CHAPTER IX

THE SUMMIT

Lord Monck was anxious that the last session of the Union Parliament should meet and be ready for the Imperial Parliament so that no time would be lost in bringing the Confederation that was now within reach to a reality. On June 6, 1866, he sent a memorandum to his Council urging haste and explaining his position. Not only was he worried about the situation in the Maritime Provinces but he feared that the coalition formed for the purpose of finding a solution to the deadlock might crumble and further chaos would result. The interminable discussion of the Resolutions for Confederation in the press was another worry to the Queen's representative (1).

When the session opened on June 9 it had to take a secondary place to news of the Fenians. Troops drilled, eye-witness reports from the frontier were published in every detail, and the suspension of Habeas Corpus was hailed. Troops were quartered in Saint-Armand and Frelighsburg. La Minerve even boasted a special correspondent who had been captured by the Fenians and had escaped. It may well have appeared overly dramatic at the time, but the following passage was to become only too true in one specific instance:

"Ils disent que leurs mesures sont prises; qu'ils ont 2,000 sympathisateurs dans Montréal et que si l'on met à mort les prisonniers fénians actuellement en Canada, ils trouveront bien le moyen de se venger par les incendiaits et les assassinats. L'Hon. M. Cartier, l'Hon. M. McGee etc. ne sont pas en odeur de sainteté auprès d'eux (2)."

The debate on the Address continued on in the grand new quarters high over the Ottawa River. On June 11 Antoine-Aimé Dorion proposed an amendment to refer the Confederation Resolutions to the people, but he received only nineteen votes in support of this (3). The same day the Code of Civil Procedure for Lower Canada was presented to the House. Thus another important measure fostered by the Attorney-General East was placed on the Statute Books. In speaking on the second reading June 26, Cartier gave the history of the measure and thanked those who had worked for so many years in its preparation. He gave in several paragraphs a very clear history of Civil Procedure in Lower Canada, showing his own understanding of the current body of law (4).

June 15 saw George Brown in his seat as a simple M.P.P. and the official explanations of his resignation were given at some length and without undue comment from the Opposition. La Minerve believed that he would probably be one of the delegates to London re the Confederation Resolutions, but Brown was happy to stay home. He continued to support

2. La Minerve, 11 juin, 1866.
3. Ibid., 15 juin.
4. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 487-491, also La Minerve, 30 juin.
the Government in achieving Confederation, but felt free to take up his more natural stance as a critic on other measures (5). He referred to the Cabinet as "a set of scamps (6)," but apparently his relations with Cartier remained cordial as he was able to ask a favour for a friend.

"There is no truth whatever in the canard about my going into the Government again. I would as soon think of cutting off my head. But funny enough, I see the old Upper Canada Tories are talking strongly in favour of forcing me to go to London to look after U.C. interests. Cartier has behaved very well about Tom's matter. He did all he could promptly and kindly (7)."

Confederation was still under discussion, but many opponents had accepted the inevitable. The possibility of radical changes being made after the measure reached London aroused some concern, but the process was to be very simple and no changes were to take place:

"L'arbitrage impérial existera: le Canada ne peut pas l'empêcher, quand les autres Provinces le demandent. Mais cet arbitrage consistera dans l'adoption pure et simple du projet de Québec (8)."

The editorial that appeared in La Minerve on June 23 in preparation for Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day is worth republishing today. It expressed the national pride and the need to fight for survival that have always been part of French Canada.

5. La Minerve, 18 juin.
6. P. A. C., Brown, pp. 1443B-1443C., George to Anne, June 18.
8. La Minerve, 20 juin.
"Un jour seulement nous sépare encore de la célébration de notre fête nationale. Profitons-en, pour recueillir toutes nos aspirations patriotiques, tous les généreux élan du cœur afin de les faire éclater, dans cette époque solennelle de l'année où tout ce qu'il y a de Canadien-Français, sur ce coin du globe, doit tressaillir d'un noble enthousiasme et apprendre au monde qu'un petit peuple, occupant une petite place dans l'histoire, peut nourrir de grands et nobles sentiments. Un peuple de cœur est un peuple qu'on respecte, et l'injustice des puissants aussi bien que les traits de l'adversité viennent sans cesse se briser contre sa nationalité comme sur un bouclier d'airain. Jetés avec notre énergie au milieu d'éléments hétérogènes, environnés par tous les côtés, des flots de populations étrangères, nous devons gravir en phalange serrée la route de l'épreuve, et après chaque nouveau combat contre les idées ou l'influence indue des autres races, nous devons fourbir nos armes pour une nouvelle lutte, lutte grandiose, lutte paisible où le prix ne sera décerné qu'à l'énergie courtoise, la force morale, l'honnêteté. Il arrive une heure où le Canadien doit, entre deux matins de repos, retremper sa vigueur, en se recueillant autour des autels de la patrie et en apprenant aux nouveaux combattants qui arrivent sous ses drapeaux, aux faibles, aux indécis, comment on doit aimer le pays natal; c'est une halte, où nous nous comptons, et où nous pesons la valeur du patriotisme de chacun."

Continuing in this heroic vein the Editor wrote:

L'œil de la patrie est sur nous, se promène sur les rangs de ses défenseurs et marque les traîtres qui veulent la sacrifier. C'est à nous à nous montrer dignes de vivre comme peuple, en laissant nos cœurs épancher l'exubérance de leur ardeur nationale. Préparons-nous à laisser dormir les mesquines préoccupations de l'ambition ou du ressentiment, et montrons que, si parfois nous différerons d'opinion sur les moyens de travailler à la prospérité de notre pays, nous sommes, au moins, tous d'accord à demeurer Canadiens. Lundi, c'est par un concours empressé que nous prouverons notre patriotisme et la vigueur de notre nationalité (9)."

Cartier spoke in Ottawa during the celebrations there. Though during his

9. Ibid., 23 juin.
lifetime and in retrospect he has been criticized for not giving enough support to measures for colonization, on this occasion the need to provide work so that young people would not emigrate to the factories of New England was his chosen topic (10).

The fiscal measures announced by the Minister of Finance, A. T. Galt, roused considerable opposition, particularly from George Brown, both in the House and in The Globe. The changes in the tariff occasioned by the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty were attacked, but the greatest criticism was reserved for the issuance of paper money by the Government.

On Friday, July 13, John A. Macdonald presented, seconded by George-Etienne Cartier, the resolutions setting out the form of the Provincial Governments of Ontario and Quebec (11). The Attorney-General East explained the reasons for having two houses in Quebec, and the guarantees offered to the English minority by having twelve seats fixed which could only be changed by the wish of a majority of the members for these ridings. His tracing of the development of governmental institutions in Lower Canada was masterful. He explained that the fact of an upper house being appointed "a contribué à le maintenir dans son indépendance et lui a permis de mieux surveiller les opérations de l'autre branche de la législature." Cartier explained that by having two houses it was hoped that more dignity would be given to the legislative institutions of the Province of Quebec. He further asserted

10. Ibid., 28 juin.
11. Ibid., 14 juillet.
that "Les populations du Bas-Canada sont beaucoup plus monarchistes que celles du Haut-Canada" and thus he believed that they were anxious to have an appointed upper house. In conclusion the Minister stated: "Conservateurs d'éducation monarchique, notre devoir est d'entourer nos institutions politiques de tout ce qui peut contribuer à leur stabilité (12)." The Resolutions concerning the two Provincial Governments as adopted by the Union Parliament set out very clearly the terms of their establishment (13). In the midst of this debate Cartier received several deputations of businessmen from Montreal, pressing for changes in the tariff (14). Certain changes in the election regulations were brought about by a bill presented on July 25. The raising of hands at the time of the official nomination was done away with, as well as the official public proclamation. These changes, though apparently minor, were calculated to lessen the disturbances that often accompanied elections (15).

Cartier took great pleasure in being present on July 29 at Saint-Jean for the consecration of his old friend, Father Charles Larocque, as Bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe. He spoke briefly congratulating the priest on his elevation to the episcopacy and mentioning that on that very day the news of the arrival of the atlantic cable at Heart's Content, Newfoundland, had

14. La Minerve, 16 et 17 juillet, 1866.
15. Ibid., 26 juillet.
been received in Montreal. He could not resist the chance to compare the advance in telegraph communications with that in personal travel afforded particularly by the Grand Trunk, which had brought Bishop, priest, and layman from far away to be present at the consecration (16).

In writing to Vicar General Cazeau in Quebec Cartier remarked: "La consécration de mon ami Monseigneur Larocque a été magnifique et solennelle (17)."

The particular clauses introduced in the Legislature by Solicitor-General Langevin, guaranteeing certain educational rights to the Protestants of Lower Canada, caused considerable difficulty. Robert Bell, the member for Russell, proposed on August 4 that the same privileges accorded Protestants in Lower Canada be granted Catholics in Upper Canada. This eminently reasonable approach was all that was required to bring all the racial and religious prejudices of the members into view. Eventually it was decided that special privileges could be accorded to neither group, though the Lower Canada Protestants in fact received more just treatment than the Roman Catholic minority in the upper province. There were 285,000 Catholics in Upper Canada, and about 165,000 Protestants in Lower Canada but the latter were not only more wealthy and more influential, but also more concentrated geographically. The press in French Canada, except for Cartier's La Minerve and Langevin's Le Courrier du Canada, rose in righteous

17. A. A. Q., G. XI: 140, 3 août, 1866.
indignation. Rumilly comments on one such attack in *Le Canadien*: "Evantu-rel s'en prit à Cartier, qui se vantait de ne recevoir de conseils de personne, exigeait des députés conservateurs une discipline muette et, petit, vif, presque grimaçant de mobilité, se conduisait avec eux en pète-sec (18)." Not a pretty picture but quite accurate just the same. The more pleasant side of Cartier's character has been left out of this description. A letter from Mgr. Cazeau left no doubt where he or his Bishop stood on the subject. He used very strong language as he asserted:

"Nous nous sentons humiliés de ce que, à la dernière heure vous ayez consenti à faire passer cette loi, sans prendre, en même temps, la responsabilité d'en faire passer une semblable pour donner aux Catholiques du Haut-Canada les privilèges que vous accordez aux protestants du Bas."

In a paragraph that was almost prophetic, Cazeau wrote:

"Vous me disiez dernièrement que les Catholiques des provinces maritimes pouvaient compter sur la législature fédérale où toutes les minorités auraient protection. Pourquoi les protestants du Bas-Canada n'étaient-ils pas invités à s'appuyer, comme eux, sur la législature fédérale? Du moment que vous donnez des garanties aux protestants qui forment ici une minorité, vous êtes obligés logiquement et en honneur d'en accorder de même nature, aux catholiques, qui sont en minorité dans le Haut-Canada, et dans les provinces maritimes."

Making sure that his point could not be misunderstood, the Vicar General finished:

"Je vous parle avec franchise, parce que jusqu'à présent le clergé a reposé en vous sa confiance et que je suis sûr que

les deux mesures en question vont considérablement l'ébranler - Je le fais encore comme votre ami de vieille date, parce que c'est un devoir de l'amitié de ne pas taire la vérité. Enfin c'est votre honneur et l'honneur Canadien qui sont en cause; il faut que l'histoire du pays puisse dire que nos hommes d'État n'ont pas fléchi dans cette circonstance solennelle (19)."

George-Etienne Cartier must have been anything but pleased by this strong protest from an old and powerful friend. Undeniably the protest was warrented, but the solution demanded was not politically possible. There is little doubt of Cartier's sympathy with the equal treatment that was requested but his political judgment must have told him that it was impossible to ask what to-day would seem to be only reasonable. Often political solutions are inexplicable unless one knows the real reasons behind them.

On August 7 the Government withdrew its measure to change the Education Bill in Lower Canada and Mr. Bell's Bill was also withdrawn. This resulted in the resignation of Galt, who had made certain promises to the Protestants of Lower Canada. According to Brown, Galt was intensely indignant at the treatment his colleagues had shown him, but he retired gracefully as far as the public was concerned. John A. Macdonald, in announcing the decision to withdraw the Government's Bill stated that he was the only member of the Government from Upper Canada who was prepared to vote in favour of Mr. Bell's motion, and rather than divide the country, it was found expedient that both Bills should be withdrawn. A letter addressed to Lord Monck by nine Catholic Bishops was a carefully prepared but gently definite piece,

politely demanding in a few short paragraphs equal treatment for the minorities in all provinces (20).

Writing on August 13, Mgr. Cazeau expressed his satisfaction at the turn of events but was quick to warn against any backsliding in London. Having given condolences on the departure of Galt from the cabinet, the Vicar General returned to the problem at hand.

"Maintenant, mon cher Procureur, il est évident qu'il va être fait des démarches auprès des Autorités Impériales pour en obtenir en faveur de la minorité Bas-Canadienne les garanties refusées par notre Législature locale, ou plutôt qu'on n'a pas osé lui demander. Vous pouvez bien être assuré qu'on fera d'analogues non seulement pour la minorité Catholique du Haut-Canada, mais encore pour celles des Provinces Maritimes. Or si vous voulez conserver la confiance des honnêtes gens de votre origine, il faut que, lorsque vous serez en Angleterre, vous montriez le plus vif intérêt à faire accorder aux Catholiques les mêmes garanties, droits et privilèges qu'aux protestants. Tous, j'en suis sûr, auront les yeux fixés sur vous, et vous tiendront pour responsable de ce qui sera réglé de quelque manière que ce soit."

This certainly did not leave the Lower-Canadian leader in much doubt about where he stood. Just in case this sort of warning was not sufficient, the priest who was so wise in the ways of the political world, counselled spiritual assistance as well.

"Y a-t-il lieu d'espérer que nous vous verrons ici, avant votre départ pour l'Angleterre? Dans tous les cas, vous ne manquerez pas de voir votre Evêque, avant de partir, pour en recevoir des Conseils avec sa bénédiction. Mais

20. La Minerve, 8 août, 1866.
j'aimerais bien à vous contempler un peu moi aussi avant que vous alliez fixer les destinées de notre patrie (21)."

At a later date, Monsieur Cazeau would have been less likely to counsel a visit to Bishop Bourget, but for the moment he must have felt that the views of the episcopal palaces in Montreal and in Quebec City were not unduly divergent.

Whether matters went to the point where, as L'Ordre affirmed, the Attorney-General was threatened with excommunication by one of the prelates in the Province if the School Bill was continued is not certain, but the heat generated by the Rouge journals was very great. They were delighted to find the shoe on the other foot, and to become defenders of the Church against the depredations of the Attorney-General East and his friends from Upper Canada (22). Thus the problem of the educational rights of minorities was not settled in 1866, and was to cause great trouble in New Brunswick, the west, and in Ontario, in the years to come. On August 18, in the midst of further Fenian agitation, the last session of the Parliament under the Union was prorogued.

Returning to state-church relations, the firm tone of Grand Vicar Cazeau's letters was nevertheless sympathetic and indeed Cartier was to maintain good relations with most of the hierarchy and they were to render further service to the Confederate cause during 1867. There were, however,


22. La Minerve, 21 août. Also: Montreal Herald and Commercial Gazette, Aug. 27.
two exceptions - Mgr. Ignace Bourget, the Bishop of Montreal from 1840 to 1876 and Louis-François-Richer Laflèche, who after several years as a missionary in the North-West and as a professor at the College of Nicolet, became vicar-general, coadjutor Bishop, and finally from 1870 to 1898, Bishop of Three Rivers. They were both austere figures who believed in the ascendancy of the ecclesiastical over the temporal in all matters. The controversy raised by the proponents of Gaumist principles was only the first of many between authoritarian and liberal forces within the church and between ultramontain and gallican in the political world.

Mgr. Gaume had led a movement in France and in Italy against the "pagan" influence of classical and XVIIth century writers. He wished to replace these with sacred works.

The Abbé Jacques-Michel Stremler, a native of Metz who taught at the Seminary of Quebec from 1861 to 1865, carried Gaumism to Canada and after his departure the Abbé Alexis Pelletier carried on the battle with burning zeal. In 1866 Pelletier moved to the more hospitable surroundings of the College of Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière. Representing the body of opinion at the Archbishopric and the Seminary of Quebec, the Abbés Thomas-Aimé Chandonnet and Benjamin Pacquet countered the reactionary views of the Abbé Pelletier, the latter publishing under several pseudonyms, including "Luigi," "un Catholique," and "Georges Saint-Aimé." The great number of pamphlets, articles in the press, and such fascinating works as the twelve volume Voix Canadiennes, Vers L'Abîme, written by an author using the pseudonym Arthur Savaète, demand exhaustive study and hold promise of
very worthwhile results. Robert Rumilly has offered a solution to the mystery of this mammoth but undigested series of volumes. He writes that the real author was the Abbé Georges Dugas, missionary at the Rivière-Rouge, author, encourager of colonization, and strong supporter of Mgr. Laflèche. Reportedly the manuscripts were sent to the author's cousin Mgr. Louis-Marcel Dugas, a curé in New York State, from where they were shipped to Arthur Savaète, the Editor of the Monde Catholique in Paris. The latter published them under his own name (23).

The work of Philippe Sylvain in the area of ultramontanism during this period has clarified the picture considerably (24). Undoubtedly further studies will follow. Certainly one who got caught in the web by those who were more Catholic than the Pope and more aggrieved than the supposed victims was George-Etienne Cartier. The first occasion when the man who rightly considered himself the protector of the Church became embroiled in the mesh of ecclesiastical bickering was in 1865 and 1866. It was a dispute where no politician should have been found, as he could not help but lose no matter which side won. Again, if one has to be drawn into such a contest, it is fatal to support the loosing cause. This, however, was the position in which George-Etienne Cartier found himself with respect to the long and


bitter battle between the Bishop of Montreal and Les Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice on the subject of the "démembrement," translated literally the dismemberment, of the Parish of Notre-Dame de Montréal. The Sulpicians wished to maintain the one central parish, as established during the French regime. The "fabrique" had a debt of approximately $400,000.00 which the Seminary, as the principal creditor, did not wish to see placed in jeopardy by the diminution of the revenues. After appeals to Rome by both the Superior of Saint-Sulpice, the Abbé Dominique Granet, who, as we have already seen died in February of 1866, and by Bishop Bourget, a Papal Decree dated December 22, 1865, authorized the Bishop of Montreal to create new Parishes. The Sulpicians countered by requesting the Government not to recognize the new parishes as autonomous civil units. George-Etienne Cartier and his firm were asked, in conjunction with Joseph-Ubald Beaudry, to represent the Sulpicians. The Bishop's Palace called on Côme-Séraphin Cherrier, one of the most distinguished lawyers in Montreal and for many years the Dean of the Bar, to lead their cause. He was assisted by François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel, later a Liberal Senator; Benjamin-Antoine-Testard de Montigny, who had served as a Papal Zouave; Siméon Pagnuelo, later a Superior Court Judge; and Louis-Olivier Taillon, later Premier of Quebec. Legal documents appeared from both sides and the archives of Saint-Sulpice, of the Archdiocese of Montreal, the Archdiocese of Quebec, the Diocese of Trois-Rivières and Cartier's own papers all provide voluminous files on the subject - mostly copies of the same documents.

Another difficulty arose in the question of who should preside at meetings of the Fabrique. The Superior of Saint-Sulpice had occupied this
position but the Bishop wished to replace him. New parishes were erected during 1866 and 1867, but Beaudry sent a memorandum to Rome stating that the necessary steps in the erection of the new parishes had not been followed. In this he had the support of the marguilliers or churchwardens. The Episcopal team of Grand-Vicaire Alexis-Frédéric Truteau, the Chanoine Etienne-Hypolite Hicks, and Mgr. Joseph Desautels retorted that the marguilliers were simply the Curé's aides and had no independent position. The mémoires continued to flow back and forth.

Joseph-Ubald Beaudry took upon himself to defend the Attorney-General in his Réplique des Marguilliers de Notre-Dame de Montréal of July 19, 1867. Cherrier had dealt harshly with Cartier for daring to challenge the authority of his Bishop. Beaudry listed all the measures passed under Cartier's administration that had been favourable to the Church. A large part of the Civil Code is concerned with the practices of the Church, he added. The full document gives some idea of the complexity of the case (25).

It was impossible that Cartier's political position should not play a part in these discussions. Indeed, a letter from the Abbé Bayle, the new Superior of Saint-Sulpice, to the Bishop of May 12, 1866, takes great pains to underline the fact that it is "G. E. Cartier, l'interprète, je pense, le plus compétent pour nous renseigner en cette matière," who is the lawyer in charge of the case for the Sulpicians (26).

25. A. C. A. M., Réplique des Marguilliers de Notre-Dame de Montréal, 19 juillet, 1867. See Appendix XXXIV.

The fact that the Attorney-General's brother-in-law, Edouard-Charles Fabre, was a Chanoine Titulaire of the Diocese of Montreal at this time may well have added to the difficulties of the situation. With one brother-in-law in the opposite camp in the legal-religious front, and the other brother-in-law, Hector, editing Opposition newspapers such as L'Ordre, Le Canadien, and now L'Événement, these factors certainly had some influence on the Attorney-General and the rather bitter will that, as we have seen, he drew up on November 10, 1866, before he left for the London Conference.

As early as 1858 the firm of Cartier and Pominville acted for the Syndics in a case concerning the civil erection of the Parish of Saint-Michel de Lachine. François Pominville handled the case in Court (27).

Cartier, however, maintained official relations with the Bishop's Palace. On April 12, 1866, Mgr. Bourget wrote to him to introduce a "Mr. Marcoux, missionnaire des Sauvages Iroquois, établis à St. Régis (28)" This was probably François-Xavier Marcoux, who had been at St. Régis since 1832 (29).

On September 15, Bishop Bourget, no doubt wishing to show public solidarity, wrote to the Attorney-General asking him to be present and to

speak at a meeting in aid of the "Emprunt Romain (30)." Cartier replied with an offering, but excused himself from the meeting. The Bishop carefully acknowledged the subscription (31).

The case of the extradition of Lamirande, the Bank Manager from Poitiers, France, who had falsified the books and escaped with 700,000 francs, occupied the press towards the end of August and became a political football with the *Herald*, Judge Lewis-Thomas Drummond, and Joseph Doutre against *La Minerve*, T. K. Ramsay (Crown Prosecutor and later Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench) and the Attorney-General himself (32). Pominville and Bétournay were retained to look after the interests of the French Government in the case (33).

On September 5, *La Minerve* announced that George-Etienne Cartier was leaving that day for Kingston. On September 1, Cartier had written to Macdonald saying that he had received an invitation to attend a banquet in honour of Kingston's most distinguished citizen and would be pleased to accept. Cartier explained that he had just returned the day before from the Saguenay and that he was in better health; his eyesight especially had improved. Perhaps this reflected the first signs of the Bright's disease that was finally to kill him nearly seven years later. More likely

32. *La Minerve*, 28 août, 1866.
it was simply exhaustion resulting from an extraordinarily busy schedule. The worries of the Sulpicians were piled on top of the troubles that arose during the session, the Fenians, and preparations for England. The Attorney-General East went to Kingston and replied to a toast to the Government. The attacks of the Globe against Macdonald had become very personal, taking issue with the drinking habits of the Attorney-General West and Minister of Militia, especially at a time when Canada's safety was being threatened. Cartier received loud applause when he congratulated the "intelligent population of Kingston" on their member and added: "Plus son représentant déploie de patriotisme en servant la cause de notre commune patrie, plus elle se groupe autour de lui pour le soutenir contre les attaques de quelque lieu qu'elles viennent (34)." La Minerve took up the defence of John A. in strong terms, including some instructions to future biographers of both Macdonald and of Brown:

"Le Globe reproche à Macdonald une habitude assurément déplorable, bien qu'elle lui soit commune avec plusieurs des plus célèbres hommes d'état d'Angleterre et des États-Unis. Mais quand il s'agit d'apprécier la conduite d'un homme politique, il nous semble qu'on ne peut blâmer telle ou telle habitude qu'en autant qu'elle influe sur ses actes publics. Or, cette habitude, que la feuille de M. Brown reproche avec tant d'amertume à M. Macdonald, n'a pas empêché ce dernier de déployer en parlement, en toute circonstance, une sagacité, une pénétration qui l'ont fait réputer notre plus habile tacticien parlementaire, et, dans le conseil des ministres, ce n'est pas M. Brown, à coup sûr, qui ait jamais fait preuve d'un pareil esprit d'initiative ou d'une égale sûreté de jugement."

Having clarified its bias La Minerve charged valiantly ahead!

