. Je m'engage à me disculper et à disculper mes collègues; et je suis certain d'avance que je porterai la conviction dans tous les coeurs. Que M. Dorion, ici présent, veuille donc se constituer le dénonciateur de la politique du ministère comme c'est son devoir de le faire, puisqu'il est le chef de l'opposition, et je défendrai cette même politique contre laquelle on a tant crié, tant vociféré (73)."

On July 2 the polling places were announced: "Quartier Ste. Marie (1) à ou près du coin des rues Panet et Ste. Marie, (2) Place Papineau, (3) à ou près du coin des rues Fulleur et Ste. Marie; Quartier St. Jacques (1) à ou près du coin des rues Ste. Marie et Campeau, (2) Place Viger, (3) à ou près du coin des rues Ste. Catherine et Amherst; Quartier St. Louis (1) à ou près du coin des rues Mignonne et Ste. Elizabeth, (2) à ou près du coin des rues Dorchester et des Allemands, (3) à ou près du coin des rues Vitré et Ste. Elizabeth (74)."

The print got larger and blacker, the arguments shorter and more

73. Ibid., 28 juin.
74. Ibid., 2 juillet.
direct. On July 3, the polls closed and George-Etienne Cartier began his eleven years as member for Montreal East. The majority was a slim one - 54 - but the pleasure must have been great all the same. By the time the official tally was in, the margin had been trimmed even further to 25. The votes by poll are of interest, showing the areas of support for each candidate. Cartier won only one poll in the Quartiers Sainte-Marie and Saint-Louis, while he won two of the three polls in Quartier Saint-Jacques (75). Finally on July 9 he was officially proclaimed elected. John A. Macdonald won against strong opposition in Kingston, with his old law clerk Oliver Mowat as opponent. The radical section of the House suffered some setbacks. As well as Dorion, George Brown had been defeated and both had to seek other seats. The opposition made some gains in Lower Canada but now the Government had a majority in both sections. Solicitor-General Morin lost his seat in Terrebonne and Messrs. Christopher Dunkin, Alexander Campbell, Gédéon Ouimet and Louis Archambault failed to get elected. In a letter to Archambault dated August 9, the Premier said: "Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire que je regrette sincèrement votre absence de la Chambre (76)."

Among the new members of whom something would be heard in years to come were Henri-Gustave Joly in Lotbinière, Alexander Mackenzie in Lambton, and Henri-Elzéar Taschereau in the Beauce. L. H. Holton, in writing to Brown on July 25, expressed the view that a coalition of Brown's

75. Ibid., 6 juillet. See Appendix XXIV.
76. A. S. S., Correspondance.
followers with any number of Lower-Canadian members was unlikely. "I consider the thing quite hopeless, and why should L. C. politicians disable themselves at home by backing a cause that would expose them to all sorts of misinterpretation, so long as half or nearly half the Representatives of Upper Canada support M. Cartier in his refusal to do justice to U. C. (77)?"

It was, however, becoming harder for the government to obtain the necessary support on the representation issue in the upper province, and it was not until seven days after the House met on March 20, 1862, that the three vacancies in that section of the cabinet were filled by John Carling of London, and James Patton and young John Beverley Robinson of Toronto, all Rep. by Pop. supporters. A letter from J. P. Faulkner, member for Hochelaga, is an amusing commentary on the political situation. He wrote to La Minerve to explain the circumstances of a "recontre accidentelle" he had with John A. Macdonald and J. A. Abbott in the St. Lawrence Hall. Macdonald invited him to dinner and during the festivities various toasts were proposed including one by the Attorney-General West speaking in the most flattering terms of his new-found friend. Faulkner reported that he replied with a speech about his own political views and told his fellow diners that he was against the present government. Faulkner felt called upon to explain the strange company he had been keeping:

77. P. A. C., Brown Papers, No. 628.
"Il ne m'est pas nécessaire de dire pourquoi je me suis décidé à parler publiquement de ce dîner; on comprend facilement que mes constituant ayant su que j'avais dîné avec l'Hon. J. A. Macdonald, auraient pu en concevoir de l'inquiétude; mais je dois leur répéter ici que je serai toujours comme par le passé, un homme voulant ce qui est juste et repoussant tout ce qui est mal, qu'en un mot mon programme politique sera toujours mon guide."

He continued rather lamely:

"Quant à l'invitation qui m'a été faite, j'ai cru devoir l'accepter comme une politesse étant sans rapport avec la politique du jour (78)."

The rather pompous protests of the Opposition member are amusing and show the pettiness of party attachment that was possible.

The member for Montreal East found time to attend to certain duties in his constituency. On August 4 he and Madame Cartier were present at the benediction of the bell in St. James Church. The polemics between L-S Morin, the young contributor to La Minerve, and M. Dessaulles of Le Pays continued unabated (79). The Solicitor-General found himself another seat and on August 28 was proclaimed M.P.P. for Laval (80). Thus the ministry was preparing itself for the session to come.

On October 25 Sir Edmund Head was replaced as Governor-General by

78. La Minerve, 27 juillet.
79. Ibid., 27 août.
80. Ibid., 1 oct.
Lord Monck. Head had not been particularly popular in either section of
the province though John A. Macdonald and his party got along well with
him. Monck was to be the Queen's representative during a very crucial
period and his support of Confederation was to be extremely important.

An event occurred in November that shook the uneasy calm over the
progress of the American Civil War. The Trent, or the Mason-Slidell Af-
fair as it was also known, involved the removal of two Confederate agents
from a British ship by a northern captain. It was uncertain for a while
whether hostilities would result but if they did Canada could well have
been the battlefield. Fourteen thousand troops were raced to Canada:
some by sea to Rivière-du-Loup, the end of the Railway; others to Saint
John, and over the Temiscouata Trail. The Canadian militia was hurriedly
reorganized. Macdonald became Minister of Militia Affairs at the end of
December - a new portfolio. A royal commission of inquiry into militia
affairs consisting of Cartier, Galt, Sir Allan MacNab and others under
the chairmanship of Macdonald looked very closely at the needs of de-
fence. It was the report of this commission, or rather the legislation
arising therefrom, that led to the downfall of the Government of 1862.

Professor Morton quotes correspondence from the French Consul in
Quebec City stating that Cartier was of the opinion that the North could
not conquer the South (81). Without any further evidence it is difficult

81. Archives des Affaires Etrangères 35 (54), Boileau à Thouvenol, Jan.
3, 1862, cité dans W. L. Morton, The Critical Years, Toronto,
to say what led the Bleu leader to this conclusion, but it is probable that his opinion of the weakness of the political system in the northern states was a very strong factor.

The final figures for the census of 1861 were now public knowledge. Canada East had a population of 1,110,664 while Canada West had 1,396,091 souls. Cartier's estimates were reasonably correct but the Rep. by Pop. supporters would use the statistics for their own purposes. The Grand Trunk cars proved their usefulness by bucking bad winter weather. A report quoted from Le Pilot tells how the Premier reached Quebec in February. While most travellers were marooned by a blizzard Cartier rode on a locomotive that was fitted with a snow-plough and managed to reach Quebec (82). The Grand Trunk was far from being free of financial troubles. On November 27, 1861, the Superior Court in Montreal heard a case involving alleged non-payment of interest on bonds. François Pominville and Cartier's good friend T. W. Ritchie acted for the Defendants (83).

Parliamentary life was soon to take the Premier to Quebec City and more assistance was required in the Law Office. In a case concerning the disputed election of a Marguillier heard before Judge Berthelot on April 28, 1862, the firm of Cartier, Pominville and Bétournay represented the "Réquérants (84)." Louis Bétournay was a politically active young lawyer

82. La Minerve, 6 mars, 1862.
who was to be part of the Cartier firm until 1872.

On March 20 Parliament opened in Quebec City. Cartier proposed Joseph-Edouard Turcotte, the member for Trois-Rivières, as Speaker. The Bleu leader must have been somewhat puzzled by a letter he received from Isaac Buchanan, the member for Hamilton whose vocal support of railways, paper money, and high tariffs was well known to all men in public life. But he was not writing on such topics. With the advent of a new session he wished to reproach the Premier for what he referred to as "your putting a stumbling block in the way of protestants by your official dinners on the sabbath." Buchanan, once launched, was not to be stopped. He explained that "Your practice is overlooked because not intended by you for an insult, but this does not alter the fact that it is at once an insult and a snare to the individual member for whose prejudices you do not pay the respect to which you claim for your own and to his protestantism." Continuing in a patronizing tone the voluble Scot wrote "I, of course, know that as a Catholic you think it no harm to secularize the sabbath after a certain hour because it is the Law to go to Church - and you therefore do not consider the belief of the protestants that they are bound by a higher law than that of man (85)." Aside from any religious practices Cartier would be glad to hold official dinners on a Sunday so that they did not interfere unduly with the working days of the week. Whether Buchanan's letter persuaded him to change this

practice is not known.

It is interesting to note that at this time L-V Sicotte, who had been defeated as Speaker, referred to the Union as a "compact" between French and English in Canada (86). This is the first time to our knowledge that this term was used. T-J-J Loranger brought up another point of interest when he moved that the speeches of the House, which had previously been given in English on the whole, be given and published in French as the case demanded. The French-Canadian members were becoming more aware of their rights and privileges as a result of the constant bombardment from the Clear Grits.

Cartier had frequent contacts with the Bishopric of Montreal over this period. In a series of letters he was thanked for his contributions to good works; asked to help hospitals and a home for deaf-mutes; asked to help establish a religious order in the village of Caughnawaga, given information about several new parishes, etc. This easy communication with the Bishop's Palace was only to be broken at a later date.

William McDougall moved an amendment to the Speech from the Throne of 1862 in favour of Rep. by Pop. to which Cartier replied, reiterating his now well-known stand on this topic (87). The Speakership of the Legislative Council became an elected non-Cabinet position. Sir Allan

87. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 297-299.
MacNab was elevated to this post and Sir Narcisse Belleau became the Minister of Agriculture—a new portfolio. Immigration was the responsibility of this new department. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the volatile member for Montreal West, proposed a Committee of the Assembly to recommend ways of providing better service for immigrants. In agreeing to this proposal the Premier remarked on the State of immigration in the colony, deploring the slower rate of colonization in Canada East than in Canada West. A step was made towards a broader union by the establishment of free trade between the Maritimes and Canada.

On May 2, John A. Macdonald, now the Minister of Militia Affairs as well as the Attorney-General West, moved the second reading of the Militia Bill. He tried to explain the clauses of the bill but was very vague about actual numbers, costs, etc. A strange situation developed. Cartier was very silent during the debate, probably realizing that his own supporters were not in favour of the Bill and feeling it was wiser for him not to take an active part. Macdonald was absent for a week and finally returned, rather shaken, on May 20. The debate did not improve. All the members were aware of the need for some reorganization of colonial defence, but the sums were large and the details not forthcoming. The war scare of the previous autumn had somewhat passed.

In the midst of these discussions, and indeed this is perhaps one reason why he did not take an active part in the Militia Bill debate, Cartier had to deal with the debate on his election in Montreal East which was being contested. The Premier was secured in his seat but with
such a slim majority no chances could be taken. The Quebec correspon-
dent for La Minerve lugubriously described the scene in the capital,
where the Militia Bill was in great difficulty. The opinion was ex-
pressed that the Government would go down on this measure but gave
little hope of any new ministry offering a more acceptable solution.
The readers of La Minerve were assured, however, that: "La vie politi-
que n'a pas dit son dernier mot à M. Cartier: homme de lutte et homme
d'action, les difficultés n'abattront point son courage (88)." The
Premier rose and moved the second reading of the Militia Bill. Silence
reigned so Cartier asked for the vote. The results gave an overall mi-
nority of 7. Macdonald had a majority of seven in Upper Canada but the
61 negative votes included a large portion of the Lower Canada member-
ship. Edward Watkin, the President of the Grand Trunk, was in the gal-
lery at the time of the vote. He searched for the retiring Premier to
express his regrets. Cartier is reported to have been agitated and
said, "Well, I have saved the honour of my country against those Grits
and Rouges - traîtres, traîtres (89)."

The Globe of May 21 said rather pompously: "There seems little
reason to doubt that M. Cartier and his colleagues have known for some
time that they could not get through the session and that they elected
to fall on the Militia Bill." Creighton comments: "It was - like the

88. La Minerve, 22 mai, 1862.
89. E. W. Watkin, Canada and the United States: Recollections, 1851-
seat of government question - a highly respectable, highly patriotic issue, an issue on which a slightly disreputable government could make a most dignified exit (90)." Morton adds:

"The militia bill was rejected because of its cost, complexity, and its possible abuse by patronage. Yet some members voted for it who were critical of it on all these grounds. It was not rejected for its defects alone. It was rejected as a means of defeating the ministry, not for its militia bill alone, but for its extravagance, its corruption, and for Galt's budget. And it was defeated also because the Bleus had reason to ask, now that representation by population was an open question, whether they had much reason to cooperate with an Upper Canadian set of ministers of whom five out of six were advocates of rep. by pop. It is not impossible that the defeat of the ministry was meant, among other things, to express the still unyielding resistance of Lower Canada to rep. by pop. within the Union. The old Clear Grits and Brownites could not form a ministry and the Bleus still were indispensable to any stable majority government. Over the whole transaction an air of contrivance, of theatre, hung and hangs; many thought then that the ministry, encumbered by arrears it could not shake off, courted defeat on the militia bill, and it is possibly still the only explanation. But it was, perhaps, even another 1858 that was in contemplation (91)."

It is possible that the suspicions thus expressed are not unfounded. Cartier or another could well have reasoned that it was necessary to block Rep. by Pop. within the Union at all costs and that this was the only way to do it. Then, after a suitable pause, a new refreshed pure government could rise to power, cleansed of its sins and ready to bring about the broader union. If this is theatre, let the play be

90. Creighton, Macdonald..., I, p. 332.
nominated for an award, with Cartier as Best Actor.

The Premier spoke to the House on May 22 giving a sort of swan-song for the ministry. Speaking more briefly than usual, he simply said that the will of the House had been pronounced and that he was pleased to obey. He suggested that those from Lower Canada who had defeated the Government were merely giving the enemies of their section a chance to destroy all things dear to French Canadians. The defeated Premier finished on a dramatic note. "Une pensée nous console dans notre chute, c'est que nous tombons à l'occasion d'une mesure destinée à la protection, à la défense de notre pays, une mesure que nous croyions nécessaire pour mettre les Canadiens en état de jouir librement de leurs institutions politiques, à l'ombre du glorieux drapeau de la Vieille Angleterre (92)." The House met for a few minutes on Friday the 23rd. Cartier announced that the new ministry was not as yet formed and moved that the House adjourn until Monday.

CHAPTER VI

DEADLOCK

On Saturday the 24th of May, 1862, the Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry was sworn in. Both sections were compromises. William McDougall, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, had accepted equal representation from East and West and Louis-Victor Sicotte, the choice of Ottawa as the permanent seat of government. Turcotte reflects the disapproval of McDougall felt in Lower Canada calling him "un digne adepte de M. Brown, fanatique et ambitieux comme lui; on eût tort de placer cet ennemi de la population française, dans un département aussi important que celui des terres de la couronne (1)." Surprise was also evinced in the Bleu press that both the Crown Lands and the Finance portfolios were entrusted to Upper-Canadian hands (2). Morton states with reason that the new government was a relief to the late Ministers - it was not committed to Representation by Population - and it was dependent upon Bleu support (3).

John A. Macdonald's opinion is expressed in a letter dated July 30:

"When Cartier and I crossed the floor we resolved to show the country what a gentlemanlike and patriotic opposition was. We resolved to give the newcomers fair play and offer no factious opposition. Some hot-headed friends of

2. La Minerve, 30 mai, 1862.
ours were dissatisfied with this, but I think they see now that we were correct. We have shown that we did not wish to cling to office for its own sake and we wish to show that we prefer the good of the country to mere party triumph. . . . When the House meets I will endeavour to prevent any vote of want of confidence. Let the Ministry have every chance to propose their measures. If they are for the good of the country, pass them. If not, oppose them. My opinion is that they are incapable of satisfying the wishes of the country and that they must fall from their own weakness and want of administrative ability. The absurd programme or platform with "Double Majority," etc., etc., must turn the country against them. Brown will fight them on Rep. by Pop. and split them in two. If the government are defeated, it will be their own fault, and my opinion is that defeated they will be, but not by our opposition. They will crumble to pieces before the end of the session from their own weakness (4)."

A rational view to be sure and one to which Cartier also subscribed.

The policy of the new Government was set down in eight points by T-J-J Loranger. The double majority was reaffirmed as a principle, redistribution within each section was called for, a new militia bill was announced, a protective tariff was to be proposed, and the Ottawa buildings were to be continued after due examination of plans and expenditures.

The ministers were allowed to be re-elected without opposition, despite the desire of La Minerve to offer a contest (5). The Arrangements Act which reorganized the Grand Trunk under Edward Watkin was passed by the House. A statement of Mr. William Wainwright, vice-

5. La Minerve, 30 mai, 1862.
president of the Company, about Cartier is of interest: "It was in 1862," said Wainwright, "that I first met George-Etienne Cartier, when he was Prime Minister of United Canada and Attorney-General in the Cartier-Macdonald Government. He was also at that time attorney for the Grand Trunk Railway Company, a position he had filled for some years with the utmost advantage to the company." Speaking of the financial troubles of the railway, Wainwright wrote:

"When I came over to Canada in 1862 it was the time of the reorganization of the Grand Trunk, when Sir Edward Watkin was made special commissioner and came to Canada to represent the Barings and Glyns, bankers of London, who really owned the Grand Trunk, which was then practically in a state of bankruptcy. I remember that, while I was engaged to come out for three years, after I saw how things were, I wrote home that I thought the road would not last twelve months. The financial condition of the company was in fact such that it was unable to get credit for one hundred dollars, the men had not been paid for months, and things generally were in the most precarious condition. It was undoubtedly through the Arrangements Act, the passage of which by the Canadian parliament was secured by George-Etienne Cartier, that the company was saved at this time. By that act the company was allowed to issue thirty-five million dollars third preference stock, the proceeds of which enabled us to effect a financial reorganization and to surmount our difficulties. George-Etienne Cartier in this connection rendered a service that should never be forgotten by Canadians for through his influence the collapse of a railway enterprise that meant so much for the country was unquestionably prevented."

This testimony from one close to the scene is important. Despite considerable criticism there is no doubt that the failure of the Grand Trunk would have been a disaster to the whole economy. "George-Etienne Cartier was the biggest French-Canadian I have ever known," was the emphatic if somewhat patronizing declaration of Mr. Wainwright.
"I met him on many occasions and he always impressed me as a man of great intellect and power, and of what I may describe as bulldog nerve, a man who had the courage of his convictions and who would carry them out at all costs. His high personal character and integrity were above question, and he was a patriot in the true sense of that term, always having the welfare of the country at heart. A brusque manner which was only on the surface, covered a heart of gold and the highest qualities of intellect. He was a man whose memory should be forever cherished and venerated by all Canadians (6)."

The Militia Bill and the Tariff both drew the criticism that they were not enough to reply to the situation in each case. A press report of June 7 said that members were leaving for home expecting the House to be adjourned. Indeed, on Monday June 9 this was what happened. It had been a strange session since the change of government with no Ministers in the House. It had been suggested that business should have been suspended till the autumn but the cabinet had decided to let the business be conducted in a rather rudderless fashion. La Minerve commented that it hoped the example of the ex-Ministers would be duly noted:

"La conduite de nos chefs, pendant les derniers jours de la session, a été digne et loyale. Ils ont protesté contre ce qu'ils croyaient être un danger pour le pays, sans placer d'inutiles entraves sous les pas des hommes nouveaux. Nous n'oublierons pas cet exemple. L'époque où nous sommes est trop critique, pour qu'il soit permis de méconnaître la grave responsabilité qui pèse sur la tête de tous les hommes publics (7)."

On July 3 a banquet was held at the St. Lawrence Hall in honour of


7. La Minerve, 12 juin, 1862.
Lord Monck. It seems strange to see the name of George-Etienne Cartier below that of John Sandfield Macdonald, Sicotte, Dorion and others in the list of those present.

During the summer the complement of elected members in the Legislative Council was completed with the election of the final twelve. Among those of note were Luther Hamilton Holton in Victoria, and Jacques-Olivier Bureau in De Lorimier. Holton was soon to resign his seat and enter the Assembly as M.P.P. for Chateauguay. Bureau became Provincial Secretary briefly in 1863, and remained in the upper house till 1867, when he was named to the Senate of Canada. The ex-minister from Montreal East found time to continue his connection with the Saint-Jean Baptiste Association, which now met in the quarters of the Institut Canadien-français, the orthodox competitor to the Institut Canadien. A committee was formed to draw up an address of welcome for Mgr. Bourget on his return to Montreal from Rome. George-Etienne Cartier, P-J-O Chauveau and Côme-Séraphin Cherrier, a wealthy and long-time member of the Montreal Bar, were all members of this group.

The Government embarked on a policy of economy, cutting the numbers in the civil service, and investigating the transactions of the previous régime. Dr. Meilleur, the ex-Superintendent of Education, was one who fell under the axe. Unfortunately for the Government, the zeal for economy was tarnished by reports of employees being released and then replaced by others who had a close connection with the new ministry.

September and October of 1862 brought rumours of A-A Dorion's
resignation as Provincial Secretary. Actually, although trouble was undoubtedly brewing, he did not resign until January 27 of the new year.

The Governors of Canada and the three Maritime provinces, with some of their advisers, had met in Quebec in September without any fanfare. They had discussed the Intercolonial particularly and had agreed to share the cost of construction, provided that an Imperial guarantee was obtained. The Canadian Government was not strongly in favour. The rural voters in both Upper and Lower Canada were not to be persuaded of the value of this route. The North-West was used as a political balance in Upper Canada, but the question of development westward just further exacerbated Dorion and his supporters as well as the Government newspapers such as Le Pays, L'Ordre, La Réforme, etc. L-V Sicotte and William Pierce Howland, the Minister of Finance, went to England, as well as representatives from the Atlantic colonies, to arrange the financial terms. Mr. Gladstone insisted on a sinking fund. The Canadian delegates got cold feet thinking of their shaky support at home and refused to agree to the British terms. They left for Paris, and then home. The Maritime delegates accused the Canadians of bad faith in these negotiations.

The Conservatives celebrated the election of Thomas Moyne Daly in a by-election in Perth. Sending his regrets to the banquet invitation, Cartier said, "L'élection de M. Daly ajoute une nouvelle force dans le parlement au parti libéral-conservateur dont le règle d'action est de
ne pas déclamer contre les réformes lorsqu'elles deviennent nécessaires (8)."

A rather touching letter from Cartier to his "ex-colleague" from Kingston on the death of Mrs. Macdonald, Sr., is worth repeating as it contains more than the trite sentiments required of the occasion.

"My dear Macdonald, I hope you will be good enough to allow me to disturb you in your grief by permitting me to express to you my sincere and deep feelings of sympathy at this moment when your affectionate filial heart is brought into bleeding sorrow by the death of your dear and venerable Mother. I cannot help now thinking of good little Hugh who also must be affected by the deep affliction which is brought home to his good little heart by the loss of his dear Grandmother. I hope that both the son and the grandson will bear up with courage the irreparable misfortune which has befallen them."

Macdonald must have smiled slightly as he read the flowery sentiments.

"My dear Macdonald, your Mother though in a constant state of delicate health reached the advanced age of 85 years. I see in that fact that longevity is a blessing in her family. I hope and wish that you her son will live a still longer life in this world of miseries, not only for your sake and that of your affectionate Hugh, but also for the sake of our dear country, our dear Canada, which for its welfare and happiness requires the promptings and inspirations of your good and honest heart, and your so able services as a statesman (9)."

A flurry of activity kept the Opposition leader in Lower Canada busy towards the end of 1862. On December 26 a group of his constituents in

8. Ibid., 6 nov.

Montreal East - three hundred and fifty in number - presented him with a magnificent silver épergne representing a maple tree with branches holding portraits of Queen Victoria, Jacques Cartier, Montcalm, and Mgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis. This is the same piece that was in the home of George-Etienne's grandnephew, the late Jacques-Antoine Cartier, in Saint-Antoine. An address was presented at the same time, congratulating the member for Montreal East on his contributions to the area, to Lower Canada in general and for "votre constante énergie à sauvegarder les grands principes d'administration qui font la base de notre prospérité, comme peuple (10)."

George-Etienne Cartier warmly thanked his electors and said a few words about each of the four distinguished figures whose portraits adorned this very ornate gift (11). The report adds that everyone was invited in for refreshments and that "plusieurs santé furent bues avec enthousiasme et quelques discours prononcés." Also "Des chansons furent chantées et celle du 'Canada, Mon Pays, Mes Amour,' a été vivement applaudie." In describing the procession to the Cartier home the writer says: "Chemin faisant plusieurs fusées furent lancées (12)."

All in all a gala occasion and one that must have greatly pleased the Honourable Member for Montreal East. He had not always been treated

10. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 315-316.
11. Ibid.
12. La Minerve, 30 déc., 1862.
with such esteem in his own constituency; nor was he to be in the future. Some time later, on nomination day, 1864, La Minerve gives us further details about this magnificent though intricate gift (13).

The next evening a banquet was held at the Hôtel du Canada to celebrate the first anniversary of Le Colonisateur. Most of those present were supporters of the Liberal-Conservative Party. Cartier, Renaud, Morin, Mayor Beaudry, Ouimet, Pominville and Bétournay were among the special guests. This would indeed be the only anniversary celebrated for Le Colonisateur as it did not survive another year. The list of its proprietors sounded like a glossary of prominent young members of the Liberal-Conservative Party: J-A Chapleau, J-A Mousseau, L-O David, and L-O Fontaine among others (14). This was not enough, however, to save this journal from being added to the lengthy list of financial failures in the newspaper business. The reply to the toast to the Liberal-Conservative Party given by Cartier on this occasion was reported at length. The Bleu chief devoted some time to proving that the Party which he headed was indeed the only truly liberal party. He then spoke in a more philosophical vein about the duties of a politician. The report continued:

"Il stigmatisa avec force les hommes faibles, les âmes pusillanimes qui se croient appelés au sommet des affaires pour

13. Ibid., 14 avril, 1864. See Appendix XXV.

obéir en esclaves à tous les préjugés populaires. En bien des circonstances, les gouvernants d'un pays sont tenus de résister au vent populaire qui, souvent, peut pousser la barque de l'Etat dans une fausse direction. L'homme public doit tenir compte de la volonté intelligente de la population d'un pays, mais il doit dominer cette volonté aveugle, excitée souvent par les passions d'un moment, qui cherche, à s'exercer illégitimement jusque dans cette sphère où les meilleures têtes ont besoin de toute leur réflexion et de toute leur énergie pour ne pas se fourvoyer (15)."

Cartier was not often given to expressions of his own political principles but his speech on this occasion accurately set down the beliefs which he carried into practice throughout his career.

George-Etienne Cartier left on December 29 for New York and Washington. Unfortunately, there is no record of his impressions of that trip. A report on January 20, 1863 merely stated that he had been met at the train by Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador, and a crowd of ten thousand people, who serenaded him. The Canadian politician replied with a long speech (16). The opposition press made fun of this reception and the numbers reported but La Minerve stuck to its story. A more important event that is covered in a short sentence is that Cartier was introduced to President Lincoln by Seward, the Secretary of State. How did the lanky log cabin raised frontiersman get along with the squat French Canadian from the seven-chimneyed stone house on the Richelieu? No record has been unearthed to tell us. The press of

15. La Minerve, 30 déc., 1862.
16. Ibid., 20 janvier., 1863.
January 24 simply announced Cartier's return to Canada (17).

The Macdonald-Sicotte Government was certainly not healthy. The Gazette de Sorel wrote gloomily of "le manque de tact gouvernemental" and of "le profond découragement que l'on remarque dans les cercles des amis du ministère." This independent newspaper, edited by Georges-Isidore Barthe for many years, allowed that even the greatest supporters of the Government were disappointed (18).

Cartier undoubtedly had the necessary qualifications to publish treatises on legal subjects himself but he never seems to have been so inclined. Among those who did was his one-time law-clerk and present colleague in the Assembly, Hector Langevin. The younger man sent a copy of his Droit Administratif ou Manuel des Paroisses et Fabriques to Cartier and received a very complimentary reply from his "Ex-Patron (19)." The catalogue of Sir George's library that was published for the auction held after his death is of considerable interest. Under "Livres de Droit Français" we find some 600 volumes. There were also 200 volumes of English Law. A separate section headed "Législation du Canada" contained almost 900 items, including the laws of the Maritime Provinces and of British Columbia, as well as a very extensive collection for Upper and Lower Canada and for the new Dominion.

17. Ibid., 24 janv.
18. Ibid., 3 fév.
The remainder is divided between French and English titles under the general heading "Histoire, Philosophie, Science, Littérature, etc."

Guizot, Bossuet, Voltaire, Rousseau, Lamennais, Montesquieu, Hugo, and Georges Sand are a few of the authors in the French list. In English the names of Longfellow, McCauley, and Todd are prominent along with several editions of Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage, Lodge's Peerage and Baronetage, and Wolfort's Shilling Peerage. The Canadian books in this section included both Garneau's and Ferland's *Histoire du Canada* (20).

The session opened in Quebec on February 12, 1863. Dorion had resigned as Provincial Secretary because of the continuance of the negotiations concerning the Intercolonial. Loranger was offered the post but instead accepted the position of Chief Justice at Three Rivers. In January, J-O Bureau, despite a dispute over his election to the Legislative Council, was appointed to the Secretary's job. George Brown appeared back on the benches of the Assembly, having won a by-election in South Oxford. George-Etienne Cartier and the Dorion brothers clashed not only on the political scene but also in the courts. In an appeal case concerning certain construction carried out in the parish of Sainte-Julie, Comté Verchères, heard before the Court of Queen's Bench on March 7, 1863, Dorion, Dorion and Sénécal represented the Appellant while Cartier and Pominville represented the Respondents (21).

The Speech from the Throne was rather thin and this and other criticisms were brought out by Cartier in his speech of February 17. He asked a whole series of very piercing questions about statements made by various Ministers on the subject of the Intercolonial, the militia, indemnities due to ex-Seigneurs, and civil servants who had been removed from their posts (22). It is easy to see that the ex-Premier was in control of the situation and managed to put the cabinet on the carpet for changes in portfolios that were really their own business. However, Cartier stated that at this point in the proceedings he did not have any motion of non-confidence to present.

February 19 saw John A. back in Quebec, after a trip to London. He was greeted by a large banquet attended by 70 members of both Houses. As well as the guest of honour and John Hillyard Cameron, the Chairman, Cartier, and Colonel Taché all spoke to the convivial gathering (23).

The Scott measure for Separate Schools finally secured passage during this session, but only with a minority in Upper Canada that made a mockery of the Double Majority principle of the Government. The report of the commission investigating the building of the parliament buildings was given on March 2. Mr. McGreevy's part in this work was severely questioned. Thomas McGreevy was one of the contractors. He

23. La Minerve, 21 fév., 1863.
became member of Parliament for Quebec West for twenty-five years until serious charges of political corruption caused his expulsion from the House in 1892.

La Minerve wondered out loud how long the Government could last and indeed so did observers on all sides. John Rose, Cartier's fellow member from Montreal, in writing to Edward Ellice the Younger in London, states that the Government could be defeated at any time but that it was hard to know who could take over. He added:

"Your old friend Cartier is unbecomingly eager to get back to power, but there are very great objections to him, and yet there is hardly a Frenchman to take his place. If he would but show himself superior to office, and agree to support some friendly government for a time, he would do himself lasting credit and the country a service. Macdonald - the late Attorney-General - is all for taking this course and anxious that Cartier should (24)."

Rose's comments are of interest but Cartier believed strongly that he and his colleagues were best able to govern and although it might be very well to talk vaguely of "some friendly government," who exactly did Macdonald or Rose have in mind?

The negotiations that eventually were to lead to the great coalition more than a year later had already started. Malcolm Cameron reported to John A: "I saw Brown and nothing is nearer to his heart than to upset the ship, but it is to him impossible unless Rep. by Pop. is

in some way got over, and he says he understands the Cartier party was prepared to give two or three members to the West (25)." No comments from Cartier himself!

The House adjourned over Easter from March 19 to April 9. At the end of April a debate arose on a bill to change certain clauses in the act on mortgage registrations. In replying to L-V Sicotte, who had presented the new project, the ex-Attorney-General spoke for one hour and a half, accused the mover of giving in to a small group of inexperienced Montreal lawyers - presumably all Rouges - and finished:

"Il a cédé à une pression faite dans l'intérêt d'une portion de la société qui se trouve en opposition avec le plus grand nombre. La Chambre et le pays tout entier sauront reconnaître où se trouve l'intelligence des véritables intérêts du public (26)."

On May 1, John A. Macdonald moved a direct motion of non-confidence in the Government, as the House was preparing to go into committee on the budget.

He reviewed the whole performance of the cabinet and pointed out the many cases of change in principle that had occurred. As Professor Morton remarks: "The party of Cartier and Macdonald felt that they had been in the wilderness long enough (27)." Finally, during the night of

the 7th and 8th, the vote was taken and the Ministry was in the minority by five voices. The next Monday, the 11th, the Premier asked for the budget to be passed, followed by a call to the people. Cartier, and many others, objected. The Bleu leader demanded to know the composition of the Cabinet, as there were no Ministers from Lower Canada in the House. After a great deal of tumult Cartier proposed that the House be adjourned immediately. George Brown entered the fray. During a long speech on the 7th he stated that Cartier was opposed to the development of the North-West, which allegation was immediately and categorically denied.

Sandfield Macdonald must have been working behind the scenes as the Lower Canada section of the ministry was indeed changed. Dorion was the new leader and Attorney-General, and on May 16 Luther Hamilton Holton was sworn in as Minister of Finance; L. T. Drummond, Commissioner of Public Works; Isidore Thibaudeau, the merchant from Quebec Centre, President of the Council; Luc Letellier de Saint-Just, the member of the Legislative Council for Granville, Minister of Agriculture; and Lucius Seth Huntington, the M.P.P. for Shefford, Solicitor-General. Sicotte was offered a post but refused. In any case, the vote on the motion to adjourn the Parliament left the ministry in a minority of twelve. It was in many ways surprising that an election was called as there was no assurance that anything would be settled, but Lord Monck agreed and the battle was hotly contested, both in Canada West and Canada East. Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Michael Hamilton Foley both switched over and joined
the Conservatives. Official Nomination Day was the first of June, the voting took place on the 9th and 10th. The three ministerial candidates in Montreal were Dorion, Holton, and John Young, the oppositionists were Cartier, Rose and McGee. *La Minerve* warned the electorate of the terrible consequences of electing those hostile to their interests. "Électeurs de Montréal, n'oubliez pas que MM. Dorion et Holton sont entre les mains de M. Brown, l'ennemi du Bas-Canada, et entre les mains de M. Young, l'ennemi des intérêts du Quartier Est (28)!

The press account of a meeting held at the corner of Craig and Montcalm on May 28 reported that all was going well for the Bleus. The crowd applauded a succession of eight speakers (29).

Rumours circulated that attempts would be made to prevent Cartier from speaking at the Official Nomination on June 1. A crowd gathered at the appointed time at the Place Papineau. Cartier was nominated by Ferdinand David and seconded by James Nelson and Henry Kavanagh. David praised the Bleu leader in the most flattering terms. He claimed that Cartier was "l'homme le plus calomnié de notre époque" because of his firm stand against the enemies of Lower Canada (30). Dorion was duly nominated and a show of hands took place with, as might be expected, each side claiming the majority. At this point a fight broke out, stones were hurled, and a general mêlée resulted. Cartier took a side

street to reach his own home on Notre-Dame and was surrounded by a large group of supporters. He spoke briefly from his own doorway, stating that the contest was "entre la classe modérée et la classe démagogique, entre les citoyens honnêtes et respectables qui veulent le libre exercice de nos franchises et de nos libertés et la démocratie dont les tendances et les instincts sont anti-britanniques et anti-nationaux (31)."

Le Pays accused Sheriff Delisle of Montreal of being an active supporter of Cartier's. This was hotly denied. The argument about who started the fracas on Nomination Day continued throughout the election. Le Canadien accused Cartier of being unable to find a French Canadian who would nominate him. La Minerve hotly, and correctly, replied asking the Editor of Le Canadien, Joseph-Guillaume Barthe, just what he thought the ancestry of Ferdinand David to be (32). The two days of polling showed Cartier winning all the polls in the Quartiers Sainte-Marie and Saint-Jacques and two of the three polls in Saint-Louis. The overall majority was 676, a very considerable one indeed (33). The official certificate signed by Louis Bélanger, the Chief Returning Officer, is with the Cartier family papers in Montreal (34).

Louis-Antoine Dessaulles, the violent Rouge Editor of Le Pays, was attacked in the street near the Hotel Donegana on the second day of the

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 5 juin.
33. Ibid., 11 juin. See Appendix XXVI.
34. F. S. C., p. 49.
election. Tension ran high in Montreal generally. On June 11 Cartier spoke for two hours at the Official Proclamation held in the Place Papineau. He mentioned that since the last election his great friend and supporter Mr. Thomas Molson had died. He referred to

"l'esprit d'entreprise, les grands services rendus au pays et à la ville de Montréal par cette famille éminente qui prit ici l'intiative de la navigation à vapeur, qui a fondé des collèges, bâti des églises, doté des universités et qui pendant plusieurs générations s'est fait remarquer par sa générosité, sa charité et son énergie (35)."

Such words are not surprising for the achievements of the Molson family would naturally stand high indeed in his estimation. Rehearsing the sins of the Rouges and the glories of the Bleus Cartier finished with some advice to his electors: "En terminant, laissez-moi vous adjurer de rester fidèles à la constitution du pays qui protège si amplement toutes les races, toutes les classes." Returning to his constant fear of republican ideas now reinforced by the disaster of the American Civil War, he said: "Cette constitution est bien supérieure aux institutions républicaines que beaucoup de nos libéraux admirent, mais qui éprouvent en ce moment la plus grande crise que l'histoire des États-Unis ait encore vue (36)."

The Government gained nine seats in Upper Canada and lost four in Lower Canada. In the midst of the evaluations of the election results


36. Ibid.
the press announced the death of Dr. Wolfred Nelson, aged 71. The mind of the member for Montreal East must have harked back twenty-six years to another, more mortal combat.

_Le Canadien_ on June 10 had made a bitter attack on Cartier while commenting unfavourably on a compliment delivered by the _Gazette_. The latter had said: "S'il y eut jamais aucun homme qui a toujours été prêt à faire tous les sacrifices nécessaires pour faire prévaloir les intérêts anglais, c'est bien lui!" _Le Canadien_ quite naturally reacted and burst in with: "Excepté pourtant quand il porta cette tuque bleue, à Saint-Denis, en 1837, où, après avoir pleuré comme un enfant dans la cave de Mme. St. Germain, au grand scandale du Dr. Wolfred Nelson, il en sortit converti à cette loyauté d'enragé qui le possède aujourd'hui . . . loyauté d'un lâche ambitieux (37)." Fortunately this exchange was allowed to die down. Canada itself was involved in a struggle at this time to try to find some way out of the political impasse that gripped it. On July 9 Cartier wrote a long letter to John A. Macdonald about the political future and particularly Sicotte's views on the ministry, from which the latter and his friends had been so unceremoniously dropped. Cartier was hopeful that Sicotte and some of his friends would support the Bleus once more. He discussed the possible candidates for the Speakership in the coming session, with particular mention of Thomas Clark Street. Generally Cartier appeared encouraged by the political climate and expressed a desire to get away for a short

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trip to the Saguenay with Edward Watkin. To Macdonald he added: "You better come with us (38)."

Early in August Cartier went to Welland in Upper Canada, to speak to the constituents of Thomas Clark Street. Recalling the comments in the letter to Macdonald about the Speaker's past this may explain why the trip was made. It is difficult not to agree with the Globe as did La Minerve that "Truly the little man has pluck . . . ." However, the Globe continued on to question his discretion. Rather, the trip was a good move politically. The "little man" spoke at length and with humour, meeting head-on the criticisms of the Globe. The veracity of George Brown was openly questioned at several points in the speech. Care was taken to congratulate the ladies in the large gathering on their charming ways and lovely dresses. Then, one by one, the major policies of the Government in which Cartier had played a leading part from 1854 to 1862 were reviewed. Railways, the provincial debt, the abolition of Seigniorial Tenure, taxes, the militia bill; in each case statistics were provided to give a full picture and to refute the charges of the Globe. Many comments were made about the views of the population of Lower Canada. Cartier informed the people of Welland that "Il existe un sentiment monarchique très-prononcé dans notre population. Oui, la population du Bas-Canada est monarchique de caractère et de sentiment." The Bleu leader felt called upon to explain his remark in the House about the cod of Gaspé being worth more than the

38. P. A. C., Macdonald, pp. 85808-85809.
Grits of Upper Canada. This was reported maliciously by the Globe, he added. In explaining that Upper Canada had obtained access to the United States for its grain he said that this was possible because the Americans wanted to be able to fish off Gaspé. He had added: "Eh bien, Messieurs, croyez-vous que cette supériorité du nombre que vous avez sur nous peut nous obtenir ce bienfait inestimable, le traité de réciprocité, comme l'a fait la morue (39)?" Hopefully this explanation mollified the Grits of Welland.

Understandably this sortie into alien territory and the direct tone of his speech attracted considerable attention. The Globe deplored the fact that Cartier had not recanted any of his beliefs and that he had even dared to defend his opposition to Rep. by Pop. La Minerve congratulated its favourite for having spent two and a half hours in pleading the case of Lower Canada and challenged George Brown to do the same in Montreal, Saint-Hyacinthe or Sorel. La Minerve continued by suggesting that more visits of public men should take place from one section of the Province to the other so that the population could hear directly what was happening and better understand the aspirations of their compatriots (40). It was undoubtedly a great event and no one was better able to carry out the task than Cartier. It is unknown whether many opinions were changed but undoubtedly some people benefitted from the experience. Mr. Street held the County for the

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40. *La Minerve*, 4 août, 1863.
Liberal-Conservatives.

The session opened in Quebec on August 13. The election of the Speaker caused a furor with George Brown's name rumoured as the ministerial candidate. However, the Hon. Lewis Wallbridge, the member for Hastings South, was persuaded to resign as Solicitor-General and be the candidate for the Chair. No other candidates were nominated and Wallbridge was elected by a margin of ten votes (41).

The new Speaker got off to a bad start by speaking only in English, although he was known to speak some French (42). On August 20 Sicotte proposed an amendment censoring the Government for its rather unusual conduct at the end of the last session in revamping the cabinet. Cartier and others spoke in favour of the amendment and it was lost by only three votes. The "Grand Trunk Affair," in many ways a small C.P.R. scandal, was given full coverage in La Minerve of August 25. Although the Company had not co-operated there appears to be no question that Sandfield Macdonald and L. H. Holton had asked for contributions, and that the price of the Government Mail Contract could easily have been affected in favour of the Grand Trunk had the Company agreed. On August 29 John A. Macdonald proposed a motion that a Committee of Inquiry be set up to investigate the charges (43). This proposal was lost by two

41. Ibid., 15 août.
42. Ibid., 18 août.
43. Ibid., 1 sept.
votes. An announcement that surprised the Opposition was that L-V Sicotte, having moved an amendment to the Throne Speech, accepted a post as Judge in the Richelieu district within a few weeks from the same Government. Naturally La Minerve raised some questions about this action and in the House the conduct of the Ministry was again attacked. Rémi Raymond of Saint-Hyacinthe, a cousin of Cartier's, contested the seat left vacant by Judge Sicotte. He was elected by a majority of 360 votes, thus gaining another seat for the Opposition (44). His opponent was Auguste-Cyrille Papineau, son of Denis-Benjamin Papineau.

The militia bill received quite a lot of attention but in the end Cartier and many others in the Opposition voted for it. Among the many contested elections was that of Montreal East. By September 26 a Committee of the House, consisting of Messrs. T. S. Parker (Wellington-North), Théodore Robitaille (Bonaventure), Thomas Higgison (Prescott), Jean-Baptiste Pouliot (Témiscouata), and the Chairman, James Cockburn (Northumberland-West) was set up to consider the matter. A verdict of "no case" was returned. James Cockburn was gathering experience in disputed cases that was to serve him well as the first Speaker of the House of Commons after Confederation.

La Minerve became very impatient to see the Government defeated. Speaking of a member who disapproved of much government policy but refused to vote against it, the Quebec correspondent wrote peevishly:

44. Ibid., 1 Oct.
"Pourquoi prolonger aujourd'hui le fair trial (45)?" Thomas D'Arcy McGee also reportedly found the ministry's tactics difficult: "... en travaillant de concert avec l'opposition présente, il travaillait au moins avec des hommes instruits, et avec des gentlemen (46)." Finally on October 15, the extra session of 1863 was prorogued until November 24. The last evening the two sides of the House competed in song while awaiting the Governor-General. Joseph Rymal, the member for Wentworth South, thanked the galleries for their faithful attendance and rapt attention, and said he hoped they would patronize the theatre again next season. He added that they might well find some changes both of plot and of cast.

La Minerve published a rumour on October 31 that John Shuter Smith would be named Solicitor-General for Upper Canada, replacing Lewis Wallbridge, the member for Hastings. The member for Durham East would thus have to seek re-election. Cartier wrote to John A. Macdonald on the 30th concerning the projected by-election and its possible effects. After discussing the relative merits of possible candidates Cartier observed that "under the present circumstances a success in our cause in U. C. will go a great length to keep united our L. C. friends in Parliament. If we succeed to oust Smith... we will be masters of the position (47)."

45. Ibid., 8 oct.
46. Ibid.
Cartier followed his own advice often given to his compatriots and accumulated land as the best and most patriotic investment. He had begun to acquire some lots in his constituency, as was mentioned at his nomination meeting of June 1. A receipted bill for $150 from Auguste Quesnel of Arthabaskaville mentions school and municipal taxes and other costs involved in eight lots in Ham Township. Mention is made of a train ride to Danville, and then a carriage to Wotton which is presumably where the lots were (48). This is in an area that was being opened up for colonization.

On the political scene La Gazette de Sorel continued to support the Conservatives. An article appeared there that probably made sense to many readers, especially after the rudderless ministerial ship of the past year or more. Georges-Isidore Barthe did not support the Bleu leader with the same blind faith that characterized La Minerve. He attempted to examine the merits of any given situation. Under the present circumstances he wrote:

"Au pis aller, nous le demandons aux gens de bonne foi et qui sont personnellement désintéressés, que perdrions-nous si M. Cartier reprenait la place de M. Dorion, puisqu'il est avéré aujourd'hui, pour les hommes impartiaux, que M. Dorion a commis à peu près les mêmes fautes?"

Perhaps not the most flattering terms that Cartier had ever read in describing himself, but Barthe redeemed himself:

"M. Cartier au moins est national. Jamais il n'a rien cédé au Haut-Canada de compromettant pour notre nationalité et, le voulût-il encore aujourd'hui, il ne le pourrait pas, car son parti l'abandonnerait. M. Dorion et ses partisans peuvent-ils dire qu'ils ont fait cela lors de la formation du ministère Brown-Dorion, et qu'ils agiraient ainsi aujourd'hui si M. Sandfield se sentait assez fort pour acquitter ses promesses envers M. Brown? D'ailleurs, les alliés haut-canadiens de M. Cartier n'insistent pas sur ce point, pendant que ceux de M. Dorion en font une condition sine qua non, à mots couverts aujourd'hui, mais ce sera ouvertement plus tard. De plus, M. Cartier a donné des preuves de son énergie et de son dévouement envers nos institutions nationales, — jamais n'a hésité lorsqu'il fallait revendiquer nos droits pendant que chacun connaissait la faiblesse de M. Dorion et son indifférence à cet endroit. On lui reproche d'être plus Américain qu'Anglais, mais nous lui reprochons, nous, d'être plus Américain que Canadien et surtout Canadien-Français (49)."

Cartier kept in close contact with John A. Macdonald, discussing the Durham East election and Government policy on financial matters, particularly Holton's arrangement with the Bank of Montreal regarding the sale of Government securities (50). It was difficult for those who were used to having full knowledge of important movements in the country to have to try to glean information from the newspapers.

During the second half of 1863 the tide turned in the War between the States. Agitation became quite voluble in the U.S. Congress for the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and even for the discontinuance of the Bonding Treaty of 1845. However, the Canadian Government remained little aware of the import of the change in balance on the

49. La Minerve, 21 nov., 1863.

North American continent. Defence and communications, however, started
to have more important meanings and more and more people realized that
Federation was inextricably connected with both of these problems as
well as the purely political stalemate. Professor Morton stated that
"In Canada the Southern defeats were received by the great majority,
and especially in French Canada, as though they had been Canadian (51)."
This is undoubtedly true. Nouvelles des Etats-Unis columns appeared in
many of the Canadian newspapers and the actions of the Union government
were not treated with sympathy (52).

On December 9, Cartier took part in a meeting, along with the Mayor,
LaFontaine, Chauveau, Cherrier et al. for the purpose of raising
funds for the building of a Jesuit church in Montreal. The Jesuits had
come a long way in the past few years towards being accepted once more.
Cartier was not able to go to Toronto for an Opposition banquet on the
17th. However, Galt and Cauchon were both present (53).

Looking back over the year La Minerve remarks with notable presci-
ence: "1863 sera une grande date dans l'histoire du Canada. Les évé-
nements qui s'y rattachent sont d'une nature grave, extraordinaire, et
la postérité les étudiera avec curiosité, souvent avec étonnement (54)."

52. La Minerve, 24 nov., 1863.
53. Ibid., 17 déc.
54. Ibid., 5 janv., 1864.
Early in 1864 George-Etienne Cartier was off again to Washington. The details of this trip are almost as scarce as for the visit of the previous year, but the Rouge press was very curious, particularly when Joseph Cauchon left for the same destination. Undoubtedly to see what reaction he would elicit in response Hector Fabre wrote in L'Ordre: "Cette attraction que semble exercer la capitale des Etats-Unis sur les chefs de l'opposition semblerait corroborer la rumeur répandue après le dîner de Toronto, que l'opposition est devenu annexionniste (55)." La Minerve reacted but did not in fact provide any useful information about the purpose of the Washington visits. The "dîner de Toronto" was the Opposition gathering of December 17 that Cartier had missed. The reason for the "rumour" was that Isaac Buchanan had taken that occasion to express his well-known views on reciprocity. Cartier had written to congratulate the voluble and rather prickly Hamiltonian and mentioned that he was leaving for the United States. Buchanan replied at length, expounding his views for the settlement of the ills of North America. He suggested that, after the proposal had been voted upon by referendum, Canada and the U.S.A. should ask Queen Victoria to send one of the Royal Family to rule over a loose federation of all North America, taking the title of Prince or Elector. Fascinating and bizarre as the suggested scheme is, it is difficult to believe that Cartier would give it serious attention (56). Cartier would agree with Buchanan's fear of extreme

55. Ibid., 21 janv.

56. P. A. C., Buchanan Papers, M. G. 24, D. 16, Vol. 21, Buchanan to Cartier, Dec. 28, 1863. See Appendix XXVII.
Republicanism but nothing further. However, on the very next day the Hamilton businessman wrote again, this time very briefly, but in a highly complimentary fashion.

"As almost the only person in Canada as a public man who knows and can expound the doctrines which I consider so vital, and as I must stand to you in somewhat the same relation of having a great common interest, I cannot quit of the presentiment that some turn will come to enable us to co-operate, and that our friend Mr. Sandfield Macdonald will yet see his error in throwing himself on such slippery customers as the Grits (57)."

Holton wrote to Brown on January 24 obviously attempting to keep the editor of the Globe satisfied with the Government's conduct. He talked in disparaging terms of Cartier's trip to Washington.

"I agree with you perfectly as to the importance of some steps being taken . . . of the Reciprocity Treaty and I hope you may find it compatible with your other plans to ply the labouring oar which Sandfield has tendered you. No man in Canada is in so good a position to treat with the . . . Spirits in Washington and no one better . . . so well understands the subject in all its bearings. I heard yesterday on the best authority (a letter from Mr. Giddings, who is and always has been a strong friend of the Treaty, to a friend here), that Cartier is doing a world of mischief by his stupid advocacy of the treaty and the still more stupid way in which he approaches men who are assistants as assumed to be important. The little man from what I hear speaks and acts as if he were Prime Minister of Canada — as he is intensely pro-Southern, well known at Washington to be and not likely to throw even a veil of courtesy over his opinion while in Washington and talks out very grandly about spending money to carry the treaty. You may judge

57. Ibid., 29 déc.
of the mischief he is likely to do (58)."

This is one side of the picture. Without the other it is impossible to judge the aims or the results of Cartier's mission.