34. La Minerve, 7 sept; Tassé, Discours..., p. 504.
L'historien qui voudrait mettre en regard la vie politique de ces deux hommes serait bien plutôt porté à croire que c'est M. Brown qui, durant toute sa carrière, a manqué de sobriété. Sa conduite irréfléchie en maintes et maintes occasions, ses manières pleines de rudesse, ses impétuosités hors de raison, en un mot, ses coups de tête qui l'ont rendu une impossibilité gouvernementale ont été de nature à faire douter plus d'une fois de l'état normal de ses facultés. Un homme constamment ivre aurait eu peine à faire plus de bévues que M. Brown n'en a faites depuis qu'il se mêle de politique. Est-ce bien à un tel homme qu'il appartient de se dire scandalisé des peccadiles de ses collègues (35)"

The attacks of the press were directed towards the Attorney-General East also. François Evanturel in Le Canadien discharged cannon upon cannon against the iron chief from Montreal:

"Cet homme foudroyant, on ne le sait que trop, ne veut ni consulter son parti, ni le renseigner sur sa politique, et le plus souvent ses propres collègues eux-mêmes apprennent au dernier moment et par hasard les intentions politiques de ce maître et souverain juge. Quant aux députés qui l'ap­puient si fidèlement, il ne s'en inquiète jamais, bien certain qu'il est, que ceux-ci ne lui font jamais défaut (36)."

When a Minister is under attack an excellent response is for a group of his friends and supporters to hold a banquet in his honour. John A. had his turn in September. The next month came Cartier's fête. On October 8 a deputation of twenty notables of Montreal led by the Mayor, Henry Starnes, Cartier's friend from school days who had sat with him in the Assembly, visited the Attorney-General's Law Office. They requested the

35. La Minerve, 7 sept.
36. Ibid., 17 sept.
somewhat beleaguered Bleu leader to be the guest of honour at a banquet to be held on October 30th (37).

*La Minerve* of October 15 brings us the full text of a very good speech given before the *Institut des Artisans Canadiens* by Hector Fabre. Usually hidden by the anonymity of newspaper editorials where it is hard to be sure of the identity of the author, it is interesting to see a verbatim report of the views of this certainly very erudite man, whatever his relationship with his brother-in-law (38).

Preparations for the departure of the delegates to the London Conference were well under way. It was announced that Messrs. John A. Macdonald, McDougall, and Langevin would leave on November 7, while Messrs. Cartier, Howland and Galt would leave on the 14th (39). A simple paragraph in the same issue stated that: "La question de l'éducation a reçu une attention spéciale, dans l'assemblée des ministres, et l'on est venu à une entente qui donnera satisfaction aux catholiques comme aux protestants du Bas-Canada."

Such an "entente" had been reached, but only after Cartier had persuaded his friend from Sherbrooke that his presence in London was necessary. Lord Monck wrote to Macdonald on October 9 that he understood from the

Premier that Galt "has been for the last two days in communication with Cartier at Montreal and that the results promise to be satisfactory (40)."

The pressure on Cartier to accommodate Galt's wishes was extraordinary but he was in an extremely difficult position. Neither side would give an inch. Cartier went down to Quebec on Friday night, October 12, arriving back in Montreal on the Sunday and carrying on to Ottawa for a Cabinet meeting.

The banquet of the 30th was approaching. Tickets were going fast, but could still be obtained from the Gazette or La Minerve (41). Unfortunately, another dinner in Hamilton on the 29th and an official funeral for an army officer in Quebec kept some of the more glittering guests away. However, the St. Lawrence Hall held two hundred and fifty men who ate turtle soup, lobster, salmon, beef, venison, oysters, lamb, fowl, ham, etc., washed down by champagne, claret, and a moselle. Sir John Michel, the commander of the Forces; General Lindsay; Thomas d'Arcy McGee; John Rose; J-A Chapleau; C. J. Brydges; Maurice Cuvillier; and many members of both houses of the legislature, were among the guests. A very flattering toast was proposed by Mayor Starnes:

"Ce soir vous êtes réunis dans le seul but de rendre hommage à ses vertus civiques et à ses services, et vous, ses compatriotes, ses électeurs, vous proclamez de la sorte que, pour les services qu'il n'a cessé de vous rendre et qui ont rendu la Confédération possible, il a bien mérité

41. La Minerve, 20 oct.
de son pays (42)."

The Guest of Honour replied in French, giving a good description in his own words of his political career to date. One paragraph is slightly depressing, with the hindsight that is now available. The Bleu leader, in typically brusque style, states: "Je me présente devant vous, non comme un homme usé mais après dix-huit années de carrière parlementaire, dont dix années de carrière officielle, prêt à travailler comme au premier jour." The Guest of Honour talked at length of his connection with railway developments; the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic; the Grand Trunk, and the Victoria Bridge. Next came education with statistics about the increased number of schools, better education and normal schools. As Procureur-Général, Cartier listed codification, decentralization of justice and the organization of the legal system in the Townships as accomplishments of which he was particularly proud. As Prime Minister, Cartier was responsible for the first official proposal of a Confederation of British North America and for the construction of an Intercolonial Railway. During the same period, the abolition of Seignorial Tenure took place and numerous improvements in the structure of the courts as well. Finally, the Minister mentioned the coalition with George Brown in 1864 that had made the passage of the Resolution for Confederation possible.

On the subject of religion and of race his words are of interest.

42. Ibid., 31 oct.
"Vous savez que je suis catholique; j'aime ma religion, la croyant la meilleure; mais tout en me disant hautement catholique, je crois de mon devoir comme homme public de respecter la sincérité et les convictions religieuses des autres. Je suis aussi Canadien-français, comme un grand nombre de ceux que je vois autour de moi. J'aime ma race, j'ai pour elle une prédilection bien naturelle assurément; mais, comme politique et comme citoyen, j'aime aussi les autres."

Having dwelt for several minutes on the equality to be achieved for the minorities in both Upper and Lower Canada, Cartier gave some advice to his own people that explains clearly his own views.

"Les Canadiens-Français ne doivent pas avoir peur des Anglais. Après tout, ils ne sont pas si effrayants. Admirez plutôt leur énergie et leur persévérance, imitons-les. Pour être d'excellents Canadiens-Français, il faut posséder avec les qualités de notre race, les meilleures de celles des Canadiens-Anglais. Nous descendons en partie des Normands, et les Anglais possèdent aussi, infusé dans leurs veines, du sang de cette race héroïque, depuis les jours de Guillaume le Conquérant."

These are certainly not the phrases of one who wishes the assimilation of the French race in Canada.

On the subject of political institutions, Cartier repeated his oft-expressed preference for the British model.

"C'est le seul gouvernement au monde qui, tout en utilisant l'élément démocratique, a su le tenir dans les limites raisonnables. L'élément démocratique a une heureuse action dans la sphère politique, lorsqu'il est balancé par une autre force. Nous avons cet avantage sur nos voisins les Américains, qui ont la démocratie extrême. Il n'en est
pas autrement dans l'ordre politique que dans l'ordre physique. Il faut que la force centripète soit en raison de la force centrifuge (43)."

It is perhaps unusual today for a man to spend so much time at a public gathering talking about himself but in 1866 it was quite expected, and it was certainly in character with the Guest of Honour of this occasion. Who better could explain his own accomplishments than George-Etienne Cartier himself?

Just as the first delegates were leaving Canada for London, the Rouges made a last attempt to forestall the inevitable. An Anti-Confederation Manifesto was drawn up and sent to Lord Carnarvon. The expected names were there: A-A Dorion, L. H. Holton, L. S. Huntington, Maurice Laframboise, J-B-E Dorion, J-E Thibideau, Joseph Perrault, James O'Halloran, Félix Geoffrion, Louis Labrèche-Viger, etc., a total of twenty, and all of them members of the Assembly. The text is of interest as it shows the sentiments of an important section of Lower-Canadian opinion and shows some realization of the problems of the years to come (44). The same objectives that had been raised repeatedly in the Confederation Debates of the previous year and in Antoine-Aimé Dorion's letter to his electors were again set out in full (45).

43. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 509-515; La Minerve, 31 oct.
44. La Minerve, 2 nov.
45. Ibid.
The day after the Manifesto was announced, J-B-E Dorion "l'enfant terrible de l'annexion" died suddenly (46). Member for Drummond and Arthabaska for eight years, one of the founders of L'Avenir in Montreal, and of Le Défricheur of Arthabaskaville, Jean-Baptiste-Eric Dorion, the younger brother of Antoine-Aimé, had been President of the Institut Canadien for several years. He had clashed with Cartier on several occasions. The two men were small in stature but big in the forcefulness with which they held and expressed their views. Dorion was, more than his older brother, an unrepentant advanced liberal - he advocated universal suffrage, vote by ballot, an elected magistrature, an elected Upper House, and many other measures that certainly classified him as an advanced Republican. An exposé of what he understood as Liberalism was given by Louis-Antoine Dessaulles on his assumption of the Presidency of the Institut Canadien on December 17, 1866. Speaking of the views of the Government he said "... l'idée en un mot que le peuple seul a des droits et le gouvernement seul des devoirs, au point de vue de l'organisation politique de la communauté, est la pire des hérésies politiques (47)." Certainly the members of the Institut were tenacious.

Cabinet meetings were held both in Montreal and in Ottawa in an effort to prepare for the period when six of the key ministers - or rather five as Galt was no longer a Minister - were absent (48). Langevin and

46. Ibid.
47. Annuaire de l'Institut Canadien pour 1866, Montréal, Le Pays, 1866.
48. La Minerve, 3, 7 et 8 nov.
McDougall left for Boston on the 5th.

November 12 saw the departure of George-Etienne Cartier from Montreal accompanied by P-J-O Chauveau. They went to Boston where they would meet the other delegates, and thence to London. The Vermont Central Railway supplied the Minister with a special car, divided into a living-room and sleeping compartments (49). Like most Ministers of the Crown in his time and since, the Montreal lawyer-politician - co-founder of a nation enjoyed the small extras that sometimes were available to him. Despite a rumour that their ship had been captured by Fenians, McDougall and Langevin arrived at Liverpool on November 16, followed by their colleagues on the 24th (50). Gordon Brown, the brother of George Brown and his colleague on The Globe, was in Europe and was able to send reports by telegraph to his paper. La Minerve was not to be outdone. Elzéar Gérin, the younger brother of Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, the author, left Quebec on November 24 on the Nova Scotian to cover the London Conference for the Bleu mouthpiece in Montreal (51). Lord Monck sailed on December 12 from New York in order to be close at hand for the final scenes of the Confederation negotiations (52).

49. Ibid., 13 nov.
50. Ibid., 26 nov.
51. Ibid., 24 nov.
52. Ibid., 10 déc.
On December 8 the Correspondance Editoriale of La Minerve datelined London admitted that it was hard to give too much news as the sessions were held in secret (53). They had started on December 4th, when John A. Macdonald was elected Chairman. The Maritime Delegates must have despairsed of the arrival of their Canadian colleagues, but now there was work to be done. The Resolutions must be presented to the Colonial Secretary before Christmas. Gérin mentioned that Cartier, Macdonald, and Galt had been invited to go to Lord Carnarvon's country home. The three Canadians enjoyed their short stay at Highclere Castle, and averted a near disaster by putting out a fire in John A's room late on the evening of their return to the Westminster Palace Hotel (54).

According to the very sparse records available, Cartier and Langevin passed on to the Delegates the opinions of Archbishop Connolly of Halifax and of Bishop Horan of Kingston. The two clerics were in London at least partly to keep an eye on the proceedings of the Conference, particularly from the point of view of the Catholic minorities in Upper Canada and in the Maritime Provinces. Gérin wrote from London on December 20 that relations between the ecclesiastics and the politicians were excellent (55). Writing to his brother Jean, the Principal of the Laval Normal School,

53. Ibid., 15 déc.
55. La Minerve, 4 janv. 1867.
Hector Langevin remarked that the Archbishop of Halifax was very much in view. He was described as very intelligent and capable but an incessant talker. Further, Langevin added, "Le moi chez lui est très prononcé."
The Lower-Canadian delegate then added his evaluation of all the delegates to the conference. Macdonald, he said, "est un fin renard. C'est un homme très instruit, insinuant, habile et très populaire. C'est l'homme de la conférence." Proceeding down the list he said: "Cartier et moi, nous sommes Nos. 2 & 3 (56)."

The account of the London Conference published by Joseph Pope makes a very few references to the contributions of the Lower-Canadian leader. On Thursday, December 13, the plan proposed by Cartier and Langevin to divide up the Senate seats available for Prince Edward Island between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was discussed. It was a complicated device specifying that if the Island entered Confederation, it would be given back its Senate seats as vacancies occurred. The idea was to keep the total representation from the Maritimes at the fixed number of twenty-four (57). On the same day the problem of a fixed number of Senators - 72 - was discussed. Carnarvon had raised this question, believing that it could well lead to an impossible situation if the two Houses came into direct conflict. It was finally decided on February 2nd, 1867 that, on the advice of the Governor-General, the Government could appoint either three or six new Senators, thus preserving the geographic balance.

57. Pope, Confederation Documents, pp. 115.-119.
The Education question was finally resolved in a rather vague section which appeared reasonably just in print, but which did not work out in practice:

"Education - saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority in any Province at the time when this Act came into operation. And in any Province where a system of separate or dissentient schools by law obtains, or where the Legislature may thereafter adopt a system of separate or dissentient schools, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General from the acts and decisions of the Local Authorities which affect the rights and privileges of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority in the matter of education, and the Parliament shall have power, in the last resort, to legislate on the subject (58)."

This was the form in the sixty-nine resolutions presented to Carnarvon on December 24, 1866. By the time it became Section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867, it had been divided up and translated even further into legalese (59).

Another item of interest to Cartier was Section 44 in the "Rough Draft." There it read:

"44. The English and French languages may both be employed in Parliament, and in its proceedings, and in the Legislature and Courts of Lower Canada, and also in the Courts of the Confederation which may be established under this Act (60)."

This appeared in the B.N.A. Act as Clause 133:

58. Ibid., p. 134.


"Either the English or the French language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the House of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages (61)."

Speaking in the House of Lords on February 22, 1867, Lord Carnarvon declared:

"The question which really divides the Protestants and Catholics is that of public instruction. Article 93 was adopted following a long discussion during which all opinions were expressed. The object of this article is to protect the minority against all abusive pressure on the part of the majority. It has been drafted in a manner to place all minorities, no matter to what religion they may belong, on a footing of absolute equality, whether these minorities exist in fact or in a possible state ('in esse' or 'in posse') (62)."

Despite the assertions of the Noble Lord, great difficulties were to arise from this section.

A question that has obviously tantalized several writers is this: Did John A. Macdonald make a final bid for a legislative union at some time during the London Conference? The question was raised by Elzéar Gérin in Le Constitutionnel of Three Rivers on May 26, 1873, and elsewhere. Gérin's account of Cartier's part in the London negotiations is of great interest.

61. Ollivier, op. cit., p. 96
"C'est durant les conférences de Londres de 1866 et 67 que celui qui trace ces lignes a vu l'homme à l'oeuvre et a pu juger de près de l'élévation de ses idées politiques, de son patriotism ardent, sincère et profond et de son activité incomparable. La tâche était rude à Londres pour Cartier. Ce n'est plus dévoiler un secret que de dire que dans les conférences de Londres, tous les délégués du Haut-Canada, des Provinces Maritimes et avec eux Galt désiraient l'union législative et voulaient que Lord Carnarvon, alors Ministre des Colonies, rédigeât en conséquence le projet de loi qu'il devait présenter au Parlement. Devant un danger aussi immé­nent, Cartier trouva moyen de se multiplier. Il n'aurait jamais voulu qu'on manquât ainsi de parole à ses compatriotes; il n'aurait jamais voulu les livrer ainsi pieds et poings liés à la majorité brutale dans une union législative. Devant les instances des autres délégués, Cartier avait même déclaré qu'il aviserais le Premier Ministre, Sir Narcisse Belleau, de dissou­dre le Cabinet plutôt que de se soumettre. Et alors la Confédération était manquée et tout était à re­commencer comme en 1864. C'était une rude extrémité. Aussi Cartier préféra-t-il auparavant essayer de mettre dans ses idées les hommes influents de la Cour et du Parlement. Il trouva moyen d'être invité dans presque toutes les familles aristocrates de Londres, et chez la bourgeoisie qui prenait intérêt aux choses de la politique. Tous les jours il avait trois ou quatre invitations à dîner; autant pour déjeuner, et un peu plus pour la soirée. Il les acceptait toutes, se ren­dant dans chacune de ces maisons, où il était invité, faisant semblant de manger, et trouvant moyen de causer des deux grandes questions qui le préoccupaient, la Confédération, et les droits de la Province de Québec dans cette Confédération.

Par ce moyen il ne tarda pas à lasser la persistance des autres délégués. C'est ainsi qu'il fournit à lord Carnarvon les traités et les capitulations qui assurèrent nos droits d'une manière imprescriptible et le Ministre des Colonies s'appuya sur ces documents historiques pour justifier l'indépendance des Provinces.

Ceux qui ont accusé Cartier d'avoir trahi ses compatriotes, ont commis une grande erreur et une grande injustice. Il était au-dessus des préjugés qui naissent des diffé­rences de races ou de religions; mais il n'aurait jamais toléré une injustice envers ses compatriotes. Jamais caractère ne fut plus étranger aux passions qui enfantent la trahison (63)."

63. Elzéar Gérin dans George-Etienne Cartier, Centennaire, pp. 81-82.
Boyd characteristically could not believe that such a thing could happen. He was fortunate in being able to talk to the only surviving Father of Confederation at the time of the centenary of Cartier's birth, Sir Charles Tupper. Tupper declared that no such event took place during the deliberations of the Delegates. Perhaps, but one does not have to be too much of a skeptic not to say that of course any such attempt would take place outside the Conference Room until some chance of success was assured. Boyd quotes the Hon. Thomas Chapais, the son-in-law of Sir Hector Langevin, on the subject:

"In answer to your enquiry I must say that Sir Hector Langevin in his conversations on confederation never said anything which would lead me to believe that an attempt took place in London to change the proposed federal into a legislative union. I think that if such a momentous incident had occurred he would have mentioned it or hinted at it occasionally, which he never did. My father (Hon. J. C. Chapais), who was a member of the Canadian Government at that time, though not present at the London Conference, would have been in a position to know something about a crisis of that nature, and he never intimated anything of the kind. It seems to me that there is no historical foundation for such a story, though, as you say, it has been often repeated (64)."

Boyd further quotes A. D. De Celles, the Librarian of Parliament, who had asked Langevin if there was any truth in Gérin's statement and received a negative answer. De Celles however quotes the story in his volume on Cartier as fact and adds that "A gentleman now on the staff of an important paper in Montreal and once his (Cartier's) confidential adviser, confirmed

64. Boyd, _op. cit._ p. 272.
this statement to the writer (65)." The person referred to is undoubtedly Clément-Arthur Dansereau, of La Presse.

A member of the Cartier family, Louis-Joseph Cartier of Saint-Antoine, simply recalled that his cousin had talked of the possibility of some move being made to change the basis of federation at the eleventh hour (66). Gérin himself, in writing from London on December 27, 1866, said:

"Ce qui ne se dément pas non plus, c'est la constantem harmonie qui a régné entre les délégués des diverses provinces, depuis la première séance de la conférence, jusqu'à la dernière. Sur toutes les questions débattues jusqu'à ce jour, les délégués sont arrivés à une entente parfaite (67)."

In a brochure, Le Subside Fédéral, by Alphonse Lessard, the author states:

"De plus, ce n'est maintenant un secret pour personne que durant l'automne de 1866, à Londres où les délégués du gouvernement canadien s'étaient rendus pour faire accepter la nouvelle constitution par les autorités impériales, J. A. Macdonald faillit à ce sujet faire faux bond à Cartier et ce ne fut que sur les menaces de celui-ci de revenir et de soulever le Bas-Canada, que le chef haut-canadien encouragé par Galt, cessa ses intrigues auprès de Downing Street. Une conférence faite dernièrement à Toronto par Sir Richard Cartwright et qui eut beaucoup de retentissement, fait clairement voir le double jeu du vieux chef tory à cette époque (68)."

65. Alfred D. De Celles, Sir George-Etienne Cartier, pp. 102-103.


67. La Minerve, 14 janv. 1867.

The most convincing positive evidence is a report of a conversation in 1872 between Louis Archambault, then federal member for L'Assomption, and George-Etienne Cartier. This notarized statement by a close friend of Cartier's, which appeared in La Patrie of February 18, 1887, certainly deserves some attention (69). It must be remembered, however, that 1887 was a year of very high emotional tension between Ontario and Quebec and Archambault's wrath over Macdonald's recent action or rather inaction with regard to Louis Riel could well have coloured his memory of earlier events.

The Chanoine Lionel Groulx rather puckishly mentioned the reports of such an occurrence and leaves the matter there. When this distinguished historian was asked in 1961 and again in 1966 if he was aware of any proof one way or the other to this story, he laughingly replied that he was not (70). Groulx published two letters received, one from Sir Horace Archambault, son of the Hon. Louis Archambault, and himself Chief Justice of the Province of Quebec; and from Antonio Perrault, son of J-S-X Perrault, the M.P. for Charlevoix from 1879-1881. Both stated that their fathers believed the account as stated by Gérin and repeated by the elder Archambault himself, but that neither could recall any letter or other document from Cartier on the subject (71).

69. La Patrie, 18 fév. 1887. See Appendix XXXV.
70. Letter from Canon Lionel Groulx to H. B. M. Best, 18 oct. 1966.
71. Lionel Groulx, La Confédération Canadienne et Ses Origines, Montréal, Le Devoir, 1918, p. 82.
As to what conclusion one should draw from this evidence, some attempt or suggestion for a last minute change must have been made. Did Cartier really write to Sir Narcisse Belleau? No letter has been unearthed, although there is one letter in the Cartier Papers from the Premier to the Attorney-General East with a postscript to the effect that he had just received a letter from London, dated January 7. Perhaps the National Film Board scene in the film on Cartier's life, in which Macdonald half jocularly suggests a legislative union as he and Cartier are about to join the other delegates for the last drafting session is as possible as any that can be reconstructed from the available facts (72).

On January 9, the North American Delegates were received by the Canada Club of London. Lord Carnarvon spoke at length before a distinguished audience (73). Speaking before the same Club at their Dominion Day Banquet on July 1, 1914, the Nationalist chief of his day Henri Bourassa, spoke about Confederation and Cartier's part in it.

"It should not be forgotten that if Cartier's co-operation made confederation possible, it was because Cartier was able to point out to those of his race and creed that the law which made it impossible for a worthy people to live on a footing of equality with the other nationalities and races in the British Empire was past; and confederation meant not only an agreement entered into between the representatives of three or four scattered colonies of British North America, but something much more. It meant something of far greater consequence, not only in Canada,

72. National Film Board, "Cartier"
73. La Minerve, 25 janv. 1867.
but throughout the world. It meant that at last on the northern continent of America the descendants of two great nations and races which had disputed the power of trade and war all over the world had found a ground of agreement, of mutual respect and equality before the law and under the prestige of the British Crown. No confederation could have endured unless the basic principle was acknowledged for all time to come, that in the Dominion of Canada there was not only an English-speaking community, but primarily, and before all, a community of Anglo-French preserving the traditions, the noble traditions, the illuminating thoughts and aspirations of those great nations who have done so much to make the modern world what it is (74)."

This was indeed what Cartier tried to point out to his own people but the vessel of Confederation, although seaworthy, was not devoid of leaks.

The press continued to speculate on the events in London. The Opposition papers had a fairly free rein, suggesting all sorts of dark things about French-Canadian and Catholic rights being taken away. The ministerial editors simply could assure their readers that all was well. Even the London correspondent of *La Minerve* found it difficult to send any very startling dispatches.

Whether the dispatch from Lord Carnarvon to George Dundas, the Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, would be well or poorly received might be a matter for discussion because of the debatable reference to "généreuse confiance," but *La Minerve* published it on February 25 as a mark of the good impression made on the British Statesmen by Cartier and Langevin. Carnarvon said:

"Mais les difficultés qui se trouvent, de beaucoup, les plus graves, ont été surmontées par la sagesse et l'ampleur de vues des hommes publics du Bas-Canada, qui se sont montrés disposés à concilier les intérêts de leurs institutions et de leurs coutumes avec une généreuse confiance dans l'esprit de justice et de libéralité de leurs concitoyens plus nombreux d'origine anglaise (75)."

On January 15 Cartier left London for Rome. He had an audience with the Pope, and returned to London within ten days. On his return he wrote a letter to the Abbé Louis-Nazaire Bégin, a recently ordained priest studying at the Gregorian University in Rome. Cartier did not know the future Cardinal but asked him if he would speak to the Abbé Thomas Chandonnet, also of the Diocese of Quebec, about letters addressed in the latter's care. These letters were "pour être remises à Mlle Luce Cuvillier et Mlle Clara Symes, du Canada, qui doivent arriver à Rome le 2 février prochain ou vers ce temps avec Monsieur M. Cuvillier." Thus Luce Cuvillier and her companion were travelling in Europe. Cartier added that the two ladies had "des lettres pour le Cardinal Barnabo" and other persons of note (76). Little did the young priest know that he was being asked to speed correspondence from the Minister to the woman around whom so much controversy was to swirl.

Writing on January 17, Gérin complained of the sphinx-like silence of the Ministers but gave his impressions of the political climate in

75. La Minerve, 25 fév.
76. A. A. Q., Fonds L-N Bégin, Cartier à Bégin, 27 janvier, 1867.
London. He predicted that the British North America Act would pass through both Houses at Westminster without undue trouble (77). On January 30 several of the delegates, including Cartier, Macdonald, Langevin, and McDougall, were present at a banquet given by the City of Portsmouth to Lord Monck. In replying to the Health to the British North American Colonies proposed by Lord Bury, Cartier spoke of the hopes of the people of British North America for the benefits that Confederation would bring to them (78).

Gérin reported that the delegates were invited many places as they had been in 1865. On January 24, Cartier was received by "The Treasurer and Masters of the Bench of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple (79)." The Athenaeum Club extended its privileges to the Colonial Minister (80). Galt wrote peevishly to his wife that "Cartier devotes himself so much to society that we do not get much work out of him (81)." Sour grapes over an invitation not received or a true statement? It is difficult to judge.

Giving the news from home, Premier Belleau wrote on January 29 from Quebec City. He finished with some rather amusing comments about General Sir John Michel, the Administrator in the absence of Lord Monck:

77. *La Minerve*, 5 fév. 1867.
78. Tassé, *Discours...*, pp. 518-519; *La Minerve*, 20 fév.
"Ici les affaires vont bien, de façon à vous laisser dormir tranquillement de l'autre côté de l'océan. Sir John est parfois anxieux et nerveux, alors il me fait monter à Montréal où après quelques visites et explications, il entre de nouveau dans son état normal, content et satisfait. Avec Sir John il faut dire comme lui un peu, puis on discute sans paraître vouloir l'influencer, et petit à petit, il finit en être de votre avis. Pour qui le connait, il est facile de le guider et il est aisé de saisir son caractère (82)."

The British North America Act was presented in the House of Lords on February 12, received approval in the Commons on March 4, and Royal Assent on March 29. The passage was amazingly swift, not so much because of the attacks of those in the British House who were adverse to its clauses – especially the guarantee of the Intercolonial – or those who might have been converted by the anti-confederationists Joseph Howe or William Annand; rather the problem was the uncertainties of British Politics and the fate of the Imperial Parliament because of the Reform Bill.

Despite the fact that his relations with the Bishop of Montreal were undoubtedly strained the Attorney-General did not neglect to send him a copy of the British North America Bill. Mgr. Bourget replied with some polite phrases of thanks (83).

The Globe was the first to publish a draft of the bill in Canada. This appears to have been the fourth draft, the one preceding the final draft. Thus clause 91, La Minerve commented upon on February 27, became clause 101.

82. F. S. C., p. 66.

in the Final Draft, and finally the clause 93 in the Act as passed by Parliament (84). The rumour factory in Montreal was working overtime. One batch was published on March 14. Among other things both Cartier and Macdonald were said to have been knighted (85). Also John A. Macdonald was said to have remarried. This, at least, was true. On February 16, in the middle of the period of watching and waiting for the British North American Bill to make its way through Parliament, John A. Macdonald was married to Miss Susan Agnes Bernard, the sister of Major Hewitt Bernard, the Secretary at both the Quebec and the London Conferences. Cartier was among those present at the service in Saint George's Church, Hanover Square (86).

The Press were busy comparing the Quebec Resolutions with the Act that passed the British Parliament. A minute examination by Gérin was very instructive, arriving at the conclusion that no vital point affecting Lower Canada had been changed (87). The verbatim reports of the Debate in the British Parliament were reported in Canada. Langevin wrote to his mother explaining that he thought he was obliged to stay and see the bill through the British House as Cartier was so on the move. "Il est vrai que M. Cartier est là, mais entre nous, souvent quand il est là il n'est pas ici, et comme j'ai

84. Pope, Confederation Documents, pp. 201, 236, 271.
85. La Minerve, 4 mars.
86. Ibid., 6 mars.
87. Ibid., 13 mars.
comme lui une responsabilité et comme mon avenir politique dépend entièrement du succès de la mesure, je pense que j'aurai à prolonger mon séjour un peu (88)."

The Delegates started to return. Galt and Langevin left on March 9 (89). Cartier stayed on for some time in London, and went to Rome, where he discussed the question of the division of the Parish of Notre-Dame de Montréal, then on to Paris to see the Exposition (90). He also attended a dinner given by the Prince Napoleon (91). In London he had been presented to the Queen, dined with the Prince of Wales, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Messrs. Derby, Gladstone, etc (92). There is no record whether the presence of Mlle. Cuvillier in Europe influenced his date of return to Canada.

The Canadian press carried on exchanges about what honours — if any — would be conferred on whom, what posts would be offered to whom, and many other details (93). Hector Fabre returned to journalism with the appearance of his own paper, L'Événement. He expressed the intention of being entirely independent and responsible to no one. This laudable

89. La Minerve, 16 mars.
90. A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 17 avril, 1867.
91. F. S. C., p. 66.
92. La Minerve, 22 mars.
93. Ibid., 22 avril.
aim was difficult to carry out, especially at a time when the number of newspapers in Lower Canada was very great. La Minerve, however, welcomed the new arrival to the newspaper world, if not with open arms at least cordially. The Editor was referred to as "un écrivain de style (94)."

Finally, on May 16, the arrival of the Hibernian at Pointe-aux-Pères, with George-Etienne Cartier aboard, was announced. News of demonstrations to greet his arrival was promised for the next issue (95). The same day he was at Quebec. The next morning he left Pointe-Lévis by the Grand Trunk for Montreal. La Minerve of May 18, the day of the Proclamation of the Dominion of Canada, gave a full report of the triumphal progress of the leader of Lower Canada into Confederation. Leaving Quebec City at six in the morning, he was greeted all along the route by crowds of well-wishers. Addresses were presented, speeches made, and the Volunteer artillery fired volleys in his honour. Arthabaska, Victoriaville, and Acton in turn lionized the returning nation-builder. At Saint-Hyacinthe, Cartier replied to an address presented to him with a report of the interest he found in the Canadian Confederation while visiting France.

"... je puis vous dire qu'en France on prend un grand intérêt à ce noyau de Français qui, si loin de l'ancienne mère-patrie, conservent intact le dépôt de ses traditions... On comprend, en France, que la Confédération est pour les colonies de l'Amérique britannique du Nord le seul moyen d'échapper à l'annexion aux États-Unis..."

94. Ibid., 15 mai.
95. Ibid., 16 mai.
Commenting on the reaction in France to the means by which the new regime was reached, Cartier continued:

"Ils s'étonnent singulièrement de ce que, étant de même race qu'eux, nous ayons pu accomplir comme nous l'avons fait un acte sans pareille dans l'histoire, c'est-à-dire que nous ayons pu traverser une grande révolution politique sans verser un peu de sang dont ils sont si prodigues (96)."

At seven o'clock that evening, a crowd of between two and three thousand people awaited the arrival of the member for Montreal East at Bonaventure Station. Mayor Henry Starnes presented an address to which Cartier replied at some length. Thanking the Mayor for his complimentary words, Cartier said that although there might be others who possessed similar qualities as politicians "je ne me reconnais pas de supérieurs pour la sincérité, pour l'honneur, pour l'intérêt que je porte à mon pays."

Speaking of Confederation the determined politician said: "Avec toute la fermeté et toute l'énergie dont je suis capable, j'ai marché vers le but que je voulais atteindre et je l'ai atteint." Cartier in a few words gave what must be considered as a very clear description of the forces that led him to believe that Confederation could be just and right for French Canada when he said:

"Messieurs, je suis catholique et Canadien-Français, et je n'ai jamais oublie les devoirs que m'imposent ces deux titres. Mais aussi j'ai toujours eu pour principe qu'un homme politique, dans le Bas-Canada, ne devait pas seulement

se dévouer aux intérêts de ses coreligionnaires. Dans un pays composé de races hétérogènes, professant des croyances différentes, il faut que tous les droits soient sauvegardés, que toutes les convictions soient respectées. Le Canada doit être un pays, non de licence, mais de liberté, et toutes les libertés doivent être protégées par la loi. (Applaudissements). Tels sont les principes, qui m'ont guidé dans le passé, et qui me guideront dans l'avenir (97).”

The busy Minister took a few days in Montreal to catch up with legal and political matters. During his absence Pominville and Bétournay had been busy. Among other matters they had handled two court cases for Cuvillier and Co., one involving non-payment by a customer who had bought $13,000. worth of wheat (98). Cartier went to Lennoxville on May 22 for a banquet in honour of Alexander Galt. In replying to the toast to the Government, he spoke glowingly of the man in whose honour the banquet was held, and did not fail to give assurances to Protestants and Catholics alike that their rights and privileges would be safeguarded. Speaking of the new constitution the Minister said that he hoped it would "durer plus d'un siècle sans subir d'atteintes et de mutilations, sans donner lieu à des scissions comme la constitution américaine." He added: "Oui, j'espère, que si d'ici à quatre-vingts ans, il devenait nécessaire de la retoucher, ce ne serait pas pour restreindre les principes d'équité qui en sont la base, mais bien pour les étendre davantage, encore, et pour grandir la Confédération (99)."

97. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 525-528, La Minerve, 18 mai.
Leaving Montreal on the morning of the 25th, the French-Canadian leader went to Ottawa, where he was again received by a large crowd, addresses, and more speeches. Cartier spoke of a Canada from sea to sea and suggested that the Ottawa River could again become a major commercial route, as in the days of the fur trade. Speaking to the French Canadians who found themselves a minority in the area, the Minister said: "N'oublions pas que l'un des bienfaits de la Confédération sera de vous mettre, dans le Parlement fédéral, en contact avec le Bas-Canada, qui, d'un autre coté, va tendre une main fraternelle et protectrice vers les groupes français répandus dans toutes les provinces (100)." This aid was not always to prove efficient.

The elections for the House of Commons and for the Senate would not take place until September, but by mid-June the candidates were already beginning to test their strength (101). The names of those named Senators were issued from London on May 22 and appeared in La Minerve on June 5. The discussions that followed were long and laborious. All the Bishops of Lower Canada ordered read in each Parish during the month of June pastoral letters concerning Confederation. Paragraphs such as that which appeared in the letter of Mgr. Charles-François Baillargeon, the Archbishop of Quebec cannot have appealed to the Opposition:

100. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 540-543. La Minerve, 27 mai.
101. La Minerve, 14 juin.
"Il est peu de pays qui ait marché aussi rapidement et sûrement dans la voie du véritable progrès, et nous n'en connaissons aucun où la religion jouisse d'une aussi grande liberté, et exerce une plus large part d'influence. Tout cela est dû, après la protection du ciel, à la politique éclairée des hommes d'État qui, depuis un quart de siècle surtout, président aux destinées du pays (102)."

Médéric Lanctot, the fiery young Rouge Labour leader, announced his candidature in Montreal East against the Attorney-General (103).

Much had to be done before July 1st. The Ministers sat in Ottawa dealing with appointments and a multitude of other matters. The composition of the new Cabinet was not as easy as might have been expected. It was agreed that Quebec should have four members. Cartier rightly insisted that he, Langevin, and Chapais were few enough representatives of the French-Canadian element. Galt would represent the English Protestants. What about the Irish Catholics? McGee had no desire to give up his very sound claim. Finally a solution was found by the withdrawal of Tupper and the appointment in his stead of Edward Kenny, who possessed the twin virtues of being both Catholic and a Nova Scotian. Why Quebec did not receive five ministers as did Ontario is hard to conceive. Despite the difference in population it would indeed have been fairer if McGee had also had a Cabinet post, continuing the equality in representation of the conferences of the past three years.

George-Etienne Cartier might well have preferred to be in Montreal on

102. Turcotte, Le Canada Sous l'Union, p. 597.
103. La Minerve, 18 juin.
July 1st, 1867, but all the Ministers save the hastily summoned Kenny, were in Ottawa. *La Minerve* published a thoughtful lead editorial reflecting the importance of the occasion, and carefully examining the possibilities of the future (104).

The editorial in *La Minerve* does not compare in length with the pages of the *Globe* by George Brown in honour of the same occasion, but it was a suitable tribute. It was followed by another even more enthusiastic article the next day (105).

The shops of Montreal were closed and the streets were hung with flags. Starting at six in the morning, the cannon on Ile Sainte-Hélène boomed a salute. By nine thirty, Logan's Farm was a hive of activity with all the regular and volunteer units taking part. The Mayor and Sir John Michel arrived, the Proclamation of the new Dominion was read, and the volunteer battery fired a salute, answered by the cannon of Ile Sainte-Hélène and the guns of H.M.S. Wolverine in the harbour. The feux de joie crackled up and down the lines of the infantry. In the evening bands played in the public squares and as the sun set on Canada's natal day, a brilliant series of fireworks proclaimed the messages of the different Patriotic Societies, civic bodies and other groups, finishing at 11:30 with a crown and the words "God Save the Queen" accompanied by a "décharge simultanée de bombes, fusées, chandelles romaines, etc. La fête de la Confédération a été célébrée avec

un éclat extraordinaire. Dans les moindres détails de la fête, l'on sentait la présence de l'enthousiasme et de la joie sincère (106)."

In Ottawa there were also celebrations; Lord Monck, recently returned from England, did not wish to have a festive occasion, but the citizens were not to be denied. The Governor-General was sworn in, and then he in turn received his ministers. After these formalities Lord Monck announced that Her Majesty was pleased to confer certain decorations upon those who had brought about the new constitution. Cartier, Galt, Tupper, Tilley, McDougall, and Howland were created Companions of the Bath. Macdonald was made a Knight Commander of the Bath. The distinction was obvious. Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Cartier, until now equal at least in the eyes of the latter and of the people of Lower Canada, were to be so no longer. It was true that only one person could be Prime Minister; Monck had made this clear in a letter to Macdonald:

"In authorizing you to undertake the duty of forming an administration for the Dominion of Canada, I desire to express my strong opinion that, in future, it shall be distinctly understood that the position of First Minister shall be held by one person, who shall be responsible to the Governor-General for the appointment of the other ministers, and that the system of dual First Ministers, which has hitherto prevailed, shall be put an end to. I think this is of importance, not only with reference to the maintenance of satisfactory relations between the Governor-General and his cabinet, but also with a view to the complete consolidation of the Union which we have brought about (107)."

106. Ibid.

Despite this necessity, however, the leaders of Upper and Lower Canada had hitherto been equals and the difference in recognition could only be interpreted as a slight to the French Canadians and to their leader.

This was not an auspicious beginning. The new nation was born with an event that, perhaps not of capital importance in itself, was unfortunately an indication of the lack of understanding which, combined with condescension, have been the major causes of the disenchantment with Confederation experienced in French Canada since. The thought of annexation is no more an alternative for French Canadians now than it was in the first half of the 19th Century - this has always been the panacea of the English-speaking elements in Canada. The only other exit is separation. Destruction may be at the end of this passage, but many French Canadians are willing to take the all-or-nothing risk in order to save their identity. It is the task of the rest of Canada to persuade them that the second century of Confederation can hold the necessary guarantees.

Unfortunately we have no record of Cartier's thoughts as he made his way home the evening of July 1st. The icing had certainly been stripped from his birthday cake, and despite the added butter and sugar that go into the making of a baronetcy rather than a K.C.B., a patch job is never as good as the original.

The next day the Hon. Mr. Cartier sat down and wrote to Lord Monck expressing his views (108). He politely but firmly stated his case and

108. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1868, No. 64. See Appendix XXXVI.
refused the C.B. The French Canadians were not to be put in a lesser position than the people of Ontario. The Bleu leader was insulted and he did not take such treatment quietly (109).

The matter dragged on for some time, the means by which the records of the Order of the Bath were altered were distasteful as can be seen by the following letter to Galt:

"Thanks for your last from Sherbrooke. The matter of C.B. stands now as follows: Yesterday I sent to Lord Monck my letter of remonstrance. It is a little long, otherwise I would have copied it for you. But as I expect to see you soon, I will show it to you then. I think you will like it. In my opinion, it is, as it is said in common parlance, a poser. Lord Monck, the Duke and our co-honoured friends will not like it. I took as much as possible grievances or arguments different from yours. So our two letters will be strong and a hard thing to digest for Lord Monck and the Duke. Lord Monck has sent me this morning a short letter to tell me that he will send copy of my letter to the Duke, and in his letter Lord Monck acknowledges his mistake and regrets his not having informed me before the 1st of July of the announcement he intended to make on that day. I see that he feels very uneasy. I will show you his letters (110)."

Galt was involved in the same lengthy exchanges and he and Cartier acted in concert and apparently received some enjoyment from putting Lord Monck on the spot. Writing on January 22, Cartier examined at length the problems created by the slight he had received and concluded with a paragraph that was guaranteed to make the Queen's representative uncomfortable.

109. Ibid.

"As this letter very likely will be the last one I will have the honor to address to Your Excellency respecting the late distribution of honors in Canada, I would be wanting in my duty towards Your Lordship, if I did not take this opportunity to express to Your Lordship, for your own information, and for the information of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, that the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, formerly Lower Canada, of all creeds and races, feel deeply that justice was not awarded to their political leader in that distribution of honors. I am further bound to state to Your Lordship, that the feelings of one million of French Canadians, of whom I have the honor to be the Representative man, have been deeply wounded not only by the position assigned to me in that distribution of honors, but also by the omission in it of the name of my worthy Colleague, the Honorable Mr. Langevin, and that these wounded feelings will, I am afraid, for some time to come, be transmitted from generation to generation. I must also express, in conclusion, to Your Lordship, that the late distribution of honors will always be remembered, throughout the Dominion, as an unfortunate incident in the inauguration of our new political system (111)."

It was not until April 22, 1868, that reparation was made and Lord Monck announced that Her Majesty graciously wished to create Mr. Cartier a Baronet. In the meantime, Dr. Tupper had intervened in the matter to good effect with the Duke of Buckingham, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Tupper wrote to the Duke on March 31, 1868, requesting an interview and stating the case for Cartier receiving equal consideration with Macdonald. In part the letter read:

"Although I had the honour of proposing the latter gentleman (John A. Macdonald) as Chairman of the Conference of B. N. A. delegates, held here in 1866, I think it but right to inform Your Grace that but for the patriotic devotion of Mr. Cartier to the great project of confederation, and the courage with which in the face of great difficulties and dangers he pursued that policy to the end, the union could not have been accomplished.

111. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1868, No. 64.
I rejoice that it was the Royal pleasure to confer deservedly a distinction so high upon Mr. Macdonald, but I regard it as a great misfortune that a million of Catholic Frenchmen, than whom Her Majesty has no subjects more loyally devoted to her throne and person in any portion of her empire, should feel that one of their own race and religion, whose standing was equally high in Canada, and whose claim to Royal favour was as great, should not have been deemed worthy of the same gracious consideration. It is also right that I should say to Your Grace that Mr. Cartier's acceptance of an inferior distinction would undoubtedly have destroyed the great influence which he wields amongst his countrymen and impaired the power he is now able to exert so beneficially in the service of his sovereign (112).

It is noteworthy that Tupper would take such an interest in this particular matter. He brought up the subject again in a visit to the Duke's country home (113). Finally on April 30 Tupper was able to write to Cartier:

"I need not tell you the satisfaction I enjoyed when the Duke sent for and showed me the answer to my application - an Order in Council from the Queen conferring a well-deserved Baronetcy upon you, which I hope you will live long to enjoy (114)."

Sir George replied to Tupper on May 16, giving news of Parliament as well as his thanks (115).

It appears unlikely that Sir John A. had any previous knowledge of the specific honours to be awarded. How much he did to repair the damage

is not certain. There was no question of his refusing the K.C.B. In a memorandum to the then Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, written in 1879 the Prime Minister wrote:

"No previous intimation had been given to any of us of Her Majesty's intention. Messrs. Cartier and Galt, considering the recognition of their services inadequate, declined to receive the decoration. Considerable feeling was aroused in Lower Canada among the French Canadians at what was looked upon as a slight to the representative man of their race, and a motion on the subject was made in Parliament. Lord Monck refused to give any information on the subject, as being one of Imperial concern only; but, in order to allay this feeling, obtained permission from Her Majesty's Government to offer Mr. Cartier a baronetcy, if I did not object to it. I, of course, at once stated that I should be only too glad to see my colleague receive the honour. Mr. Galt was made a K.C.M.G. All these honours were conferred upon myself and the other gentlemen, on account of the prominent part we had taken in carrying out the Imperial policy of Confederation, and without reference to us (116)."

After announcing the honours in early July, La Minerve returned on the 17th with an explanatory article, giving the reasons for the Bleu leader's refusal of the C.B. This was still treated as a rumour, but Cartier had been back in Montreal and no doubt had discussed the matter with the editor (117). On August 23, 1867, Isaac Buchanan wrote to Cartier about the C.B. matter. He sympathized with the Bleu leader and suggested that John A. should have refused his knighthood until the matter was settled in a satisfactory manner (118).

117. La Minerve, 17 juillet.
On July 16, the Provincial Cabinet was announced. Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau was to be Premier and Provincial Secretary, with Messrs. Gédéon Ouimet, Christopher Dunkin, Louis Archambault, Louis Beaubien, Charles-Eugène Boucher de Boucherville and George Irvine filling the other posts. There is certainly a smell of intrigue in the events leading up to this announcement. Sir Narcisse-Fortunat Belleau, who had been named Lieutenant-Governor, asked Joseph Cauchon to form the Provincial administration. Unable to secure the support of colleagues to form a Cabinet, Cauchon had to step down. He was then named Speaker of the Senate in Ottawa. Rumilly hints darkly that Cartier, Galt and Langevin were not interested in seeing anyone as strong-willed and independent as Cauchon in the senior position of influence in Quebec City (119). This may well have been the case, as Hector Fabre later asserted in L'Événement (120).

Sister Andrée Désilets affirms that Cartier and Langevin were blameless in this affair and agreed to all the conditions he set down, particularly that no Minister in Ottawa should also be a member of Cabinet in Quebec. The only problem was that Cauchon was unacceptable to the protestant element because of his rather fanatic religious views, and could find no person among the protestant members to accept a portfolio in his Cabinet (121).

120. La Minerve, 18 sept., 1867.
This is probably accurate but it is doubtful nevertheless if Cartier and Langevin were unhappy of the turn of events. On July 11, Cartier wrote to Langevin in a firm tone about his candidates for certain posts.

"Galt et moi avons vu Chauveau. Il part ce soir — Il aura besoin d'être encouragé pour s'exécuter. N'oubliez pas qu'il me faut pour la région de Montréal Dunkin, Starnes Pominville comme Procureur Général et Archambault pour livrer la liste électorale dans toute la Région de Montréal. J'ai surtout besoin de Pominville et de Starnes — Le fait est qu'ils me sont indispensables. Ouimet aura l'avantage de ce que je lui ai dit en votre présence — Chauveau rencontre une difficulté à raison de sa place de surintendant des Ecoles et du salaire y attaché. Je lui ai suggéré qu'il pourra resigner (en attendant qu'il ait législature) sa place de surintendant et prendre son salaire de 1000 louis comme attaché au département qu'il prendra — Car remarquez que "Chauveau" devra prendre un des départements, car celui qui pourra convenir le mieux pour le moment — dans la prochaine session, il faudra rendre le surintendant ou plutôt le Ministre d'éducation (comme Chauveau veut l'appeler) capable d'occuper sur le plan de ministre. Je n'ai rien reçu de Lord Monck. Je vous informerai de suite de ce qu'il en écrira (122)."

Two days later, presumably having received a list of suggestions concerning the Quebec area, Cartier wired to Langevin: "Selection good. Have telegraphed Chauveau to have at once friends now in Quebec sworn in as Executive Councillors speaker may be sworn hereafter as Councillor have also telegraphed Ouimet (123)." What happened to Starnes and Pominville? The ex-Mayor became a Legislative Councillor, while Cartier's law partner never did taste public office. He remained with his chief, and died shortly

122. A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 11 juillet, 1867.
123. Ibid., Cartier à Langevin, 15 juillet, 1867.
after him in 1873. However, Cartier's influence in the Quebec Government was undoubtedly great. Chauveau was his man, and thus co-operation was assured between Ottawa and Quebec City.

The appointments to the Legislative Council were much sought after. Cartier wrote a long letter to Chauveau on October 22, particularly discussing the appointments for the divisions of Alma and Delorimier. The member for Montreal East advised that Jean-Louis Beaudry, ex-Mayor of Montreal, President of La Banque du Peuple and a strong supporter of Cartier's had the first claim to the Alma seat. Cartier stated: "... lui et ses deux frères J. Bte Beaudry et Joseph Beaudry sont ceux à qui je dois en partie mes élections. Par leur fortune, leur propriétés et leur influence commerciale dans ma division, ils constituent un élément électoral de la plus haute importance (124)." For Delorimier Charles-Séraphin Rodier was the chosen one. He also served several terms as Mayor of Montreal and was known as both a merchant and a lawyer.