In La Minerve of February 18, a short article appears about the Intercolonial and in this some of Cartier's views about the attitudes of the Government in Washington are expressed. La Minerve reported:

"Dans l'état actuel des esprits aux E.-Unis, M. Cartier avait observé une recrudescence de colère et de passion contre l'Angleterre et le Canada. Or, il savait que pour taquiner la mère-patrie et ses colonies, les politiques des États Fédéraux peuvent sacrifier les intérêts de leur pays. Il prévrit donc que dans un avenir prochain, le rappel de l'acte qui autorise les Canadiens à importer ou exporter en franchise par la voie des États-Unis, serait agité, en haine des Anglais et des Canadiens. Il exprima ses craintes, devant la Chambre, pendant la dernière session, et fit voir combien il pourrait être dommageable à nos intérêts, de différer la construction du chemin intercolonial qui nous rendrait indépendants des États-Unis, en hiver, pour nos communications avec l'Europe."

This view was certainly very reasonable. La Minerve compares it with the attitude of the Government supporters:

"Les politiques à courte vue de l'école du Globe, de l'Ordre et du Pays, se moquèrent de ses appréhensions. Suivant eux, nous n'avions rien à redouter sous ce rapport, les États-Unis ayant trop d'intérêt à attirer le commerce du Canada. Quelques mois après, les Chambres s'assemblaient aux États-Unis, et l'un de ces politiques dont M. Cartier craignait l'imprudence et la folie, s'empressait de lui donner raison, en mettant davant le Congrès le projet du rappel de l'acte

en question (59)."

A voice out of the past of little importance in 1864 is nevertheless of interest. Louis-Joseph Papineau, in replying to a letter informing him that a banquet of Government supporters had drunk his health, replied in part:

"Mes soixante et dix-sept ans me mettent hors des rôles pour tout service actif, et plus particulièrement pour ceux de longs voyages, longs repas et longues veillées. Néanmoins, je vous aurais écrit que de coeur, de volonté, de conviction, je participais à la juste expression de leur haute approbation et de leur confiance que les patriotiques citoyens de Québec donnaient à l'intègre ministère qui aujourd'hui défend les intérêts du pays; et à la pleine censure que leur démarche proclame, contre la coupable et dilapidatrice administration qui a trop longtemps travaillé à la ruine morale et économique de la patrie (60)."

The old man was just as much of a democrat as ever.

The House opened on February 19. Everyone was wondering how long the Government would last. The Speech from the Throne listed a number of items for the attention of the legislators. The Reciprocity Treaty, Canals, the Intercolonial Railway and the North-West received special attention.

The attempts of the Government to keep their thin majority of two or three and to add to it, were graphically reported in the opposition

59. La Minerve, 18 fév.
60. Ibid., 11 fév.
press. Cartier spoke on February 25 about James O'Halloran, the member for Missisquoi, who had been ardently courted by both sides but who finally went to the Government's aid, reportedly the highest bidder. It is evident from his own words that the ex-Premier had spent a long time wooing the vote of O'Halloran and was put out by the lack of results.

The very next day the death of Sir Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine was announced, at the age of 57. Many members of both Houses must have felt this loss keenly, and George-Etienne Cartier as much as any. Delivering a short eulogy in the Assembly he spoke of his own association with his ex-chief.

"En ce qui concerne mes relations avec l'homme éminent qui vient de s'éteindre, je ferai observer qu'il était mon ami dans la profession, et que je l'avais pris pour modèle. Non pas que je fusse capable de l'égaler ni même de rivaliser avec lui. Non, le juge LaFontaine possédait une vaste intelligence, et lorsqu'il pratiquait au barreau, c'était toujours avec crainte que j'entreprendrais de défendre une cause combattue par celui qui n'est plus. Si j'ai pu acquérir un peu d'expérience comme avocat, je le dois dans une grande mesure au modèle que j'étais heureux d'essayer à imiter. J'ai eu la bonne fortune d'être l'ami non-seulement professionnel, mais personnel de sir Louis Hypolite LaFontaine, qui a été mon chef politique et dont j'ai été le partisan en Chambre, comme je l'avais été avant mon entrée au Parlement (61)."

There is no doubt that LaFontaine, the epitome of the gentleman politician, was highly regarded by his younger colleague.

Cartier's contribution to the Throne Speech Debate was impressive,

both in content and in length. The speech was started on February 25 and then took up most of the sitting of the 29th. La Minerve remarked:

"Ceux qui n'assistent point aux débats pour entendre de belles phrases, mais pour s'instruire sur les questions d'intérêt public, ceux qui préfèrent la profondeur des vues à la beauté et à l'éclat du style; en un mot, ceux qui savent faire la distinction entre une académie et une Chambre d'assemblée, ceux-là ont dû se retirer de cette séance bien satisfaits de ce qu'ils venaient d'entendre. Ce discours, il est vrai, a été d'une longueur démesurée. Mais abondamment nourri de faits instructifs et d'idées solides, il restera tel qu'il est comme un des aperçus les plus vifs et les plus sûrs de la décevante politique du ministère actuel. Depuis les plus petits actes accomplis pendant la vacance jusqu'au dernier paragraphe du discours d'ouverture, tout a été repassé, examiné, soumis à la censure avec une rare pénétration et une sagacité étonnante (62)."

After talking for some time of the value of canals and also of their great cost; of the Reciprocity Treaty and other commercial matters, Cartier chose to taunt the Government. He was not particularly adept at humour in his speeches but this occasion was an exception. He enjoyed himself immensely as he reminded the members of the administration of their views expressed while in opposition, and wondered out loud what had happened to silence so many strongly held principles. Had George Brown forgotten Rep. by Pop? With false sympathy the Bleu leader said: "Ce silence forcé est vraiment humiliant pour un homme de la trempe de l'honorable M. Brown." Noting that the Globe had recently referred to him as that "grossier Cartier" and "ce damné petit Canadien-français qui a nom Cartier" he declared himself very satisfied with the present state

62. La Minerve, 3 mars, 1864.
of affairs.

"Quant à moi, il m'importe peu d'être au pouvoir ou de n'y pas être, du moment que mon parti est assez puissant dans la Chambre pour forcer, comme il le fait actuellement, les ministres à adopter sa politique et à déclarer publiquement que leurs opinions politiques d'autrefois étaient erronées."

George Brown couldn't stand this and interjected that such was not the case! Obviously enjoying himself Cartier touched on the Intercolonial Railway, the acquisition of the North-West, and the question of the new capital. On this last topic, he made the observation that "Quand la législature siégera à Ottawa, j'espère que nous nous occuperons de mettre en exploitation, de coloniser l'immense région forestière qui l'enviro-

ne." Speaking of the Grand Trunk, Cartier stated that he would have liked to address some remarks to the Prime Minister but that unfortunately the man in question was asleep. This fact, however, did not prevent the opposition member from continuing to speak (63). Writing to his wife Anne, on March 1, George Brown said:

"Rose has just risen to speak and he has said the only sensible thing that has been uttered in the debate. He hoped that the debate would now be brought to a close without further waste of time and 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 half-past eight and spoke until a quarter past eleven; resumed yesterday at 3, and spoke till six, resumed at half-past seven and spoke till a quarter to one - !!!! The little wretch screeched - is that the way to spell it? - thirteen hours in one speech! They used to charge me with being

longwinded, but Cartier outdoes all the world, past, present and to come (64)."

Brown's letters are a pleasure to read, whatever his opinion of Cartier. They show a side of the big Scot that is quite at variance with his public image. Unfortunately, there is almost no personal correspondence available from the doughty French-Canadian's pen, and what we do have is extremely difficult to read. In writing to his wife the day before, Brown had remarked: "I gave your love to John A. and Cartier and they say when they return to office they will not forget you (65)." This jest must have gladdened the heart of the parliamentary widow in Toronto.

On March 14, George Brown introduced a motion for a Committee to investigate a solution to the constitutional problem. The debate was rather scattered. John A. pronounced that: "We should have a legislative union in fact, in principle, and in practice," to which Cartier retorted, "That is not my policy (66)." This would not be the last occasion on which Macdonald would allow his preference on this subject to slip out but Cartier would not stand for any such talk from his colleague. Brown wrote home: "Galt, Cartier, and John A. throwing aside entirely the importance of the subject, attempted to turn it off on miserable personal questions of inconsistency. John A. was especially

64. P. A. C., Brown, pp. 865-866.
mean and contemptible. He attacked Mowat and myself very bitterly - but I think he got it back with interest (67)." It does not look as if anyone was too happy with this debate.

No motion of non-confidence was presented to the House. The Government just seemed to slip into oblivion. The legislative reporter for *La Minerve*, writing on the 17th, reported that the cabinet had been meeting late into the night, and that Holton refused to present his budget if he could not be assured of a majority of ten. As the writer remarks: "Si M. Dorion n'a pas obtenu du Ciel le don de faire des miracles, il est certain que M. Holton ne recevra point satisfaction (68)." Every possible subject for conversion to the views of the Ministry was canvassed. *La Minerve* took the occasion to print a comparison between the conduct of Cartier and of Dorion with respect to the demands of Upper Canada. Not unexpectedly the former won the laurels. "M. Cartier se pose au devant de l'invasion haut-canadienne et devient le rempart de nos institutions menacées (69)."

The telegraph was a great help in many areas, particularly in newspaper work. On March 21, *La Minerve* received four wires from Quebec; the first at 10 a.m. said: "Les offres faites aux chefs de l'opposition ont été refusées. Une crise est imminente. Les résignations

68. *La Minerve*, 19 mars, 1864.
69. Ibid., 22 mars.
sont entre les mains du Premier . . . ." The second at 3 p.m. announced: "Le ministère a résigné. L'Hon. M. Blair appelé." Again an hour later: "Résignation des ministres annoncée officiellement. L'Hon. Fergusson-Blair est rendu chez le Gouverneur." And finally: "Il est rumeur que l'Hon. Fergusson-Blair est en pour - parler avec l'Hon. M. Taché (70)." It appears that Cartier was approached to form a ministry after Fergusson-Blair, the member of the Legislative Council for Brock, and the Provincial-Secretary in the outgoing ministry, had failed. Sir Etienne-Paschal Taché had earlier been approached to reconstitute the Lower Canada part of the ministry (71).

La Minerve chortled with a detailed explanation of Sandfield Macdonald's peregrinations. The task was indeed not an easy one. Any coalition that could command a majority was bound to consist of elements with publicly held opposing views on several major topics. The ex-premier stated that he could not sit in the same Cabinet with Cartier because they disagreed on so many issues. Taché was reported to have said: "que M. Cartier faisait la loi dans le Bas-Canada" and no Bleu could enter a coalition without his approval (72).

Cartier was unwilling to combine with part of the old ministry in the first instance and was unable to form a ministry himself with a sure

70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., 5 avril.
72. Ibid., 7 avril.
enough majority if he were the titular head even though he was the chief of the largest group in the House. *La Minerve* wrote on March 24 that Cartier had not yet given his definite answer to the Governor, and had been given until the next day to talk to his friends. "Nous espérons que tous les hommes modérés qui désirent voir former un gouvernement fort, capable de faire marcher d'un pas assuré les affaires du pays, se montreront disposés à seconder les efforts de M. Cartier (73)." The member for Montreal East apparently approved the move to insist that Sir Etienne-Paschal Taché be persuaded to become the technical head of the new cabinet. On March 28 Cartier replied in the House to a question by the recently retired Premier, John Sandfield Macdonald. He stated that Col. Sir Etienne-Paschal Taché had succeeded in forming a government. There was no question who the actual chief was. Newspapers such as the *Mercury* and the *Tribune* were naturally unhappy. *La Minerve* gave some of the reasons why and chided the *Mercury* for trying to raise prejudice against Cartier in Upper Canada. Referring disdainfully to his "vingt ou trente lecteurs québecquois" *La Minerve* accused George Sheppard of the *Mercury* of producing material for the consumption of the voters of Upper Canada. This accounted for the continuous attacks on Cartier for as *La Minerve* asserted: "M. Cartier est M. Cartier, et avec M. Cartier point de salut pour les cleargrits (74)!" As the Quebec *Daily Mercury* was under the control of John Sandfield Macdonald at this time it is not

73. Ibid., 24 mars.
74. Ibid., 29 mars.
surprising to find the desperate tone of its editorials (75).

The cabinet was sworn in on March 30, consisting of Sir Etienne-Paschal Taché (Premier and Receiver-General), George-Etienne Cartier (Attorney-General), Alexander Tilloch Galt (Finance), Jean-Charles Chapais (Public Works), Thomas D'Arcy McGee (Agriculture), and Hector-Louis Langevin (Solicitor-General) in the Lower-Canadian section, and John A. Macdonald (Attorney-General), Alex. Campbell (Crown Lands), Michael Hamilton Foley (Postmaster General), Isaac Buchanan (President of the Council), John Simpson (Provincial Secretary), and James Cockburn (Solicitor-General) in the Upper-Canadian section.

The official nomination in Montreal East was announced for Monday, April 11, at noon, in the Place Papineau. "Electeurs, soyez à votre poste. Que chacun vienne entendre votre digne représentant. Des orateurs bien connus parleront de questions intéressantes; entr'autres des améliorations du Hâvre (76)." It is to be noted that it is the local question that is emphasized.

Cartier was re-elected by acclamation and on April 12 expressed his gratitude to the voters of the area. He took this occasion to make some explanations about the programme of the new Government. Efforts to continue the Reciprocity Treaty would be of first priority. The Intercolonial Railway must be pressed forward. Better management of the

76. La Minerve, 9 avril, 1864.
finances must be introduced. The results of the Commission appointed in 1857 to codify the laws of Lower Canada would be presented to parliament (77).

The programme of the administration had been briefly covered in Quebec by Joseph Cauchon and by John Hillyard Cameron, who had also announced the composition of the cabinet. In their accounts Defence, Reciprocity, the Intercolonial, the North-West, the balance of income and expenditure, etc., were all to be dealt with. Rep. by Pop. was to be left an open question.

Taché, and those of his ministers who did not have to face an election battle, went to Quebec to carry on the affairs of state. On April 19 they passed through Montreal on their way to Ottawa to inspect the parliament buildings.

On May 2, C. J. Brydges of the Grand Trunk wrote to Cartier telling of a letter received from "Dr. Tupper of Halifax." Brydges had been to the "Lower Provinces" for meetings concerning the Intercolonial and he advised the Minister of his impressions. "It is, however, in my opinion, more important than ever that prompt and energetic action should be taken by your government (78)." On the legal side the Grand Trunk continued to require the services of the firm of Cartier, Pominville and Bétournay. Cases involving animals that were maimed or destroyed when

77. Ibid., 14 avril, also Tassé, op. cit., pp. 380-384.
78. P. A. C., Papiers Sulte, Brydges to Cartier, May 2.
they strayed on to the railway tracks were not uncommon during this pe-
riod. One such, involving two horses, ended in an appeal to the Court
of Queen's Bench where the Grand Trunk was exonerated of all blame in a
judgment given on March 9, 1864 (79).

The Houses resumed their session in Quebec on May 3. George-
Etienne Cartier received the next day the news of the accident that
took the life of his cousin Henri Cartier of Vaudreuil. The doctor had
been thrown into the river when his horse shied late at night, and was
found only the following morning. He was the same person who had been
at Saint-Denis with the Attorney-General in 1837, and had practised at
Vaudreuil for twenty-five years (80).

Galt's budget raised considerable discussion in the Assembly. He
raised the duty on spirits and tobacco, and the stamp duty. The tobac-
co duty was not on the indigenous crop but apparently several tobacco-
nists from Montreal were not happy or at least they required a more de-
tailed explanation. This latter information comes from a letter from
François Pominville to his senior partner. In the same letter Pomin-
ville talks of a building under construction for Cartier by the firm of
Laberge and Laramée. No details are given of a location or purpose but
mention is made of legal difficulties over an adjoining wall belonging

80. La Minerve, 7 mai, 1864.
to "le petit Papineau Protonotaire (81)." This description would seem to refer to Auguste-Cyrille Papineau, son of Denis-Benjamin, and later a Judge of the Superior Court of Montreal. The man in question would be even more apt to be difficult than might otherwise have been the case as he had recently been defeated in the elections for the Assembly in Saint-Hyacinthe by Rémi Raymond, a cousin of George-Etienne Cartier. In an earlier letter, Pominville attached a copy of the catalogue of the library of the late Sir Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, offering to bid for any items desired in the auction on May 18 (82). Further letters from Pominville over the next few weeks mention Grand Trunk matters and political considerations. On one occasion, Cartier is asked to be the godfather to "mon gros garçon," while Mme. Cartier has accepted to be the godmother (83).

A vote of non-confidence re the removal of the canal charges was proposed by A-A Dorion on May 17 and the Government was sustained by only two votes. George Brown's resolution for a Committee to look for constitutional solutions to the problems facing the country was presented and passed 59-48. The resolution stated in part: "Que la nécessité qu'il y a de trouver un remède à un état de choses qui empire d'année en année, a engagé les conseillers de Sa Majesté en Canada à

81. F. S. C., p. 53, Pominville à Cartier, 12 mai.
82. Ibid., p. 52, 29 avril.
83. Ibid., p. 50, 9 juin.
chercher les moyens de faire disparaître pour toujours ces difficultés (84)." The resolution went on to name a committee consisting of nineteen of the leading members from both sides of the House.

On June 11, La Minerve reported that another non-confidence motion was afoot. Sure enough, on June 14, A-A Dorion proposed a motion censuring A. T. Galt for a loan of $100,000 made in 1859 to the Grand Trunk to compensate the Company for land in the City of Montréal. Just what connection there was is not at all certain, as a different government was in power in 1859. Cartier does not give us any indication whether he had anything to do with the original loan, but he did criticize the action of the Opposition, and made a valiant attempt to prevent the inevitable (85). Later on the 14th, the vote was taken and the Government was two short. What was to happen? The old game was worn out. Ringing new changes had become an impossibility. An entirely new plan was needed. A telegram from Quebec dated June 17 holds the key to the future: "Les Hons. MM. J. A. Macdonald et Cartier ont annoncé, à l'ouverture de la chambre, que le gouverneur consentait à une dissolution, mais afin de l'éviter MM. McDonald et Galt étaient en négociation avec M. Brown, qui se déciderait à supporter l'administration, afin de faire marcher les affaires du pays. Ils espèrent réussir. On va demander un ajournement jusqu'à lundi (86)."

84. La Minerve, 24 mai, 1864.
85. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 386-388.
86. La Minerve, 18 juin, 1864.
The rather tentative negotiations that had been under way for some time were coming into the open. Alexander Morris, the member for South Lanark, and John Henry Pope, the member for Compton, had acted as intermediaries. On Friday, June 17, 1864, Macdonald and Galt called upon Brown and definite headway was made. A meeting at which Cartier and Taché were to be present was set for 10 a.m. the next morning. This was deferred to one p.m. and accordingly Cartier and Brown, the two keys without which the door to any fundamental change in the constitution could not be opened, met face to face. The Globe's report smacks slightly of malice but on the other hand could well have been true.

"At one the conference resumed in the Executive Council Chambers, Cartier for the first time joining his two colleagues. The ardent Bleu leader, it was said, looked carefully to see that the Rouges Dorion and Holton were not in train behind his old western enemy, then heartily embraced him and swore friendship (1)." Discussions on the principles to be adhered to and on more immediate details such as the composition of the Cabinet followed and Cartier, Macdonald and Galt met again with Brown at the St. Louis Hotel on Monday at 10 a.m. La Minerve describes the scene in detail, particularly the discussions about the number of

1. The Globe, June 20, 1864.
cabinet seats awarded to each section in the coalition. The view that the introduction of any Rouges could in no way strengthen the ministry was advanced and accepted. Even *La Minerve* admitted that the whole exercise would be pointless if George Brown himself did not enter the cabinet (2).

These events were the first of a crucial series that within nine months was to have included the Conferences of Charlottetown and Quebec, and see the Confederation Resolutions approved by both Houses of the Canadian parliament. Without going into detail about everything that happened, George-Etienne Cartier's role should be traced. This is not as easy as might be hoped because of the very fragmentary records for the conferences and the almost total lack of any correspondence from Cartier giving his own impressions. Professor Careless had described with great care the relative positions of the lead players in the drama of Confederation. Referring to Cartier he states: "Without his willingness to pledge support of the French-Canadian majority and thereby mortgage his entire political future with his people, the new government and its project would have been wholly impossible." Later the same author refers to Cartier's action as "an act of highest political courage, and, one might add, of undeluded vision (3)." These statements are entirely true. George-Etienne Cartier could well have retreated into the


safety of not accepting any change, certainly not Rep. by Pop., and he would have been the champion of the protection of the rights of his people. By leading French Canada into Confederation George-Etienne Cartier left himself open to innumerable charges from those who saw isolation as the only hope of survival for French Canada. Cartier knew this would happen, but he firmly believed that in isolation lay the destruction rather than the growth of his heritage. A number of great French Canadians have been very isolationist. Wishing the same ends as the most ardent nationalist, George-Etienne Cartier chose the only route that he thought held any real chance of success. He firmly believed that the future survival and growth of French Canada was safe in his hands. He would provide the necessary constitutional safeguards within the larger framework of a federation. The failure of his dream to come true in all respects is partly his fault in not foreseeing future problems; but even more it is the lack of strength on the part of some of his own people, who followed him as leaders of French Canada, and the lack of good faith on the part of English Canada in living up to the expectations of those who strove to create a better system of government in the 1860's. George Brown and George-Etienne Cartier, both strong sectional leaders who led the two largest political groups into the coalition, appreciated the sacrifices the other had to make and gained a respect for each other that never died. Following the years of being cast in the role of arch-enemies, this may at first appear surprising, but both men were above all honest. Further, each knew exactly where the other stood, which is perhaps more than either could say of John A. Brown's own words, spoken
on June 22, show that this man who so often had appeared blind, saw the extent of the sacrifice on the part of Taché and Cartier. Even between the two, Taché had already retired and was known as a relatively quiet and unfailingly polite gentleman, while Cartier was the active leader who held the responsibility for the support of clergy, Montrealer, habitant, and entrepreneur alike. "And one thing I must say. It is little sacrifice for me to accept this compromise. It is comparatively little even for the member for Sherbrooke (Mr. Galt) . . . . But it is a great thing, a most bold and manly thing, for Sir Etienne Taché, and for the member for Montreal East (Mr. Cartier) to take up this question . . . . I do frankly confess, Mr. Speaker, that if I never had any other parliamentary successes than that which I achieved this day . . . I would have desired no greater honour . . . (4)."

Careless touches on several important explanations in saying "As far as the Province of Canada was concerned — and the dynamic power behind the movement lay in this largest, most troubled British province in America — the original design of Confederation had come from Galt in 1858; its practical execution and final realization would be Macdonald's work pre-eminently; and the bravest, and utterly essential act of acceptance was Cartier's. Yet, by its very nature, Cartier's act was fundamentally passive (5)." The passivity of Cartier's role was true to some

5. Careless, op. cit., p. 146.
extent, but it did not mean that he was inactive. This apparent conflict is easy to understand. Cartier could not go as far as to appear to be seeking an alliance with Brown or the breakup of the Union, but he was extremely active in calming the fears raised by the Rouges on one side, and stemming the tide of a legislative form of union that rose and fell within the coalition cabinet on the other. La Minerve published Brown's own account of the authorship of the coalition request.

"Les organes de l'opposition disent à tout propos que c'est M. Cartier qui est allé trouver M. Brown pour se jeter à ses genoux et mendier son appui. Or voici ce que dit M. Brown dans un discours qu'il vient de faire à Ingersoll:
"J'ai remarqué que les journaux ont beaucoup discuté qui, de moi ou de MM. McDonald, Cartier et Galt, avaient fait les premières ouvertures. Je n'hésite pas à déclarer, et j'en serai toujours fier, que c'est moi qui me suis le premier approché de ces messieurs (6)."

There may be some truth in the suggestion that the Bleu journals demanded more than their representatives in the Cabinet really wanted in order to improve the bargaining position but on the other hand it is entirely possible that the Editors of La Minerve, Le Courrier du Canada, Le Journal de Trois-Rivières and others really felt many of the doubts expressed by the Rouges sheets, but had faith in Cartier and his lieutenants to protect the interest of French Canadians. La Minerve stressed the fact that, as in 1854, the Bleu Party remained solid; it was the Canada West element that had changed. Opposition papers were

6. La Minerve, 12 juillet, 1864.
accused of damning the coalition before they even knew what it intended to do. La Minerve asserted that "La coalition ne s'est formée dans un but d'action immédiate," and continued dramatically: "Non! c'est une trêve entre les partis en face de la banqueroute imminente, de l'anarchie s'avançant à grands pas, de la guerre civile peut-être, pour étudier en commun le moyen de remédier aux maux du présent et de l'avenir (7)." It is of interest to note that Le Journal de Québec presumed, and La Minerve did not disagree, that elections would be held to test public reaction to any constitutional changes, "car ils n'ont pas été élus pour renverser la constitution, mais pour la faire fonctionner (8)." Such a course was not followed, very probably on Cartier's advice. Despite large demands for representation in the cabinet by other than Bleus in Lower Canada none had been given. It was the Upper-Canadian contingent that made way for the three Grit ministers; George Brown, Oliver Mowat, and William McDougall. Brown and Mowat who were sworn in on June 30 were both re-elected by acclamation but McDougall, the new Provincial Secretary whose failings Cartier was to experience in 1869 and 70, was defeated by Matthew C. Cameron. The latter had been member for North Ontario in 1861-63 and now won by a hundred and twelve votes (9). The new Minister had to find a safe seat in North Lanark. The Lower-Canadian ministers did not enter the fray in Ontario County,

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 28 juillet.
but Cameron wrote a letter to Cartier anyway, asking him to leave the contest to the voters. Cameron notes that "I am not a candidate in opposition to the coalition Government but to a member of that Government exceedingly obnoxious to all Conservatives and also to very many respectable reformers and it must not be forgotten that I was defeated by this gentleman at the last election in consequence of being so that and this opponent of your late government, and by his vilification of and charges of corruption against you and your then colleagues (10)." For some the coalition brought changes that were impossible to accept.