George-Etienne Cartier was one of twenty in Ontario and Quebec who held seats in both the Provincial and the Federal Houses following the elections of 1867. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick did not permit this from the beginning; Ontario followed in 1872. A bill to prevent the Double mandate was passed in the Quebec Assembly in 1872 also, but it was turned down in the Legislative Council. A Dominion Act of 1873 brought an end to the practice. A bill was presented in the House of Commons to this

124. Université Laval, Département des Etudes Canadiennes, Papiers P-J-O Chauveau, Lettres et Documents, no. 56, Cartier à Chauveau, 22 oct. 1867.
effect in 1867, but was not passed. Cartier spoke on the measure on
November 20, defending the practice of the Double Mandate (125). According
to at least one knowledgable correspondent the practice was causing diffi­
culties for some of the Government candidates. Writing on July 22 Sir
Narcisse-Fortunat Belleau, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, reported
that a number of constituencies had expressed the desire for a separate
representative to look after their needs in Quebec City. Among others
Belleau mentioned Henri-Elzéar Taschereau of the Beauce, saying that he
should win despite a hard fight. The Lieutenant-Governor added that the
future Chief Justice of Canada was "depuis 15 jours le disciple très tempé­
rant du père Mailloux." The temperance campaign was still in full force.
Belleau finished with a word to the effect that Joseph Cauchon was most
unhappy of his lack of success in forming a Cabinet, but assured Cartier
that this would pass (126).

Despite La Minerve's disdain for Médéric Lanctot, Cartier had a nasty
battle in Montreal East. The Liberals wrote a pamphlet entitled La Confé­
dération, couronnement de dix années de mauvaise administration. The Bleu
leader was blamed for all kinds of troubles. Another pamphlet entitled,
Contre-Poison. La Confédération. C'est le Salut du Bas-Canada. Il faut
se défier des Ennemis de la Confédération, was printed in Montreal. The

125. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 553-555.
author was reportedly Joseph-Afred Mousseau, later Premier of Quebec (127).

After examining the necessity for confederation, its benefits to come and the clauses of the Act itself, Mousseau finishes:

"Peut-on hésiter entre M. Dorion et M. Cartier, entre le parti rouge et le parti conservateur? Tous les honnêtes gens, à quelque parti qu'ils appartiennent, répondront avec enthousiasme: donons votre mépris MM Dorion et Lanctot, et vos votes à M. Cartier et à son parti (128)."

Médéric Lanctot was one of the editors of *L'Union Nationale*, a strong anti-confederation advocate, as well as a City Councillor. Lanctot was accused of sending four or five of his supporters to houses in the riding to make a detailed inventory and tell people that the Government and M. Cartier had sent them and everything they owned would be taxed (129).

Mgr. Bourget had not issued a pastoral letter concerning Confederation in the same way as the other Bishops of the Province. However, a great deal was made of the letter he had written in March thanking Cartier for the copy of the British North America Act, and a letter dated May 25 in which he simply reminded his flock of their duty to submit to a legally constituted government (130). Finally on July 29, a longer pastoral letter was published which, in fact, did little more than expand on the

129. *La Minerve*, 26 juillet.
previous missives (131). The Bishop of Montreal was less than enthusiastic. The same could be said for the Coadjutor Bishop of Three Rivers. A letter Mgr. Laflèche received from Cartier was full of thanks for the recent mandate on the subject of Confederation. The letter was filed with a simple notation of "Pas de réponse (132)."

La Minerve printed and sold for twenty cents a brochure entitled Puissance du Canada. Acte de la Confédération avec les Mandements des Evêques de la Province de Québec. The term "Puissance du Canada" was reportedly the result of a decision by George-Etienne Cartier. Writing some years later in L'Evénement, Hector Fabre stated that on his return from London, Cartier had called in Eugène Dorion, the Chief of the Translation Bureau in Ottawa and had told him "Vous traduirez invariablement Dominion par Puissance." Cartier explained that the word sounded well and was prestigious. "Je ne suis pas traducteur, moi, je suis homme d'état, et le mot de Puissance me paraît meilleur qu'un autre (133)."

Reports of election meetings were bound to vary depending on the shade of the reporter. La Minerve of August 1 announced the first public assembly in favour of M. Cartier for that same evening, at the Viger Market, corner of Campeau and Craig. The next day the meeting is reported as having gone very well, with three thousand people present and several orators very

131. Ibid., 29 juillet.
133. Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, I, p. 49.
well received. Concerning Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau, later Prime Minister of Quebec, but in 1867 a 27-year-old fledgling candidate in Terrebonne, *La Minerve* writes:

"Après lui vint M. Chapleau qui fit un discours admirable et rempli de mouvements oratoires. M. Chapleau était connu depuis longtemps par son éloquence au barreau, mais on peut dire qu'hier soir il s'est révélé comme un orateur politique de premier ordre (134)."

Rumilly, however, writes that in the hall "packed" by the opposition, neither Cartier nor any of the other orators on the programme could speak until the young Chapleau mounted the platform and succeeded in controlling the crowd and harranguing them for an hour. Cartier was not pleased as Chapleau had presented himself for the Provincial House in Terrebonne without the "Chief's" approval, and now again he was an uninvited speaker. However, Cartier had to thank the younger man for his action. Chapleau reportedly replied flippantly "Il n'y a pas de quoi, monsieur Cartier, ce n'est pas pour vous que je l'ai fait (135)." There is no further evidence to help us.

As the official nomination day approached, the pace became more hectic. Lanctot was bitterly attacked in *La Minerve*, being accused of every kind of scandal and lack of faithfulness to his country (136). The bitterness of the elections carried over into the legal area where Cartier's law firm

134. *La Minerve*, 2 août, 1867.
represented a certain Joseph N. Boudreau in obtaining satisfaction of a debt from Médéric Lanctot. Joseph Doutre acted for the Rouge candidate (137).

On Nomination Day the supporters of the Governmental candidate were assured that they could attend in safety. The authorities had taken all necessary precautions to prevent any disorders (138). Despite these assurances, a riot did ensue, and the cavalry were called in to restore order. Médéric Lanctot was nominated as the Liberal candidate for the House of Commons, Ludger Labelle for the Assembly (139).

The final days before the voting, accusations were hurled back and forth with abandon (140). The voting took place on September 5 and 6, with three polls in each of the Quartiers Ste. Marie, St. Jacques and St. Louis. George-Etienne Cartier's supporters were encouraged to get to the polls early and not to forget that they had to vote twice, once for each chamber. Large letters stated "PAS UN HOMME RESPECTABLE NE PEUT VOTER POUR M. LANCTOT." Even with the polls still open, La Minerve published a report headed "Triomphe Nationale. L'Hon. M. Cartier Victorieux." The results of the first day's vote gave Cartier a majority of

138. La Minerve, 29 août.
139. Ibid., 30 août.
140. Ibid., 3 sept.
for the House of Commons, and 560 for the Assembly. By the Saturday the triumph was sure. The majorities had been reduced but they now stood at 348 and 357 (141). The ministerial party in the Federal Houses in Ontario and Quebec had won large majorities. Nova Scotia, however, rejected its pro-confederation candidates almost completely. Dr. Tupper was the only Government supporter in the Federal House from that Province.

Parliament opened on November 6 with suitable pomp and ceremony. James Cockburn, the member for Northumberland West and a delegate to the Quebec Conference, was elected Speaker on a motion by the Minister of Militia and Defence. Memories of the Double Shuffle are brought back by a letter dated November 19 to the Prime Minister from Alpheus Todd of the Parliamentary Library in which he raises the constitutional question of the right of the Ministers to sit in the House without first seeking re-election. However, this was ironed out without the whole cabinet trouping back to their constituencies (142). Alexander Galt resigned from the Cabinet at the beginning of the Session, to be replaced later by the Hon. John Rose, who sat for Huntington.

Everyone was waiting to see and hear the great tribune of Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe, the most vocal and unrepentant of the anti-confederates. On November 9 he got up to speak. His style, according to La Minerve, was

141. Ibid., 6 sept.
142. P. A. C., Macdonald, pp. 22041 to 22043.
very persuasive and he was much appreciated for his form, if not for his content (143). Howe wrote, probably to his wife, on November 22, giving news of his own doings and also some uncomplimentary comments about Cartier:

"... I speak every day about something, but do not speak long, and am gradually working my way. John A. spoke last night and gave a Dr. Parker a wigging. He was angry and spoke well. His style is trenchant, animated and effective, but Cartier is the most overrated man in the House. He screams like a seagull in a gale of wind, has a harsh, bad, dictatorial manner and an illogical mind. We had a long personal fight among the Canadians last night which lasted till one. I listened to them till after mid-night and then gave them a piece of my mind, for twenty minutes, and sat down amidst the cheers of the whole house. To-day I startled the public mind by proposing, to a committee of 30 selected to deal with Railways, a searching enquiry into the management of the Grand Trunk. You never saw such a ruffling of feathers. The subject will be brought before the House in due form (144)."

First impressions can change and with further knowledge, and a move across the floor of the House, Howe's opinion of Cartier improved. The Railway Committee must indeed have been indignant at the suggestion of such an investigation! After a lengthy debate on the Address, in which every member from Nova Scotia, as La Minerve affirmed, had to say that Dr. Tupper was a traitor, the vote was taken on November 15 (145).

143. La Minerve, 13 nov. 1867.

144. Harvard University, Houghton Library, William Inglis Morse Collection, Howe to his wife, Nov. 22, 1867.

145. La Minerve, 6 et 18 nov.
Confederation even had special music composed in its honour. The Parish organist of Notre-Dame de Montréal, M. Jean-Baptiste Labelle, rehearsed a "Confederation Cantata" which he was to present to the people of Montreal (146).

The question of the North-West was to occupy much of Cartier's time over the next few years. The Imperial Government informed the Canadian authorities that the Hudson's Bay Company rights must either be contested in the courts or compensated before a handing over of the North-West could be arranged. The Hon. William McDougall, the Minister of Public Works, proposed a series of resolutions on the subject. On December 6, Cartier spoke briefly in support of these, touching particularly on the immigration that would surely flow to the new territories (147).

On December 10, A-A Dorion proposed a motion of non-confidence in the Government, based on the fact that monies were being voted without a detailed budget being brought down. This position arose partly from the newness of the situation and partly because the new Minister of Finance was unable to do everything in such a short time. Cartier replied, going over the reasons for the move and questioning just what other combination of ministers M. Dorion proposed to gain the confidence of the people. The motion was lost 21 - 115 (148). Finally, by dint of sitting until one or

146. Ibid., 21 nov.
147. Tassé, Discours..., p. 558.
148. La Minerve, 11 dec.
two o'clock in the morning almost each day, the first session of the First Parliament was prorogued on December 20.

There was hardly time to return home for Christmas before December 27 when the Provincial Legislature opened in Quebec City. Here Cartier was a simple member and Chauveau the leader, while in Ottawa it was the converse. However, the member for Montreal East was just as much a power in Quebec as he was in Ottawa. Hector Langevin was also a member of both Houses. Did he really prefer to be "en second" to Cartier as he wrote to his brother, Father Edmond Langevin (149). Such is very difficult to believe.

The look back over the year taken annually by the editors of La Minerve is often of interest and the comments on 1867 especially so. Commenting on the political scene the editorial read:

"Dans la politique, nous avons subi une transformation complète. Le petit peuple est devenu une nation, tandis que le Canadien-Français qui redoutait toujours l'influence extérieure, a dressé autour de son clan des levées qui le protègent contre l'absorption, sans l'empêcher de participer aux mouvements extérieurs du progrès et de la prospérité. Loin de nous isoler, nous pénétrons plus avant dans la vie pratique et dans la politique sans être obligés d'exposer nos privilèges dans la mise de fond. L'établissement de la Confédération sera toujours une époque mémorable pour nous, parce qu'elle remet nos destinées entre nos mains et que, quoique la mère-patrie soit, à notre égard, d'une libéralité véritablement admirable, il nous est toujours doux de pouvoir nous administrer nous-mêmes, avec toute l'indépendance de la souveraineté sans ses inconvénients, dans les matières et les intérêts qui nous sont les plus chers et les plus précieux. Après un siècle, nous revoyons avec émotion ce vieux régime, que nous ne pouvons faire autrement que de vénérer, parce que

l'image qui nous en a été laissée est tracée avec le sang de nos ancêtres dans leurs luttes contre la barbarie. Nous avons appris à être dévoués, affectueux sujets anglais sans cesser d'être les Français d'autrefois et n'y a-t-il pas pour nous un grand enseignement dans le fait que c'est l'Angleterre elle-même qui nous rend aux traditions de la vieille France.

Bien des privilèges nous étaient assurés par l'acte de capitulation; mais nous en avions obtenu bien d'autres depuis, qui ne portaient pas de sanction inviolable. La mère-patrie a voulu se lier irrévocablement et nous les garantir sans retour. Nous ne pouvions demander plus que nous avons eu; mais en retour l'Angleterre ne pourra avoir de sujets plus dévoués que nous le sommes. L'année 1867 est donc particulièrement heureuse pour le Canada (150)."

150. La Minerve, 31 déc., 1867.
CHAPTER X

LONDON AND THE NORTH-WEST

During the last weeks of 1867 preparations were taking place in Montreal for a major cultural and social event. The people were paying some attention to their own writers and musicians. P-J-O Chauveau had provided tangible encouragement by giving a number of young men of the arts posts in the Provincial Government to enable them to earn their living. On January 7 in the City Hall of Montreal the "Cantate au sujet de la Confédération" was performed by a large orchestra and chorus with soloists. It was dedicated to the Honourable George-Etienne Cartier. The words were by Auguste Achintre, a poet and journalist who had come to Montreal from France a few years previously. The music was composed by Jean-Baptiste Labelle, the organist at Notre-Dame. The Cantate told the story of the union of the four provinces in Confederation. One verse glorified the work of the Lower-Canadian leader.

"La forte dit Viva! CONFEDERATION!
C'est un peuple nouveau devenant Nation.
Et ce triomphe heureux, pacifique victoire,
Sera l'un des grands faits de notre jeune histoire.
Vous, mesurez des yeux sur ce grand continent
La part aujourd'hui faite au fils du St. Laurent,
Haut et Bas-Canada, Brunswick, Nouv.-Ecosse:
Provinces, saluez! Le nain s'est fait colosse.
Et si jamais un nom, illustre souvenir,
Doit un jour, radieux, briller dans l'avenir,
C'est celui dont la vie et la noble existence,
Fidèle à l'Angleterre, amicale à la France,
S'employa toute entière à grandir son pays.
Pur, désintéressé, sourd aux voix des partis,
Marchant droit à son but; tel, à sa découverte,  
Jadis, marcha l'ayeul, sur la mer entr'ouverte;  
C'est le second du nom, le plus noble héritier  
Du Malouin hardi. GLOIRE À GEORGE CARTIER (1)!"

Later on in the same programme, a Monsieur Mailleux sang a shorter  
tribute to the Father of Confederation to the tune of La Claire Fontaine.  

"Oui, vive George Étienne  
L'honneur de notre sang.  
Que le ciel le maintienne  
Toujours au premier rang (2)."

Strangely enough there is no word of the hero of the evening being  
present. Four thousand people came to listen, however, and the fact that  
the event took place must have been well received by the Minister of  
Militia. For the moment, however, he had left affairs in Ottawa behind  
and was taking part in the first session of the Quebec legislature. Even  
La Minerve found that matters were moving very slowly in the Provincial  
House but surmised that the more important measures would be presented  
late in the session. Questions of finance (especially the possibility of  
new taxes), education, salaries for members, and patronage, occupied a  
great deal of time. Petitions in favour of the northern route for the  
Intercolonial Railway were received in profusion by the Provincial Assembly  
and would soon show their effect in the firm attitude of the Minister of  
Militia on the subject.

1. La Minerve, 8 janv., 1868.  
2. Ibid.
The Federal Cabinet was called for January 20 so Cartier, Langevin, and Chapais left Quebec by a special train on the 17th. On February 1, Cartier and Langevin returned to Quebec. Possibly through their influence the work of the session was speeded up somewhat. A rather surprising addition, datelined Quebec, made its first appearance in La Minerve on February 17. Hector Fabre apparently had made his peace with Napoléon Duvernay, J-A-N Provencher, and others in charge of the Bleu journal and agreed to contribute an article once a week. Whether Cartier approved this is not known as his brother-in-law was certainly not Conservative, a fact which the new correspondent made clear in his first report. In his "Causerie" of February 28 he tells of the closing of the session; Christopher Dunkin had ably set out the financial state of the Province. Chauveau had presented a measure for the organization of education that was most liberal towards the Protestant minority. Henri Joly, leader of the Opposition, was himself a Protestant so no cries of rage came from that quarter. It was rather Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Bellerose, the combative Joseph Cauchon, and the rising young Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau, all from the Government benches, who showed their displeasure, but the measure was passed without any dissident votes.

On March 12 the Federal Parliament quietly took up its business again with the press explaining why there had been no speech from the throne. The differences between a dissolution, a prorogation and a simple "vacance" were given in full and readers assured that all was legal and in order. But was all in order? Constitutionally there appears to be no doubt. Within the Government, however, there were serious rifts giving
rise to correspondence that upsets the accepted accounts of the period.

That a rift had occurred between Macdonald and Galt was quite obvious. The Sherbrooke land promotor had become disillusioned with Macdonald and with the Confederation he had done so much to bring about. Perhaps the grievance over the disparity in honours, perhaps what he considered the apparent lack of faith over the Protestant Educational Rights, perhaps just his own rather chameleon-like nature were responsible, but even more likely was the trouble in which the Commercial Bank in which he was closely involved found itself. In any case, when unofficial emissaries were needed to go to London to counter the influence of Joseph Howe and William Annand who were presenting a petition to the Imperial Government from the Nova Scotia Legislature for the dissolution of Confederation, Galt was offered the post along with Tupper. Galt wished to go alone but Macdonald was adamant. Apparently the Prime Minister was unhappy about Tupper making the mission by himself too, as Alexander Mackenzie wrote to George Brown in Toronto.

"John A. told me after the House rose that Galt promised to go and relying on that promise he offered the mission to Tupper and when Galt refused to go he could not draw back his offer to Tupper. He admits it was 'a mistake.' Rose also admitted to me that it was an 'unfortunate affair.' I asked both why they did not trust Galt alone and both gave the same reply. 'You know well enough that Galt could not be trusted there alone.' The allusion was to his drinking habits and his chameleon character. In the meantime, Galt has left the town with intensified disgust at John A. So far so good. Galt is quite well aware that John A. was quite willing to humiliate him and he was fool enough to give him the chance (3)."
Cartier and Brydges had attempted to avert this crisis but to no effect. Writing to the Prime Minister on March 15, the Minister of Militia stated:

"Brydges and myself have had just now a conference with Galt. I feel very sorry to report to you that Galt could not be argued out of his resolve not to accept the mission to England if Tupper is to be associated with him. He stated to us that the more he thought of the matter, the more he became convinced that for the success of the mission, the Federal and Imperial arguments will have to be taken up before the English Cabinet and not the local arguments as coming from the Nova Scotian point of view. He persists in being of impression that it is a mistake to send Tupper, and is unwilling to endorse the responsibility of the mission if Tupper is to go with him."

In case John A. thought that there was any chance of changing Galt's mind, Cartier concluded:

"Galt understands that it is difficult for you to stop Tupper, you having gone so far with him, and he has added that if Tupper was induced to stop his departure for 3 days, he (Galt) would not be induced to alter his views. I presume you will see Tupper this evening, and will inform him that Galt is not to go to England (4)."

Tupper, in fact, carried out his mission very well. He followed the official instructions resulting from discussion in the House of March 19, and also the more informal words Macdonald reportedly passed on to him: "For God's sake keep out of print (5)."

The Grits, however, had much bigger news to crow over. Writing to

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his wife in Scotland on February 16, Brown stated:

"The Ottawa Govt. is in a still worse plight. The feud between Cartier and Galt on the one hand and John A. on the other is open and bitter. No one fancies that it can be made up - but that a rupture must come soon. The Cabinet meets on Tuesday to settle some important matters and it is supposed that even then the row may come. The Tories all admit the extent of the feud - and Whigs and Tories are looking out for what is coming. John A., McDougall, Tilley, and all they can influence are expected to go together - Cartier, Sandfield, the Nova Scotians and all they can influence are expected to go on the other side (6)."

Again, on February 23:

"We are expecting to hear news from Ottawa this week. Macdonald and Cartier are to fight their battle out this week and even the Tories think there must be a disruption - but it is too good news almost to be true (7)."

'Too good to be true', certainly, Brown and Mackenzie must be letting their imagination run away with them. But the next letter from the doting husband who was so delighted to be out of politics and at home drops the following bombshell. If only the original letter talked about were available!

"I have a long letter today from whom do you think? From Cartier! Urging me to come back to political life - intimating that a crisis is near and that I should take a lead in forming the Government that is to follow. It is clear he wishes to form an alliance with me against John A.

6. Ibid., pp. 1658-1661, Brown to Anne, Feb. 16.

He says that Galt and he protested against my being passed over when the English honours were distributed. He blames Lord Monck severely and declares the English Gov. were misled but know it now. He desires to be most kindly remembered to Madame and sends kisses to the children! I would send you his letter - only that I have to answer it yet and show it to Gordon (8)."

Brown could well be amazed! In the House on the 16th, Sir John A. replied to a question from Alexander Mackenzie on the subject of the Intercolonial, saying that no definite decision had as yet been taken. He added later the understatement that opinions on the subject were held very strongly both within the Cabinet and elsewhere. La Minerve commented:

"La majorité du Cabinet croyait pouvoir prendre une décision immédiate, mais quelques ministres étaient d'opinions différentes, et de nouveaux renseignements vont être obtenus (9)."

Cartier added some comments about the importance to Upper Canada of a safe winter route to the sea (10). The same day of this discussion, Mackenzie wrote to Brown:

"It would appear from the answer made by Sir John tonight as to the route of the Railway that that particular rock will be avoided by the ministry. Subsequent enquiry made it tolerably sure that the minority in the Cabinet have made up their mind to yield the route so Cartier will win his point but miss the quarrel (11)."

8. Ibid., pp. 1685-1688, March 2.
9. La Minerve, 17 mars.
10. Ibid.
On the night of the 17th, Sandford Fleming left for New Brunswick with twenty engineers to make further explorations of the regions through which the Intercolonial might pass (12). Cartier apparently had a great deal of trouble in Cabinet and a period of eight days passed when he refused to attend meetings of the Council until the matter was settled as he wished and the Robinson Route was chosen. Writing on March 19, Mackenzie commented:

"Whether John A. has made up the route question or not with Cartier, I am confident that McDougall has not—or rather has not been able to do so, and that if the result of the present state of affairs in the Cabinet should be his expulsion that he will make a patriotic (?) appeal to Western Canadians on the matter (13)."

The solution to this problem did not come easily. McDougall was interested in the West, and the need to balance western expansion with measures to help the east and Quebec was lost on the portly Ontarian. It was not until July 18, after the Fleming report had been considered, that the announcement finally appeared that the Robinson Route would be used. It had been a long battle but the Minister of Militia had won (14).

Writing to his wife on the 19th of March Brown said:

12. La Minerve, 18 mars.


14. La Minerve, 18 juillet.
"I wrote you that Cartier had sent me a letter suggesting political alliance and my return to Parliament. I replied that I could have nothing to do with Parliamentary life myself - but that I would gladly support my party in an alliance with him on sound principles. He rejoined, urging me to come down to Ottawa and talk the matter over as he could not go to Toronto to see me without exciting great speculation. I have written him half promising to go down next week – the thing has got wind – and the rumour is everywhere that Cartier and I are to join forces and John A. to be thrown over (15)!"

Writing two days later, Mackenzie seemed worried that news of a possible alliance had leaked out and unsure as to what the next move should be. Several members with whom he talked seemed to agree that every effort should be made to bring the big Grit and the small Bleu together. He finished: "My own impression is that you should come (16)."

Mackenzie apparently had no way of communicating with Cartier directly or indirectly in Ottawa. On March 23, he wrote:

"You must judge from the tenor of Cartier's letter whether you could accomplish anything with him or not. One thing is certain that your coming in the midst of such a plentiful crop of ministerial rumours would most certainly be believed to be immediately connected with these rumours and possible changes. It is impossible to come at present without having it believed by all that the visit is made for the express purpose of accomplishing some change. Perhaps this would not matter - that depends on whether Cartier had made up his mind to move at once or not. Unless he is prepared for

early action it might be better not to come just now (17)."

What indeed had Cartier decided? Could his approaches to Brown possibly have been a threat so that he could win on the Intercolonial issue? Not likely. In any case, Brown, probably through reluctance to become involved in plans that could force him to re-enter active politics, sailed to Britain as planned in early April. By the time he returned Cartier's fervour had somewhat diminished and no more is heard of such revolutionary changes in Canadian Party alignments.

What could have led to such a breach? The Intercolonial is certainly one possibility. The most likely reason is, however, that Cartier blamed Sir John A. and Lord Monck for the Honours fiasco. This was soon to be settled satisfactorily. On April 22, La Minerve announced that George-Etienne Cartier had been created a Baronet and Hector-Louis Langevin a C.B. "Sir George" sounded very well, even if it had been somewhat late in appearing (18). The congratulations of Messrs. Mackenzie, Blake, and Holton may have been with a certain arrière-pensée but Dorion and Le Pays could not bring themselves to agree that the honour was well deserved (19).