The Rouges did not waste any time in attacking Cartier on the proposed adoption of Rep. by Pop. in the Lower House of the new federation. The apparent switch in views was too good to let pass in silence and on the 22nd an exchange took place in the Assembly, involving Cartier, Brown, Galt and John A. Macdonald on one side, and Holton and Dorion on the other. After much talk Dorion asked: "Devons-nous comprendre que dans une branche de la législature, il y aura égalité de représentation et que dans l'autre la représentation sera basée sur la population?"

The reply from Cartier was one word: "Oui." John A. continued, however, that acceptance of Rep. by Pop. for the Lower House did not imply universal suffrage (11). Despite his conviction that the course being followed was both right and necessary, Cartier must have found the

tier, July 9.

11. La Minerve, 25 juin, 1864.
jibes of the Opposition uncomfortable to bear.

The hesitation of *La Minerve* did not go unnoticed. On June 28, a short lead editorial brought the wanderer, if wandering it had been, back firmly into the fold.

"Si nous avions de suite et sans réflexion, applaudi bien haut à l'alliance politique qui vient de s'opérer à Québec, on nous aurait accusé d'être partisan quant même. Et si nous prenons le temps d'étudier les grands projets de réforme constitutionnelle qui font la base de cette alliance, on nous suppose des intentions hostiles au gouvernement. Nous protestons de suite contre cette interprétation de notre abstention. La fusion s'est faite si rapidement que beaucoup de personnes en ont conçu des craintes et des alarmes. Pour notre part, nous ne nous étonnons pas de ces craintes, mais nous ne les partageons pas. Nous attendons avec confiance les développements du nouveau programme. Nous connaissons le patriotisme éprouvé des chefs politiques qui ont en main les rênes du gouvernement, et nous sommes sûrs qu'ils sauront sauvegarder les intérêts du Bas-Canada quand s'élaboreront les détails de la réforme promise (12)."

As the session came to an end, the new Ministers went off to be re-elected and the other members of the Cabinet had a few days before returning to Quebec where a great deal of work lay ahead of them. Car- tier spent the time in Montreal, catching up on legal matters. Prob- ably it was his presence that resulted in a firmer stand being taken by *La Minerve*. Writing on July 12 the editor quotes and favourably com- ments on the stand taken by the *Courrier du Canada*. This religiously orthodox journal makes it quite clear that "M. Brown a été et est en- core, nous l'avouons, un homme dangereux . . . ." However, the

12. Ibid., 28 juin.
logical conclusion is drawn that Brown and two colleagues are not likely to be able to force nine other ministers to betray Lower Canada. Stating that some resolution of the great problems facing the country was required and praising the abilities of the Lower-Canadian ministers, especially Cartier and Taché, the Editor finished with a paragraph that was very apt.

"Aujourd'hui l'Angleterre a tout à craindre des Etats-Unis, et nous savons par expérience que jamais la métropole n'est si généreuse et si complaisante que dans ces circonstances. Cette crainte salutaire la disposera à mieux accueillir la nouvelle constitution qui devra être soumise à sa sanction et lui otera l'envie de rayer d'un trait de plume les garanties que nous aurons exigées pour la sécurité de nos institutions pour y substituer des clauses amalgamatives (13)."

The fears raised by the Durham Report and earlier measures had certainly not disappeared.

On July 6 a letter against Confederation appeared in La Presse, one of the short-lived predecessors of the present Montreal paper of the same name, signed "Un curé de Campagne." Médéric Lanctôt and Thomas Bouthillier both opposed Confederation and they hoped, as editors of La Presse, to use the Church in their campaign (14). However, on July 9, La Minerve published a letter from the Secretary to Bishop Bourget in which the Church was stated to be continuing its "parfaite neutralité par rapport aux partis politiques qui se succèdent au

13. Ibid., 9 juillet.
pouvoir, et en se contentant de prêcher l'ordre et la paix (15)." Both sides in the controversy over Confederation made extensive attempts to involve the clergy. Mgr. Bourget was probably the least in favour of Confederation of all the Bishops in Lower Canada but he could not allow the sort of independence displayed by "Un curé de Campagne." Audet and Malchelosse, in their very useful Pseudonymes Canadiens are unable to enlighten us as to the author of the offending letter. The various noms de plume used by newspaper writers pose a constant problem in this period. The book mentioned is a great deal of help but there are many writers the real identity of which still remains hidden. On July 8 Cartier went back to Quebec. Hearing of the plan for a Maritime meeting at Charlottetown starting on September 1, a request had been made by the Canadian Cabinet to send observers who might make proposals of their own. This was accepted and now these proposals had to be drawn up. Little enough is known of the deliberations of the conferences at Charlottetown or at Quebec, but even less of one that should be called the "First Quebec Conference"; that meeting of representatives of Upper and of Lower Canada in the Executive Council Chambers in Quebec during July and August of 1864. Brown's invaluable letters to his wife give us some idea of the train of events.

References to the Cartier family are non-existent during several years. However, on July 18, Pominville wrote to his senior partner

15. La Minerve, 9 juillet, R. P. J-O Paré à l'Editeur de La Presse.
that he had given Madame Cartier tickets for herself and the two Demoiselles on the Grand Trunk to go to Saint-Paschal in Kamouraska County. Madame Cartier, however, preferred to go to Quebec by boat and to take the train from Lévis (16). As the Europa descended from Montreal conjecture alone can come to our aid in knowing the thoughts of the Cartier ladies and of the husband and father who, no doubt, saw them before they continued on for their holiday. Possibly they were the guests of the Chapais family of Rivière Ouelle. Jean-Charles Chapais, the Commissioner of Public Works, was the member for Kamouraska. Before the full Cabinet met on August 5, Cartier returned to Montreal on July 30 and was present at the marriage of his brother-in-law, Hector Fabre of the Canadien, to Mademoiselle Stein of Arthabaskaville. Was Madame Cartier there? What were the relations between the brothers-in-law? Seven lines in La Minerve is all we have and no more than the bare facts are found there (17).

On the 8th Brown wrote to his wife that the discussions were progressing well and commented on the constancy of his new-found Bleu colleagues. "Taché, Cartier and their colleagues have behaved very well, and show no inclination to swerve from their bargain (18)." In the meantime Thomas D'Arcy McGee, about forty other M.P.'s and a number of newspaper editors were touring New Brunswick and Nova Scotia as guests

17. La Minerve, 4 août, 1864.
18. P. A. C., Brown, pp. 1001-1006, George to Anne, August 8, 1864.
of the Saint John and Halifax Boards of Trade. This goodwill mission was probably the first contact many Canadians had had with their "in-laws to be" and the experience was probably of help when the Confederation proposals came before the Canadian House.

Among those legislators who made the trip with McGee were Sir Narcisse-Fortunat Belleau, MM. Henri-Thomas Taschereau, Joseph-Xavier Perrault, Louis Archambault, Joseph Cauchon, and John Rose. La Minerve, Le Canadien, the Gazette de Sorel, the Journal de Québec and the Toronto Globe were among the twenty-three newspapers that sent representatives.

The columns of La Minerve carried reports of the gay tour of the Maritimes, despite the rain, and replies to Rouge journals about the dangers of Confederation side by side. The following passage explains the reasons for the type of federation:

"Nous l'avons déjà dit, et nous le répétons encore: si toutes les provinces anglaises de l'Amérique parlaient une même langue, professaient la même religion, possédaient les mêmes institutions, en un mot formaient une même race, le meilleur gouvernement à établir serait une union législative. C'est pour le Bas-Canada seul que nous demandons une confédération, afin de mettre à l'abri notre existence nationale comme race française et catholique. C'est seulement pour conserver cette nationalité à laquelle nous tenons autant qu'à la vie, que nous demandons une confédération. C'est notre droit, et personne ne veut aujourd'hui nous le nier."

Turning to the subject of development:

"Dans la confédération, notre nationalité, contre laquelle s'acharnent tant d'ambitieux et de fanatiques trouvera un refuge assuré, sans cependant recourir à un isolement qui lui serait fatal; nous aurons, en
outre, l'appui d'une population trois fois plus nombreuse que celle du Bas-Canada, pour repousser avec nous les empiétements de l'étranger, et nous aider à promouvoir les progrès de notre commerce et de notre industrie (19)."

Greater horizons without loss of treasured nationality; what more could be desired?

On Aug. 25 a very short notice announced the imminent departure of the Canadian representatives for Charlottetown. "Nous apprenons que les Honorables MM. Galt, Cartier, John A. McDonald, et Brown doivent laisser Québec samedi prochain pour Charlottetown, Ile du Prince-Edward, où doit se tenir la conférence sur l'opportunité d'une confédération (20)." A notice of August 30th announces that the delegates had left the previous day, and adds the names of Langevin, McDougall, McGee, and Alexander Campbell (21).

The Canadian delegates stopped at Gaspé en route and arrived at Charlottetown on Sept. 1st. The Maritime delegates had only had time to meet in order to establish that the sessions would be held in secret and that discussion of a Maritime union should be deferred until the Canadian delegates could be heard.

The version of the arrival given in Ross's Weekly of Charlottetown

19. Ibid., 13 août.
20. Ibid., 25 août.
21. Ibid., 30 août.
is certainly the most picturesque. It describes the efforts of W. H. Pope, the Provincial Secretary, who had already had to deal with the problems of accommodation for the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick delegates at a time when the provincial capital of 7,000 was inundated by the crowd that had gathered to see the first large travelling circus to visit the Island in several years. "He (Pope) made a respectful official visit alongside the Canadian steamer "Ocean Victoria" [sic] seated on an unclean barrel, and in full command of an imbibing oyster boat propelled by a paddle and an oar. The Stewart [Sic] of the steamer, taking the Secretary for a Bumboater, said, "I say, skipper, what's the price of shell-fish?" But William the Secretary opened not his shell (22)."

Brown's description of the landing gives a picture of spit and polish that, as he says, may well have "inspired the natives with huge respect for their big brothers from Canada." Two boats were lowered to crisp orders and "Being each duly manned with four oarsmen and a boatswain, dressed in blue uniform, hats, belts, etc. in regular style, we pulled away for shore and landed like Mr. Christopher Columbus, who had the precedence of us in taking possession of portions of the American continent (23)."

Whether the exaggeration is greater in Ross's Weekly or Brown's delighted account we know not but the Islanders looked after their guests royally. Of the two travelling shows in town the circus undoubtedly

drew greater popular attention but the players in the political show were worthy of the main ring. Creighton mentions that Macdonald and some others had to stay on board the Queen Victoria as there was not sufficient accommodation. There is no record where Cartier stayed on this occasion. Governor Dundas gave a dinner the first evening. The next morning the Canadians introduced their case. Although there is some disagreement as to the order and timing of those that spoke, all are agreed that Cartier opened the proceedings with the broad argument in favour of Confederation. One study describes the scene as follows:

"Next day, Friday, September 2nd, the Maritime delegates assembled in the Council Chamber at 10 o'clock. They came to the unanimous decision to admit the Canadians immediately to the deliberations, through courtesy, as visitors, with the privilege of stating their views. Shortly after ten the Canadian delegates were admitted. George E. Cartier began the presentation of the Canadian case for Federal Union. The Canadian choice was prudent, for he was well-known in the Maritimes as a firm believer in provincial autonomy, and so would allay their fears of a loss of such autonomy in the larger union (24)."

The Maritime delegates asked questions and then Macdonald followed with a further exposé of the points in favour of a union of British North America. Brown and Galt followed, the former on the next Monday, Galt probably on the Friday.

The tireless Provincial Secretary (the father of Sir Joseph Pope, Macdonald's secretary for many years), entertained on the Friday evening.

and on the Saturday the Maritime delegates were received aboard the Queen Victoria for lunch. The steward reportedly provided a sumptuous repast and the champagne flowed freely. Brown reported gaily to his wife,

"Cartier and I made eloquent speeches, of course, and whether as a result of our eloquence or of the goodness of our champagne, the ice became completely broken, the tongues of the delegates wagged merrily, and the banns of matrimony between all the provinces of B.N.A. having been formally proclaimed and all manner of persons duly warned then and there to speak or forever after to hold their tongues — no man appeared to forbid the banns and the union was thereupon formally completed and proclaimed (25)!

The festivities continued, all in all a gay visit. Brown covered some more detailed aspects of the proposed federation on the Monday, including the judiciary, the division of powers, and the structure of the central and provincial governments. On Tuesday, after the Canadians had closed their case, the Maritimers deliberated and decided that a wider federation of British North America was desirable, provided that satisfactory terms could be agreed upon.

The Island Government gave a grand farewell ball on Thursday the 8th, at which Cartier was one of seven who responded to the toast "Nos hôtes distingués, les délégués du Canada, de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, et du Nouveau-Brunswick." His remarks were light, as became the hour and the

occasion (26).

The news that reached Montreal was sparse. La Minerve was greatly
taken up with announcing its transformation to a daily (27). On the
12th part of a column appeared written in Charlottetown on the 7th by
the New York Times correspondent. It gave a few details of the previous
sessions, then described the next steps to be taken.

"Dans le moment même ou j'écris, on m'apprend que la confé-
rence vient de terminer ses séances, dans cette Ile, pour
se réunir de nouveau à Halifax, le 14 courant. On m'assure
encore qu'après mûre considération, la conférence a conclu
à l'unanimité que les avantages d'une confédération de
toutes les colonies, seraient très grands pourvu que les
termes de l'alliance soient satisfaissants (28)."

The readers were informed that another conference could be expected at
Quebec in the near future.

The Canadian delegates took the Queen Victoria to Pictou where most
of them, including Cartier, debarked to take the train to Halifax. The
conference reconvened on the 10th and it was decided to meet again at
Quebec in exactly one month. On the night of the 12th, after a series
of meetings and official calls, a banquet was held at the Halifax Hotel.
For the first time at a public gathering the broad lines of the proposed

26. Hon. Ed. Whelan, The Union of the British Provinces, Quebec and To-
tonto, Garden City Press, 1927, pp. 8-10; also Tassé, op. cit., pp.
390-391.

27. La Minerve, 8 sept., 1864.

28. Ibid., 12 sept.
union were set out. This must have been of great interest to the listeners at the time and indeed to us today for any morsel of information has to be carefully weighed in order to piece together the train of events. Ten speeches were given that night in Halifax, too much for even the most ardent follower of political events. Cartier responded to the toast to the Provincial Delegates proposed by the Chairman, the Hon. Charles Tupper, the Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia. Tupper was perhaps the most ardent advocate of Confederation in the Maritimes and he lived to become Prime Minister of the Dominion and the last surviving "Father." Cartier's speech is recorded by Whelan. He touched on matters of trade, transportation and defence. He spent some time reassuring the Haligonians that the ties with Great Britain would be even greater under the new regime, and referred to French Canadians as "monarchical by religion, by habit, and by the remembrance of past history." Cartier finished with an exhortation to the maritimers to combine with the Canadians for the greater good of all.

"Gentlemen, you must not be afraid of us who come from Canada because we represent a country greater in respect to population and territory. Don't be afraid of us; don't tell us to go back with all our offers of no avail - don't tell us as it was formerly said of others: Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes. Let me assure you that the promises we make are made in all sincerity and good faith: in urging union upon you we believe we are doing that which will be for your happiness and prosperity (29)."

Taking the train to Windsor, the delegates then went to Saint John

and to Fredericton. The public relations tour continued with a banquet at the Stubbs' Hotel in Saint John on the 14th. Cartier was the first of the visitors to address those assembled. He covered the same ground as in Halifax and we are assured that at the end of his remarks he sat down "amid loud and long continued cheers (30)." This would ordinarily be enough for one person in any evening but apparently the volatile little Montrealer decided to end the proceedings with God Save the Queen, which he sang in English and in French (31).

The Montreal press followed the events with a delay of several days. It was not until Sept. 26th that the text of John A. Macdonald's speech at Halifax was published. The debate pro and con the proposed new regime carried on with the little information available and a great deal of conjecture. On Sept. 22nd and again on the 26th La Minerve tackled the movement in favour of isolation as the only safe-guard for French-Canadian nationality. As we enter the second century of Canada's existence as a nation the same topic is again under discussion. In reply to suggestions that treaties could be made with neighbouring powers to guarantee the integrity of the territory of a French-Canadian nation La Minerve cited the case of Poland where such documents had been useless. Speaking of the leaders of the isolationist movement the writer stated: "Ce sont des démagogues, dangereux aujourd'hui, à cause de la

gravité des circonstances." The article finished with an emotional appeal to the people of French Canada:

"Ah! c'est une triste tâche que celle d'illusioner ses compatriotes, en les flattant de vaines et chimériques espérances! Cette tâche, il s'est rencontré quelques ambitieux et quelques dupes, pour l'entreprendre! Le bon sens du peuple parlera-t-il plus haut que l'éloquence des déclamateurs? Il le faut, sans quoi, nous courrons fatalement à l'isolement national, qui est, dans les circonstances actuelles, synonyme d'abaissement et de ruine (32)."

From Saint John the delegates went to Fredericton where Cartier, Brown, and Galt stayed with Governor Arthur Gordon, an opinionated young man who, however, took the trouble to write long and detailed despatches, a great help to the historian. Writing to Cardwell following a conversation with his three guests, Gordon stated that the French Canadians "insisted on a local independence as complete as circumstances will permit," adding that in this they were joined by the delegation of Prince Edward Island, and some representatives from New Brunswick (33). Morton comments

"This joining of the French defence of nationality, a defence no one questioned, with the Island's defence of local sovereignty, for that is what was meant, was undoubtedly, the decisive turn of British-American federation. The advocates of a centralized parliamentary federation might well have carried out their ideas, with the necessary concessions to the French, had not the needs of

32. La Minerve, 26 sept.
French nationality been reinforced and made general, not exceptional, by the demands of local self-government in the Maritimes (34).

In another despatch to Cardwell, Gordon commented rather condescendingly about his visitors but he did deign to say that he thought that Cartier was a "thorough gentleman (35)." Going to Shediac by train the delegates re-joined the Queen Victoria and steamed back up the St. Lawrence, arriving on September 19. The tour had been nothing short of triumphal.

The Canadians had had clear sailing so far. Their preparations had been well worth the effort and the good times enjoyed in Charlottetown, Halifax, Saint John and Fredericton undoubtedly helped to smooth the way at Quebec. Cartier's role is hard to delineate. He took an active part and the role which Gordon describes was undoubtedly accurate. The Maritimers could believe the Bleu leader when he talked about local rights. This wasn't window dressing or bait for suckers, he meant every word of it. In reviewing the situation on September 23, La Minerve published an account which examined the different forms of government possible, the means of election, division of powers, and the question of finances. Speaking of local or provincial responsibilities the opinion was expressed that:

"Le Bas-Canada insistera pour que toutes les questions

judiciaires et légales - tout l'ensemble des lois civiles et municipales, à l'exception des lois criminelles - soient laissées aux législatures locales. Il est également clair que le Nouveau-Brunswick et le Haut-Canada demanderont que les terres incultes des différentes sections soient laissées à leur gouvernement particulier."

Further, readers were informed:

"Le contrôle des chemins, ponts, havres, à l'exception des travaux inter-provinciaux, pêcheries de l'intérieur, éducation, prisons, hôpitaux et institutions de charité, agriculture et autres questions locales resteront naturellement aux gouvernements locaux. On a fait quelques suggestions pour sauvegarder les intérêts de la minorité de chaque section au sujet de l'éducation (36)."

Cartier had three days in Montreal, returning to Quebec on October 3. Much work had to be done in preparation for the arrival of the Maritime delegates and many other matters demanded attention. A rather imperious letter from C. J. Brydges about the question of postal rates for the Grand Trunk demanded some action but it must have been only one of many items. Significantly the General Manager of the Grand Trunk wrote:

"My letters from England are getting to be most despondent in regard to the postal question. They say they could understand my not getting the matter brought to a point as long as Sandfield and his party held the reins of power; but, after what the Grand Trunk have done to bring about the change that has taken place they are deeply disappointed that so great a time has elapsed after our friends came into power, without the matter being brought to an issue (37)."

36. La Minerve, 26 sept.

As a result of the goodwill tour and the negotiations regarding union there was increased interest in the Maritime colonies. A column of information about the area started to appear in *La Minerve* (38), and a suggestion by the Gazette of a banquet for the delegates when they came through Montreal was warmly seconded. The leading lights of Montreal were encouraged to lend their support so that there would be no question but that all would take place "avec éclat et magnificence (39)."

The Canadian Government sent the Queen Victoria to pick up some of the delegates to the Conference in Quebec. Others came by boat to Portland, and train to Montreal. The St. Louis Hotel in Quebec had been arranged for the visitors. After a busy week-end of arrivals and social events the Conference got under way on Monday, October the 10th, in the Reading Room of the Legislative Council.

It is almost unbelievable that during the sixteen days of the Conference in Quebec so little reference is found to Cartier's participation. Accepting the fact that the information published by Pope, Gray, and Whelan is indeed very scanty it is still hard to believe that none of the 72 Resolutions was moved by the Attorney-General for Canada East. The only place where his name even enters the discussions as reported by Bernard is on Thursday, October 20, during a discussion of the local governments. Pope reproduces the notes taken by Lt.-Col. Hewitt

38. *La Minerve*, 7 oct., 1864.
Bernard, the Executive Secretary of the Conference, and later to become the brother-in-law of John A. Macdonald (40).

In 1871, J. H. Gray wrote to Sir John A. about publishing a report of the Quebec Conference. The Prime Minister replied in part: "I do not think that Bernard kept any notes of the Quebec Convention. My recollection is that he was instructed not to do so. He will, however, be glad to give you any information in his power (41)."

Cartier's contribution as reported by Bernard was not exactly earth-shattering. It is difficult to believe that the intensely active Bleu leader did not take a lead in the drafting of the new constitution, so many clauses of which he knew to be vital not only to the broader interest but to the particular national responsibilities which he bore. However, conjecture brings small change on the historical market-place. It is possible to speculate that Macdonald received greater attention from Bernard, as the Secretary owed his appointment to the Attorney-General West but even the information we have on Macdonald's participation hardly allows for a full and detailed account.

In his reports to the Charlottetown Examiner Whelan, however, does mention that Cartier spoke on the opening day of the Conference.


"The Hon. Mr. Cartier, Attorney General East, spoke very eloquently and at considerable length, on the same subject (federation) of course in favour of the principle. Mr. Cartier's speech was in support of a resolution submitted by the Attorney General for Upper Canada, declaring that a Union of all the Colonies, under the British Crown, would promote their best interests, if established upon principles just to all the Provinces (42)."

A. A. Macdonald offered little more detail in his notes (43). The Canadian Cabinet met each day before the Conference convened and again afterwards. The Conference sessions lasted ordinarily from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. but as the days went by and the sessions that were to have taken a week stretched out to two weeks, an evening sitting was instituted. One such day was the 20th, the day that the local government discussion arose. Possibly the debate was dangerously heated as the Chairman at 2 p.m. "declared the Conference continued until half-past seven o'clock p.m. (44)." Actually, as we shall see, an official visit was planned. The discussion of the composition of the Upper House caused a rift which grew and eventually contributed to Prince Edward Island's withdrawal from the scheme.

The newspapers were hard pressed to come up with any real news. The correspondent for La Minerve had to stick to generalities.


44. Pope, op. cit., p. 21.
"Les délégués siégent à huis-clos. Comme de raison, les membres de la presse ont du se résigner au sort du commun des mortels. Nous sommes donc réduits à glaner les rumeurs en attendant que nous puissions palper quelques bons faits, pour régaler nos lecteurs."

For lack of anything more exciting the correspondent described the conference room.

"La convention tient ses séances dans la chambre de lecture du Conseil Législatif. Il va sans dire que la salle a été complètement transformée. Les liasses de gazette ont du évacuer la place. Elles ont été remplacées par une longue table, garnie d'encrïers, de plumes et de papier, et entou-rée d'une rangée de fauteuils, pour les membres de la convention. C'est donc là que seront tranchées peut-être les destinées politiques et sociales de l'Amérique Britannique du Nord. Je n'ai pu, ce matin, en passant à l'entrée de cette salle, étouffer quelques émotions, dont vous vous rendrez compte en songeant à la grandeur des intérêts qui vont occuper pendant quelques jours les instants de la grande conférence."

After several more lines in the same vein La Minerve asked a series of questions that must have been in the minds of many.

"Partisans ou adversaires de la confédération, nous sentons tous la gravité de la crise actuelle. Aurons-nous une confédération de toutes les Provinces? Si nous l'avons, serons-nous heureux et prospères sous l'empire de ce nouveau régime politique? Si nous ne l'avons point, aurons-nous une fédération des deux Canadas? Ou bien resterons-nous stationnaires, et garderons-nous intacte la constitution actuelle (45)?"

As railways, particularly the Intercolonial, and possibly a Transcontinental line, were obviously an important element in any federation, the

45. La Minerve, 12 oct.
representatives of companies that might take a hand in these enterprises were never far away, ready to be of assistance with facts and figures in the hopes that a contract might result. C. J. Brydges of the Grand Trunk, Frederick Cumberland of the Northern Railroad, a Mr. Dalton representing railway interests in Toronto, and Emilius Irving of the Great Western were all noted in the columns of the newspapers (46).

Montreal was doing its part by holding a public meeting to discuss what sort of entertainment should be provided the Maritime delegates when they visited there. Although every attempt was made to make this meeting non-political it was almost inevitable that the Rouges should see any formal reception as a political gesture of approval of the conduct of the Canadian Government and of the stated purpose of the Conference. After an amendment to this effect was moved by Dorion and supported by Laflamme, the meeting decided to hold a large banquet.

The press continued to try to produce some sort of report but were labouring under great difficulties. A report filed on October 12 stated:

"Les ministres sont toujours d'une discrétion admirable. Presque rien n'a transpiré au sujet des délibérations de la conférence. Je crois savoir, pourtant, que les choses marchent avec lenteur, et que dans les deux premières séances, deux résolutions seulement ont été adoptées (47)."

The list of those who attended the levée or "Drawing Room" held by

46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 14 oct.
Lord Monck in the Legislative Council Chamber on October 11 fills several columns. On October 15 the Editor of *La Minerve* commented on some of the decisions to date and set out emphatically once again the views of Lower Canada on the necessity of a strong provincial legislature.