It was necessary to gather information for the use of the Heraldic College in drawing up the necessary documents for the new Baronet. A

17. Ibid., pp. 1726-1728, March 23.
18. La Minerve, 22 avril.
19. Ibid., 23 avril.
letter to the Grand Vicar Cazeau requests information about the exact dates of birth, marriage and death of the first Cartiers in Canada (20). Another letter expresses thanks for the information provided by "Messire Tanguay." The Abbé Cyprien Tanguay, whose *Dictionnaire Généalogique* appeared in seven volumes between 1871 and 1890, was preparing his voluminous and valuable study. It cost money to become a Baronet. Correspondence in September 1868 shows that the fees at the Herald's College, the Secretary of State's Office, the Attorney-General's Office, etc., came to £258 5s 4d (21).

As Minister of Militia and Defence Cartier had to present a measure giving in detail the intentions of the Government in this area. There had been much speculation about the provisions of the Bill. In a letter to George Brown on March 16, Alexander Mackenzie said:

"Col. Powell tells me that the general features of the Militia Bill are agreed on and that it will be down in a few days. I will endeavour tomorrow or next day to obtain some of its provisions. The Govt. have not agreed on the Fortifications Measure to be submitted, but my impression is that if Cartier can confine the works chiefly to Montreal he will agree to any measure that would result in a large outlay in Lower Canada (22)."

Again on March 24:

"Cartier has carried his own way in the Militia Bill and made it an economical one, at least, so I am credibly informed (23)."

On March 31 the measure was presented to the House. In a five hour speech that was generally well received, the Minister of Militia and Defence described the 101 clauses of the Bill. Briefly, provision was made for 40,000 men at an annual expenditure of $900,000. The Dominion was divided into nine military districts, each under the command of an Assistant Adjutant-General. Speaking of himself, Cartier said: "Audaces fortuna juvat - la fortune favorise les audacieux," and predicted that the present measure would not have the same effect on the fortunes of the Government as did the measure of 1862. Much was made of the inadequacies of the old system to deal as effectively as was desirable with the Fenians. Pausing to think out loud Cartier asked a rhetorical question: "On me demandera peut-être pourquoi j'ai pris la direction du département de la milice?" His answer was typical: "Je répondrai que j'ai toujours aimé à affronter les difficultés, et que le département de la milice en offre de nombreuses." In answer to a question from Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Gilpin Jones of Halifax, Cartier replied that no guarantees were required of graduates of Military Schools that they remain in Canada. He added that he was pleased to say that one hundred and fifty young Canadians had recently sailed for Europe where they would fight as Zouaves to defend the Pope against Garibaldi, "le grand fénien de l'Italie (24)."


24. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 566-582; La Minerve, 1, 3, 4 avril.
The press seemed to be pleasantly surprised on the whole. The passage concerning the Zouaves and the Pope did not go unnoticed. Mgr. Bourget wrote on April 12 thanking the Minister for two copies of the Militia Bill, stating that he hoped that the Papal Zouaves would support the measure fully on their return and remarking on the suitable sentiments expressed by the Minister on the subject of the Holy Father (25).

The sermon preached by Mgr. Laflèche at Notre-Dame on February 18, the eve of the departure of the Zouaves, had greatly pleased the strict ultra-montains; had vexed the moderates, including those in authority at the Seminary of Quebec; and served as a red flag to the radicals Dessaulles, Doutre and Laflamme. Laflèche was soon to carry his attacks into other theatres and cause much trouble for the new Baronet.

On May 1, Cartier introduced another measure for the purpose of building fortifications in the major centres of Canada. This bill was approved but the provisions were never put into effect after the withdrawal of the Imperial troops. A dispatch from the Colonial Office dated April 14 announced the intention of the Imperial Government to withdraw all troops. At a time of renewed Fenian agitation such a move seemed most inopportune and Cartier immediately sent a memorandum to London against the proposed withdrawal resulting in a delay that proved to be most important.

It had been known for some time that the Fenians resented the conduct

of the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee. The Irish nationalist had become an enthusiastic Canadian and he guaranteed the support for Confederation of the large body of Irish Catholics in Upper as well as Lower Canada. McGee's disinterestedness in 1867 had helped solve the Cabinet crisis that had arisen even before Confederation was law. This move further worsened the financial straights in which he found himself. Though some may not have agreed with McGee, everyone gathered to hear him speak for he was without doubt the foremost orator in Parliament. On the evening of April 6, he spoke to defend the mission of Tupper to London, asking both sides in the Nova Scotia dispute to allow time to heal the wounds caused by the constitutional changes. The debate ended at 1 a.m. and as McGee made his way back to his lodgings on Sparks Street near the corner of Metcalfe, only a five minute walk from the Commons Chamber itself, he was shot at close range as he put his key in the door. A shocked House of Commons met the next day. Cartier added his words to those of other leaders from both sides of the Commons. He said that McGee "n'était pas un homme ordinaire. Il était du nombre de ceux que la Providence se plaît quelquefois à donner au monde afin de montrer jusqu'à quelle hauteur l'intelligence de l'homme peut être élevée par le Tout-Puissant (26)."

Several known Fenians were quickly apprehended and charged with the murder. If there had been any question of the need for a militia this wasteful act served to still the critics. A reward of $5,000 was offered

for information leading to the arrest of the assassins. On Monday, April 13, the funeral procession to St. Patrick's Church in Montreal was immense. It was estimated that 100,000 people came to pay their last respects to the fallen hero. The whole city seemed to be hung in black crepe. La Minerve added "... la ville avait un aspect morne et presque silencieux, parce que la foule était une foule plus impressionnée que curieuse et que chacun y venait avec le sentiment d'un devoir à remplir (27)." Cartier and some of his colleagues in the Cabinet served as pallbearers.

Sir George had spoken on December 6, 1867, in favour of the resolutions introduced by William McDougall concerning the acquisition of the North-West. The request of the two Houses had been sent to London. The Duke of Buckingham had replied stating firmly that the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company would either have to be contested in the courts or payment negotiated before the territory could be transferred. Macdonald was anxious to deal with the matter at once. Whether Cartier was really unable to return to Ottawa or whether he was using the Supply Motion in Quebec as an excuse is not certain. He certainly could not have been very anxious to see Macdonald at this point, just as he was preparing to write his proposals to George Brown. In any case, a rather terse letter was sent on February 13:

"Many thanks for your last relative to the Hudson Bay matter. I have just now telegraphed you that it will be impossible for me, Langevin & Chapais to be in Ottawa

27. La Minerve, 14 avril.
before the 20th instant. Dunkin is to make his financial statement tomorrow or Saturday next, when he will move the House to go into "The Supplies," and it is absolutely necessary that we should be present in order to assist Dunkin in any discussion which may arise - we have promised him our presence and he requires it."

Having made his point the Bleu Leader left no room for further pressures and showed his knowledge of the speed of the trans-Atlantic mails.

"Respecting the H.B. matter I think that we ought not to be hasty in considering it. I must say that I am not surprised at the intimation of the Duke of Buckingham - I almost expected it. You must recollect that when we discussed the other day the Intercolonial Railway question, I stated to McDougall that with regard to the H.B. question we might be called upon in some way or other to arrange with the H.B. Company before the Imperial Government would make to us a transfer of the N.W. Territory. Now it is evident that we must at the outset face the money question, and I think that we ought not to be in too great a hurry. Lord Monck need not write by the Canadian Line on Friday next week. In writing to the Duke by the Cunard on Monday the 24th instant, his dispatch will reach the Duke as early as if sent by the previous Canadian steamer. We will have plenty of time to consider the last communication from the Duke to Lord Monck on the H.B. matter on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of next week (28)."

Even Lord Monck was not to be accommodated.

A detailed dispatch dated April 23 followed the original letter of January 18 and the general terms for the acquisition of the territories in question (29). The correspondence with Sir Edmund Walker Head of the

29. La Minerve, 16 mai.
Hudson's Bay Company was also printed. It would be necessary to negotiate with the Company through Downing Street.

The Government was occupied during the summer of 1868 in deciding on the nominations for judicial positions. There had been a great deal of criticism both in the press and in the House of some members of the Bench in Lower Canada. Speaking on March 30 Cartier defended his appointments. He asserted that several occupants of the Bench were of an advanced age and should probably retire but they could not be forced to do so. He categorically denied, as had been suggested by Antoine-Aimé Dorion, that there was any wrong doing on the part of members of the Judiciary (30).

Sir George-Etienne continued his connection with the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Association throughout his career. June 24, 1868, found him in Ottawa as the honoured guest of the Association of the new Capital. He spoke of the glories of the past and on a favourite topic: the dangers of emigration (31).

On August 1 Joseph Howe in Halifax wrote that "... John Macdonald, Cartier and two or three other leading Canadians are expected here today ... (32)" A deputation of Macdonald, Cartier, Tupper and John Sandfield Macdonald, the latter a personal friend of Howe and long an anti-confederate

31. La Minerve, 3 juillet.
32. Wm. Inglis Morse Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Howe to ?, Aug. 1, 1868.
himself, left Montreal on July 30. Cartier's trip was explained in La Minerve as principally concerned with the organization of the militia (33). The visitors had several talks with Howe and one meeting on August 7 with a morose group of seventeen MPs and MPPs who formed a Committee of the general caucus of all members of both the Provincial and the Federal Houses. Howe could not countenance annexation to the United States and he slowly came to accept the regrettable reality. Early in 1869 he was prepared to meet John Rose in Portland to discuss better financial terms for Nova Scotia. Then he made the plunge and entered the Canadian Cabinet as President of the Council. The Minister of Militia and the other ambassadors of goodwill were back in Montreal by the 17th. Cartier carried on to Ottawa on the 19th.

Cartier visited as many as possible of the Militia Camps in order to familiarize himself with their organization and encourage those who were taking part in the exercises. On September 21 he went to Laprairie with a large group of officers, civilians and ladies. A general review of the recruits was held and "discours de circonstances" given. The militia needed encouragement among the people. Mgr. Jean Langevin, Bishop of Rimouski and the older brother of the Secretary of State, wrote a letter to the clergy of his diocese requesting them to make the good points of militia service known to their parishioners. He reminded his curés that the military exercises could take place during a season when other occupations were inactive and that as well as earning some money it was very

33. La Minerve, 30 juillet.
important to have men prepared for the defence of their country, should the need arise (34).

The Fenian incursions had some effect on recruitment, both for the militia units and for the Schools of Military Instruction. The woeful state of preparedness in 1866 was not to be repeated (35). A great deal had to be done. The book of "Rules and Regulations for the Schools of Military Instruction for the Dominion of Canada" published in 1868 covered every detail of a cadet's life, including the subjects of study (36).

Sir George took a few days holiday in late September, going probably to Saint-Antoine to see his family (37). However, he was soon back in Montreal, on to Ottawa for a meeting of Council, then Montreal again and off to Quebec City on October 2 with William McDougall to take the Nestorian to Liverpool, on yet another mission for his country.

There had been much discussion as to the composition of this delegation to London. As well as the transfer of the North-West there were also problems of defence, Canadian-American relations, and other matters of importance to be discussed.

34. A. A. R., Registre A, Des Insinuations, etc., pp. 124-125, 21 nov. 1868.
37. La Minerve, 25 sept.
Lord Monck apparently wanted Macdonald to go but the Prime Minister quite correctly stated that there were too many matters of importance arising in Canada for him to be absent - possibly for a protracted period. Monck was opposed to Cartier as a delegate, stating the the French-Canadian leader was not in favour of the acquisition of the North-West, at least not if money had to be paid to obtain it. Macdonald assured the Governor-General that he was mistaken.

"Cartier had indeed been against the proposals of several years earlier that could have seen the Red River area attached to Canada West but the situation had changed. The issue of The Nor'Wester published in the Red River Settlement on Dec. 28, 1859, had accurately expressed Cartier's fears at that time. A correspondent in London had written: "Mr. Cartier, the Canadian Minister, was over here last autumn, and seems to have satisfied Sir Edward (38) of the hopelessness of annexation. He told him very frankly that, as the head of the Lower Canadian party, any proposal of the kind would meet with his determined opposition as it would be putting a political extinguisher upon the party and the Province he represented; and, if carried out, would lead to a dissolution of the Union. He admitted the desirability of throwing open the trade of the Hudson Bay Territory to Canadian capital and enterprise, and would willingly agree to Canada's contesting the validity of the Company's charter before a court of law, and bearing the expense - provided that the territory taken from the Company should not be annexed to Upper Canada, but should be a separate colony, to form part of a general federation of the British Provinces (39)."

Lord Monck's attitude appears rather strange, particularly if there is any truth in a report from Alexander Mackenzie. Writing to George Brown on March 24, the rising Grit leader stated:

38. Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Colonial Secretary in 1858.
39. The Nor'Wester, Dec. 28, 1859. Extract of a letter from a Mr. Isbister to Mr. Donald Gunn.
"I am afraid there is something wrong about the Northwest question. Lord Monck manifests a very singular hostility to the opening out of that territory. In his family parties he does not hesitate to ridicule the idea of Canada taking that country, and says it is much better suited for the States and so on. My impression is that he has communicated secretly with parties in the mother country and that the English Govt. are somehow moved by some adverse influence."

The Queen's representative was not to be allowed to block the natural development of the country. Mackenzie continued:

"At all events he ought to have the decency to keep himself quiet if he cannot agree with his government and the Dominion Parliament. If he persists in the present course, he must get a hint from the press to mind his own business if he cannot mind his proper business. I was surprised at the reports I received from several parties of conversations on this subject. The papers moved for came down today and I see his dispatches are couched in the most curt and formal terms. Not a word in favour of our proposal to take and open up the country (40)!

The vision of men on both sides of the political fence in Canada had apparently not been communicated to the Governor-General. That Lord Monck was not a favourite among the French-Canadian population and that he apparently returned the compliment is no secret. An editorial in La Minerve at the time of the Governor-General's departure is indeed very direct on the subject.

"Le Leader de Toronto a l'air de vouloir faire reproche aux Canadiens-Français du peu de sympathie qu'ils éprouvent pour notre ex-gouverneur Lord Monck. Le Bas-Canada n'a pas eu une seule larme à son départ, pour la bonne

raison qu'il eut été en peine de savoir sur quoi pleurer. Il est bien connu que le départ de Lord Monck ne laisse pas le moindre vide dans ce pays; il n'a pas même cherché à se faire estimer des sujets à la gouverne desquels la Reine l'avait proposé. Sa carrière de gouverneur a été pour lui une spéculation. Sa famille est restée presque tout le temps de l'autre côté de l'Océan; lui-même a trouvé moyen d'y passer une certaine période. Il ne se considérait en Canada que comme en voyage (41)."

La Minerve continued by blaming the Governor-General for the slight given to Cartier and to Langevin over the question of titles. On all counts the reaction of the French language press would not appear to be unmerited.

The Prime Minister wanted Alexander Campbell to go as a delegate to London but the unpredictable Postmaster-General decided he would rather not go and McDougall was the alternate choice. The latter did not have a chance to show his abilities because of illness but in any case it appears certain that it was Cartier's energy and straightforwardness, combined with diplomatic skill, that were counted on to successfully complete the negotiations. As he later stated in the House:

"On a dit que d'accord avec mes amis, je m'étais opposé à l'acquisition des territoires du Nord-Ouest. Je n'ai jamais été opposé, en principe, à cette mesure. Mais je n'ai jamais voulu consentir à ce que la province d'Ontario devint seule propriétaire de cette immense région, à l'exclusion des autres provinces, c'est la seule objection que j'ai faite, et j'espère que mes amis du Bas-Canada vont montrer, ce soir, par leur vote, qu'ils sont convaincus que j'ai agi pour leur intérêt, comme j'espère que les

41. La Minerve, 21 nov.
députés du Haut-Canada seront unanimes à approuver le gouvernement (42)."

This passage, taken from the speech Sir George gave on May 28, 1869, in introducing the series of resolutions ratifying the agreement reached in England, is a very reasonable explanation of his stand.

There were some suggestions that Cartier and McDougall did not see eye to eye at this stage but there is no indication that any difficulties came to the fore during the Hudson's Bay Mission, though to be sure Cartier had the field to himself for most of the time. Mackenzie had suggested to Brown on March 16 that all was not well between the pompous Minister of Public Works and the forceful Minister of Militia and Defence. "My impression is that McDougall has in some say earned Cartier's dislike and that the latter will make the position of the former as uncomfortable as possible in the government (43)." This "impression" may have been spawned more by wish than fact. In any case there can be no question that the two envoys were entirely different in personality.

The period from October 1868 to April 1869, is unusual for the historian because there remain two series of letters giving Cartier's impressions not only of the business at hand but of the people he met and the London social life he so obviously enjoyed. Twenty-six letters written to Sir John are preserved in the Macdonald Papers and eight letters to Hector Langevin are to be found in the Chapais Papers.

42. Tassé, Discours..., p. 265.

The crossing was a record and by October 12 Sir George and the Hon. William McDougall and the latter's daughter were installed at the hotel that Cartier had come to know well - the Westminster Palace. Writing to Sir John A., Cartier was obviously delighted to be in London and was optimistic about the negotiations. The two Ministers had a preliminary interview with the Duke of Buckingham and were preparing to spend several days at the Colonial Minister's country home, Stowe, in preparation for the first official meeting with the officials of the British Government. On the subject of British politics Cartier wrote:

"Everyone here talks more or less of Elections. It is difficult to say which party will carry the day. Some of the Conservatives say that Gladstone may carry the day, but that he will not be able to maintain himself in the House, his majority will be too small - so they say (44)."

The sojourn at "Stowe" went well. The Minister of Militia wrote that the Duke of Buckingham seemed to understand the Canadian position very clearly and was favourably inclined. The Duke was to meet with Lord Kimberley of the Hudson's Bay Company and let the Canadian delegates know what the next move should be. In closing Cartier remarked that the Secretary of the American Legation had called to pay his respects (45).

Writing to both Macdonald and Langevin on October 24 Cartier said there was no news as yet from the Duke of Buckingham. McDougall's illness, which was to incapacitate him for most of the period in London, had

45. Ibid., pp. 85376-85379, Oct. 16.
started. The Minister of Militia reported that he had seen the new Governor-General and his wife, Sir John and Lady Young. In contrast to their predecessors both "made a favourable impression on me. Both speak very good French. Lady Young seems determined to make herself agreeable in Ottawa and in Canada." After a few comments on Grand Trunk matters Cartier concluded with a report on British political affairs. "It seems expected here that Dizzy will be defeated in the next General Elections (46)."

Finally on October 31, Cartier saw the Colonial Secretary again. They discussed the terms proposed by the Hudson's Bay Company and agreed that they were "inadmissible." McDougall was now more seriously ill and the Bleu leader was on his own. He wrote that he was taking every chance to interest people in Canadian affairs. He had dined with Sir John Young and informed Macdonald that the Youngs would sail from Liverpool for New York on November 14. As well as invitations received from the Barings, the Glyns, and many others, Cartier described a visit to Chatham where he had visited the dock yards, viewing "the new armour plated steamships now in course of construction." He further added "I was astonished by the magnitude of the works and of everything I saw there (47)."

On November 7 Sir George reported that he had been able to broach several other subjects of interest to the Canadian Government.

"No progress can be made just now in the Hudson's Bay matter. I had a long conference with the Duke of B. yesterday on that question, as well as on the Defence; the Fishery licenses; the expenditure of money by Canada on account of the Fenian organization in the States &c. He is to arrange that I shall meet Lord Stanley some day next week. I intimated to the Duke that we have more right to claim from the U.S. the money we have spent in consequence of the Fenian Organization in the States than the latter have to claim any compensation on account of the Alabama (48)."

Again on the 14th reports were sent to both colleagues. The letter to Macdonald was a lengthy account of an interview with Buckingham on November 11, made up of seven enumerated sections dealing with the North-West, reciprocity, defence, shipping, militia expenditures during the Fenian raids, fisheries, and San Juan Island. On this last topic Cartier wrote: "I impressed the Duke with the absolute necessity that the Island should not be given to the Yankees for any reason whatever. I stated to him that the Island was, as it were, between Vancouver and the mouth of the principal river in British Columbia, in as commanding a position as Newfoundland is to the mouth of the St. Lawrence."

During his discussions with the "Duke of B & C" on Hudson's Bay matters, Cartier reported that a son-in-law of Reverdy Johnson, the American Minister in London, had paid him a visit, seeking information on the subject of American settlers in the North-West, land titles, etc. Reminding Macdonald that the young man in question had crossed the ocean with them in 1866, Cartier reported that he had asserted

48. Ibid., pp. 85388-85391, Nov. 7. Also A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 7 nov.
"... that it was more than doubtful even if any Americans having purchased any land or lots from the Company had the right to own it, inasmuch as there were no naturalization laws with regard to bonds held by foreigners in Rupert's Land, & that if there were any such laws it would be only the Imperial laws affecting foreigners in the 3 Isles & which were too rigorous & too exclusive to help any foreign landowner in Rupert's Lands. I wanted by that intimation to create uneasiness in the minds of the H.B. parties with regard to any past or future grant of lands to foreigners & to embarrass any scheme or intrigue in any dealing with Americans (49)."

The Minister from the New Dominion was becoming adept at the ways of international diplomacy. At about the same time news was received from British Columbia that elections held there had been favourable to Confederation. The nation "from sea to sea" was beginning to be drawn on the map of North America (50).

November 20 saw a letter to Macdonald giving interesting details of the British elections. After commenting that it would be impossible to transact business until the elections were over, Cartier mentioned that he had recently dined with the Whig Whip, Mr. Glyn, and had impressed upon him the necessity of a good Colonial Minister should his party come to power. He added:

"I told him that Bright and Bob Lowe would be very objectionable. He asked me whom we would like to have. I answered him 'give us Mr. Cardwell, and if you cannot do so, give us the type and equivalent of Mr. Cardwell.'"

50. La Minerve, 17 nov. 1868.
On the subject of the ex-Governor-General, Cartier wrote:

"I told him also not to think of Lord Monck for Colonial Minister. I hope that Lord Monck will not spoil our game here after his arrival (51)."

It was indeed a fascinating time to be in London but more important the Canadian Government was fortunate to have an envoy who could move with the changes of political climate as skilfully as Sir George-Etienne Cartier. On November 28 Cartier wrote to Langevin, offering condolences on the death of the latter's mother (52).

To Macdonald went the latest news of the Hudson's Bay negotiations. Cartier very wisely was anxious to have the Duke of Buckingham reject the proposals from the Company as it would then be difficult for him to change his stand once in the Opposition. Extending his reasoning further, Sir George added:

"I expect the Company will not accept the Duke's suggestions, though Lord Kimberley will see the difficulty for him in rejecting them, as he must know, that he himself and his party are soon to come into power, and it will be impossible for him and his party to offer better terms to the Company. For that reason the Company might be inclined to accept the suggestions of the Duke, but I doubt it. I will know by next mail and will apprise you of it. I think it was of the upmost importance for our

52. A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 28 nov.
final success that the present Government, which will be out of office in a few days, should have rejected the second & modified terms & conditions offered by the Company."

Not forgetting the new broom Cartier wrote that he had been to see Mr. Cardwell but that his wife had explained that he was away but would surely contact the Canadian Minister on his return. Cardwell was well known to Sir George from the missions to London that preceded Confederation. There was mention of a further meeting with Glyn, the Whig Whip. McDougall was reported as well enough to go over the Hudson's Bay papers and he apparently agreed with the course his colleague was following. Cartier was careful to consult the ailing minister. He ended this letter with further comments on the British political scene. "It is expected the ministers will go out about the 15th December. Some ones say that "Dizzy" will go out on the election of the Speaker. By that means he will keep concealed his position, line of policy, and tactics in the House (53)."

Further details of the political scene were written to both Macdonald and Langevin on December 3. Two days later Cartier reported that he had been informed that the Duke could no longer do official business as the Ministers had resigned but that after some prodding it was agreed that the letter of refusal of the proposed Hudson's Bay Company terms would be sent, as that decision had been reached while Buckingham was still in office. The importance of having a vigilant representative at Westminster became more and more obvious. Sir George remarked that he had recently dined at the

Political Economy Club and had there met a number of men of interest, including Robert Lowe, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade under Lord Palmerston, and Herman Merivale of the Colonial Office, both gentlemen thoroughly aware of Canadian affairs. Cartier wrote that he was afraid that Edward Cardwell would not be appointed to the Colonial Office but added that nevertheless he intended to make him "my confidential man with regard to the wants of Canada and the objects of our mission (54)."

On the 12th, however, Sir George was able to report definite progress and to enclose a copy of the all-important "letter" from the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. So far the strategy had worked as planned. Triumphanty he wrote:

"I think you and our colleagues will like the letter. It was a great object to have in black and white the opinion of the late Government on the terms and conditions on which the Company ought to make a surrender to the Crown, not the least doubt that the Company will try to obtain better terms from the present Government but they will not be able, I hope, to succeed in their attempt. The present Liberal Ministry cannot afford to be less liberal than the late one on the Hudson Bay question."

Going into more detail about the proposed terms Cartier added:

"In reading the letter enclosed you will notice the great difference between the terms asked by the Company and those suggested by the Duke. I told the Duke that we would never consent to give the Company 5000 acres for every 50,000 alienated by Canada. I suggested 5 lots

54. Ibid., pp. 85432-85439, Dec. 5.
of 200 acres in every Township to be set out. Five or ten lots granted in each Township to the Company cannot be an impediment and an obstruction in the settlement of the Townships (55)."

The Canadian Minister remarked that it would be difficult for McDougall and himself to sail before mid-January and La Minerve published a similar note but this proved to be wishful thinking as the mission was not yet half over (56).

Cartier and McDougall had interviews with Earl Granville, the new Colonial Secretary, on December 14 and 17. Granville was liked by his officials as he left most of the decisions to them but his indecisive handling of certain matters and his implementation of the withdrawal of Imperial troops did not make him popular with Canadian Ministers in the years to come (57). For the moment Cartier found the new Minister "very accessible and affable" and reported that "McDougall and myself urged upon Lord Granville very strongly on the necessity of the settlement of the Hudson Bay matter." This interview was followed by one with Mr. Cardwell and the new Under Secretary for War, Lord Northbrook. Cartier reported confidently:

55. Ibid., pp. 85440-85443, Dec. 12.
56. La Minerve, 10 déc. 1868.
"We went with Mr. Cardwell not only over the Defence and Fortifications questions, but over all the other matters as he takes such a deep interest in our affairs and our success as a Dominion. He is always a good friend to us. He is to let me know in two or three weeks the decision of the Government on the promised guarantee for the raising of the money for fortification purposes. I urged strongly upon him as I had done previously upon Lord Granville, the evil consequences which the reduction of the Regular Forces would produce in Canada, and told him that the Fenian Organization was far from being at an end. I hope that my observations to him and Lord Granville will make the new Ministry pause before adopting a policy of too great reduction of the Regular Forces in Canada (58)."

The day before Christmas, Sir George wrote to his two colleagues Macdonald and Langevin that the radical elements in the new Government were distressing but the Canadian Minister was ever optimistic. Robert Lowe, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, tried to persuade Cartier that the Hudson's Bay territory was an "icy region" of no value for Canada; in fact the old argument used by the Hudson's Bay people previously. Lowe also asserted that the Imperial troops in Canada must be greatly reduced to which the Canadian Minister of Militia and Defence strongly objected. John Bright, the Manchester Liberal and anti-Imperialist, was now President of the Board of Trade. Cartier and McDougall had an interview with him on matters of shipping and found him "full of American ideas and sympathies." Sir George added: "McDougall begins to see that the national ideas were better represented by the late Ministry than by the present one (59)." Again in his next letter Cartier wrote of the ideas

of John Bright and Robert Lowe on the Hudson's Bay matter.

"I am afraid that the present Government will not enter fully and with sympathy with us on that question, with the exception of Mr. Cardwell and Earl Granville. Bright with his anti-colonial ideas, seems to think that it would be well if the H.B. territory were to go to the United States. I had to argue a great deal against the current of his ideas in my last interview with him. However, we are hopeful. As I have told it to you the Government of today cannot afford to be more liberal than the former one. We will exhaust every means in our power to bring about a fair settlement. We will not hurry home."

It was indeed not possible to "hurry home" as much remained to be done. Seeming to anticipate some criticism of the length of his stay, he added:

"It will be proved ultimately that our presence here at the termination of the last Ministry and at the beginning of the present one has been very useful to Canada (60)."

Sir George left London on December 30 for Paris, returning on January 5. While in the French capital he dined on New Year's Day with Lord Lyons, the British Minister. On his return, Cartier told Macdonald, he and McDougall expected to accept an invitation to go to Mr. Cardwell's country seat and from there to visit Aldershot. "We shall have his ear for Hudson Bay . . ." he added, "and all questions interesting our Dominion (61)."

Writing to Langevin on the same date there were several comments on other matters. The appointment of C. J. Brydges as a member of the

60. Ibid., pp. 85458-85461, Dec. 29, 1868.
61. Ibid., pp. 85462-85465, Jan. 6, 1869.
Commission for the Intercolonial was not popular in Quebec as the General Manager of the Grand Trunk was an Englishman and all the anti-Grand Trunk elements saw a plot here. However, Cartier stuck to his guns.

"Vous verrez, mon cher Langevin, que la nomination de Brydges, quoiqu'impopulaire aux yeux de quelques-uns sera la nomination qui principalement plaira au Parlement, et au Pays en général. Je savais ce que je faisais en insistant sur sa nomination."

Apparently Lord Monck had prophesied trouble between the two delegates to London. Sir George wrote "Les choses vont bien entre McDougall et moi - Nonobstant ce qu'a dit Lord Monck." Referring to the Militia Act's acceptance, he said:

"Je suis si content que les "Fabuleux Canadiens" s'enrôlent d'eux-mêmes. Vous verrez que nous tirerons partie de cette mesure de Milice. Nous plairons à plus de monde que nous inciterons au déplaisir (62)."

The Minister of Militia possessed an amazing but usually justified belief in the rightness of his decisions, no matter what the opposition.

Writing to Sir John A. on January 16, Sir George reported that matters were moving very slowly, in part because Lord Granville was ill. He made particular reference to the reduction of the forces and his impressions of the visit to "Cardwell (63)." On January 23 Cartier wrote that some

62. A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 6 janv.
63. P. A. C., Macdonald, pp. 85466-85469, Cartier to Macdonald, Jan. 16.
progress was being made and that the Hudson's Bay Company had finally replied to Buckingham's letter. The reactions of the Colonial Office he hoped to ascertain soon. Regarding the troops he wrote:

"I found out through Col. McDougall that the determination of the Government was to make at once a sweeping reduction of the troops in Canada. Our representations have had some effect. As I told you the Government will go slowly in the way of reduction. The Duke of Cambridge told me on Sunday last that it is very lucky that we are in England at this moment (64)."

January 30 saw a report of the latest details on the North-West negotiations. The road was not easy and much patience and tact were necessary on the part of the Canadian Ministers. Cartier maintained the stand that Lord Granville was much more than an agent between the Canadian Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, as the Colonial Minister had described his role, and asserted that he and McDougall "had a right to claim from him such a solution of the matter as would satisfy Canada." Cartier added: "It seems to us that he is not of the same earnestness as the Duke was." Sir George wrote that he was leaving on the same day to spend the weekend with Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary at the time of the London Conference in 1866. Another item reported from his busy schedule was a dinner given to Cartier and McDougall by the backers of the Great Western Railway. Lord Granville; Lord Bury, who had served in Canada as Civil Secretary and Superintendent of Indian Affairs; Sir Edward Watkin, the ex-President of the Grand Trunk, and many other gentlemen of

64. Ibid., pp. 85470-85473, Jan. 23.
note attended. William McDougall was absent as his wife had just died in Canada. Cartier remarked on the reaction to his reply to a toast in his honour at the banquet held in St. James' Hall. "Everyone seemed pleased of what I said, especially Lord Granville (65)." The speech was not particularly noteworthy, at least judging by the incomplete report given in the London Railway News (66). Lord Carnarvon wrote to Cartier on February 3, mentioning that he was returning certain documents on the Hudson's Bay Company problem. His compliments to his recent house-guest must have been pleasing:

"I was very glad to have the opportunity of seeing you here once more - and as I hope by no means for the last time - for I feel sure that Canadian affairs must from time to time need the presence of some Minister in England and certainly none, I am justified by experience in saying, is better equipped than yourself to deal with delicate questions and to bring complicated negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion (67)."

The Canadian Press of Monday, February 1, announced the swearing in of Joseph Howe as President of the Council (68). Cartier wrote to the Prime Minister upon receipt of this news. "I thank you very much for your cable telegram, by which I learnt with great pleasure and satisfaction that Howe was one of our colleagues." He then reported that he and

65. Ibid., pp. 85474-85477, Jan. 30.
67. A. P. Q., Langevin, Carnarvon to Cartier, Feb. 3.
68. La Minerve, 1 fév.
McDougall continued "to agree very well" and that they were preparing a long document for the Colonial Office on the North-West, adding: "The Liberal Government is, I am afraid, very slow at arriving at a conclusion (69)."

On February 13 another progress report was given. For someone who had been plotting against the Prime Minister a year earlier the tone was indeed very cordial. Talking of the reply to the Hudson's Bay Company terms drawn up by himself and McDougall he gave an account of his plans for the negotiations that is of great interest.

"We find that we have to deal with a Ministry some members of which are opposed to us, and some others indifferent on the settlement of the matter. However we must do our best. We are now in the thick of the negotiations. I think our Paper will do good. In order to facilitate to Earl Granville the perusal of our Paper I took to him yesterday a printed copy of it. Last evening he sent me a word through his Private Secretary asking for some more copies, which I will send as a matter of course. I presume he wants to give a copy to Kimberley. It is too bad that this latter, Bright and Lowe are the Ministry who, I am afraid, will prove to be in our way. You will easily see how advantageous it was for us to have had to state to the New Ministry that the suggestions of the late Government as expressed by the Duke of Buckingham would have been endorsed as a compromise by the Canadian Parliament."

The Liberal Government was not to be allowed to get away with this sort of inaction. The Canadian Minister understood the workings of the Parliamentary system and was fully prepared to use this knowledge to gain his ends. Referring to the suggestions proposed by the Duke of Buckingham, Cartier continued:

"If the Hudson's Bay papers are moved before Parliament, this fact will appear and the present Ministry may have to be taken to task for their want of decision or action, if they don't help us to bring the matter to a settlement. We will have ready our Print confidentially, the letter of the Duke of B. & C., Sir Stafford's reply, our paper to Earl Granville, and also the letter of the H.B. Company, complaining of the making of the Road we are hoping to build, and our paper to answer that complaint. The whole of the papers will make a strong case against the Company. We intend, if necessary, to put them in the hands of some members of both Houses favourable to us, who will be prepared to discuss the matter in Parliament if it becomes necessary to have it discussed there. You will say with me, I hope, that we have made great progress in our mission, and that we have brought the difficulty to such a point that it must be settled very soon (70)."

La Minerve reported on February 12 that the Parisian Press had carried a story that the recently named Baronet was going to enter the House of Lords, and would remain in London as a permanent Canadian envoy, or with a post at the Colonial Office. There is no record of the opinion of the subject of the report. Another week passed and the news from London was not startling. Further delays were becoming tiresome but it was expected that Lord Granville would see the emissaries that very afternoon. The radical elements in the Cabinet were still causing trouble (71).

February 27 did not bring any great improvement. It is of interest, however, to note Cartier's impatience with Lord Granville and the various efforts to "win friends" for Canada. The Canadian Minister reported that

70. Ibid., pp. 85486-85493, Feb. 13.
71. Ibid., pp. 85494-85497, Feb. 20.
he had told Lord Granville that it was very inconvenient to have to stay so long in London. "In his usual bland way he begged of us to remain here a week or a few days more and that he thought he might give us some answer on the H.B. matter." In order to expedite matters Sir George visited everyone he could think of on both sides of the Houses of Parliament, including Mr. Cardwell and the Duke of Buckingham. If a debate arose in the Commons or the Lords, the Opposition must be well primed. The Daily News of February 25 published a letter signed "A Canadian" written by William McDougall and giving more information on the negotiations than Lord Granville was anxious to see made public. Cartier complained that the new Colonial Secretary relied for his advice on Sir Frederic Rogers, the Permanent Under-Secretary, and on Lord Kimberley. The former was related to people with Hudson's Bay interests and the latter was the ex-Governor of the Company. Buckingham had counted more on the advice of Sir Thomas Frederick Elliot, the other Under-Secretary, whom Cartier believed to be less biased. This opinion of Granville expressed in his letter of February 27 was less than complimentary. "I fear Earl Granville gives the inside track to the Company's officials against us. He does not seem to realize the magnitude of the question, nor does he seem to be much in earnest about its settlement (72)."

The next letter contained the news that compromise terms had been suggested by Lord Granville which had been refused by the two delegates

72. Ibid., pp. 85498-85517, Feb. 27.
who, we are told, "generally . . . are in perfect accord." Another inter-
view was arranged for the day of writing, and Cartier added: "As you may
imagine that interview must be a decisive one on the question of settle-
ment or no settlement." Sir George hoped to sail for Canada on the North
American on the 18th of March. McDougall expected to cross on one of the
Cunard liners. Cartier remonstrated with the Prime Minister for not having
told him of the birth of a daughter to Lady Macdonald. He added: "With
regard to you, you have a son and a daughter. I wish one of my girls was
a son. But it is no use to grieve about things upon which one has no
control (73)."

Sir George-Etienne Cartier continued to act "as cautiously and moder-
ately as possible" in the Hudson's Bay Company negotiations and finally
some results seemed to be forthcoming (74). Writing on March 13 he was
able to report that the tempo of events had increased considerably. Terms
had finally been agreed to and only a meeting of the shareholders of the
Company was required to ratify the proceedings. Cartier suggested that
he and McDougall would be back in Ottawa a few days before the Opening of
Parliament on April 15 and he hoped that some reference to the settlement
could be included in the "Opening Speech (75)."

73. Ibid., pp. 85518-85525, March 6.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., pp. 85526-85533, March 13.
On March 10 the inaugural dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute was held, with Prime Minister Gladstone, Earl Granville, the Duke of Manchester, the Earl of Albermarle, Lord Alfred Churchill, Lord Bury, and other luminaries in attendance. Cartier's comments on the Colonial Secretary's speech are amusing: "I could not help laughing when I heard it. It gives to understand that he worked, wrote and spoke so much to bring about a proposal of settlement, when I know that he did very little."

The Canadian Minister was obviously delighted by the reception he was given, however. "They said I made the best speech that evening... Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, the Duke of Manchester, and several others congratulated me very much (76)." This was the oft criticized speech in which Sir George defined French Canadians as "Englishmen speaking French (77)." He explained that he had first used this definition when speaking to Queen Victoria when he was trying to explain something about his people in as few words as possible "because you must always be brief to Royalty (78)." He added that "there is an admixture of Norman blood with the best blood of England." Far too much importance has been placed on these words and indeed they have been continually misinterpreted. Phrases spoken at formal occasions such as at the Royal Colonial Institute were usually

76. Ibid.
77. Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute (1869). Published by the Institute, 26 Suffolk St., Pall Mall East, 1870. pp. 32-35. See Appendix XXXVII.
78. Ibid.
pleasant and intended to produce the best impression possible on those who could affect the destinies of Canada. In this case, the British Ministers present had in their power to insist on the best possible settlement for Canada in the Hudson's Bay matter. Why insult them? Jean-Charles Bonenfant, in referring to this oft-mentioned phrase commented: "La formule est peut-être un peu simpliste, mais elle épouse la réalité et seul un juriste pouvait l'utiliser avec la pensée qu'en définitive d'être des Anglais parlant français, cela pouvait nous aider à mieux demeurer Français (79)." Surely this is a most sensible interpretation.

On March 17 Cartier dined at the home of Mr. Gladstone and he reported to Macdonald the next day that his host "paid me a very nice compliment ... for my speech at the 'Colonial Secretary' dinner (80)." He continued the letter with some details of his discussions with Lord Granville about the Imperial Guarantee to raise the £300,000 required under the terms that were still being considered by the Hudson's Bay Company. Sir George promised many more details verbally on his return to Ottawa. He hoped to be able to take the Allan steamer of April 1.

On March 25 Sir George wrote "the last letter I write you from these shores" to Sir John A. All had gone very well. The Hudson's Bay matter was virtually settled. A visit to Windsor Castle had been a very pleasant


crowning touch to the whole trip. "The Queen and every one of her household were very gracious to us (81)."

La Minerve was not too well informed. It announced the departure of the Minister of Militia from London several times (82). The memorandum of February 8 to Sir Frederick Rogers, the Minister for the Colonies, setting out the terms desired by Canada for the acquisition of the North-West, was published in full a month later (83). Finally on April 8 it was confirmed that the two delegates had left Liverpool on April 1 (84). A triumphal welcome was prepared for the Minister of Militia in Montreal (85). Finally on the 15th he arrived from Portland. Speeches, addresses from different parishes, and more speeches ruled the day. Sir George replied by describing the train of events during the several months in London. He gave the terms that had been agreed to: £300,000 over an extended period with an Imperial Guarantee; the Hudson's Bay Company would keep one-twentieth of the land, or 1,000 acres out of each Township of 20,000 acres. The Minister called for 80,000 inhabitants of the North-West within five years.

81. Ibid., pp. 85543-85546, March 25.
82. La Minerve, 24 mars, 1869.
83. Ibid., 5 avril.
84. Ibid., 8 avril.
85. Ibid., 12 avril.
Talking of the events in Canada since his departure Cartier congratulated Premier Chauveau and his Cabinet on the work of the Provincial House. He finished with a description of his own beliefs:

"Je n'ai jamais fait appel aux préjugés, j'ai plutôt, comme homme politique, proposé et fait voter des mesures très impopulaires dans le temps, mais qui ont été avantageuses au pays. Je ne me guide pas d'après les préjugés populaires, je ne consulte et ne consulterai jamais que ma propre conscience (86)."

Anyone who hoped that the Minister of Militia had been mollified during his protracted stay in London was mistaken. George-Etienne Cartier was conscious of having completed a very difficult mission with considerable success and he was ready to tackle new challenges.

The day that he arrived in Montreal, Parliament assembled in Ottawa so, without delay, the Minister of Militia entrained for the capital, taking his seat on the 16th (87). He did not waste any time in entering the Parliamentary lists on a variety of topics. David Mills, the member for Bothwell, proposed another bill to abolish the Double Mandate. Sir George spoke on the 28th of April advising that it was up to the Provincial Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec to legislate on this point, as those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had already done (88). Antoine-Aimé Dorion proposed a motion to obtain detailed statistics about the import and export trade of Canada. He claimed that these would show why

86. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 608-611, La Minerve, 16 avril.
87. La Minerve, 17 avril, 1869.
88. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 613-614, La Minerve, 1 mai.
Canadian business was not in as healthy a state as it should be. After speeches by the Minister of Finance and others, the Minister of Militia expressed his views. He stated that the proposed examination would be an excellent idea as the results would show that the economy was indeed in good shape. The lack of reciprocity had not ruined the country and he was happy that Canada was less protective in its tariff policies than either Britain or the United States. He mentioned that he had brought this fact to the notice of John Bright and other champions of free trade in England (89).

A short notice from Ottawa in La Minerve of May 7 gives the social news of the capital. Sir John Young received every Thursday; the Prime Minister had just given a big dinner party; the Speakers of both Houses had recently entertained; and "Sir George E. Cartier va donner une série de conversazioni (90)." Just how Cartier's particular type of entertainment came to be called a conversazione is not known, but regularly during the session the Minister of Militia invited a number of guests to his modest brick house at the corner of Metcalfe and Maria (Laurier today) Streets very near to the "Hill." Several contemporaries have described the scene at these Saturday evening gatherings, where Cabinet Ministers, M.P's and Senators from both sides of the political dividing-line, journalists, civil servants, musicians, and writers gathered under the roof of their energetic host. Not used to such mixed gatherings the

89. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 615-617.
90. La Minerve, 7 mai, 1869.
guests might well have been somewhat stiff but Sir George insisted that
all take part in dances and songs. Voyageurs' songs such as "V'la le bon
vent" would see Messrs. Holton, Geoffrion, William Workman, Donald Smith,
Langevin, and McDougall all seated in Indian file on chairs lined up in
a row paddling away as they sang. These gatherings were undoubtedly
helpful in bringing together the many elements in the new capital. The
fact that it was the fiercely partisan Bleu leader who arranged them
gives an indication of his breadth of view (91). The details given on
the conversaziones and other impressions of their chief given by Benjamin
Sulte and Clément-Arthur Danserau are unfortunately very sparse. Both
men worked very closely with Cartier in Ottawa as his Secretaries but
neither has left any really important record of his association with
the Bleu minister.

In preparation for the series of resolutions presented by Cartier
on May 28 to ratify the terms of acquisition of the North-West the important
documents leading up to the final agreement were tabled in the Canadian
Parliament (92). On the 28th the Minister of Militia moved that the
House form in Committee on the subject of the North-West. In presenting
the resolutions he spoke briefly of the background and of the future of
the areas about to be acquired and ended by giving the explanation we
have already seen of his own stand some years previously. He repeated

91. Benjamin Sulte, "Georges-Etienne Cartier," Mélanges Historiques,
Danserea, "Cartier, Le Transformateur d'une Race," Centenaire
Cartier, p. 32.

92. La Minerve, 24 mai, 1869.
that he had been opposed to the Province of Ontario acquiring the North-West for itself but the present situation was entirely different. Sir George affirmed that British Columbia would join Confederation soon and predicted that Newfoundland would follow. The first was to happen in two years but the second took eighty years to be accomplished. As on several previous occasions Cartier went out of his way to sympathize with the troubles of his colleague William McDougall and to assert that the Canadian people owed the Ontario Minister great thanks for his sacrifices in the service of his country. Sir George was not always to be so complimentary concerning his colleague, however.

Speaking of the British Government the Minister of Militia said that generally both parties when in power had been very co-operative. Those who spoke of complete independence for Canada, he said, were wrong. Canada had all the independence needed for the moment to accomplish its legitimate ambitions. Passing reference was made to the probability of a trans-continental railway before too many years passed. The Minister also touched on a matter that he could not know at that time would cause the greatest difficulties in the years to come. He stated that it was most important to bring forth legislation for a provisional government in the new territories affirming:

"Il est important que l'organisation de ces territoires ne soit pas différée d'un seul jour. Il faudra que les townships soient tracés et délimités pour recevoir les immigrants. Quand la proclamation royale paraîtra, le gouvernement du Canada devra être prêt à former la nou-
velle administration (93)."

Not a word about the people who already lived in the territory. The problems looming on the horizon were as yet invisible in Ottawa. Commenting on the debate La Minerve complimented the Ministers concerned and provided some rather biased facts about the riches of the West (94). The resolutions passed by a very big majority.

On May 30 Luther Hamilton Holton proposed that an address be sent to Her Majesty giving wholehearted approval of the Bill then before the British Parliament disestablishing the Church of Ireland. Cartier's stand on this occasion is of interest in refuting any charge of gallicanism that was levelled against him. He stated that Holton as a Unitarian and Alexander Mackenzie as a Presbyterian were naturally against the idea of an established church but that Catholics in Canada should not vote for a motion that was none of their business and which later might be used against them. Rather, he asked, why not propose a motion that would give to the Catholics of Upper Canada the same rights as those enjoyed by Protestants in Quebec. This, he asserted, would have some real meaning. George-Etienne Cartier finished his remarks with a paragraph of great interest:

93. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 621-625, La Minerve, 29 et 31 mai.
94. La Minerve, 31 mai.
"Je prie la Chambre de m'excuser, si je parle ainsi. Ce sont là des sujets que je n'aime pas à aborder et qu'il est désagréable de traiter sans nécessité, dans une société mixte, mais je suis catholique, et jamais cette Chambre ni aucune autre Chambre, ni aucun pouvoir sur la terre, ne me feront renoncer à ma foi. Mes convictions religieuses sont inébranlables et plusieurs me sauront gré de les avoir défendues (95)."

His stand did not go unnoticed. A letter arrived from Mgr. Alexis-Frédéric Truteau, the Vicar General of the Diocese of Montreal, congratulating the Minister on his "haute profession de foi et des principes purement catholiques que . . . vous fait véritablement honneur (96)." Such were not always the sentiments of the Bishop's Palace.

On June 4, 1869, the process that was to be so agonizing was set in motion with the introduction by the Prime Minister of a bill authorizing the formation of a Provisional Government for the North-West on the annexation of this territory to Canada (97). On June 10 the papers on the subject of Defence resulting from the visit of Cartier and McDougall to London were tabled. The question of the maintenance of Imperial troops was discussed in detail (98). Earlier a report had been made to Council on the subject, summarizing the discussions held with Earl Granville and Mr. Cardwell while the two Canadian Ministers were in London (99).

95. Tassé, op. cit., pp. 628-632, La Minerve, 1 et 3 juin.
96. A. C. A. M., R. L. B. 18, 288, Mgr. Truteau à Cartier, 3 juin 1869. See Appendix XXXVIII.
97. La Minerve, 5 juin, 1869.
98. Ibid., 14 juin.
99. P. A. C., Macdonald, pp. 39586-89587. See Appendix XXXIX.
Innocently enough, a few lines appeared in the press to the effect that permission had been requested from London to send surveyors to the North-West in order to assist in the orderly colonization of the territory (100). The Session was quietly prorogued on June 22 (101). Two days later Sir George took the new President of the Council, the Hon. Joseph Howe, with him to the Saint-Jean-Baptiste celebrations in Ottawa. The reporter for La Minerve was obviously curious at this event but the Nova Scotian minister apparently enjoyed himself (102).