"Le secret dans lequel sont enveloppés les procédés de la conférence de Québec, rend très-difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, toute prévision sur le projet qui doit clore les délibérations de cette assemblée. Les quelques rumeurs qu'on parvient à cueillir ça et là sont loin d'être claires et complètes. Cependant, il y a deux points sur lesquels règne un parfait accord, et qui reçoivent une approbation unanime: la nécessité d'une union de toutes les provinces anglaises de l'Amérique du Nord, puis la nécessité de donner à chaque province séparément, toutes les garanties désirables pour le maintien et la conservation de ses intérêts particuliers et pour son autonomie séparée. Voilà les deux principes qui vont servir de base à la discussion."

The organ of Cartier continued:

"Mais là les opinions divergent et se partagent en deux catégories. Quelques-uns désireraient une union législative; ils donneraient à cette forme de gouvernement, qui représente pour eux la perfection toute leur approbation et tout leur appui; mais ils reconnaissent que ce rêve est irréalisable; le Bas-Canada surtout n'y consentira jamais. Cependant, tout en voulant bien donner au Bas-Canada toutes les garanties désirables pour la sauvegarde de ses institutions particulières, ils tiennent toujours à se rapprocher autant que possible de leur plan favori; le sacrifice qu'ils en ont fait leur a coûté, et ils tachent de l'alléger en diminuant, autant que les circonstances le permettront, la distance entre le gouvernement de leur premier choix et celui qu'ils sont forcés d'accepter.
Si on en croit les rumeurs qui circulent, ces tendances vers la forme de gouvernement qui se rapprocherait le plus de l'union législative, se manifesteraient au sein de la conférence, et y obtiendraient quelque faveur. Nous ne croyons pas néanmoins qu'elles reçoivent l'approbation de l'extrême est ni du Bas-Canada (48)."

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48. Ibid., 15 oct.
The inevitable examination of the defects of the American system of government and the causes of the Civil War followed with the conclusion that "la guerre a été causé non point par le trop grand pouvoir des gouvernements locaux, mais par le gouvernement central dont l'action toute puissante se trouvait en opposition directe avec les intérêts particuliers d'une partie considérable de la confédération."

Applying this to the present situation in British North America La Minerve stated:

"Dans une union comme celle que l'on projette, qui s'étendrait de l'Atlantique au Pacifique, il est impossible de supposer une parfaite similitude d'intérêts; puis il y a une notable partie de la population qui diffère du reste des habitants par la religion, par la langue, par les institutions. Une centralisation exagérée tendrait au nivellement parfait, mais ce nivellement ne pourrait s'opérer sans des secousses capables de mettre en danger l'existence même de l'Union. Le principe diviser pour régner est de bonne politique. Un pouvoir stable doit autant que possible exercer un rôle de surveillance et de conciliation, et laisser à des pouvoirs inférieurs, quelque soit le mode de leur formation ou de leur fonctionnement, une large part dans le gouvernement des affaires du pays."

Making absolutely certain that the point at issue could not be misunderstood, the article continued:

"Quelque soient les garanties qu'on lui offre, le Bas-Canada ne consentira jamais à laisser régler ses intérêts particuliers par les habitants des autres provinces. Ce droit est reconnu en principe par tous les délégués. L'opinion publique du Bas-Canada ne sera pas sans influence sur les délibérations de la conférence. Car il est un fait bien connu: c'est que tout projet de loi qui, directement ou indirectement, mettrait en danger notre autonomie politique, serait rejeté à l'unanimité par nos compatriotes. Nous voulons une constitution solide, nous voulons donner au pouvoir central
la force suffisante pour le bon fonctionnement des affaires, mais nous exigérons avant tout, une liberté et une juridiction parfaite des provinces, pour la direction de leurs affaires d'intérieur (49)."

Lower Canada was not prepared to give up its independence. As Le Canadien announced, the question was of "un certain nombre d'Etats souverains, déléguant une partie définie de leurs droits et leurs pouvoirs à un gouvernement central (50)." The pact approach to Confederation is not a new idea. It was the understanding on which the large majority of French Canadians approved the original agreement, and the only basis on which most are prepared to carry it on today.

The Canadian ministers took their duties as hosts seriously, giving dinners at the Stadacona Club, and on the 14th, a gala ball at the Parliament buildings that went on till 3 a.m. Whelan was probably quite accurate in his description of the energies which the hosts displayed in pleasing the ladies.

"... the Cabinet Ministers – the leading ones especially, are the most inveterate dancers I have ever seen; they do not seem to miss a dance the live-long night. They are cunning fellows; and there's no doubt it is all done for a political purpose; they know that if they can dance themselves into the affections of the wives and daughters of the country, the men will certainly become an easy conquest (51)."

49. Ibid.

50. Le Canadien, 24 août, 1864.

We are informed that "Au premier quadrille, le gouverneur a dansé avec Mme. Cartier, Mr. Cartier avec Mme. Godley... MM. Cartier et McDonald avaient leur costume officiel (52)." Mme. Cartier was at least present for this event. *La Minerve* tells us that twelve hundred invitations were sent out, many to Montreal and area (53).

Whelan's description of a ball held at the home of the Speaker of the Legislative Council, Ulrich Tessier, is amusing.

"A grand Ball was given this evening, expressly in honour of the Delegates, at the splendid residence of Mons. and Madame Tessier. The worthy host is President of the Legislative Council, is a Lawyer of high standing, and is one of the Professors of Law in the Laval University. The party was chiefly French - indeed the only ones of British and Irish origin present were those from the Maritime Provinces. Bad and broken English was much in vogue during the evening when conversation was carried on with the English and Irish, who have all determined upon studying French forthwith. Indeed, the vendors of French Dictionaries and Grammars are beginning to find a considerable number of customers amongst the people from the Lower Provinces. I am afraid some of them will go back to their Down East homes, forgetting much of their mother tongue, and talking a strange conglomeration of English and excessively bad French. But one word for Madame Tessier's gay and brilliant party - the crowd was excessive, I could not compute the number present; but they all seemed to enjoy themselves - the spread in the Supper Room was superb, and the party did not separate until about 3 o'clock on the following morning. I think it would be advisable to be somewhat reticent hereafter regarding the social parties in which the Delegates engage in this stupendously hospitable City, lest it should be supposed they do nothing else but frolic. I will try to do it; but I am afraid I will not succeed (54)."

52. *La Minerve*, 17 oct.
53. Ibid.
English-speaking politicians were talking about learning French even in 1864.

Thursday and Friday as we have already seen were spent in discussing the House of Commons in detail — composition, qualifications, duration, etc. Thursday afternoon, the 20th, the Maritime delegates were received at Laval University in a formal reception. Whelan, obviously impressed, wrote as follows:

"A splendid official reception was given to the Delegates from the Maritime Provinces yesterday (Thursday) at the Laval University, when an Address was presented to them by the Very Reverend Superior of that Institution, and an Answer given in return. The great number of learned Doctors and Professors, in their gorgeous academic robes, was, of itself, a sight worth seeing; but all the wonders of the University, and of the Colleges and Seminary attached, were fully disclosed to the astonished eyes of the Delegates — the Right Reverend Bishops of Quebec, Kingston and Hamilton, who honoured the occasion by their presence, acting, in conjunction with the Doctors of Divinity and other Professors, as cicerones to the Delegates. As the Mail is just about closing, I must reserve for another occasion further observations concerning the Seminary, Colleges, and University (55)."

The delegates heard an address from the distinguished Recteur Mgr. Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, who was also Vicar-General of the Arch-Dioceze of Quebec, and who seven years later became Archbishop of Quebec, and in 1886 the first Canadian Cardinal. Mgr. Taschereau remarked that: "It is not the part of a literary and scientific institution to express an opinion on the all-important question of the day ..." but

55. Ibid., p. 40.
asserted that "... the prosperity of an institution such as this is too closely connected with the future of the country not to partake in the anxiety with which, from the sources to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, five millions of British subjects await the result of your important labours (56)." The delegates could not have missed the significance of the Recteur's words. Dr. Charles Tupper replied on behalf of the delegates.

Writing on October 27, Whelan gives an interesting appraisal of French-Canadian views.

"As it now appears to my mind, I have no reason, as far as the interests of the Island are concerned, to be dissatisfied with the arrangements proposed. Canada has, I think, shown a very honest and generous disposition so far; and should the Union be consummated, Lower Canada will, most especially, be the firm and fast friend of the Maritime Provinces. The desire of her public men is, apparently, to secure the aid of the Eastern Provinces for the purpose of curbing the grasping ambition of Upper or Western Canada, which now threatens to overshadow the Lower Province. The French desire most ardently to be left to the undisturbed enjoyment of their ancient privileges - their French institutions, civil law, literature and language. It is utterly impossible to Anglicise them - the attempt to do it, would outrage their most deeply rooted prejudices and lead to insurrection (57)."

Taché's opinion on the future of the French in Canada as reported by Whelan is somewhat startling. The Prince Edward Islander did, however, arrive at quite accurate conclusions of the Lower-Canadian approach to

56. Whelan, The Union of the British Provinces, pp. 87-88; also La Minerve, 24 oct.

57. Waite, loc. cit., pp. 43-44.
"As Sir Etienne Tache [sic] said to me to-day (and he is a shrewd observer of events), the time will come—not, indeed, in the present generation, nor, perhaps, in the next—when the French element will be absorbed into the English one; but that result must be brought about by time, and not by the violent action of politicians. Leave to the French their old traditions, customs and institutions, and they will be found to be the most easily managed race in Canada under the British power. There is a party amongst them called the Clear Grit [!] or Rouge Party, of which Papineau was formerly the Leader (and I may observe, en passant, that this gentleman now lives at Montreal in the enjoyment of a vigorous old age, and an ample fortune), but they are numerically small, both in and out of the legislature, and scarcely represented at all in the Government of the Country. The predominant feeling of the French members of the Canadian Ministry—(and I have no doubt they represent the general sentiment of their countrymen pretty fairly on this point)—is that of devoted and chivalrous loyalty to the British Crown. They appear to detest Democracy in any and every shape; and, therefore, they would rather lean upon the Maritime Provinces for aid and sympathy, and reciprocate with them in the same way, than trust to Upper Canada, which they believe is fast tending to Democracy. The feelings and prejudices of such a people are not only entitled to respect, but it would be fatal to offend them (58)."

When critics of George-Etienne Cartier talk of his pro-British attitude, and extend this to presume that he was against the continuance of the French-Canadian nationality, it must be Taché they have in mind. Cartier was pro-British, but for positive reasons. He felt that the best guarantee of French-Canadian rights was the British system of government, just as many who believe they have the best interests of

58. Ibid.
French Canada at heart today feel that Quebec should continue as a part of Canada. There is no question that the British system of government offered a good guarantee of justice for the people of French Canada to carry on as a separate entity. In 1864, George-Etienne Cartier believed that the only viable choice was to join the United States, and then as now this would mean a complete victory for the forces of assimilation.

On Thursday afternoon, the 27th, the sessions in Quebec came to a close. The Secretaries were to arrange for the printing of the resolutions and a meeting was called for Montreal on Friday afternoon, and again on Saturday to revise the minutes of the proceedings in Quebec. Bernard’s notes tell us that in the absence of Sir E-P Taché on the Saturday it was moved by the Hon. Dr. Tupper that the Hon. Mr. Cartier take the chair. A report was adopted carrying the title: Report of resolutions adopted at a conference of delegates from the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Colonies of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, held at the City of Quebec, 10 October, 1864, as the basis of a proposed confederation of those Provinces and Colonies (59). The seventy-two resolutions which followed are only seen today by those particularly interested in historical research. A perusal of them would be advantageous to many people who are attempting to understand the constitutional problems facing Canada.

Most of the Maritime delegates and some of the Canadian ministers

59. Pope, Confederation Documents, pp. 38-52; also Whelan, op. cit., pp. 235-248; and La Minerve, 10 Nov.
had come to Montreal on a special train provided by C. J. Brydges, leaving Pointe Lévis at 4 in the afternoon. Official tours and visits were laid on in Montreal. All in all every effort was made to entertain the visitors as well as possible. The civic meetings to consider what kind of entertainment should be provided had decided on a gala ball for the Friday evening and a déjeuner (with speeches) on the Saturday. The press kept people up-to-date on the latest arrangements. On Oct. 24 a large heading appeared: Délégués des Provinces Maritimes, and underneath the prices were given. The tickets to the Lunch were $6.00; a gentleman could go to the Ball alone for $4.00, while a man and two ladies paid $6.00 (60). This rather unusual arrangement was undoubtedly to attract as many young ladies as possible. A further notice of the 25th encouraged people to buy their tickets as the lists would soon close. On the 27th it was announced that the Committee had decided that a $6.00 ticket would admit a gentleman and FOUR ladies. It sounds more and more like a bachelor's paradise. On the 28th a notice instructed all carriages arriving at the St. Lawrence Hall that evening to use the Craig Street entrance, to arrive from the west, and leave to the east. Mayor Beaudry declared the 28th a Civic half-holiday in honour of the guests (61).

The weather was absolutely awful and had been so for several weeks, both in Quebec City and in Montreal. Torrents of rain were mixed with

60. La Minerve, 24 oct., 1864.
61. Ibid., 28 oct.
unusually low temperatures. However, at least three hundred men and two hundred ladies did make their appearance (62). Whelan says there were about one thousand present (63). Even the change in rules did not bring out as many ladies as had been hoped for. The two Cartier girls, at seventeen and sixteen, were too young to be present at such a worldly gathering, at least there is no record of their presence, nor of that of their mother. As at the formal ball in Quebec the Attorney-Generals East and West were turned out in their official garb (64). A note in La Minerve of October 31, mentions that the delegates had been photographed both separately (by Mr. Ellison) and in a group (by Mr. Livernois) before their departure from Quebec. The results of the latter, found in the archives of the Quebec Seminary, shows that sometime on the 27th there must have been fair enough weather to take a picture outside. Cartier looks very proper in his black, double-breasted, long coated suit with his stove-pipe in his hand. John A. looks more jaunty with his light coloured trousers, and his cane. Some sported figured waistcoats and of course fairly dense foliage was the rule rather than the exception. Cartier, Taché, and Macdonald, were among the few who were clean-shaven.

On Saturday the 29th the luncheon was held at 2 p.m. The three hundred assembled sat down to a sumptuous repast in the St. Lawrence

62. Ibid., 29 oct.
63. Whelan, op. cit., p. 91.
64. La Minerve, 29 oct.
Hall. The report in *La Minerve* of the 31st omits nothing. Every item of the menu is printed including the fact that the fifteen different types of fancy meat and fish, and the eight types of roasted meat could be eaten with mixed pickles, olives, horseradish, mushroom sauce, onion pickles, chutney, Worcester Sauce, or Harvey Sauce. Followed by a choice of eighteen kinds of dessert and eight kinds of fruit it is a wonder anyone was able to either make, or listen to, a speech. This is even more surprising when we see that the excellent wines included Champagne - Charles Farré, sherry, hock, claret, and ale. Cartier's partner Pominville, one of the vice-chairmen of the event, and the other members of the Committee had outdone themselves. After the repast at least ten speakers held the floor, including Sir Richard McDonnell, the permanent civil-servant Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and the Honbls. Dr. Tupper, A. G. Archibald, Col. Gray, J. A. Shea, Edward Whelan, and Heath H. Haviland (65). In passing it is reassuring to note that Whelan describes how he himself rose to speak "amid loud and protracted cheers (66)."

Whelan wrote of the end of the conference in Quebec and of the days that followed in the November 14 issue of the *Examiner*. On the subject of how much of the proceedings should be divulged the Island Editor felt that he was doing no more than other delegates in this regard. Among others he mentioned that "Mr. Cartier, Attorney-General of Canada East,

in his admirable speech at Montreal, disclosed as many of the so-called secrets of the convention as he could think of . . . (67)." In replying to the toast to "Her Majesty's Canadian Ministers" at the banquet, Cartier had indeed given a general exposé of the plans for the new nation which had been agreed to earlier the same day. The Attorney-General East states: "... I don't think I am committing any indiscretion if I proceed to submit them in a sort of hypothetical way (68)." Cartier expressed his well-known views of the faults of the American system of government and proceeded to pay great compliments to George Brown for his part in the coalition. During the rest of his speech he attempted to placate the fears of each area in the proposed union, sticking to generalities (69). If, as La Minerve says, the Bleu leader was interrupted by warm applause at almost every sentence, the guests cannot have been in a great hurry to go home. McGee and Galt were still to come.

The delegates from the Maritimes went on to Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto and Niagara Falls, receiving the best hospitality wherever they went. Cartier had hesitated to go into too many details in Montreal, John A. was unable to say more than a few words in Ottawa because of illness, so it fell to George Brown in Toronto to give the first detailed speech on the Quebec Resolutions. La Minerve in discussing these


68. Whelan, op. cit., p. 125.

69. Ibid., pp. 124-130, also La Minerve, 3 nov., and Tassé, Discours..., pp. 400-408.
events appears piqued; first of all because certain English-language journals, particularly The Leader and The Gazette were able to obtain reasonably accurate accounts during the Conference, and secondly because it was Brown in Toronto who first divulged the details officially, rather than Cartier in Montreal. The explanations of these facts escape us except the reasoning that has already been given.

Cartier did not go to Ottawa with the Delegates. He had to stay in Montreal to deal with a serious border incident. The St. Albans affair had burst upon the Quebec Conference and may well have provided some indirect pressure for the delegates to arrive at solutions for their common defence. Briefly, on October 19 a band of twenty-three Confederate officers and men under a Lieutenant Young had gone from the Canadian side of the border to St. Albans, Vermont, where they had robbed the banks and had killed two citizens. They had then fled back to Montreal. The American authorities had reacted explosively, there was talk of immediate invasion. The Canadian Government acted quickly and thirteen of the men were arrested and tried in St. John's by Judge Charles-Joseph Coursol, starting on October 24. The trial dragged on until mid-December, with the newspapers giving good coverage to the testimony (70). In the meantime, Cartier left Montreal on November 6 to return to Quebec (71). On the 16th he was back in Montreal, and then on the 17th he

70. La Minerve, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27 oct., 9, 11, 16 nov., 14 déc., 1864.
71. Ibid., 7 nov.
left for Washington (72). No reason is given for this trip but it is presumed that he was the Government representative concerning the border incidents, the Reciprocity Treaty, and other problems. On the 29th appeared a few lines announcing that Cartier had been in New York but had left to go to Washington for a week. There is no word of bands or speeches this time. The press announced briefly on December 3 that Cartier was soon due back in Quebec. He was indeed in Montreal on the 6th. *La Minerve* remarked simply that he had made the trip "pour affaire d'Etat" and added, in order to smother any rumours, "Mr. Cartier est en parfaite santé et doit se rendre au siège du gouvernement par le convoi du soir (73)." As in the previous trips we have no records to enlighten us. The action of Judge Coursol in setting the marauders free was an unexpected turn of events to say the least. Coursol stated that they were simply not within his jurisdiction because of a legal technicality. The outcry was immediate, and the government managed to re-arrest five of the band and try them in a different court under Judge Smith. When he was unable to deal with them they were transferred to Upper Canada to be tried for violating the neutrality of Canada. Judge C-J Coursol was certainly unwise in his decision and the case was complicated by the fact that he was married to a daughter of Premier Taché and had only recently been given new responsibilities, with *La Minerve* singing his praises in the most glowing terms! He was reported to possess "une


prudence consommée, une fermeté et un courage qui ne sont jamais démentis, une profonde connaissance de la jurisprudence, une grande activité... (74)." In its issues of December 17th and 19th, the same journal finds itself in a difficult position. The magistrate was temporarily relieved of his functions but was quietly reinstated. He was later to sit in the House of Commons for ten years as M.P. for Montreal East.

Cartier was not at all happy about the whole series of events as a telegram addressed to Hector Langevin shows. He wanted to be sure that his colleagues and the press knew where he stood.

"Judge Smith has discharged St. Albans offenders, he considering their acts as belligerent ones - decision surprising to say the least, and supported by desultory and unsatisfactory argument, offenders were arrested immediately after decision for violation of neutrality laws they have been also remanded for three days on charge of assault, with intent to commit murder not disposed of by this days decision it was well I came here cannot be in Quebec before Friday morning - Show this to Sir Etienne and colleagues and to English and French papers, have telegraphed Lord Monck (75)."

Further he wished to correct any erroneous reports in the press.

"Statement of the Montreal Saturday "Telegraph" that Government intends to have Raiders rearrested for Extradition in Upper Canada and to bring them before Toronto Judges, is simply absurd, stupid and malicious falsehood. Government has no such intention.

"Government in consequence of Judge Smith's decision, intends to have the Raiders tried for breach of neutrality where the offence can be proved to have taken place. By the evidence

74. Ibid., 14 oct.

75. A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 29 mars, 1865.
adduced before Judge Smith it appears that St. Catharines, in Upper Canada, is the locality where the offence took place. "It is proposed to bring them to trial for breach of neutrality, at the next Assizes for the County of Lincoln, on the 25th instant (76)."

Despite other preoccupations the subject of Confederation was very much in the news. The Rouges were already gathering their ammunition for the session in the new year. A-A Dorion was particularly active. An open letter was written by the Rouge leader to his constituents in Hochelaga on November 7, stating in detail his views on the proposed constitutional changes. This document is very important. The Rouges of Lower Canada were the only "opposition" party who did not have any representation at the Quebec Conference. Even La Minerve felt obliged to print Dorion's manifesto in its entirety and remarked: "C'est un document dont personne ne songera à contester l'importance (77)." The arguments that were to appear again in the Confederation Debates were very ably set out by the Rouge leader.

Either naturally or in an attempt to persuade those whom sweet reason could not budge, La Minerve published an editorial on November 24 that would have been impossible in any newspaper in Upper Canada. The other-worldly quality may not have won over too many Rouges but it does make interesting reading.

"La confédération est pour nous une de ces transformations qui

76. Ibid., Cartier à l'Hon. Thomas Ryan, 3 avril.
77. La Minerve, 11 nov. See Appendix XXVIII.
renouvellent la face des peuples, à de certaines époques dont Dieu seul a le secret. Elle a, à nos yeux, la hauteur et la portée d'une question d'équilibre social sur le continent américain (78)."

This theme was further explored:

"En étudiant les événements dans leur sens providentiel; en cherchant la philosophie de l'histoire qui se déroule chaque jour sous nos yeux, ne s'aperçoit-on pas de prime abord que, depuis quelques années, l'Amérique du Nord est dans un état transitoire? Tandis que le Mexique sort de l'anarchie, sous l'impulsion vigoureuse de la France, et prend son essor vers la prospérité et le bonheur que lui assure un ordre de choses stable et permanent, le colosse des États-Unis, qui menaçait d'appesantir son bras sur tous les peuples de ce continent, se disloque et s'écroule sous le souffle de la guerre civile."

In Canada however: "... la marche naturelle des événements amenait ici une situation extrêmement tendu, et tournait vers une transformation politique devenant inévitable, les aspirations de nos hommes d'État." La Minerve concluded this unusual thesis with a phrase full of serene finality: "Nous croyons donc que le changement que l'on est en voie d'opérer est un fait que les politiques ont pu hâter, mais qu'ils n'ont pu créer, parce qu'il était dans nos destinées, et qu'il était nécessaire à l'équilibre américain (79)." Aimé Gélinas of La Minerve wrote to Langevin on Nov. 8 that there were more members of the Bleu Party who were less than convinced about Confederation than Cartier liked to think. He talked of the Minister being surrounded "de flatteurs qui sont loin

78. Ibid., 24 nov.
79. Ibid.
d'exprimer le sentiment de la majorité (80)."

The year 1864 was a very full one in Canadian History. The "Big Conference" had started in Quebec with the formation of the Brown-Cartier-Macdonald alliance. It had then moved to Charlottetown, to Halifax, Saint John, Fredericton, and back to Quebec before touring Montreal, and the main centres of Canada West. The lead actors had worked well together, the troupe quickly developed a smooth professional approach, and the audience on the whole seemed to like what they heard and saw though the vehicle was sometimes a little over their heads. The critics howled but then this was to be expected - no company could please everyone, especially when the task they had undertaken was so ambitious. George-Etienne Cartier ably played his part in the events of the period, showing his ability to adapt to changed circumstances and having ample occasion for the results of his prodigious energies to be felt.

CHAPTER VIII

NATION BUILDING

1865 was supposed to be the year when the Confederation of the British Provinces in North America would become a reality. Such was not to be the case. Setbacks in the Maritimes postponed the solemnization of the marriage vows. However, the two Canadas did their part by swallowing the 72 Resolutions in one large bite. Not that there was no argument, for indeed there was, and some of the questions that were asked did not receive satisfactory answers, and indeed still haven't today. It is a pity that one or two of the Rouges leaders had not been present during the conferences at Quebec and at Charlottetown. Their suggestions, if they had been received in the relatively non-partisan atmosphere where constituents were out of earshot, might have been of more constructive use. However, because of the circumstances, these suggestions were bound to be treated with some suspicion and were indeed too late, so the Rouges were driven into a more negative stance than might otherwise have been the case.

A dispatch commenting on the Seventy-Two Resolutions was sent by Cardwell, the Colonial Secretary, to Lord Monck, translated into French by the Journal de Québec and reprinted by La Minerve on January 5, 1865. After rather effusive congratulations to the delegates from the various colonies, the Colonial Secretary reached the all important subject of
the division of powers.

"Le point principal et le plus important pour le bon fonctionnement pratique du plan est la détermination exacte des limites entre l'autorité du gouvernement central et celle des législatures locales dans les relations de celles-ci avec le premier. Il n'a pas été possible d'exclure des résolutions quelques dispositifs qui paraissent être moins constants que l'on aurait pu, peut-être, le désirer pour la simplicité et l'unité du plan. Mais, en somme, il semble au gouvernement de Sa Majesté que l'on a pris des précautions qui sont bien propres à assurer au gouvernement central les moyens d'opérer une action effective dans toutes les diverses provinces, et de se prémunir contre les maux qui peuvent inévitablement naître s'il existait quelque doute relativement aux attributions respectives de l'autorité centrale et locale (1)."

Only two problems were raised at this time by Westminster. These were the right of Lieutenant-Governors to exercise the prerogative of pardon and the rigid character of the upper house which might deadlock with the elected chamber. Cardwell directed that the Resolutions should be presented to the several legislatures for approval so that the British Government could put the scheme into effect as soon as possible. The publication of this dispatch aroused considerable interest and discussion of the points raised (2). Assemblies were held in many Counties at the initiative of the Rouges and the whole project received minute attention. La Minerve declared flatly "Le Canada est placé aujourd'hui entre la confédération et l'annexion" and the Rouges were automatically presumed in the latter camp (3). La Minerve was basically right, but

1. La Minerve, 5 janv., 1865.
2. Ibid., 7 janv. etc.
3. Ibid.
the Rouges didn't see it that way and the polemics continued.