From the letters sent to Sir John A. Macdonald from London it is obvious that Sir George-Etienne Cartier was pleased with the appointment of the new Governor-General, Sir John Young. This good relationship seems to have continued. When, towards the end of July, it was announced that the Minister of Militia would accompany the Governor-General on a tour of the Maritimes coinciding with the visit of Prince Arthur, the 19-year-old third son of Queen Victoria, later as the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada from 1911-1916, this impression is cemented. After six months absence it would have been preferable for the Minister of Militia to stay home and tend to his constituency but the energetic member was delighted to accompany the representative of Her Majesty (103).

100. La Minerve, 19 juin, 1869.
101. Ibid., 23 juin.
102. Ibid., 30 juin.
103. Ibid., 24 juillet.
The report of a sermon on the North-West would ordinarily pass with little notice but when we know from hindsight that Archbishop Alexandre-Antonin Taché of Saint-Boniface had visited the Minister of Militia at about the same time to warn him of unrest there, the sermon in question takes on a new significance. On July 25, Mgr. Taché preached in the Cathedral of Saint-Hyacinthe on the subject of the benefits of the acquisition of the North-West, and the opportunities for emigrants to the new territory (104). There was no mention of any trouble but later we find that the Archbishop had indeed given information about possible difficulties to Sir George Cartier in Ottawa, but had received a rather peremptory reply to the effect that the Government's information was that everything was going very well.

Others duties pressed. The Minister of Militia was off to Lévis to tour the fortifications there with the Governor-General (105). On the morning of August 5, the Napoleon III sailed from Quebec for the Maritimes, taking a leisurely route that included Murray Bay, the Saguenay, and Gaspé. It was probably the closest thing to a holiday that the Minister of Militia had had for some time, the duties of conducting the Viceregal couple not being unduly onerous (106).

104. Ibid., 30 juillet.
105. Ibid., 31 juillet.
106. Ibid., 5 août.
The occasion was taken to visit Prince Edward Island as no opportunity was to be lost in persuading the canny Islanders to join the new Dominion. Apparently the reception was very good as was that of the Royal Prince in Halifax. "You have seen no doubt, by the newspapers, that Sir John has been well received in Charlottetown and here. I think we have made great progress with the P.E. Islanders for the success of Confederation. Prince Arthur's reception here today was magnificent (107)."

In the same letter Cartier was obviously upset that Macdonald had gone ahead and talked to Sir Francis Hincks, recently returned to Canada, about entering the Cabinet as Minister of Finance. An appointment was necessary as the Hon. John Rose had decided to return to England and enter into business - founding the banking firm of Morton, Rose and Co. Cartier wrote.

"The Conversation to which I alluded in my last telegram to you was the one which took place between you, myself, Campbell and Rose, the day that Campbell left Ottawa to go to Europe. You must recollect that, in that conversation which principally concerned the question of a successor to Rose, you told me, I was at liberty to feel Galt about the matter and in the case he should decline the offer, I was to take charge of it. For my part, as far as I am concerned, I would like very much that our friend Hincks should be our financial colleague. But I will be in a very difficult position when I meet Galt, on my return to Montreal, to approach the question of successor to Rose, after your conversation with Hincks. Before I left Montreal, I met Galt, and without telling him any detail, nor even the subject I wanted to see him for, I intimated to him not to leave for England before we should meet and have some talk together on political and railway matters. It

is understood that we are to meet in Montreal in the beginning of September. In consequence of your conversation with Hincks, I see that I will not be able to go so far with Galt as it was understood (108).

Galt was apparently not to have a chance to return to the Cabinet. It is probable that Macdonald wished to move to prevent such a possibility. Galt's views on the subject are contained in a series of letters exchanged with Richard Cartwright, the Member for Lennox and Addington and himself a disappointed candidate for the Finance portfolio. Writing on October 29 Galt stated: "My views of Hincks's appointment agree with your own. I told Cartier before it took place, what I thought of it. I do not, however, see that anything can be done before the House meets, when the other members can be talked with. John A's sole object seems to be to maintain himself in power, irrespective of all other considerations (109)."

On the same day Cartwright was writing to Galt, talking of Party unity but at the same time assessing the chances of getting rid of Macdonald. In Cartwright's view it was imperative "to preserve the present Liberal Conservative Party, if possible, in spite of all their Leader has done to destroy it (110)."

It is evident that within a relatively short period after Confederation the Liberal-Conservative Party went through very tempestuous times.

108. Ibid., 23 août.
110. Ibid., Cartwright to Galt, 29 oct. See Appendix XL.
Writing on November 1, Galt showed his rage at Hinck's appointment but stressed the need for Party Unity and commented on Cartier's point of view:

"After what I have gone through as Finance Minister in trying to put things to right, I cannot be compromised by a support of the present arrangement. ... The object to be avoided is a breach in our ranks which would only serve our opponents. This may, I hope, still be avoided, but, if no other course offers, I for one shall rather take the consequences now than face certain annihilation at the next election. One important point is that I know Cartier is perfectly indifferent whether there be a crisis from Ontario causes or not (I11)."

It would appear that the anger of a few months earlier on Cartier's part had not disappeared, even though he had apparently given up any immediate idea of coalition with the Grits. The Prime Minister wrote to Cartwright on November 17. This very full letter of explanation did not deter the disappointed younger man from going over to the opposition but it gives us Macdonald's reasoning on the matter. One passage helps to explain why Galt was overlooked:

"For the last 12 years the cry has been, however unjust, that our Currency and Banking, as well as our Tariffs, have always been subjected to Montreal influence & been worked to Montreal advantage. This has grown into the public mind and it has been said that no matter what party is in that the result is the same - we had either Galt or Holton or Rose. And a general belief prevails

I11. Ibid., 1 nov., Galt to Cartwright.
that King's resignation of the active management of the Montreal Bank is only preparatory to his making a bold push as a political financier. Hincks has always been, and is now, quite unconnected with any Montreal interests & stands quite independent of them, and I feel confident that the result of his action on the question will be to secure the support of the Western Banking Institutions and, indeed, of the Eastern ones as well, who object to the enormous power of the Montreal Bank (112)."

The English-speaking Quebec member in the Cabinet to replace Rose was Christopher Dunkin, the arch anti-confederate, well-educated member for Brome who had accepted the fait-accompli of Confederation and had become Provincial Treasurer in the Chauveau Administration. He would have made an excellent Minister of Finance for Canada, but his brief sojourn of two years as a Federal Minister was spent in the Department of Agriculture.

Returning to the Viceregal tour; after the visit to Halifax the official party went to Saint John and Fredericton before taking the Grand Trunk from Portland to Montreal, arriving on September 5 (113).

Before the departure of the Minister of Finance a grand banquet was held in his honour in the St. Lawrence Hall on September 28. It was an unusual occasion as members of both political parties combined to pay tribute to the honourable gentleman. Messrs. Dorion and Holton sat at the same head table with Messrs. Tupper, Ouimet, and Dunkin. To the

112. Ibid., 17 nov., Macdonald to Cartwright.
113. La Minerve, 7 sept., 1869.
right of the Mayor sat the guest of honour and next to him sat Sir George-Etienne Cartier. Replying to the toast to the "Ministers of Her Majesty" the Minister of Militia said how proud he was to have first brought the Honourable John Rose into the Cabinet. Finding it difficult to speak in such a way that he would not offend the Opposition Members present or the American Consul, Cartier touched, however, on a favourite topic, the supremacy of British institutions:

"... j'exprimerai le voeu que nos héritiers maintiennent aussi résolument nos institutions britanniques. J'espère qu'il en sera ainsi jusqu'à la fin des siècles."

He warned the Opposition not to be in any hurry to take over the Government however, as "je puis déclarer que les ministres actuels sont décidés à demeurer les conseillers de Sa Majesté (114)."

Another dinner took place on October 6 to mark the departure from Montreal of Joseph-Albert-Norbert Provencher for the North-West. A nephew of the first Bishop of Saint-Boniface and an Editor of La Minerve, Provencher was well suited to positions of responsibility. The news of the North-West was printed from time to time in the press. William McDougall, the newly appointed Governor, and his party left by the American route; the Proclamation of the assumption of control of the Territory was to be read on December 1; these were the news items that

114. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 634-636, La Minerve, 29 sept.
were expected (115). It was not until November 15 that the first rather
garbled report of trouble arrived. According to this account, McDougall
had arrived at Winnipeg on October 31, but only after the Métis had
blocked his way. Provencher was the man of the day and his assurances of
fair treatment had procured the safe and orderly passage of the Lieutenant-
Governor and his entourage (116). The St. Paul's newspapers published
reports that were closer to the truth but these were at first regarded as
false by La Minerve (117). It was not until November 23 that it was
finally admitted that the Canadians had been turned back, when a report
was given of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Lieutenant-Governor
without a Territory (118).

115. La Minerve, 18 et 25 oct. et 10 nov.
116. Ibid., 15 nov.
117. Ibid., 18 nov.
118. Ibid., 23 nov.
CHAPTER XI

TROUBLE IN THE NORTH-WEST.

The First Riel Rebellion of 1869-70 has caused historians to examine details related to the period that would otherwise have passed unnoticed (1). Attempts, some rather laboured, have been made to affix the blame in various quarters. Even today the name Riel arouses an emotional response in parts of Ontario and Quebec.

Briefly the Métis feared the loss of their holdings when the surveyors under Lt. Col. John Stoughton Dennis came in 1869 to survey the land that it was intended to open up for settlement. No one seems to have given the necessary assurances in this regard. Secondly, increased migration almost certainly meant the loss of hunting grounds. Also the Canada First crew of Robert Grant Haliburton, Charles Mair, Henry James Morgan, John Christian Schultz and others, was quick to give the impression that the immigrants would be English-speaking Protestants from Ontario. Haliburton was the son of Thomas Chandler Haliburton or "Sam Slick." Both father and son were racists. Mair

1. For example see:
was a journalist and poet who represented the Montreal Gazette in the West during the period of rebellion and caused considerable harm by his outspoken views. Morgan was a civil servant and author who later confined himself to the more sedate task of writing biographical works such as Celebrated Canadians, and Canadian Men and Women of the Time. In 1868, however, Haliburton, Mair and Morgan were busy writing poetry. Charles Mair worked for William McDougall, providing him with background material on the North-West, and this led to a fiercely nationalistic movement, immature and poorly thought out, that demanded the taking over of the west by a Canada that was English solely (2). Schultz was a doctor and a more practical and opportunistic person who led the "loyalist" group at Fort Garry. He was later to become Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, after terms as the M.P. for Lisgar and as a Senator.

All this threatened the Métis traditional independence and these fears were shared by their clergy, who did not wish to see a Protestant inundation of the North-West. The officials of the Hudson's Bay Company were rather sullen and did not approve of what they knew about the transfer although London seems to have been somewhat remiss in not providing


more information to William Mactavish, the Governor of Assiniboia, and his men.

Both Mactavish and Bishop Taché (the latter sailed for Rome on October 16) later said that they had warned Sir George Cartier of impending troubles but the Minister of Militia was confident that nothing undue would happen. The Americans in Minnesota and Winnipeg were unhappy about the transfer of the North-West to Canada and encouraged annexationist sentiments among the population but Riel never seems to have seriously considered this alternative. The final ingredient for failure was an authoritarian and pompous Lieutenant-Governor, and William McDougall answered the description. Thus what might have been a quiet undertaking was transformed into an ignominious occasion for the Government of the young Dominion of Canada.

On October 31 McDougall was stopped as he reached the border north of Pembina and was forced to turn around. Riel then took possession of Fort Garry and paused to consider his position of strength. Although the point has escaped many people, it is now well accepted that Riel's action was against the assumption of authority by Canada, which in his mind meant the continuation of the influence of the Canada First people. This constituted an illegal action but not treason. The Canadian Government, however, was prepared to accept the situation and to make the best of it. In the meantime Riel had called together delegates of the various parishes, both English and French, and had made clear his stand that the Hudson's Bay Company Government no longer existed and that a Provisional
regarding the status of the Red River region and its inhabitants. On December 1 a comic note appeared in the tragic series of events as McDougall crossed the border and read a Proclamation of the transfer which he thought took place on that day. In fact the payment of the funds had been held back until the situation could be clarified.

McDougall unwisely encouraged armed resistance to Riel without realizing the consequences of a further failure. Riel captured the house of Joseph Schultz and the large cache of important food supplies kept for the builders of the Dawson Road to the Lakehead. Success was all too simple. On December 8, Riel issued a Declaration of the People of Rupert's Land justifying his actions to date. McDougall retreated to St. Paul, and Riel and the hand of winter were left in control of the Red River. On December 6 the Governor-General issued a proclamation promising an amnesty to all who would lay down their arms. Lt. Col. Charles de Salaberry and the Grand Vicar Jean-Baptiste Thibault of Saint-Boniface were sent to pacify the Métis. Donald Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company was sent to work with Mactavish and McDougall to put the machinery of transfer back in order. Smith was an effective and canny mediator who succeeded in bringing the various elements together.

News of the troubles in the North-West had to compete in Lower Canada with the "Affaire Guibord." Here we see for the first time the name of Louis-Amable Jetté, soon to figure prominently in the life of the Minister of Militia. However, reports from Red River were printed in full as well as copies of official documents and opinions about the
actions of each group.

A Second Convention was called to meet on January 25. Another list of rights was drawn up and three delegates representing the French, English, and American elements in Red River were chosen to go to Ottawa to discuss the rights and grievances of the people with the Canadian Government. These were Father Joseph-Noël Ritchot, the parish priest at Saint-Norbert, Judge John Black, the Recorder of Rupert's Land, and Alfred H. Scott, an American who was a bartender in O'Lone's Red Saloon. The letters of appointment, signed by Thomas Bunn, the English half-breed from St. Clement's who became Secretary of State in the Provisional Government, instructed the delegates to:

"betake yourselves to Ottawa, in Canada; and that when there you should lay before the Canadian Parliament the list entrusted to your keeping with these presents, which list contains the conditions and propositions under which the people of Assiniboia would consent to enter into Confederation with the other Provinces of Canada (3)."

Riel was elected President of the Provisional Government, with an elected council representing the English and the French parishes equally. The prisoners held in Fort Garry were to be released and all might have proceeded reasonably smoothly. The Canadian Party, however, resolved on another show of strength which was to be more successful than the first. The whole affair of the first North-West Rebellion changed irretrievably on March 4. The previous day, Thomas Scott, an excitable workman on the

Dawson Road who hailed from Perth, Ontario, had been tried and sentenced for "insubordination and striking the guards" and on March 4 he was shot. This senseless act was allowed to happen because Riel was unable to control his men who demanded retribution from a man of no importance who embodied the contempt for the half-breed that was so resented by the Métis. Unfortunately the one person who could really influence the Métis population was still four days away. Bishop Taché had been requested to return from Rome by the Canadian Government. He was shown Sir John Young's Proclamation concerning an amnesty and despite the fact that this was an Imperial matter - a point that was later to prove of great importance - both Macdonald and Cartier assured him that all would be well. Cartier had seen Mgr. Taché both in Montreal and in Ottawa and had expressed the thanks of the Cabinet for the Prelate's swift return (4). In the same letter the Minister of Militia added a postscript "Les dernières nouvelles de la Rivière Rouge sont bonnes (5)." Unfortunately this statement was premature. Arriving in Saint-Boniface, Mgr. Taché's good offices were effective.

In late March the three delegates left for Ottawa to see the Canadian Ministers. Parliament had been in session since February 15, the opening being a gala affair despite the pressure of events. Special notice was taken that after the Governor-General had read the Speech from the Throne in English, it was Sir John A. Macdonald who read it in French. La Minerve commented:

4. Ibid., Cartier (Ottawa) à Taché, (Montréal), 3 fév. 1870.
"Il paraît qu'il s'attendait à ne pas réussir dans une tâche aussi difficile pour tout anglais; mais il tenait à faire acte de bon vouloir envers notre nationalité et il était décidé en demandant à ses collègues de ne pas trop rire de sa prononciation, mais la précaution n'était pas nécessaire, parce qu'il s'est parfaitement acquitté de son devoir (6)."

Sir John A. certainly had a flair for pleasing people. We also notice that Mgr. Taché occupied a place of honour during the ceremonies in the Senate Chamber, and was present at a "gala" at Rideau Hall the same evening. La Minerve assured its readers that: "Les rumeurs que l'on s'est plu à répandre sur de prétendues froideurs entre Sa Grandeur et le gouvernement sont toutes fausses (7)."

The list of rights had been significantly altered by Riel and now demanded the admission of the North-West as a full Province of Confederation, as well as a bilingual Governor and a general amnesty. Mgr. Taché armed Father Ritchot with a further demand for denominational schools. The twenty points were set down in an untitled memorandum that the emissaries were to present (8).

In the covering letter that Father Ritchot received he was instructed that items 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 18 were not debatable but

6. La Minerve, 17 fév., 1870.
7. Ibid.
8. M. S. A. A., Document No. 3457, Pièce justificative N; See Appendix No. XLI.
that he and the other delegates could arrange the other points as well as they were able, always keeping in mind that any agreement would have to be ratified by the Provisional Government (9).

Professor George F. G. Stanley has brought a document of great interest to light with the publication of Ritchot's Diary (10). The comments are brief but shed a little more light on the very important discussions that went on between the three emissaries from Fort Garry and the Canadian Ministers. Father Ritchot was extremely impatient with the delaying tactics of Cartier and of Macdonald. Having first talked to Cartier on the morning of April 12 it was the 26th before official recognition was given to the three men from Red River (11). Ritchot was obviously displeased with his colleague, John Black, the latter being open to compromise on a number of the points of discussion. Writing to Mgr. Taché Father Ritchot said that he was waiting for Scott's arrival before making the formal presentation of the demands but that he had seen Cartier privately.

"Hier j'ai vu privément Sir G. Cartier. Il m'a très bien reçu et m'a parlé longuement, sans pourtant préciser rien ni rien me demander de positif . . . Mr. George Cartier méprise les écrits des Orangistes; il m'a dit que ça ne faisait rien à l'arrangement mais moi je crois que ça les


embarrasse fortement . . . Les Canadiens-Français sont tout pour nous—les Irlandais le sont encore plus. J'ai reçu la visite d'un grand nombre de membres du parlement et de citoyens de la ville. Mais tout ça n'empêche pas que les affaires soient très compliquées et très sérieuses (12)."

On May 4 Ritchot had an audience with the Governor-General and with Sir Clinton Murdoch, the special envoy from the Court of St. James sent to keep an eye on events in the North-West. Ritchot was not unduly impressed. On the subject of the Amnesty the priest recorded several paragraphs stating how he had asked for a general amnesty on top of the earlier proclamation of December 8, 1869.

"Son Excellence me dit que dans la dite proclamation elle, le gouverneur, promettait au nom de Sa Majesté que personne de ceux qui avaient pris part à cette malheureuse violation des lois ne serait troublée et qu'en effet il y aurait une proclamation générale d'Amnistie, que Sa Majesté ne demandait pas mieux que de rétablir la paix dans ses Etats, que Sir Clinton Murdoch, délégué spécial de Sa Majesté pour l'aider à régler ces questions difficiles connaissait parfaitement l'intention de Sa Majesté à ce sujet (13)."

This interview was to cause much trouble at a later date. On Tuesday evening March 17, Sir George Cartier entertained at dinner at his home in Ottawa in honour of Father Ritchot. The diary tells us:

"Sir Georges profite avec plaisir de la présence de ses collègues et amis pour me complimenter sur la conduite

The missionary was a hard man to flatter. On May 19 Ritchot and Black had another interview with Sir John Young. The same points were covered with the same unsatisfactory results for Ritchot. Assurances were given that all would be fine - but never the crucial Amnesty. Finally on May 24, Sir George informed the insistent representative from Red River:

"qu'il vous faudrait présenter une requête à la Reine, que son Excellence l'appuierait. Ce serait le meilleur moyen d'obtenir l'Amnistie de suite. Je refuse d'abord la chose et je finis par consentir parce que ce n'est qu'une affaire de forme me fait - on dire, qu'il faut présenter un document à Sa Majesté et que le Gouverneur se trouve un peu dans l'embarras pour le présenter lui-même dans la crainte de se compromettre (15)."

The petition to Her Majesty that was signed by Father Ritchot and Alfred Scott on February 25, 1872, stated their understanding in no uncertain terms (16). The fact that two years had elapsed without the promised document heightened their displeasure.

Despite the high feeling in Ontario which resulted in the arrest of Ritchot and Alfred Scott upon their arrival in Ottawa, the three men met,

15. Ibid., pp. 559-560.
at first unofficially, with Macdonald, Cartier, and Howe, and a bill was introduced into Parliament by the ailing Prime Minister and carried through by the Minister of Militia. After considerable debate, including furious interventions from Ex-Governor McDougall, the bill passed on May 12 and provided for the coming into being of the Province of Manitoba on July 15, 1870 (17). The area was small, but the rights of the population were recognized, land provided for the Métis, both languages protected, and a guarantee that was later illegally abrogated gave the various denominations the educational rights possessed "by law or practice in the Province at the union (18)."

The evening the bill was passed an exhausted Father Ritchot wrote to his Bishop:

"Vous avez du voir sur les journaux une partie des débats au sujet de notre pays - vous avez du voir aussi que nous entrions dans la confédération comme province - Vous avez du voir que notre province de Manitoba n'est pas grande - Je ne sais si ça plaira à tout le monde - ce point et bien d'autres pourraient n'être pas du goût d'un grand nombre de personnes - pour nous, nous n'avons qu'à dire que nous avons fait ce que nous avons pu pour le plus grand bien et avantage des habitants de la Nouvelle province du Manitoba. Nous avons eu pour traiter cette importante affaire environ 75 hres de conférence avec Sir Georges et Sir John tous deux délégués par les ministres pour nous entendre. A part ces longues conférences qui duraient jusqu'à 7 hres nous avons eu un grand nombre de rencontres officielles sur ce sujet."

The priest-turned-diplomat allowed himself some cautious optimism:

17. Tassé, pp. 665-676; Cotton Debates, pp. 1287-1328.
"Nos bons amis, et le nombre en est grand, se réjouissent de notre succès qu'ils regardent comme prodigieux. Pour vous nous avons prié un peu et fait beaucoup prier; nous n'osons dire que les choses sont bien pour notre pauvre mais bon peuple de la Rivière Rouge; cependant nous l'espérons et nous croyons en avoir une preuve dans la rage qu'ont montrée les ennemis de notre cause en ayant passé malgré eux notre bill - c'est selon moi une bonne preuve qu'il est bon pour notre Nation Métis ... (19)."

Father Ritchot stayed on in Ottawa to assure that all the details concerning the division of land, etc., were decided as favourably as possible (20). Cartier wrote at length on May 23 giving the details of the land settlement (21). The Amnesty remained the insoluble problem.

Other representatives of the Red River were in Ottawa as well. John Schultz, the Canada First leader pressed his claims for office on the Government.

"... Meantime, referring to a current rumour - that the Government have in view my nomination as one of the Senators of Manitoba, I may say that such a course on the part of the Government would be acceptable to a large portion of the People of our Province and would be but an act of justice to myself - It would do much also to convince me and them that the Dominion Government were disposed to fairly represent Manitoba by one prominent English as well as one prominent French member. I may say that until the late disturbances at the Red River Settlement and the consequent destruction of my business it had not been my intention to have entered political life but as it has in a measure been forced upon me, I would

20. Ibid., Document No. 3157, Père Ritchot à Sir George Et. Cartier, 18 mai.
21. Ibid., Cartier à Ritchot, 23 mai.
wish by being one of the Senators to avoid the sectarian jealousies and strife which may possibly spring up in the Elections for the House of Commons – I am anxious for a long period of quiet and of happy advancement of the country and if entrusted with the representation of a section of our population in the Senate – will be glad to smooth away existing differences, to reconcile conflicting interests and do my best for the prosperity and peace of the Dominion . . . (22)."

This was one petitioner to whom Sir George was not likely to be sympathetic. The tall and well-educated Doctor finally ran for the House of Commons. He represented Lisgar from 1871 to 1882 when he obtained a seat in the Senate. In 1888 he became Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and in 1895 was created a K. C. M. G. Schultz was not long in realizing that his star was not in the ascendancy in Ottawa. He wrote again on June 7 referring to the "extraordinary rumours now current . . . that Gov. Archibald to proclaim an Amnesty at once on his arrival at Red River to Riel, Donohue, and all others." He continued with ill-concealed fury:

"... Now I feel that in justice to the people at Red River in fairness even to myself I must not leave Canada till it is distinctly understood how the loyal portion of the Settlers and particularly the English are to be classed in the coming economy. On it will depend whether I go to Red River at once and quickly or whether I go in after the troops have arrived there – I would like to hear from you at your very earliest convenience on the subject, or if you prefer will go to Ottawa to confer with you personally . . . (23)."