On January 19 the Session opened in Quebec. The Throne Speech mentioned the Confederation Resolutions, Defence, Immigration, the Civil Code. In presenting the constitutional changes, the Governor read "... En recommandant à votre attention ce sujet, dont on ne peut exagérer l'importance pour vous et pour vos descendants je réclame de vous un examen calme, soigné et impartial (4)." In the midst of these important matters Cartier was dragged into a dispute between the trainmen of the Grand Trunk, of which company he was still the lawyer, and the management. As many of the workers were his constituents, the Attorney-General was caught in the middle.

The Globe of Thursday, January 19, spoke of Cartier in terms that roused the Editor of La Minerve to wrath. Phrases such as "l'incarnation de la domination bas-canadienne" were difficult to accept but they could always be used to show Cartier's critics in Lower Canada that he had not given in to George Brown as some would have it. Sectional, racial and religious jealousies had not been drowned in the co-operation and "bonne camaraderie" of Charlottetown and Quebec. However, it was indeed a hopeful sign to see George-Etienne Cartier presenting George Brown to the House, as the President of the Council had been re-elected since the last session. The Address was adopted on Monday, January 23; the clause concerning Confederation by a vote of 70-17. P-J-O Chauveau tried desperately

4. Ibid., 20 janv.
to reach the Attorney-General about changes in the laws concerning Education under Confederation. He cautioned the Minister against giving concessions to the Protestants in Lower Canada that were not balanced by the treatment of the Catholics in the Upper Province (5).

The Attorney-General East had his hands very full indeed, dealing with matters of the constitution, education, defence and the law. On January 31 he presented a bill to give effect to the Civil Code. This measure was the culmination of many years of detailed work. Cartier rightly referred to the measure as one of the most important ever to be debated by the Union Parliament. In congratulating the Commissioners the Minister said:

"Les commissaires soumettent à cette chambre un code aussi complet et aussi sage que celui d'aucune autre nation; ils vous soumettent aujourd'hui un travail, qui ne peut être surpassé, même par le code français, ni par le code Justinien, dont la renommée de sagesse est pourtant si grande (6)."

After a measure to give the Cabinet extraordinary powers to maintain Canada's neutrality in the face of border raids, John A. Macdonald finally on February 3 laid down the ground rules for the Confederation Debate. The subject was to occupy the evening session of each day until it was completed, and the rule forbidding any member to speak more than once was suspended. The whole measure was to be voted on at once, not clause by clause. Sir Etienne-Paschal Taché introduced the Confederation Resolu-

5. P.A.C., MG 27, ID4, Vol I, pp. 18a-18d, Chauveau à Cartier, 10 janv.
6. La Minerve, 3 fév., 1865.
tions in the Legislative Council on February 3; John A. Macdonald did
the same in the Assembly three days later. The debate in the Upper House
ran for twenty days, that in the Lower House for forty. The Assembly
treated the matter rather as if the "forty days and forty nights"
biblical term for a very long time was the case. The debate was crucial
for the future of the country, yet there were times when it was difficult
to hold a quorum. Probably the lack of possible amendments lowered
interest. Certainly many speeches were "for the record" but there was
much, from both sides of the House, that deserved being heard. The
1032 double-column pages of the published version are enough to dis­
courage most readers, but a great deal of the material is not only his­
torically of interest but has a real validity today.

John A. Macdonald's contribution in opening the debate has not been
regarded as one of his greater oratorical triumphs but it was competent
and his appeal to the members touched on eloquence. It must be noted
that at one point he states "... we must consider this scheme in the
light of a treaty (7)."

Cartier's part in these debates is again not as large as might have
been expected but he was obviously very much at his post. During the

7. Parliamentary Debates on the subject of the Confederation of the
    British North American Provinces. Quebec, Hunter, Rose & Co., 1865,
p.31.
discussion on the opening day, the Attorney-General East had spoken very briefly, maintaining that Dorion's stand against the manner in which the Resolutions were being introduced was absurd, and citing the appropriate Acts to prove his point. His formal presentation came on the evening of February 7. The previous evening at 11 p.m. the Bleu Leader had said that he was ready to speak either right away or the next evening. He added that he would probably speak for two and one half hours. Without further comment, the report finishes: "La Chambre s'ajourne (8)." As Galt said when he rather unexpectedly followed Cartier, replacing Brown who wished a longer period in which to speak, the two Attorneys-General "discussed, as none were more able than those gentlemen to discuss, the most important political and philosophical questions which are involved in the Confederation of the British North American colonies (9)." In writing to his wife during a cabinet meeting on the 4th Brown had stated that "The great debate is to commence on Monday. John A. is to open — I am to follow — and Galt and Cartier are to bring up the rear (10)." Brown added in a postscript several comments about the way certain members were likely to vote and finishes "Cartier seems to have no doubt of his French friends (11)." In a letter written the evening of the 7th, Brown gives some uncomplimentary comments on the speech of Macdonald and on that of Cartier

8. La Minerve, 8 fév., 1865.
11. Ibid.
then in progress.

"John A. opened the Confederation debate last night. It was a very poor speech for such an occasion in my humble opinion. There was not one new idea in it. He simply went over the details of the scheme and said very little indeed in commendation of it or to urge its adoption. However, to those who heard the thing explained for the first time it no doubt appeared an able exposition.

"Cartier is now addressing his countrymen in English - screeching at the height of his lungs - 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 had kindly agreed to follow Cartier, and leave me all tomorrow (after ¾ past 7) (12)."

Once again we can be thankful for the fact of the happy husband who wrote so openly to his wife.

Despite Brown's comments Cartier's speech is an able exposé, touching on the important points at issue including defence, the United States, a consideration of annexation, the proposed treatment of minorities, etc. He stated simply that the question was "we must obtain British North American Confederation or be absorbed in an American Confederation (13)."

He dealt patiently with the many objections raised to date to the scheme of Union, trying to clarify the situation and attempting to negate the

12. Ibid., Brown, pp. 1148-1149, George to Anne, Feb. 7, 1865.
stand of the Rouges. He made the practicalities of Confederation sound somewhat easier than they in fact were. "The question for us to ask ourselves was this: Shall we be content to remain separate — shall we be content to maintain a mere provincial existence, when, by combining together, we could become a great nation? It had never yet been the good fortune of any group of communities to secure national greatness with such facility (14)."

On the subject of the two founding peoples the situation was again somewhat oversimplified although the sentiments were clear. "We could not do away with distinctions of race . . . It was a benefit rather than otherwise that we had a diversity of races."

The words spoken by Cartier as the subject of minority rights were sincere and direct but they were soon to haunt him: "... would any one pretend that either the local or general government would sanction any injustice . . . Whether it came from Upper Canada or Lower Canada, any attempt to deprive the minority of their rights would be at once thwarted (15)."

According to Cartier all moderates were in favour of Confederation. Only "... the extreme men, the socialists, democrats and annexationists were opposed to it (16)." If such was the case there were many "extreme" men in Parliament and some of them were expert in their reasoning. La Minerve, obviously biased, is worth quoting at least in part for its opinion on this speech.

15. Ibid., p. 60.
16. Ibid., p. 61.
"La Minerve has already had occasion to declare that the leader of the Conservative Party was not a brilliant orator. Well deceived would be anyone who looked for rousing phrases or sensational periods in her speeches."

After these excuses for the lack of oratorical skills of its favourite

the article continued:

"But those who want to judge the practical opinions of a man who has been involved in all the great questions that have agitated our country for ten years; those who want to know the political views of a statesman who has never been guided by prejudice and who throughout his public career has always sought to do justice to everyone; those can go to hear Hon. M. Cartier. His role was a difficult one in these circumstances. Being, in the lower chamber, the leader of the Lower Canadian section of his ministry, he had to reconcile at the same time the project of the ministry, and the English, and the French who inhabit this section of the Province. He has, however, fulfilled this task with success . . . (17)."

Despite Brown's assertion that Cartier was to repeat his remarks in French this is not certain. P. B. Waite mentions this in his helpful introduction to The Confederation Debates, but the French edition of the official version is obviously a translation of the English, and if he had given the speech again in French presumably that is what would be used rather than a translation (18). The versions printed by Tassé and in La Minerve are slightly different but the former seems to coincide with the official debates while the latter is a more verbatim version. However,

17. La Minerve, 11 fév.

the most persuasive evidence is that Brown had the evening of the 8th to himself, finishing at 12:40 a.m. when Cartier announced that McGee would finish the ministerial explanations the next day, after which there would be a week's recess in the debate to allow all members to give the Resolutions full consideration (19). Thus both Cartier and Galt spoke on the 7th and although no hour is given for the motion of adjournment made by Brown it is unlikely that Cartier would have had time to repeat his presentation.

Finally, without wishing to belabour the point unduly, a notice appeared in La Minerve of February 9, which makes it most clear that there was not a French version, and underlines the difficulties of the French-language papers, especially the dailies.

"... UNE RECTIFICATION.

M. Cartier a déclaré, dans la séance de mardi, que sans les rapporteurs anglais, son discours sur le Code Civil du Bas-Canada n'aurait pas pu être lu par le public du Bas-Canada; les journaux de Québec ont rapporté cette parole dans leur compte-rendu. Il y a là une erreur que nous avons plus que le droit de rectifier. Le rapporteur de La Minerve, au siège du gouvernement, a pris lui-même ce discours, et nous l'a transmis pour l'impression. Les journaux anglais sont en position d'avoir des sténographes qui copient tous les discours du Parlement; ils sont en cela plus favorisés que nous."

After these comments on the problem in general, the particular case was dealt with.

"La Gazette d'hier donne le discours de M. Cartier sur la Confédération, prononcé la veille. Certes, voilà un tour

19. La Minerve, 10 fév.
de force n'est-ce pas? et qui fait honneur à notre confrère. Supposons que La Minerve l'eut aussi donné se serait-on donné seulement que la publication de ce discours, dans son numéro d'hier, lui eût coûté deux fois plus d'ouvrage - car la Gazette en recevant le rapport télégraphique du discours a pu de suite le donner à la composition, tandis que la Minerve, en eût-elle reçu un également, nous eussions d'abord été obligé de le traduire avant de le livrer à la composition. Ce qui fait une différence énorme à la fois dans le coût et dans le travail (20).

As mentioned earlier, the Attorney-General East was very much at his post throughout the debate. His comments are frequent and sometimes caustic. He was frequently attacked by members of the Opposition. Without tracing the progress of the debates in any detail, I shall touch on the places where Cartier was concerned. There is no record of Brown's reaction to Cartier's several interruptions in the debate, though the big Scot probably preferred the peppery little Frenchman on his side. In any case, while Brown was expounding on the Resolutions in a very fluent and well-organized manner, the member for Hastings North (Thomas C. Wallbridge, the cousin of the Speaker of the House and the member for Hastings South, the Hon. Lewis Wallbridge) asked rather facetiously "when?" to the speaker's description of the great land that was to rise coast to coast. Cartier replied quick as a flash "Soon" and after some laughter both appreciative and derisive, the President of the Council continued (21). A few minutes later Brown stated: "whether we ask for parliamentary reform for Canada alone or in union with the Maritime Provinces, the French

20. Ibid., 9 fév.
Canadians must have their views consulted as well as us. This scheme can [not] be carried, and no scheme can be that has not the support of both sections of the province. Cartier again interrupted saying "Hear, hear: there is the question (22)!

The Upper-Canadian nationalist, if such a term is possible, could well be impressed by the situation which he had done so much to make possible. His words describing the scene are worth repeating. Having marvelled at the progress of one hundred years since the end of French rule he continued:

"I recall those olden times merely to mark the fact that here sit to-day the descendants of the victors and the vanquished in the fight of 1759, with all the differences of language, religion, civil law, and social habit, nearly as distinctly marked as they were a century ago. (Hear, hear.) Here we sit to-day seeking amicably to find a remedy for constitutional evils and injustice complained of - by the vanquished? No, sir - but complained of by the conquerors! (Cheers by the French Canadians.) Here sit the representatives of the British population claiming justice - only justice; and here sit the representatives of the French population, discussing in the French tongue whether we shall have it. One hundred years have passed away since the conquest of Quebec, but here sit the children of the victor and the vanquished, all avowing hearty attachment to the British Crown - all earnestly deliberating how we shall best extend the blessings of British institutions - how a great people may be established on this continent in close and hearty connection with Great Britain. (Cheers.) Where, sir, in the page of history, shall we find a parallel to this (23)?"

Waite's comments on the relationships between the three leading

22. Ibid., p. 87.

23. Ibid., p. 85-86.
figures in Confederation are just: "Brown was not an easy man to work with, nor did he himself find coalition harness very pleasant. He was suspicious of Macdonald, uncertain of Galt; with Cartier, oddly enough, French and Catholic though Cartier was, Brown felt more at ease. At least with Cartier one knew where one stood. A rapprochment between Brown and Cartier posed a danger to Macdonald and the Conservatives of Canada West, and Macdonald was at some pains to avoid it (24)." As we shall see on at least one occasion such a rapprochment almost led to a change in the political balance of the new Canada.

When the debate resumed in the Assembly on the 16th, Antoine-Aimé Dorion led off for the Opposition. His speech includes most of the main points raised by the Rouges, most of which had already been covered in his letter to the electors of Hochelaga. Covering some fifteen pages in the published debates Dorion's exposé was very able (25), though perhaps not as brilliant as that of Christopher Dunkin a few days later.

La Minerve decided that the debate on the Confederation Resolutions was so important that it would wait for the arrival of the full version by post from Quebec, rather than trust the truncated telegraph text. Dorion's speech was reproduced verbatim in the issue of February 20.

Professor Waite and Professor Morton have both examined the extent


25. Confederation Debates, pp. 245-269.
to which the members of the Assembly in 1865 realized their differences. The latter writes "All speakers, however, supporters and critics alike, failed to realize and state that a union could not in fact work if it were half legislative and half federal. All failed to realize that the English supporters tended to see its legislative aspects; its French supporters, its federal aspects. No one realized that it contained in embryo a principle of the "co-ordinate sovereignty" of general and local government, the inevitable result of which would be sovereign provincial powers and the political cry of "provincial rights (26)." I am not at all sure of this. The Rouges realized the problem and said in their speeches that it would not work. The Government recognized the problem but felt that the proposed solution although certainly not ideal, was at least workable.

On February 20 Henri-Gustave Joly, the member for Lotbinière who was to see distinguished service as Premier of Quebec and Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia some years later, gave an eloquent speech where he dared to attack the sincerity of the Attorney-General East. Passages of his speech are specially of interest. With biting sarcasm, Joly proposed an emblem for the new nation.

"Since we cannot find a comparison on this poor earth emblematic of our future greatness, let us borrow one from the heavens at the risk of losing ourselves in the clouds with the advocates of Confederation; I propose the adoption of the rainbow as our emblem. By the endless variety of its tints the rainbow will give an excellent idea of the diversity

of races, religions, sentiments and interests of the different parts of the Confederation. By its slender and elongated form, the rainbow would afford a perfect representation of the geographical configuration of the Confederation. By its lack of consistence—an image without substance—the rainbow would represent aptly the solidity of our Confederation. An emblem we must have, for every great empire has one; let us adopt the rainbow."

Joly's attack on Cartier on this occasion is possibly the most severe on record during the Confederation Debates:

"There is only one man in Canada who could have done what the Attorney General for Lower Canada has done, and that man is himself. Thanks to his energy, to his intimate acquaintance with the strong and the weak points of his fellow-countrymen, the Attorney General for Lower Canada has succeeded in attaining an elevation which no one can dispute with him—that of chief of the French Canadian nationality. To attain this eminence, he has crushed the weak, cajoled the strong, deceived the credulous, bought up the venal, and exalted the ambitious; by turns he has called in the accents of religion and stimulated the clamour of interest—he has gained his end. When Lower Canada heard of his alliance with the President of the Council, there arose from all quarters one universal cry of indignation. He managed to convert the cry of anger into a shout of admiration. When his scheme of Confederation became public, a feeling of uneasiness pervaded all minds; that instinct forewarned them of the danger which impended. He has hushed that feeling to a sleep of profound security. I shall compare him to a man who has gained the unbounded confidence of the public, who takes advantage of it to set up a Savings Bank, in which the rich man deposits his wealth, and the day laborer the small amount which he has squeezed out of his wages, against a day of need—both without a voucher. When that man has gathered all into his strong box; he finds an opportunity to purchase, at the cost of all he holds in trust, the article on which he has long set his ambitious eye; and he buys it, unhesitatingly, without a thought of the wretches who are doomed to ruin by his conduct. The
deposit committed to the keeping of the Attorney General is the fortune of the French-Canadians - their nationality. That fortune had not been made in a day; it was the accumulation of the toil and the savings of a whole people in a whole century. To prolong the ephemeral existence of his administration a few months, the Attorney General has sacrificed, without a scruple, this precious trust, which the unbounded confidence of his fellow-countrymen had confided to his keeping (27)."

The following day Hector Langevin, the member for Dorchester, gave a long and detailed reply to both Dorion and Joly. He took the latter to task for his attacks on Cartier, finishing with a ringing comparison to LaFontaine:

"During his whole life, like Sir LOUIS HYPOLITE LAFONTAINE, the present Honorable Attorney General for Lower Canada has devoted himself to protecting and promoting the material and religious interests of his fellow-countrymen, and he has now crowned his gigantic labors by the important share he has had in the framing of the new Constitution, which is destined to govern one of the greatest empires of the world, a Constitution beneath which all races and all religions will find protection and respect. He will have his reward, and like his predecessor, his name will go down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of his country (28)."

Although some jealousies may have later entered their relationship, Langevin and Cartier remained good colleagues till the latter's death when the younger man inherited his mantle.

That faith in the continuing influence of French-speaking ministers of the Federal Government was presumed, and not expressly

28. Ibid., p. 392.
stated, was indeed true. Waite writes "It must also be said that Taché, Cartier, Langevin, all cabinet ministers in the existing Canadian government, felt that the presence of French-Canadian ministers in the future central cabinet was a guarantee sufficient to resolve any difficulty that might involve the rights of the French. That the future was often to prove them right does not alter the fact that constitutionally it was a precarious doctrine, impossible to define precisely (29)."

On Wednesday, February 22, Cartier got into a small altercation with Luther Holton on the Orders of the Day concerning the schedule for bringing down a measure about Education in Lower Canada (30). Later in the same day, the Hon. John Rose, in speaking of the division of electoral districts for the Provincial Houses appealed to his colleague in Montreal for an opinion and an exchange between the two Government members and Holton took place (31). Later, the question of minority rights in education arose and Cartier was asked by Rose to explain what the situation would be. The means for erecting separate schools and the provisions for financing them were obviously very delicate and the Attorney-General East took great pains to explain the situation (32).

On February 23, the Legislative Council reported that the Resolutions 

29. Waite, The Life and Times of Confederation, p. 147.
31. Ibid., pp. 407-408.
32. Ibid., pp. 411-412.
had been passed. Some speeches, especially by the statesman-like Taché, were of great interest. Naturally some time had been spent in discussing the composition and powers of the new Upper House. On February 24, Cartier interrupted Matthew Crooks Cameron, the member for Ontario North, and Cameron replied. Cameron was speaking in favour of a Legislative Union but Cartier explained that Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces could not accept such a plan (33). It was not only men like Cameron who preferred a Legislative Union. Cartier's anger would have been great if he had read John A. Macdonald's letter to the Conservative from Ontario North written the previous December:

"My dear Cameron, ... As to things political I must try to discuss the Federation Scheme with you ... I am satisfied we have hit upon the only practicable plan - I do not mean to say the best plan ... we have avoided exciting local prejudice against the scheme by protecting local interests, and, at the same time, have raised a strong Central Government ... If the Confederation goes on you, if spared to the ordinary age of man, will see both local Parliaments and Governments absorbed in the General Power. This is as plain to me as if I saw it accomplished now - of course it does not do to adopt that point of view in discussing the subject in Lower Canada (34)."

On February 27 and again on the 28th, Christopher Dunkin, the member for Brome, though with difficulty because of illness, spoke at great

33. Ibid., pp. 452-453.

length and with perhaps the most telling arguments of any member of the Opposition. Cartier followed his speech closely and punctuated it with comments. Dunkin spoke for eight hours in all, a truly herculean task for a sick man (35).

On March 2, while Joseph Cauchon was reading a well-prepared but rather dry speech of four hours' length, Joseph Perrault, the fiery and intensely nationalist member for Richelieu, questioned the member for Montmorency's method of speaking. Cartier jumped to the support of the somewhat ponderous editor of *Le Journal de Québec* (36). Repeatedly the Bleu Leader was on his feet correcting, expanding, answering questions, using all his considerable powers to explain the series of 72 Resolutions under debate. His answers covered all subjects. One day he was dealing with the never-ending problem of minority rights, the spectre of which was continually attacked by the Rouges (37). The next he was answering complicated questions of the form that the organization of justice would take under the new system of government (38).

On March 3, Joseph Perrault rose to deliver his major contribution to the debate. After excusing his lack of experience he launched into a

36. Ibid., p. 559.
37. Ibid., pp. 570-571.
38. Ibid., pp. 576-577.
tirade against the Government and especially against Messrs. Cartier and Cauchon, who had dared to attack Louis-Joseph Papineau (39).

Speaking of 1837, Perrault made a comparison between the methods and ideas of Cartier and others then and 27 years later.

"To-day the Government constantly insult us by crying out: "You represent nothing in this House; public opinion is against you!" Well, Mr. SPEAKER, I ask the Hon. Attorney General for Lower Canada whether he himself and his honorable colleague the Prime Minister; had the majority of the Lower Canada people and clergy with them when, in 1837, they protested energetically against the injustice done to their fellow-countrymen? No, Mr. SPEAKER, at that time they formed part of the little phalanx who went so far as to raise the standard of rebellion on the plains of St. Denis and St. Charles! How times are changed! At the present moment the same men, the revolutionists of former days, strain every nerve to deprive the people of the right of pronouncing for or against the constitutional changes sought to be forced upon them. So complete a forgetfulness of their own past is extremely deplorable (40)."

Later on the same day Colonel Haultain, the member for Peterborough, raised some questions about the position of Protestants in Lower Canada. Cartier replied and the discussion continued. He said with conviction that most Protestants in Lower Canada found nothing to complain of in the treatment they received (41).

On Saturday, March 4, the news of Tilly's disastrous defeat in New Brunswick threw consternation into the Government ranks in Nova Scotia

40. Ibid., p. 618.
41. Ibid., p. 642.
and in Canada and delighted the anti-confederation forces. However, the Canadian Government took a firm stand and on Monday, March 6, John A. Macdonald made an announcement of Government policy. "The Canadian Government, however, I may say at once, do not consider that the result of these elections should in any way alter their policy or their course upon this question (42)."

In an interchange with Dorion when the Rouge leader complained that any changes made in London would not be resubmitted to the Canadian House, Cartier spoke of his opponent's little idea of things and of his preoccupation with detail. Referring to the Government he said: "We propose great measures, and what is more, we carry them (43)." The question of the divided jurisdiction, so basic and yet not really faced in 1865, rose nevertheless repeatedly throughout the debate. Dorion kept returning to the subject and Cartier tried over and over again to soothe the fears of the Opposition (44). Another question that has returned repeatedly to the floor of the Canadian Houses of Parliament is that of divorce. Cartier explained how this would be handled in the various parts of the new Dominion (45).

The doubts about the actions of the Government were not confined to

42. Ibid., p. 648.
43. Ibid., p. 688.
44. Ibid., p. 690.
45. Ibid., p. 692.
those usually described as Opposition members. With the apparent defection of New Brunswick some Government supporters felt that the rules of the game had changed and a very real danger arose of a split in the ranks. This was finally averted but only after great effort. François Evanturel, the member for Quebec County, carefully set forth his doubts before the House, to the obvious delight of the Rouges. Cartier assured the wavering member that the constitution under debate would only be valid if other provinces than Upper and Lower Canada took part, and thus there was no chance that a new Parliament would be set up with only Upper and Lower Canada involved, on a rep. by pop. basis (46). The decision of the Government not to submit the Quebec Resolutions directly to the people was frequently attacked. One of the most vociferous speakers on this subject was the Hon. Maurice Laframboise, the ex-Commissioner of Public Works in the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Government of 1863 (47).

At 12:30 a.m., March 8, Cartier informed the Opposition that they had lots of time to speak, they could go on to two if they wished. The Anti-Confederation members however objected to the continued late hours (48). Cartier was as quick to compliment a Government speaker as he was to criticize one for the Opposition. On March 9, Alain Chartier de Lotbinière-Harwood spoke and the Bleu leader rose to say that he was only

46. Ibid., pp. 711-715.
47. Ibid., pp. 743-745.
48. Ibid., p. 766.
sorry that the ancestor of the present speaker could not have heard the speech just ended. The Hon. Alain Chartier de Lotbinière was one of the first Speakers of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada (49).

One of the most eloquent orators in the House was Jean-Baptiste-Eric Dorion, "l'enfant terrible" as this advanced radical and President of the Institut Canadien was known. He had already made his views well known in Le Défricheur which he edited. Dramatically he ridiculed the Government and castigated the ministers for their anti-democratic approach to such an important question. His words of warning went unheeded but they were thoughtfully given.

"I say that the people of Lower Canada are alarmed at the scheme of Confederation, and the unknown changes which are on foot. I do not say that this feeling prevails in the district of Quebec, for in that locality everybody seems to be fast asleep; but it exists, beyond doubt, and very warmly, in that of Montreal, and even as far as Three Rivers, on both sides of the river. Nothing tends more to alienate the people from their government, and render them disaffected to England, than the attempts now made to impose on them a new Constitution without consulting them; for we must recollect that we are no longer in the same social state as in 1812; we no longer think in the same manner, and people would be greatly in error who should believe that the same feelings prevail which then prevailed."

Dorion's conclusion was perhaps negative but it must have been echoed in many minds.

"They ask, moreover, whether it would not be better to remain in our present condition - whether it would not

49. Ibid., p. 841.
be better, even, to be smaller than to seek greatness - to try to compete with our neighbors in order that we may be the sooner crushed (50)."

Many objections were naturally raised to the tactic of passing the previous question but it has quite constitutional and time was important. On March 10, a small setback occurred with the speech by Henri-Elzéar Taschereau, the member for the Beauce who later became Chief Justice of Canada. He declared that although he had been a Ministerial supporter he had decided that he would have to vote against the Confederation Resolutions. It became more and more vital that the vote should be taken, before this sort of disaffection could spread.

The question of the guarantee for the French language in the Federal Houses, and that of the English in the Quebec Houses came up and both Macdonald and Cartier answered. The latter said:

"The members of the Conference were desirous that it should not be in the power of that majority to decree the abolition of the use of the English language in the Local Legislature of Lower Canada, any more than it will be in the power of the Federal Legislature to do so with respect to the French language. I will also add that the use of both languages will be secured in the Imperial Act to be based on these resolutions (51)."

Finally on March 11 at 4:15 a.m., the House divided on the main motion, approving an Address to the Queen praying that she "may be

50. Ibid., pp. 856-871.
51. Ibid., p. 945.
graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the Colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, in one Government, with provisions based on the following Resolutions . . ." The House was almost complete with 124 members present, and the vote 91-33. As P. B. Waite has broken this down "Of 62 members from Canada West that were present, 54 voted for Confederation; of 62 from Canada East, 37 did so. Of the 48 French-Canadian members present, 27 voted for, 21 against (52)." The list of those who voted each way is of lasting interest (53).

The discussion dragged on for a short time, analyzing the vote with each side drawing its own conclusions. In the dying minutes of the session, Antoine-Aimé Dorion supported an amendment put forward by Luther Holton in favour of the final bill prepared in Britain being re-submitted to the Canadian Parliament, and Cartier replied. He assured the House that the delegates to London would accept only a bill based specifically on the 72 Resolutions (54). The amendment was lost 31-79. Finally François Bourassa, the member for Saint-Jean proposed an amendment "that the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada be placed on the same footing as the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, under the local governments of the Confederation of the Provinces of British North America (55)."

54. Ibid., pp. 1021-1022.
55. Ibid., p. 1026.
This undeniably just but nevertheless explosive proposal was quickly voted down 20-85. Thus on Monday, March 13, the motion to appoint a select committee to draw up the Address was passed on division and the next day the House waited upon His Excellency with the Address.

From a French-Canadian point of view the Confederation Resolutions were indeed not perfect but they were an improvement on the clauses of the Union Bill. Turcotte wrote in 1871 "Les événements sont venus proven que les droits et les institutions des Canadiens-Français sont beaucoup plus sauvagardés dans la confédération que sous la constitution de 1840 (56)." Even when, at the time of the centenary of Cartier's birth in 1914, Charles-Edouard Lavergne wrote his rather curious little book about the leader of French Canada at the time of Confederation, he stated that under the circumstances the best job possible had been done, but he then went on to forecast the dismemberment of this same Confederation:

"Certes, si l'opportunisme de certains politiciens avais moins favorisé l'immigration insensée dont nous sommes les victimes, notre situation serait meilleure dans la Confédération. Mais, en somme, le statut politique établi par Cartier nous a été favorable. Nous en avons tiré le meilleur parti possible, en tenant compte de la faiblesse des hommes. Il ne saurait être un état constant. Deux peuples peuvent vivre ensemble sur un petit territoire, mais nous croyons le fait impossible sur un grand territoire quand ces peuples sont parvenus à la majorité. Un jour viendra où il se fera une scission entre l'Ouest et l'Est. Celui-ci se divisera en trois ou quatre républiques dont les frontières sont indiquées par la géographie (57)."

56. Turcotte, Le Canada sous l'Union, p. 561.

Despite the passage of the Resolutions there were still a number of hurdles before the measure could become law and would have a chance to prove itself. The first problem in Canada was to decide the composition of the delegation to England to discuss how Confederation could be furthered, as well as the related questions of defence, the Reciprocity Treaty, and the North-West Territories. On March 9 George Brown wrote "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 upon us. The only others fit to go are Galt and Cartier - and our Upper Canada people are raising a roar about it. I don't know how it will end (58)." It still hadn't "ended" by the 13th. "There is great trouble about who will go. Cartier is very unwilling to go - Taché and John A. absolutely refuse to go - I cannot go - and Galt is not to be trusted alone. Taché's health is a good excuse and he would be useless if he went. John A's business affairs are in sad disorder and need close attention, he says - and moreover the chance of his breaking out there is not to be forgotten. Then suppose Galt and Cartier were to go - they would both be Lower Canadians and our U.C. friends would be disgusted. The thing is very awkward, and we have not yet been able to see our way out of it (59)."

Again on the 20th, "The deputation is to leave for England by the

58. P.A.C., Brown pp. 1185-1186, George to Anne, March 9, 1865.
59. Ibid., pp. 1190-1193, George to Anne, March 13, 1865.
Cunard Steamer of the 5th April, Who are to go is not yet settled. Galt and Cartier will certainly go - but who else has not yet been determined. It is a very grave matter - I fully expect that the mission will not succeed. I see Lord Monck evidently thinks so - and the consequences of failure on the future of the Province may be very serious, indeed (60)." What had happened between the 13th and the 20th to decide Cartier to go is not known. The Cabinet had scattered, with the end of the Session on the 18th, Cartier and McGee going to Montreal, but on the 21st they were back in Quebec and a compromise solution was arrived at. Cartier and Galt would indeed go, and so would both Macdonald and Brown. However, if Confederation failed a project of dual federation between Upper and Lower Canada would be worked out. La Minerve of March 24 still announced that nothing definite had been decided but mentioned that Galt, Cartier and McDougall would surely go, while Macdonald was too ill to go and Brown wouldn't go (61).

The Press continued the battle pro and con. Cartier's old friend, Francis Godschall Johnson, soon to be appointed a Judge of the Superior Court of Montreal, was quoted in favour of Confederation (62). Everyone who could be persuaded to speak or write in favour of the new constitution was encouraged to do so. Petitions were circulated, particularly

60. Ibid., pp. 1212-1213, George to Anne, March 20, 1865.
61. Ibid., pp. 1220-1221, 24 mars.
62. La Minerve, 14 mars, 1865.
by the Rouges, and charges and counter-charges followed about the validity of the signatures and the half-truths that were perpetrated in order to induce people to sign. An article headed Défi au Rougisme which appeared in La Minerve on March 18 gives some idea of the heat of the controversy (63). Each side insisted that no one of any importance supported the other side. Challenges were hurled back and forth.

The announcement of the composition of the delegation to England led La Minerve to comment in a way that showed that Party and sectional rivalries were never far below the surface. According to the Bleu journal George Brown was almost without influence and was going to London to try to bolster his unimportant role in the coalition (64).

Cartier was back in Montreal again on the 29th, returning to Quebec on the same day. Perhaps he was driven to or from the Grand Trunk Station in a "Confederation" carriage, an elegant vehicle recently presented for sale by the company of Bruno Ledoux in Montreal (65). Before leaving for London, Cartier must have been heartened to see a letter from Mgr. Taschereau published in the papers. The future cardinal had consulted Vatican theologians on the subject of Confederation and sent back a very helpful report (66). This sort of support was badly needed. Cartier went up to

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63. Ibid., 18 mars.
64. Ibid., 29 mars.
65. Ibid., 1 avril.
66. Ibid., 10 avril; See Appendix XXIX
Montreal on the 6th, leaving there with Galt and Brydges by a special train for Portland on the 11th, and thence to Boston (67).

The Asia sailed for Liverpool on the 12th stopping at Halifax on the 14th. There the two Lower-Canadian Delegates were met and taken in a torch-light procession to the Temperance Hall, where two thousand people listened to speeches by Galt, by Tilley who was visiting Halifax at the time, and by Cartier (68). La Minerve hastened to report as many details as possible (69).

This mission is one of the rare occasions when some of George-Etienne Cartier's personal impressions are available. He wrote several letters to Hector Langevin in Quebec. The day before the Asia reached Liverpool, Cartier wrote, giving some details of the Halifax visit.

"Nous approchons de Queenston où nous rencontrerons le "Scotia" parti de Liverpool aujourd'hui à midi et par lequel vous recevrez ces quelques lignes écrites à la hâte - Nous serons à Liverpool demain soir durant la nuit - Vous avez du, j'espère, recevoir le télégramme de Brydges envoyé d'Halifax- La démonstration qui nous a été faite dans cette ville a été vraiment magnifique- Elle nous aidera beaucoup dans notre Mission - Galt et moi avons répondu à l'adresse qui nous a été présentée de manière à plaire au Peuple d'Halifax- Galt écrit quelques lignes au Colonel Jacke- Présentez mes respects et amitiés à Sir Etienne- Dites lui de ma part de se ménager et de ne pas se donner trop de troubles et d'anxiétés- Les choses

67. Ibid., 8 et 11 avril.
68. Tassé, Discours, pp. 446-447.
69. La Minerve, 15 avril, 1865.
vont bien, j'espère— Faites en sorte que Sir Etienne aille voir sa famille aussi fréquemment que possible, j'ai remarqué avec plaisir que lorsqu'il revenait de chez lui, il me paraissait plus frais et plus content (70)."

The speeches of the pro-Confederation members of the Assembly continued to be published in La Minerve on into April, at least six weeks after the end of the debate itself.

Cartier and Galt arrived in Liverpool the 23rd, and went directly to London, to the Westminster Palace Hotel (71). By the time Macdonald and Brown arrived on May 3 a number of appointments with officials of the Colonial Office and of the Treasury had already been arranged.

The Worshipful Company of Fishmongers held its annual dinner on April 26, with a distinguished company present. Cartier and Galt represented the Delegates. Lt. Colonel Hewitt Bernard was also present. In reply to the toast to the British Colonies, Cartier made every effort to explain the proposed union of British North America and how, in fact, the results would be beneficial to Britain (72). Writing to Langevin the next day he gave his own impressions:

"Galt écrit et expédie à Sir Etienne le résultat d'une entrevue préliminaire que nous avons eue avec Mr Cardwell — Ce que Galt écrit expose ce que nous avons fait ici depuis

70. A.P.Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 22 avril.
71. La Minerve, 6 mai, 1865.
72. Tassé, op. cit. p. 450-452, Le Courrier du Canada, 17 mai, 1865; La Minerve, 10 mai, 1865.
notre arrivée- Nous devons être présentés par Mr Cardwell cet après midi au Duc de Cambridge et au Ministre de la Guerre- Nous sommes accueillis ici avec bienveillance et empressement- Présentez bien nos respects et amitiés à Lord Monck, et dites-lui que je lui écrirai par la prochaine malle- Comme tous nos procédés ici jusqu'à ce moment n'ont été que préliminaires, je n'avais rien de bien substantiel à lui rapporter, Galt et moi avons assisté à un grand Banquet donné par la riche cooperative des "Fishmongers"- Nous avons été les Lions de la soirée- le "Times de ce matin" nous fait l'honneur de rapporter les discours que nous avons prononcés en référence au toast proposé en notre honneur- Nos discours ont beaucoup plu- Le mien a été à ma façon un peu incisif et à brûlepourpoint - et cela a bien plu- Nous allons ce soir entendre Mr Gladstone pour son "Financial Statement"- La nouvelle de l'assassinat de Lincoln et Steward a crée ici une sensation bien vive (73)."

It was agreed that the Imperial Government would help encourage the recalcitrant Maritime Provinces to get into line on Confederation. Canada had to give up its position that the Hudson's Bay Company Charter was invalid and agreed to compensate the Company, provided that a guarantee was given. Defence ended up almost in a stalemate, the politically conscious cabinet in London was wary about the expenditure of large sums in the colonies and could not understand the haste of the Canadian ministers. Political considerations also had a definite effect on the latter. They must go home with as much to show for their troubles as possible. A summary of the points of agreement appears in the Colonial Office records signed by Gladstone, Cardwell, Somerset and de Grey as well as the four Canadian ministers (74).

73. A.P.Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 27 avril.
A rather rough memorandum in Cartier's hand dated June 2, 1865, is the only personal record available of these meetings or indeed of any of the Conference. It lists his stand on several topics. It adds little that is new to our knowledge of events but it is of interest (75).

If the meetings were often frustrating, London Society put its best foot forward. Colonial ministers were obviously in fashion. The Cartier Papers in Montreal yield a collection of invitation cards, all in one bundle, some of which are for 1865, some for 1867. The 1865 invitations include a long weekend at the end of April at the estate of Lord Salisbury; dinner with Lord and Lady Airlie, Lord and Lady Stanley of Alderly, and Sir Morton and Lady Peto (dinner at the "Star and Garter," Richmond). Invitations also came from Lt. General Sir Fenwick Williams (to meet H.R.H. Prince Alfred), Mr. and Mrs. George Glyn, and the Treasurer and Masters of the Honorable Society of the Inner Temple. The Duchess of Wellington, and the Countess of Derby were "at Home (76)."

Cartier mentions some social events and also the progress of business in a short letter dated May 25 to Hector Langevin.

"J'ai la votre du 12 de ce mois— je vous en remercie— J'ai aussi celle du 11 de Sir Etienne— Offrez lui en mes remerciements— J'écrirai à Sir Etienne par la prochaine malle— Nous allons toujours lentement— Nous avons eu une conférence avec Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, Lord de Grey, et le Duc de Sommerset cette après-midi— Nous en avons encore une autre demain à 2 heures. Le Times et les autres

75. F.S.C., pp. 55-58, See Appendix XXX.
76. Ibid., pp. 64-65.
journaux de Londres ont du vous apprendre que nous sommes bien accueillis ici, que nous avons été présentés à la Reine, que nous avons assisté au "State Ball", au concert Régale que nous avons dîné avec le Prince de Galles, que nous avons assisté à son lever, et le Times de ce matin vous apprendra que nous avons dîné chez M. Cardwell et que nous avons accompagné le Prince de Galles, dans sa visite au Great Eastern qui en ce moment est à recevoir le "Cable Atlantique (77)."

Horizons were spreading. Britain was learning more about the North American colonies and the Canadian ministers were becoming familiar with the ways of the metropolis. La Minerve was not to be left behind. On May 11 the Editor, Clément-Arthur Dansereau, proudly announced the addition of a London correspondent to the staff, at the same time explaining the difficulties involved in finding a French-speaking person who was familiar both with London and with the Canadas (78).

Both Brown and Galt wrote home in detail about their presentation to the Queen, the Derby, etc. Creighton writes of the various festivities: "Macdonald enjoyed it all - less naively than Cartier, who frankly delighted in big and splendid affairs, but more wholeheartedly than his two introspective Scots colleagues, Brown and Galt (79)." I doubt that naive is the word to describe Cartier's attitude - enthusiastic might be more appropriate. The Bleu chief was indeed delighted by the sort of reception he received and knew how to make the most of it, but he did

78. La Minerve, 11 mai, 1865.
not forget the purpose of the trip nor did the social lionizing go to his head. It would be a very blasé person indeed who would not be flattered by the Queen's attention when at a levée on May 16 she chatted with the Lower-Canadian leader in French. Writing on the 18th Cartier gave further news.

"Nos affaires continuent de marcher assez bien— Demain nous devons rencontrer en conférence un comité du Cabinet Imperial composé de Mr Gladstone, du Duc de Somerset, Ministre de la Marine, de Lord de Grey Ministre de la Guerre, et de Mr Cardwell, secrétaire des Colonies— Jusqu'ici tous nos rapports ont été principalement avec Mr Cardwell et Lord de Grey. Nous avons un rapport des autorités Militaires ce qu'elles considèrent nécessaires pour la Défense du Canada— Nous discuterons demain ce rapport— Peut-être que la discussion sera remise à samedi— Nous continuons de créer une opinion favorable au Canada et à sa Défense— Nous avons des invitations à dîner pour chaque soir et (sic) 2 ou 3 invitations pour soirées chaque soir— Nous avons été présentés à la Reine lundi dernier, et mardi dernier nous avons assisté au State Ball donné au Palais "Buckingham"— Demain vendredi, nous dînons chez le Prince de Galles— ce que nous redoutons le plus, c'est Mr Gladstone sur la question financière— Nous vaincrons, je pense, ses objections et répugnances— (80)."

At dinner the next evening the Prince discussed Canadian matters with the man who as Premier had received him in 1860.

May 31 saw the four delegates and McGee off to the Derby with Russell of the Times and Grant and Brydges of the Grand Trunk. Unfortunately, there is no record of Cartier's participation in or impressions of the horseplay that took place off the track, with betting, champagne supper, and pea shooting on the slow trek home (81). Before returning home

80. A.P.Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 18 mai.

Cartier went to Paris for five days. He wrote in great haste to Langevin just as he was leaving.

"Je pars dans un instant pour Paris—Nous venons d'avoir une entrevue avec le Cabinet—Les affaires de notre Mission vont bien—Nous aurons une Conférence finale vendredi prochain à mon retour ici de Paris—Lisez l'article du "Morning Post" de ce matin relatif à notre Mission—Ce journal est l'organe de Lord Palmerston—Je propose de m'embarquer le 22 courant, de Liverpool dans le "Moravian" sur un steamer d'Allan—Mes amitiés à Sir Etienne et aux collègues—Mes respects à Lord Monck—Communiquez à Lord Monck la substance de ces quelques lignes écrites à la hâte (82)."

Earlier he had dined with the expatriate French royalty in London, including the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale, and the Comte de Paris. Back in London Cartier wrote again to Langevin with the latest news.

"Vous avez eu une bonne pensée de m'écrire—J'ai votre dernière du 2 juin, de laquelle je vous remercie. Nous avons heureusement clos les affaires de notre Mission. Galt et Brown partent aujourd'hui de Liverpool dans le Cuba pour New York—Lord Monck va avoir par la présente malle une dépêche contenant l'arrangement intervenu entre le Govmment Impérial et nous—Lord Monck fera part sans doute à Sir Etienne, et à vous et aux autres collègues à Québec, de cette importante dépêche qui fera époque dans notre histoire Colonia. Je m'abstiens de vous écrire aucun détails (83)."

The document of agreement already mentioned was drawn up and signed on the 20th and two days later Cartier sailed alone on the Moravian for Montreal. Speculation was rife not only in the Canadian but in the American press as to the results of the mission (84). However, the

82. A.P.Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 12 juin.
83. Ibid., 17 juin.
84. La Minerve, 4 juillet, 1865.
delegates themselves would soon be on hand. The Moravian passed Pointe-aux-Pères at 5:30 a.m. on July 4, and arrived in Montreal the next evening (85). After a few days in Montreal, the Cabinet gathered again in Quebec, Cartier and McGee taking the train on the 11th. The next day the Cabinet decided to call a short session for August 8 (86).

The Detroit Convention occupied the attention of the public and the press for several days. Representatives of Canadian and Maritime interests as well as Americans who were worried about interruption of transportation via the St. Lawrence or fishing rights in the gulf, shared interests in preventing the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty and met at Detroit to discuss common problems.

The Imperial Government was true to its word in applying pressure to the Lower Provinces re Confederation, as a dispatch published on July 18 shows. Edward Cardwell, the Colonial Secretary, gave every indication that the British Government would be pleased to see the Maritime Provinces become part of the new union (87). Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was considered to be less than effective in persuading that Province to toe the line and he was moved to Hong Kong. His successor, Sir Fenwick Williams, was a soldier who clearly understood that when he received orders he was to carry them out.

85. Ibid., 5 et 6 juillet.
86. Ibid., 14 juillet.
87. Ibid., 18 juillet.
Rumours were rife on all sorts of subjects, constitutional, military, and in the arena of political appointments. The Leader even hazarded that the Attorney-General East would replace the 85-year-old Judge Edward Bowen, who had been a Judge since 1812, and Chief Justice of the Superior Court since 1849 (88).

The Premier, Sir Etienne-Paschal Taché, was in very poor health and bulletins appeared concerning his health. Then on July 28, the Hon. Auguste-Norbert Morin died. He was followed on the 30th by Taché. These two men were among the finest of French-Canadian politicians. Both were extremely honourable and were truly dedicated to the welfare of their people. On the 31st of July, Cartier, McGee and a large deputation from the Montreal Bench and Bar were present at Morin's funeral in Saint-Hyacinthe (89). Two days later Cartier was a pallbearer at Saint-Thomas (Montmagny) for the late Premier Taché. Macdonald, Galt, Brown, Campbell, McDougall, Chapais, McGee and Langevin also marched in the funeral procession to the old church overlooking the St. Lawrence (90). Unseemly haste perhaps, but the Houses were called for August 8 and a new titular head of the Government must be found without upsetting the delicate if not precarious balance of the Cabinet. John A. wrote to Brown on August 4 stating the situation as it stood at that point. Brown had refused to accept Monck's suggestion of Macdonald as first minister. He then suggested that Cartier should hold the post. An interesting note is written

88. Ibid., 24 juillet.
89. Ibid., 1 août.
90. Ibid., 3 août.
across the head of Macdonald's letter in Brown's hand saying that "I protested against Mr. M'D stating my case for me. I insisted that the conversation referred to was a private conversation and that if any of it was to be used publicly it must be only such portions as we could mutually agree to make public each of us stating his case in his own words. This was agreed to and a memo drawn up accordingly which was submitted to Parliament (91)."

The official version gives a fascinating train of events (92). Brown's comments to his wife add a more lively dimension to the scene (93). Once more Cartier's personal views would round out the picture, if available. Sir Narcisse-Fortunat Belleau the compromise choice, was, like his predecessor, a distinguished gentleman who was sufficiently above politics that he could be accepted by all as the titular leader. There was still, however, no doubt about the actual Lower-Canadian leader in the Cabinet. The coalition remained in very delicate balance with all sides looking for signs of domination by political enemies (94).

Quebec was bustling as the members of both Houses gathered for the last session to be held in the old capital till the new provincial legislature met there. Sir Narcisse-Fortunat Belleau led the Government from the

92. P.A.C. Macdonald, pp. 20048-20052, See Appendix XXXI.
94. La Minerve, 9 août.
Upper House. A rather unusual group of tourists was also in town. Ulysses S. Grant, the Union General, his wife, four children, brother-in-law, and five colonels spent several days in Quebec City. The Governor, who had received Cartier, Macdonald and Brown at a State dinner on Saturday the 5th (undoubtedly to mollify any ruffled feelings) was host to the Grants on the 7th (95). Morton quotes Cartier as reporting to the French Consul in Quebec that Grant had implied to Monck that Canada would not be molested as long as Britain did not support France in Mexico. This news was no doubt reassuring though not terribly surprising (96).

The Speech from the Throne covered the mission to England, the situation in the United States, the service of the Volunteer Corps, the budget, and the hope that the Maritimes would also approve the project of Confederation (97). The Opposition was so anxious that Antoine-Aimé Dorion moved that before the Throne Speech the documents concerning the mission to England and the correspondence re Confederation be laid before the House (98). The report of the four delegates to England was indeed tabled (99). The questions of the Hudson Bay Company lands, Confederation, Militia, the Reciprocity Treaty, the Intercolonial Railway, and

95. Ibid.
97. La Minerve, 9 août, 1865.
98. Ibid., 10 août.
99. Ibid., 12 août.
Customs and Excise were all reported upon in some detail (100).

This document is not as substantial as might have been desired but it shows the state of affairs clearly enough. Cartier was the Government Leader in the House for a period as Macdonald was unwell. This was not the most stimulating session in the history of the Union but a little humour did creep in. On one occasion the gas lights faded and Luther Holton brought this to the attention of the senior minister present. Cartier replied, "Si l'hon. M. Holton veut du gaz, il n'a qu'à continuer;" to which the Rouge member replied "Je ferai de mon mieux pour vous éclairer (101)." A bulletin of August 23 announced John A's return to the House (102). On August 28 the House had to adjourn during the evening session because of the lack of a quorum (103). Cartier had a number of Bills of some importance to present and shepherd through the legislative process. The Civil Code was finally passed. After the years of work, Judge Morin was not to see the passage into law of this gigantic and important mesure. The Bill to incorporate the City of Montreal was presented by the Attorney-General (104).

100. Ibid., 16 août.
101. Ibid., 22 août.
102. Ibid., 23 août.
103. Ibid., 29 août.
104. Ibid., 6 sept.
Representatives from the Maritimes gathered in Quebec in mid-September for the meeting of the Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties. This body took steps in the right direction by discussing ways to improve trade between the British North American colonies as well as with the United States.

On September 18 Parliament was prorogued, next to open in the new capital - Ottawa. A long open letter gave publicity to a number of problems that had arisen in the administration of Justice in Lower Canada. This apparently reasonable recitation of the ills of the system took a great deal of Cartier's attention (105). The visitors from the Maritimes had finished their meetings in Quebec but were being feted in Montreal, in Kingston, and elsewhere, Cartier was present at the banquet offered in their honour in the St. Lawrence Hall on the 28th of September and replied to the toast to the Canadian Administration (106). At a banquet in honour of John A. Macdonald in Ottawa, Cartier's health was proposed and the Attorney-General West replied in the most glowing terms.

"Je ne sais pas si je dois, ou non, boire cette santé. Boire la santé de mon ami, c'est boire la mienne propre. Nous sommes les frères suisses, les frères Siamois. (Rires) En nulle occasion, nous ne nous sommes séparés; nous n'avons jamais eu deux opinions contraires. Quand je laisse le siège du gouvernement, je dis à M. Cartier: "Veuillez voir à ce que tout aille bien" et pareillement, quand il laisse, c'est entre mes mains qu'il remet les destinées du Bas-Canada. S'il se trouve un homme sincère, un homme honnête, s'il est un homme désintéressé, un homme qui ne s'occupe ni de lui,

105. Ibid., 21 sept., 2ème édit.
106. Ibid., 29 sept.
ni de ses intérêts pécuniaires, ni de ses succès politiques, de rien enfin, si ce n'est de la gloire de son pays, cet homme c'est l'Hon. George-Etienne Cartier. (Vifs applaudissements)."

Continuing in this very laudatory fashion, the Attorney-General West said:

"Il est bien connu, en Canada, que nous sommes comme deux frères jumeaux; mais je ne crois pas avoir encore eu l'occasion de déclarer, et j'espère que l'on rapportera mes paroles, que ce qu'il pense, je le pense; que ce qu'il fait, je le fais: je suis responsable de ses actes et il est responsable des miens. (Applaudissements.) Et c'est un grand enseignement que le spectacle de deux hommes, moi Ecossais et lui Canadien-Français, lui impliqué dans la rébellion de 1837 en Bas-Canada, et moi le mousquet au bras en Haut-Canada, c'est un grand enseignement, dis-je, que le spectacle de ces deux hommes réunis sur le même terrain, persuadés et convaincus que nous jouissons de la meilleure forme de gouvernement qu'il ait jamais été donné à un peuple de posséder (applaudissements); que nous avons l'engagement de toute l'armée terrestre et navale du Royaume-Uni de combattre nos combats au besoin: que vous vivons ici à l'ombre de notre propre palmier, et jouissons du confort que nous voulons nous donner; et tandis que nos voisins ont été jetés dans la plus terrible des révolutions, nous en avons été exempts, grâce à notre connexion avec l'Angleterre et grâce au gouvernement si doux de notre Gracieuse Reine. (Applaudissements.) Et il n'y a pas un homme qui reconnaîsse mieux cela que mon ami, M. Cartier; et il n'y a pas d'hommes en Canada qui reconnaissent mieux cela que ceux qui soutiennent M. Cartier (107)."

It is difficult to know whether John A. was trying to impress his colleague, his listeners, or whether he was simply saying what he felt.

On October 14, Cartier arrived in Ottawa where he was met by the Mayor and a large crowd which escorted him to Russell's Hotel, where he

107. Ibid., 3 oct.
gave an address (108). Next day he visited the town, inspected the Parliament Buildings, and received visitors. On the 17th, a banquet was held in his honour, with the Catholic Bishop, the Mayor, and many other notables present. Cartier is reported to have replied to several toasts. He pleased the citizens of Ottawa by saying how pleased he was with the choice of the new capital. He spoke as always of the benefits that the new constitution would bring (109).

George-Etienne Cartier did not have much time to devote to his law practice but, as the following letter indicates, Pominville carried on and the Grand Trunk business was lucrative!

J'ai obtenu ce matin devant la Cour d'appel deux jugements favorables - dans la cause de Eastern Townships Bank vs Le Grand Tronc - et La Corporation de St Liboire vs Le Grand Tronc - j'en ai informé de suite Mr. Brydges - et je vous assure qu'il a été satisfait. Il doit n'envoyer demain le cheque de $3,000 (110)."

In the second case the lawyers for the Parish of Saint-Liboire were Dorion and Dorion (111). The case involving the Eastern Townships Bank showed once more the shaky financial state of the Grand Trunk. The railway company had been unable to meet a promissory note and the Bank had seized a locomotive (112).

108. Ibid., 16 oct.
110. F.S.C., p. 59, Pominville à Cartier, 8 sept.
112. Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 391-399.
Pominville added that Madame Cartier was going to Quebec to see her husband. Just what was happening in the Cartier menage at this juncture? I mentioned earlier that there was a definite split between the Attorney-General and his wife's family, and a possible reason—that Mme. Cartier had perhaps repeated political secrets to her father or brother. There are occasional references in Pominville’s letters to his senior partner’s family. *La Minerve* of October 3 mentions that a large dinner party held recently at the Cartier home with Messrs. John A. Macdonald, Galt, and other notables present (113). This was undoubtedly the house on Notre-Dame Street, which with changes in numbering was known as 22, 28, and 32 Notre-Dame Street, and now covers the numbers 456-462 Notre-Dame Street East, on the corner of the Berri extension. The cut-stone house preserves little of its former rank but according to a report which has been prepared for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada it is structurally sound and some fireplaces and stairways date from the period of the occupancy by the Cartier family (1863-1873).

George-Etienne Cartier also owned a modest country home which he named "Limoilou" after Jacques Cartier’s seat in France. This was situated not far east in the village of Hochelaga, but was demolished in connection with the building of the Dalhousie Square Station. Limoilou apparently had lovely gardens. A slightly shadowy figure appears in Cartier's life around this time. The Cuvillier family were well known in business and banking circles in Quebec and Montreal for

113. *La Minerve*, 3 oct.
many years. Augustin Cuvillier was born in Quebec, and educated at the College of Montreal. He was one of the founders of the Bank of Montreal in 1817. He was Member in the Legislative Assembly for Huntington from 1814 to 1830, and for Laprairie from 1830 to 1834. He broke with Papineau over the Ninety-Two Resolutions and was himself defeated in the elections of 1834. He again sat for Huntington from 1841 to 1844, losing his seat because of his support of Sir Charles Metcalfe. He was the first Speaker of the Assembly under the Union (114). One of his aunts, Marie-Anne, married Joseph Cartier, son of Jacques I and of Marguerite Mongeon, in 1778, and it was their grand-daughter Adèle Raymond who married Auguste-Norbert Morin in 1843. As we have already seen Joseph Cartier was the great-uncle of George-Etienne. In any case there was a distant connection between the Cartier and the Cuvillier families. George-Etienne Cartier certainly knew Augustin or Austin Cuvillier (115).

The two youngest children of Augustin Cuvillier were Maurice (1816-1891), who was at the Collège de Montréal during the same period as Cartier, and Luce (1817-1900). Mademoiselle Luce Cuvillier was, according to oral tradition, a very unusual person. She was very intelligent and interested in public affairs. She is reported to have often dressed in trousers like a man, especially when going to work in her garden on the


edge of Montreal. Account sheets from Cuvillier and Co. for 1870 and 1871 list several amounts paid by Miss Cuvillier to men at Cartier's farm (Limoilou?) as well as amounts drawn by Miss Cuvillier for Cartier himself. Cuvillier and Co. supplied Sir George with all sorts of grain, hay, ditching, carpenter's work, insurance, trees, etc. A pony was shipped from Quebec for $3.00. Interspersed with the other accounts were several cases of champagne and claret (116).

During 1865 Maurice Cuvillier wrote several letters to George-Etienne Cartier on various business matters. Several of these, all in English, mention Luce. On May 5 he writes "The enclosed letter from Luce no doubt gives you all the news of the day, and which leaves nothing for me to add, ..." On July 13, "Luce, Clara and Louise, left this morning for Stanbridge, to spend the day with Dr.____, they return this evening at 9:20 p.m." A letter of the 29th of July reads: "I enclose Bank draft for $84.00 - owing for Miss Symes' Bill - St. Louis Hotel $59.00 - and $25.00 lent her, please accept thanks for your kind attention in providing these funds for her." Miss Clara Symes was a niece of Luce Cuvillier, the daughter of her elder sister Marie-Anné and of George Burns Symes. After her mother's death in 1861 Clara lived a great deal of the time with her aunt. (117). La Minerve of October 19, 1865, published the following report:

117. All these letters from F.S.C., p. 60-63.
"M. CARTIER A OTTAWA.

Lundi soir, les membres de l'Institut Canadien-Français d'Ottawa ont présenté une adresse à l'Honorable Procureur-Général du Bas-Canada, dans la salle de leur association. Un corps de musique était présent et a joué plusieurs airs nationaux pendant la soirée. L'assistance était nombreuse. On remarquait sur la plateforme le Major Barnard, R.S.M. Bouchette, Ecr., Joseph Aumond, Ecr., le Maire, M. Dickinson et le Dr. Beaubien. Les dames suivantes accompagnaient M. Cartier: Mme Audy, Delle Cuvillier, Delle Symes, Delle Taschereau, Delle Delisle et les Delles Cartier (118)."

Thus Delle Cuvillier, Delle Symes, and the Delles Cartier were among the guests. The Notman Collection of photographs in the Redpath Museum of McGill University provides several rather poor exposures of a Miss Luce Cuvillier and a picture taken in 1867 of a rotund Maurice Cuvillier seated in a chair on a porch, surrounded by three priests, George-Etienne Cartier, and a very relaxed hound. Two pictures of Cartier in the same collection show an intense looking man with receding hair brushed straight back. The first was taken in 1863. The second, taken in 1865, shows a slightly less imprisoning collar and a very natty checked waistcoat. All of these details might be nothing more than evidence of a family friend until we come upon the will prepared by George-Etienne Cartier on November 10, 1866 (119). Various sections of this are of interest for different reasons. Section 7 is unusual to say the least, as it expresses the opinion of Delle Cuvillier "que ses avis en ce qui concerne mes filles,

118. La Minerve, 19 oct.

pourront leurs être d'une grande utilité." Section 9 gives us a little more light. Finally Section 12 provides the following two paragraphs:

"Je défends et je prohibe qu'aucune de mes filles n'épouse en mariage aucun membre ou allié de la famille Fabre soit du côté paternel ou du côté maternel, et si aucune d'elles le faisait ou toutes deux le faisaient elles perdront le legs que je leur fis et à leurs descendants par le présent testament. Si une d'elle le faisait les legs en sa faveur et à ses descendants accroîtront à sa soeur et à ses descendants "Si toutes deux le faisaient je leur substitue quant aux legs que je leur fis et à leurs descendants mon dit frère Antoine Côme Cartier et mes dites deux soeurs, et leurs descendants de degré en degré par têtes avec substitution de degré en degré aussi longtemps que substitution pourra avoir lieu, le tout incessible et insaisissable pour quelque dette et pour quelque cause que ce soit (120)."

To take the chance, in a society where there was a great deal of intermarriage, of disinheriting both his daughters, George-Etienne Cartier must have felt very strongly. Also, he must have known that his will would be read after his death so he apparently didn't care about the praise for Mlle. Cuvillier which was, of course, at the same time, a slap at Mme. Cartier. No wonder Lady Cartier never returned to Canada after her husband's death. She lived in France for twenty-five years until her passing in 1898. Oral tradition within the Fabre-Surveyer family pictures their aunt as a rather severe and humourless person - "très froide" contrary to the opinion earlier quoted from Judge Routhier. Madame Fabre, the mother of Lady Cartier, lived in a house on the northwest corner of La Gauchetière and Saint-Hubert until she died in her nineties in 1904, well within the memory of members of the family living

120. Ibid., pp. 179-180.
today. Within the Cartier family it is told that Sir George said to his partner Pominville: "J'ai fait un testament de fou" and that the younger lawyer made several attempts to have it changed, but apparently without success.

Exactly what relationship there was between George-Etienne Cartier and Luce Cuvillier we do not know. This must remain an unanswered question as well as the real reason behind the split between George-Etienne and Hortense. No direct correspondence between Cartier and his wife or between Cartier and Mlle Cuvillier has been unearthed to date. Neither will makes any mention of private papers. Luce Cuvillier died in 1900. Her will, drawn up the previous year, gives a great deal of detail, particularly about the contents of her house at 708 Sherbrooke Street at the corner of Hutchinson (121).

Returning to the political scene the news from the Maritimes remained fairly bleak. La Minerve of November 6 announces the by-election in York, New Brunswick, as a result of Attorney-General Allen's nomination to the Bench. The Hon. Charles Fisher, who held this seat with short interruptions for over thirty years, wished to redeem his defeat of the previous year and indeed managed so to do. For the first time election help was provided from one area of the future Dominion to another. Fisher needed money to win York and some of the required funds came from Canada. More were to be requested within a short time when the

121. A.J.M., No. 24031 Last Will of Miss Luce Cuvillier, 24 August, 1899.
General Elections in New Brunswick were announced.

The Executive Council gathered in Ottawa on the morning of November 7, but postponed its session till the afternoon when the Attorney-General East could be present. He had gone to Saint-Antoine to see his brother and colleague for many years, François-Damien, who was dying after a long illness. Damien died on the 8th and George was back in Saint-Antoine for the funeral on the 11th. Cartier had a few days in Montreal at the end of November and in early December to catch up on legal and constituency matters.

November 15 saw Cartier, Macdonald, and Galt, in Montreal for a banquet at the St. Lawrence Hall in Honour of Thomas d'Arcy McGee. Cartier's words to the gathering were late in the evening, after many other speeches. As well as praising the virtues of the guest of honour, he touched on the recurring theme of the importance of having roots in the land, and particularly in owning land (122). By December 13, he was back in Ottawa for further sessions of the Executive Council.

The Press of December 20 brought the news of George Brown's resignation as President of the Council, just in time for a Christmas present for John A. Macdonald. Brown had visited New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in mid-November and while he had been away action had been taken to attempt to save the Reciprocity Treaty in a way that Brown thought was very unwise. Galt had been instructed to go to New York and have informal

122. Tassé, Discours., pp. 468-469.
talks there but he had gone on to Washington as well and had held conferences with American Cabinet Ministers on his own initiative, without consultation either with his Canadian colleagues or with his easily ruffled friends in the fledgling Confederate Council. Galt gave in to some extent in his views but not enough for Brown. The Finance Minister wanted to return to Washington to carry on negotiations. Brown stated that the whole matter was being badly handled but the rest of the Cabinet voted to approve Galt's proposals. Brown telegraphed to his wife in Toronto on December 19: "Thank Providence - I am a free man once more (123)"

An interesting sidelight is that Cartier and Alexander Campbell went to try to dissuade Brown from resigning. It would perhaps be unkind to suggest that Campbell was along to keep an eye on the Bleu leader on behalf of his old friend and law partner from Kingston. In any case, Brown was not in his room at Russell's Hotel and Cartier wrote him a note.

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

This was certainly more than a form letter as indeed was Brown's reply.

"I have received your kind note and think it right to state frankly at once that the step I have taken cannot be revoked. The interests involved are too great. I think a very great blunder has been committed in a matter involving the most important interests of our country, and that the Order in Council you have passed endorses that blunder and authorizes persistence in it. I confess I was much annoyed at the direct personal affront offered me yesterday, but that feeling has entirely passed away after a night's reflection, in view of the serious character of the matters at issue which casts all personal feeling aside. I desire to leave you in perfect harmony. I shall of course place in writing my grounds of resignation, but seeing the prejudicial effect their present publication might have on the negotiations, I propose that no reason be given for my resignation until the Reciprocity question is settled one way or other. I propose to state in tomorrow's Globe that my resignation has occurred from a grave difference in the Cabinet (in which I stand alone) on an important public question, - that the explanations will be given to Parliament in due time, and that it would be inexpedient for the public interest that they should be given sooner. I make this suggestion believing it the best thing for the public interest, and on that ground alone, but any other proper course of procedure I am ready to adopt at the wish of my late colleagues. In conclusion, let me say that if you stick to the compact you made with me when Sir Narcisse came into the Government - my being out of the Government will not change my course in the slightest, and that you will have my best aid in carrying out the constitutional changes we were then pledged to."

A postscript was added:

"I pray you not to commit any mistake in that New Brunswick matter. But we are pledged of course by Macdonald's letter and must do all that in - reason we can be asked to do. But what is proposed would be wrong and most hurtful hereafter. However I am ready to give a cheque for $500 towards the fund, and will not be behind if further aid is required."

The postscript no doubt referred to the New Brunswick elections. Cartier determined to try again but such was not to be the case.
"I feel very very sorry at your telling me that this step you have taken cannot be revoked. Whatever might be at this moment the strength of your determination I flatter myself that after a friendly interview between you and Campbell and myself this evening, you might be induced to change your mind. As Campbell happens to be at the same hotel with you, arrange with him the time and place at which we may meet after dinner. Campbell will let me know when and where and I will not fail to hasten to this rendez-vous. Until we see you try to bring your mind to a listening mood. I must frankly say that if unfortunately you cannot be induced to retrace the step you have taken, the terms and mode you suggest to make known your resignation are the most consistent with the public interests - the same announcement will have to be made by us. - Allow me to say to you that whatever may be the result of our interview this evening, I will always feel very thankful to you for the patriotic and generous sentiments you are so kind to express in your note to me (124)."

All was not criticism and bitterness between Upper and Lower Canada, between Grit and Bleu, between Protestant and Catholic. Sir Richard Cartwright later stated that in 1865 Cartier had informed the Conservative members from Ontario that Brown had been such a good ally that he should remain a member of the Government indefinitely.

"Moreover, and this I can state on my own authority, and I had it from the highest possible quarter, that if Mr. Brown had remained in the Cabinet and had not voluntarily thrown his cards on the table, nothing could have prevented the initiation of confederation from having been entrusted to Mr. Brown and Sir George Cartier instead of to Sir John Macdonald (125)."

The announcement of George Brown's withdrawal was made as quietly as possible and on January 2 the Press announced that the Hon. A. J.

125. Sir Richard Cartwright, Memories of Confederation, p. 11.
Fergusson Blair had accepted the Presidency of the Council, a post he was to hold into Confederation until his death on December 30, 1867.

Cartier arrived back in Montreal on December 21, in time for Christmas. However, by January 5 the Cabinet was in session again. The press watched with interest, as indeed did the Ministers, every signal which might show a change of wind—or tide—in the Maritimes. An anecdote of no political significance does however show us another side of the Bleu leader at this period. Jean-Charles Chapais, the Commissioner of Public Works was taking the long train ride from Kamouraska to Ottawa with his wife and seven year old son, Thomas. The young boy, who was to become well-known in his own right as a politician, editor, and author, had been provided with a bag of cookies and candy to keep him occupied. The Montreal Minister playfully hid the treasures and was hotly accused of being a "voleur". Laughingly the concessionnaire on the train was called and the young boy's pockets were stuffed with added treats (126).

Cartier telegraphed to Langevin on January 25, asking him to talk to Sir Narcisse Belleau about postponing a Cabinet meeting in Ottawa because Galt and Howland were in Washington and Lord Monck would soon be sailing from England (127). February 8 found the Attorney-General East in Toronto attending a banquet in honour of his Canada West

counterpart by the Bar of Toronto. The day he left Montreal Cartier telegraphed to Langevin "Galt and delegates must have left Washington this morning negotiations at an end delegates could not accept proposals made to them . . . (128)"

The Reciprocity negotiations were not going well. Cartier was made a member of the Upper Canada Bar. John Hillyard Cameron as Treasurer of the Law Society presided over the banquet. In proposing a toast to Cartier, Cameron remarked that when the Lower-Canadian lawyer was admitted to the Upper-Canadian Bar that very afternoon, he had been examined verbally, and had been questioned as to his preference between British and French law. He had replied that obviously it was preferable to have the best of both systems. In reply to a toast Cartier talked of judicial reform. He assured his listeners that although he was known for giving speeches lasting eight or ten hours, "je ne veux pas vous fournir la preuve de ma terrible capacité (129)."

Cartier must have glowed with satisfaction as on a cold and stormy day in early 1866 he rode on a Grand Trunk train to meet the doubting Lord Monck on his return from England (130). February 14 Cartier proposed a motion at a meeting of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Association praising the memory of the Abbé Dominique Granet, Vicar General,

128. Ibid., 7 fév.
130. La Minerve, 14 fév. 1866.
Superior of the Sulpiciens, and curé of Notre-Dame. The Abbé Granet was a close friend of the Attorney-General. Cartier's sort would be drawn into the vicissitudes of the Sulpiciens later in the same year. The funeral on the 15th saw many representatives of the State as well as of the Church present. Cartier, Macdonald, Chapais, and Campbell represented the Government (131).

The banquet circuit of those in favour of and of those opposed to Confederation carried the message to all parts of Canada. On March 1, Cartier, Macdonald, Galt, Howland and McGee were all present at a Confederation banquet in Cornwall, the home of that arch opponent of the scheme, John Sandfield Macdonald. Cartier's message to an Upper-Canadian audience is of interest. In one of the few references he made to his own stature, he remarked "Comme vous pouvez le voir, ma stature n'a rien de formidable; mais Dieu m'a doué de quelque audace, de beaucoup de persévérance et de l'amour du travail (132)." He then continued to talk of the sincere desire of his own people to cooperate with the citizens of Upper Canada in successfully forming a new Confederation.

Canadian historians are perhaps more appreciated today than they were one hundred years ago, but we wonder if a public subscription would be opened to assist the family of a historian who passed away in our day. François-Xavier Garneau, the first French Canadian to write the history

131. Ibid., 16 fév.
132. Tassé, op.cit, pp. 479-482.
of his own country, died in 1866 aged 57. A public subscription was raised for his family. Among those who contributed were Cartier, P-J-O Chauveau, R-A-R Hubert, and two names we have seen recently: Mlle Clara Symes and Mlle Luce Cuvillier. Modestly down the list is the Abbé Verreau, another historian (133).

The representatives of the British North American colonies were already acting in concert visiting Washington and holding talks with American officials on trade matters (134). The Canadian Houses of Parliament were to meet in April. The news from the Maritimes was somewhat encouraging but what action would be taken. Would it be possible to press forward with Confederation? The New Brunswick Legislature met on March 8 and the Speech from the Throne mentioning Confederation was published in the Canadian press (135).

The story of the Fenians in New Brunswick, and their effect on events in Nova Scotia, is well and amusingly told by Professor P. B. Waite (136). The half serious, half comic-opera manoeuvrings that took place in Passamaquoddy Bay make delightful reading, especially if one is acquainted with the region. The quick attack and the equally hasty retreat from Indian Island on April 14 by five men forms the major engagement. The picture of H.M.S.

133. La Minerve, 27 fév.
134. Ibid., 7 mars.
135. Ibid., 9 mars.
136. Waite, The Life and Times of Confederation, Chapter 15.
Duncan, the Halifax flagship, patrolling between Eastport and Lubec with a huge cloud of black smoke coming from her stack is indeed slightly ridiculous. However, the show of strength had the desired effect on the Fenians and, more important perhaps, on the legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The change in attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy also had a very marked influence.

As some influence and help had started to flow from Canada between politicians so the Catholic hierarchy of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia received visits from eminent clergymen as well. Charles-Félix Cazeau had a very interesting career. By 1865 he had been Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Quebec for fifteen years, and had very close contacts with many men in public life. Two letters from the Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec show that a successful trip to the Maritimes by Cazeau was both motivated and financed by the Government. Four hundred dollars were advanced to the Grand Vicar for his expenses. The Rouges would have given a lot more than four hundred dollars for these letters.

Writing on November 2, 1865, Cartier assured Cazeau that more funds were available if required. Mention was made of a Bishop whom John A. was approaching to accompany the Quebec cleric on a tour of the Maritimes for the purpose of persuading the Catholic hierarchy there to support Confederation (137). The next letter, dated November 30, was after the trip in question and identifies the Bishop as Mgr. Edward John Horan of

137. A.A.Q., G., XI, 138, 2 nov., 1865. See Appendix XXXIII.
Kingston. The two dignitaries of the Church are thanked for the "service inappréciable que tous deux vous avez rendu à notre cher Canada (138)."

On April 17 as the troops marched from the citadel in Halifax to board the transports for the "front" the Assembly of Nova Scotia approved a motion of Dr. Tupper's asking for the appointment of delegates to arrange "a scheme of union (139)." After a constitutional struggle in New Brunswick in which the recalcitrant Gordon became almost too anxious to help Confederation, elections in late May and finishing on June 12 broke the back of the anti-confederates. Some $40,000 of "Canadian gold", as the Newfoundland anti-confederation song describes it, found its way into New Brunswick.

The stage was set for the next act in the Confederation drama. The Opposition press, however, never let up in its attacks. A paragraph from Joseph Royal's L'Ordre was supposed to strike terror into the hearts of all French Canadians.

"C'est M. Cartier qui a fait prendre à Mr. Gordon la position qu'il vient de prendre; c'est lui qui bâtit au nom de la Métropole, la confédération des provinces anglaises; c'est lui qui veut envoyer nos troupes volontaires au Nouveau-Brunswick, afin de s'attacher quelque peu la population; c'est lui qui conduit le Canada à la famine et à la banqueroute; qui sait même si ce n'est

138. Ibid., G. XI, 139, 30 nov. 1865. See Appendix XXXIII.
pas cet homme qui attire les colères du ciel sur la terre d'Amérique (140)?"

The Attorney-General East was certainly a powerful man! A pleasant interlude in the hectic political scene came on April 16 when Lord Monck made an official visit to the Seminary of Montreal. Cartier showed his obvious enjoyment in the remarks he addressed to the students. He gave a great deal of credit for his own success in life to the education he had received while in College and particularly from the hands of the Abbé Bayle, then a young priest but in 1866 the Superior of Saint-Sulpice (141).

The next day the Collège de Montréal alumnus was back to more immediate matters, writing to Hector Langevin about judicial appointments. Langevin was anxious that Judge René-Edouard Caron, one of the Seigniorial Commissioners and also a member of the Commission for the Civil Code, be named Chief Justice of the Superior Court. Cartier replied that this was impossible. As a member of a higher court (The Queen's Bench) and as one of the codifiers of the Civil Code, Caron could not take the vacant position. Cartier strongly suggested that Judge Jean-François-Joseph Duval, the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, would retire shortly and Caron should be available to succeed him. Duval was stronger than one thought. He did not retire until 1874. By that time Caron had been named the second Lieutenant-Governor of the Province

140. La Minerve, 14 avril, 1866.
of Quebec. Another reason against the nomination of Caron that Cartier emphasized in his letter to Langevin was the fact that the Chief Justice of one of the two courts should be of British origin. "Nous n'avons pas encore terminé toutes nos difficultés relatives à la 'Confédération' et au gouvernement local pour le Bas-Canada, et il ne serait pas sage d'exciter l'Elément Britannique du B.C. contre le gouvernement dans le moment." An added phrase of interest tells us that Cartier had recently refused the post in question himself.

"Je dois vous ajouter dans toute ma sincérité que, si j'eusse été enclin de laisser la carrière publique, je n'aurais pu accepter l'offre de la situation de juge en Chef de la C. Suprême que m'a délicatement faite Sir N. Belleau pour la seule raison que cette situation dans le moment doit être conférée à quelqu'un de l'élément professionnel Britannique (142)!

Agree or not with such reasoning there was little more than Langevin could say. In fact on April 12 the Premier had written a very flattering letter to his Attorney-General offering him the post in question (143).

For a few days only George-Etienne Cartier was able to get away for a boat trip to the Saguenay, gaining strength for the very arduous months to come (144).

142. A.P.Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 17 avril, 1866.
143. Ibid., Sir N-F Belleau à Cartier, 12 avril.
144. Ibid., Cartier à Langevin, 23 avril.
La Minerve of June 9 was overflowing with news from various quarters. The telegraph from Saint John, New Brunswick, announced the election of Tilley and Witmore, the Confederate candidates. Parliament opened for the first time in Ottawa. The large headlines, however, read "Frontières de l'Est envahies. St. Armand, Philipsburg, etc. Dévastés. Combat inévitable (145)." The Fenians had indeed crossed from St. Albans, occupied Pigeon Hill, had made sorties to St. Armand and Philipsburg, and were awaiting reinforcements. These never arrived, however, and although the militia were quickly called into action, no combat took place. On June 6 the American Government had taken steps to enforce its neutrality so that in future the border raiders would not have quite as free a hand.

145. La Minerve, 9 juin, 1866.