Riel was satisfied despite the lack of the amnesty and the military

23. Ibid., pp. 41420-41422, Schultz to Cartier, June 7.
expedition that was making its way from the Lakehead followed by the new Lieutenant-Governor, Adams G. Archibald, recently resigned as Secretary of State for Canada. Colonel Garnet Wolseley and his force of disinterested British regulars and biased Ontario and Quebec militia men — most of the latter being English-speaking — were supposed to impress the Indians and show the Americans that the Canadian and the Imperial Governments were united in controlling the North-West (24). What was not realized was that the majority of the expedition considered that they were off to punish Riel and his upstart supporters. Thus, at the last minute, instead of handing over authority to Archibald in a dignified manner as he had anticipated, Riel was forced to flee for his life.

Cartier was dubious about the results of a military expedition and especially so because of its composition. A letter from F-N Belcourt to Mgr. Taché gives one report.

"Le Conseil Privé a eu une séance très orageuse samedi dernier qui a duré sept heures sur les affaires du Nord-Ouest. Il est dit aujourd'hui que Sir George a menacé le Cabinet de donner sa résignation si ses collègues persistaient à vouloir envoyer des troupes à la R. R. J'aiime à croire que la rumeur est vraie et qu'il le fera le cas échéant (25)."

Even early in June Mgr. Taché was still very uncertain of the purpose of the troops. The prelate wrote to Sir George on June 10 warning him of the great danger that still existed and repeating the necessity of a

complete amnesty. "J'ai le souvenir de ce que vous m'avez dit puis j'ai
tant aimé ce que vous avez dit en parlement que pour ma part je n'ai point
le moindre doute; je suis entièrement convaincu que les délégués nous
apporteront de bonnes nouvelles." Taché was not sure, however, and con-
tinued to press his case. He talked of English Canadians from Ontario
who were stirring up the Indians and of letters received daily by Riel
and O'Donoghue offering help from Fenian organizations in the United
States. The Bishop reported that "Bien des gens posent la question:
"Le Canada a-t-il le droit de législater sur ce pays avant que le peuple
ait consenti à entrer dans la Confédération." Any question of arrests
or repression with the arrival of the troops would be sure to signal
further armed resistance. Complaining that he had sent ten previous
letters to the Government in Ottawa without receiving a reply, the worried
Taché begged that Cartier reply as soon as possible (26).

Father Ritchot and his fellow envoys were received back in Red River
"avec la plus grande démonstration de joie." All augured well. "Nous
sommes convaincu que tout ira bien. Monsieur Riel est bien disposé (27)."

Following the summoning of the Assembly, Ritchot reported:

"Vendredi dernier, 24 courant, j'ai été appelé devant
l'Assemblée Législative du Gouvernement Provisoire,
pour donner quelques explications au sujet de l'Acte

27. Ibid., pp. 41433-41434, Ritchot à Cartier, 18 juin 1870.
de Manitoba. Tous se sont montrés très satisfaits. Les craintes sont disparues. Les sympathies pour le Canada sont vives et sincères. M. Riel désire voir arriver le Gouverneur le plus tôt possible (28)."

It was a pity that this propitious state of affairs had to be spoiled later in the summer.

Replying to several letters from both the Bishop of Saint-Boniface and Father Ritchot, Sir George stated his position on the amnesty.

"... Cette lettre Mon seigneur vous est écrite comme devant être strictement confidentielle, ayant à vous parler de la question délicate de l'Amnistie - Vous ne devez pas douter d'après ce que vous avez lu dans les journaux que Ontario et une partie de la Province de Québec, et des Provinces Maritimes, sont vivement opposés à leur Amnistie - Mais heureusement pour le Peuple de la Rivière Rouge que la question de l'Amnistie est du ressort de Sa Majesté la Reine et non du Gouvernement Canadien - Le Père Ritchot a dû expliquer à Votre Grandeur tout ce qui en est à ce sujet, la pétition qu'il a adressée à la Reine et les entrevues qu'il a eues avec Sir John Young - Si l'Amnistie dépendait et était du ressort du Gouvernement Canadien, composé d'éléments hétéroclites elle serait en grand danger - Mais je vous le réitère il est heureux que ce soit Sa Majesté, aidée du conseil de ses membres qui aura à décider cette question - Déjà Sa Majesté par la Proclamation du 6 Décembre dernier qu'elle a fait remettre par Sir John Young a pour ainsi dire favoriser une amnistie le fait a été mentionné dans la Pétition du Rev Ritchot à la Reine."

Sir George finished with some advice, but no amnesty:

"Maintenant je dois vous intimer que le moyen le plus sûr d'obtenir cette Amnistie est que toute la population de la Rivière Rouge accepte le nouvel ordre de choses. Il

sera bon pour Votre Grandeur, l'Evêque anglican, tous ceux qui ont figuré dans le Gouvernement Provisoire, tous les notables de la Rivière Rouge fassent un accueil à Sir Archibald votre nouveau Gouverneur, et à l'Expédition militaire - La Reine attendra peut-être ce résultat avant de faire connaître sa décision. L'expédition est une expédition de paix et le Bataillon de Québec comprend un grand nombre de vos amis . . . (29)."

Before the expedition left Colonel Wolseley solicited the post of Governor of Red River from Sir George Cartier. He was turned down - the best reason being that his military approach would be likely to exacerbate rather than to pacify the inhabitants. On his return to England, Wolseley, who later became Field Marshall Viscount Wolseley, wrote an account of the Red River Expedition in which he had some harsh words for the Minister of Militia. After some condescending phrases about French Canadians in general, he wrote:

"... The only man of really statesmanlike ability in the Canadian Ministry is the Premier Sir John A. Macdonald. Unfortunately for the country, he was just at this critical moment struck down by severe illness, and the general management of affairs devolved upon Sir George Cartier, the leader of the French Conservatives. In early life he had played a minor part in the Canadian rebellion of 1837, when he had actually borne arms against the British Crown - a crime which, in the opinion of his political opponents, his subsequent loyalty has not sufficed to wipe out. This tended to prejudice many against him; for it was considered natural that, having been once himself a rebel, he should sympathise with rebellion wherever he met it. That "foul dishonoring word" is, however, regarded very differently by a man of neither birth, wealth, nor position, when seeking for political notoriety, and when he has succeeded, and is in the Ministry also. But this well-known truth was forgotten, and he was generally regarded, as a partisan, and anxious to play into the hands of Messrs Riel, Ritchot and Co."

29. Ibid., Document No. 3177, Cartier à Mgr. Taché, 5 juillet, 1870.
The pompous professional soldier continued very condescendingly:

"Sir G. Cartier, although a poor debater and of very ordinary ability, is a creditable specimen of Canadian public men. His greatest enemy dare not question his honesty. Others have become rich in the management of public affairs; but he is still, comparatively speaking, a poor man. He is a firm friend and a good hater. His ordinary promise is more to be relied upon than the oath of many of his contemporaries, and he is a hardworking public servant. To accuse him of descending at times into the lowest depths of jobbery and political trickery, is merely to accuse him of being a Canadian politician. In England we are prone to grumble at the misdeeds of Downing Street; but only purity and virtue emanates from that dingy locality when a comparison is instituted between the political morality of England and that of Canada; and the latter is in its turn little short of perfection when judged side by side with the corruption pervading every department of political and municipal government in the United States."

The impression given by Wolseley of Cartier's circumstances and position is of interest:

"Sir George Cartier had entered Parliament in early life, and was soon recognised as the leader of the French Canadian national party, a position which enabled him at all times to command about 60 votes in the House of Commons. With such a following, it is easy to understand how he has been able for many years back to maintain himself in a prominent position in public life. Many who ought to know assert that at heart he has no real love for the Roman Catholic priesthood: these may perhaps be his private feelings, but in public he has to bow before it. It is a lever of mighty power in the province of Quebec, and by doing political jobs for it, he secures its influence. Were he to estrange that party from his, another who longs for such an opportunity would soon occupy the position he holds as leader of the French Conservatives. Sir John Macdonald's illness was a fortunate circumstance for the rebel clique in Fort Garry, as it enabled their sympathising friends in Canada, through their influence with Sir G. Cartier, to obtain for them all that they could have
reasonably wished for . . . (30)."

Talking of Scott's death Wolseley wrote:

"The press, which everywhere in the province of Ontario had all through these affairs called for active measures, now preached up a crusade, and with such effect, that it is almost beyond doubt that had the priestly party in Canada succeeded, through their mouthpieces Messrs. Cartier, Langevin, and Company, in preventing an armed expedition being sent to the Red River, there would have arisen in Ontario an organisation for sending up an armed body of emigrants there, sworn to avenge the foul murder which had been perpetrated (31)."

The sort of feeling among ordinary immigrants can be seen in the letters written to relatives in Ontario. Writing home one Alexander Campbell said: "the french used to run the country but I think the Canadians can run it now (32)."

Shortly after the arrival of Wolseley and his force on August 24, Bishop Taché wrote in consternation over the actions of the Colonel and his men. Having prepared the people for an orderly and peaceful arrival with no recriminations, he was deceived to find that citizens were being maltreated and warrants had been issued for the arrest of Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine. Taché was rightly furious:

31. Ibid., p. 713.
"Si l'orage qui menace éclate, j'aurai la poignante douleur d'avoir été une vil instrument pour tromper un peuple qui avait confiance en moi... Le Gouvernement pourra se féliciter d'avoir abusé de ma crédulité..."

With bitterness the beleaguered prelate wrote how one of his priests had nearly been killed by "un des admirables loyaux." He returned to the question of the amnesty saying... "que Sa Majesté se hâte de le faire (33)."

Cartier replied sympathizing with the reactions of the Bishop and still holding out the hope for a complete amnesty (34). The Bishop replied realistically complaining of the amnesty that seemed so elusive and giving advice on appointments. He used very strong language, talking of a "fourberie" in promising something that was apparently never intended. Cartier must have smarted under the phrase: "Les faibles seuls ont un prétexte pour n'être pas francs." Annexation was becoming more popular, said Taché.

The nomination of Cartier's old friend, Francis Godschall Johnson, as a Special Commissioner for setting up the courts of Manitoba, was very pleasing to the Métis. He had been Governor of Assiniboia from 1855 to 1858 and knew the country and the people well. The rumoured nomination of Marc-Amable Girard as a Senator was not as pleasing. Taché explained that he was too new an arrival and suggested that Joseph Leroy would be a much better nomination (35). However, Girard was appointed to the Executive

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33. P. A. C., MacDonald, pp. 41489-41492, Mgr. Taché à Cartier, 27 août.
34. M. S. A. A., Document No. 3356, Cartier à Mgr. Taché, 2 nov. 1870
35. P. A. C., MacDonald, pp. 41501-41504, Taché à Cartier, 25 nov. 1870.
Council, became a Canadian Senator in 1871, and was briefly Premier of Manitoba in 1874. He had written to Cartier on several occasions giving his qualifications and soliciting the Senatorship (36).

Writing to Sir George in Quebec on November 4, Sir John A. said: "I hope that you have written in such a manner as to smooth the ruffled plumage of Bishop Taché. I have struck upon a most satisfactory answer to any question about an amnesty which I will keep for you until you return (37). What was this "satisfactory answer" never becomes clear.

Cartier sent letters to the North-West only by trusted travellers during this long period. He wrote again on December 7, still offering hope of an amnesty and rejoicing at the conduct of Riel and his fellow exiles (38).

Governor Archibald had the qualities McDougall lacked and was successful in dealing with a very difficult situation. He appointed an executive council, which managed to work reasonably effectively until elections could be held. The matter of an amnesty was allowed to drag on but eventually came to a head when Riel was elected to the Federal Parliament from Provencher in 1874, but was not allowed to take his seat. He remained,

36. F. A. C., Macdonald, pp. 41505-41508 and pp. 41509-41511, Girard à Cartier, 26 et 29 nov. 1870.

37. Ibid., Vol. 517, pp. 460-461, Macdonald to Cartier, Nov. 4.

whether in exile or not, a figure in Canadian politics until he was hanged following his capture at Batoche in the second rebellion of 1885.

Cartier was closely involved in the protracted negotiations. He went to Quebec for the opening of the legislature on November 25, 1870, but was back in Ottawa by December 3 to be close to North-West matters (39). He returned to Quebec for ten days at the end of the year but was back in Ottawa again to see the New Year in (40). The press made reference to an oft-quoted speech Cartier had made to the Chamber of Commerce of Quebec exactly a year before. He referred to himself as "une espèce d'homme de loi qui s'occupe de politique et de commerce," and added, "Rien ne me plaît autant qu'une question d'économie politique et de commerce (41)."

The taste for commerce inherited from earlier generations was not lost in the lawyer-politician but he did not devote sufficient time to it to allow himself to amass any real personal fortune.

As well as the North-West troubles the Minister of Militia had to deal with the Fenian menace and with the more routine matters of his Department. The organization of the Militia was as yet unfamiliar in the country and care was taken to publish detailed reports for the information of the population (42). The withdrawal of the British Regulars was

39. La Minerve, 22 nov., 3 déc. 1870.
40. Ibid., 20 déc, 28 déc.
41. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 641-646; La Minerve, 27 déc. 1869.
42. La Minerve, 23 mars, 1870.
postponed till the Red River Troubles had subsided. The Fenians broke out on Victoria Day, crossing between Frelighsburg and Pigeon Hill, and at Huntington. The Militia was ready and the American forces acted more quickly than in the past (43).

There are many accounts of what actually happened in Red River but Father Ritchot's version is detailed and of great interest because of his position. Biased it certainly is but the Minister of Militia undoubtedly received the two accounts forwarded to him at his request with much interest. Ritchot explained he had not had time to combine the notes. The first account is important for the sequence of events it sets down (44).

As the elections approached in Manitoba there was much speculation as to what might happen especially if Louis Riel decided to run. Governor Archibald wrote to Cartier with detailed news. Louis Riel had been persuaded not to run either for the House of Commons or for the Manitoba Legislature, although the people of Saint-Vital urged him to do so. Cartier had apparently advised the Governor that the new era had more

43. Ibid., 27 mai.

44. P. A. C., Macdonald, pp. 41389-41419, Ritchot à Cartier, Notes sur le Nord Ouest, 30 mai, 1870. See Appendix XLII.
chance of success if none of the three leaders during the troubles of the previous winter appeared on the political stage (45). As usual, it was Bishop Taché who was called upon to carry out this very difficult task and this he did. There is no doubt that this distinguished prelate, the nephew of Sir Etienne-Paschal Taché, was the one person who came out of the whole saga of the events in Manitoba during this period with an unblemished record.

With the New Year Mgr. Taché wrote about the elections, expressing his pleasure at the good conduct of the Métis and his concern about the actions of the soldiers whom he refers to as "la seule cause sérieuse de désordre (46)."

A document prepared by Sir George for Sir John Young, giving the Canadian Minister's opinion on the Amnesty helps us to see some of the internal workings of the Government approach to the question (47). The only conclusion that the Canadian Cabinet could agree to, and this would appear to be at least a legally defensible position, was that the acts had been committed prior to the accession of the said territories to Canada. Thus it was up to Her Majesty's Imperial Government to make a

45. Ibid., pp. 41512-41517, Archibald to Cartier, Dec. 11, 1870.
46. Ibid., pp. 41520-41523, Mgr. Taché à Cartier, 11 janv. 1871.
47. Ibid., pp. 41435-41445, Cartier to Sir John Young, n.d. See Appendix XLIII.
decision on the subject of a General Amnesty, without any advice being given by the Canadian Cabinet. A very neat dodge indeed, but perhaps the only position politically possible without splitting the Liberal-Conservative ministry irreparably.

Although the situation was considerably quieter in 1871 and 1872 the question of the Amnesty continued to occupy many pages of correspondence and considerable dealing was required to dispose of Riel and Lépine—even temporarily. Was an Amnesty ever promised? It is certain that Taché, when he was hurriedly summoned home from Rome, carried such a message to Red River after his brief conversations in Ottawa. But the promise was verbal and was given by the Colonial Ministers in a matter that was not within their jurisdiction. Further, and more important, this was before the execution of Scott. It seems unlikely that Cartier gave any promise to Ritchot although the Minister of Militia may have suggested that he could obtain the necessary document from London. Everybody checked and rechecked what others had written, had said, were reported to have said, and so on. Support for the Lower-Canadian leader was starting to diminish. *La Minerve* carried on as staunchly as ever but even by early 1870 other newspapers that had supported him were becoming more critical. An article in *Le Canadien* of December 30, 1869 stated that the Métis were fully justified in their revolt. *La Minerve* was scandalized by the "principes du libéralisme moderne" expressed by *Le Canadien* in insisting that the inhabitants of the North-West should be consulted concerning the change
in administration (48).

Father Léon Pouliot remarks

"De même, à cette époque – il en ira autrement plus tard – Le Nouveau – Monde ne cache pas son admiration pour sir Georges – Etienne Cartier; il le cite en modèle aux députés du Bas-Canada; bien plus, il le compare à La Fontaine et ce n'est pas peu dire en un temps où ce dernier est considéré comme un véritable sauveur de la Patrie. Et cependant, cette estime de Cartier n'empêche pas le journal de dire franchement ce qu'il pense d'une politique dont Cartier est solidaire et dont il a sa large part de responsabilité (49)."

On Feb. 26, 1871, Sir John A. sent Sir George the Manitoba Bill, as passed, asking that it be sent to London to be passed by the Parliament at Westminster. It is of interest that the Prime Minister stressed that the Imperial authorities should understand that all Provinces must enter Confederation on an equal footing – that the same would be the case with Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, British Columbia, and any new Provinces carved out of Rupert's Land (50).

Bishop Taché had exercised a very good influence on his flock. Writing in the autumn of 1871, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald expressed his "high sense of the services rendered me in aiding with all his power my efforts towards the pacification and good government of this country (51)."

48. La Minerve, 14 janv. 1870.
Sir George saw the Prelate while he was in the east during the autumn and the records show continuing correspondence between Ottawa and Saint-Boniface.

A series of letters in late 1871 and early 1872 give us a fairly clear idea of the way arrangements were made to cover Louis Riel's expenses while in exile, and also to persuade Ambroise Lépine to depart for the U.S.A. at least temporarily.

The Prime Minister wrote to Mgr. Taché saying that all would be arranged regarding certain unnamed matters. There was however mention that Cartier had agreed that payment for the matter discussed would be made only after the end of the Session, thus avoiding prying questions (52). More information is gleaned from another letter a few days later — apparently some funds have been found for the purpose in question:

"I have been able to make the arrangement for the individual that we have talked about. I now send you a sight draft on the Bank of Montreal for $1,000.00. I need not press upon Your Grace the importance of the money being paid to him periodically — say monthly or quarterly — and not in a lump sum, otherwise the money would be wasted and our embarrassement begin again. The payment should spread over a year (53)."

On Jan. 4th Cartier was back in Ottawa and wrote to Mgr. Taché requesting that Lépine be dealt with as:

52. Ibid., Document Nos. 3937, 3945, Macdonald to Taché, Dec. 11 and 18, 1871.

53. Ibid., Document No. 3959, Dec. 27, 1871.
"la présence de Lépine à Manitoba cause autant d'irritation dans Ontario que celle de son collègue R — et qu'il est de la plus grande importance qu'il s'imite au sort de ce dernier — Je ne vous en dis pas d'avantage— Vous comprenez ce qu'il y a à faire (54)."

In January of 1873 Sir John A. wrote to the dying Sir George in London that the Amnesty question was again causing trouble. He retraced the various interviews that had been held and the correspondence exchanged between Cartier and Ritchot and concluded that no Amnesty had ever been promised that included those involved in the execution of Scott. Sir John asked Sir George to put on paper all recollections he had of any conversations that might be cited as Archbishop Taché was talking of producing evidence of a promised all-inclusive Amnesty (55). Replying on Feb. 15th Cartier said that he had had a visit from Lord Lisgar and that both of them would put down their recollections of the interviews with Father Ritchot. The Minister of Militia added "No promise was made of an amnesty. Always bear in mind that throughout we stated that the amnesty was not a question for us, BUT FOR THE Queen (56)."

The Amnesty question dragged on as the Dufferin-Carnarvon Correspondence and later documents attest. Lord Dufferin's suspicions about Cartier's thoughts on the subject are of interest.

54. Ibid., Document No. 4235, Cartier à Taché, 4 Janv. 1872.
56. Ibid., pp. 41592-41595, Cartier to Macdonald, Feb. 15, 1873.
"... I confess I have great doubts whether Sir George Cartier was not far more loose and ambiguous than was desirable, in his communications, both with the Archbishop and Messrs Ritchot and Scott. Sir George Cartier's position was a very awkward one, - the movement in Manitoba was undoubtedly regarded from first to last with admiration and sympathy by the whole French Population of Canada, including the political section of which Sir George was the head. From his subsequent correspondence it is clear he was of opinion that the amnesty should be extended to Riel, and his sanguine temperament induced him to believe that he would have sufficient influence with the British Government to have it eventually so arranged. When therefore the Archbishop and Abbé Ritchot state positively that they returned to Manitoba in the firm persuasion that they had obtained from the Government immunity for Riel, I cannot help suspecting that Sir George Cartier's conversation may have partially justified this conviction. The only circumstance which militates against this view is the unblushing assurance with which Abbé Ritchot swears in his affidavit that Lord Lisgar and Sir Clinton Murdoch gave him a positive promise to the same effect, although the contrary is clearly proved by the Governor General's and Sir Clinton's independent testimony, while the Abbé's assertion is still further discredited by the admission he subsequently made in Mr. Sulte's presence that he was not at all satisfied with what His Excellency said to him (57).

Although speculation is poor historical currency it is of interest to note a passage on the subject of Riel in the speech delivered by Honoré Mercier, the Provincial Liberal Leader, on the occasion of the huge demonstration held on the Champs de Mars on November 22, 1885.

"Hier, quelqu'un me disait: "Si Cartier avait été là, Riel n'aurait pas été pendu," et j'ai été forcé d'admettre que je le croyais. Cartier aurait défendu

notre frère avec la grande énergie qui le caractérisait; et au lieu de consentir à son exécution, il aurait jeté son portefeuille à la face de Sir John . . . (58)"

For what it is worth Mercier's judgment rings true. The hanging of Riel would have been more than Cartier could ever have condoned.

1870 had been a hectic year for the Minister of Militia. He had travelled incessantly back and forth from Ottawa to Montreal to Quebec City. He went to Rimouski, ostensibly for a rest, in August, but seems to have spent all his time speaking and receiving callers (59). He found time on September 3 to hold a magnificent Garden Party at Limoilou for some sixty people, especially the officers of the militia units in the Montreal area. Among the decorations in the improvised outdoor shelter was a large picture of Jacques Cartier (60). The autumn and winter brought sessions of both houses, and a period of four months as Acting Prime Minister, while Macdonald was absent in Washington. The social occasions continued in Ottawa as well, as a rather amusing letter from Samuel James Watson, representative of the Toronto Globe in the Reporter's Gallery attests:

"Mr. Watson having recollection of the very pleasant conversazione to which Sir George invited him last session of Parliament, and of the hospitable entertainment he there received, regrets the more that it is impossible to pay his

59. La Minerve, 9 août, 1870.
60. Ibid., 5 sept.
respects to Sir George-Etienne Cartier tomorrow evening (61)."

The press of February 14 announced the ascendancy of Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, the distinguished Recteur of Laval University and Superior of the Seminary of Quebec, as Archbishop of Quebec. This nomination was not a surprise but it was extremely important, not only in ecclesiastical circles. Cartier wired his congratulations to his close friend, the Grand Vicar Cazeau and in due time a letter of thanks arrived on the Minister's desk. The type of language used by Cartier can hardly be considered lacking in respect for the Church but then even the new Archbishop was not Catholic enough for some. The Minister wrote

"... veuillez donner de ma part assurance à Sa Grâce qu'Elle me trouvera toujours prêt à seconder ses efforts et ses actes en tout ce qui concernera la cause et le progrès de Notre Commune Mère, Notre Sainte Eglise Catholique (62)."

The report from Ottawa about the opening of Parliament mentions, for the first time, that Sir George "a l'air fatigué, inquiet, et est silencieux." The correspondent hastens to add however "Sur sa figure on lit cependant la même expression d'énergie et son regard a également la même assurance (63)." Whether the presence of his wife and daughters in the


62. A. A. Q., G. XI, 149, Cartier à Cazeau, 18 juin, 1871.

63. La Minerve, 16 fév.
Gallery affected the humour of the Baronet we do not know (64). The Speech from the Throne was lacking two subjects that had caused much trouble in past years - the Fenians and the Métis. New items of business, such as the railroad to the Pacific, were to be equally contentious and even more costly, but certainly more productive (65).

On February 27 Sir John A. Macdonald set out from Ottawa for Washington to take part in the deliberations of the Joint Commission on the Fisheries and other questions. It was a difficult assignment. The cards were so stacked that Canada could not win. However, Macdonald salvaged what he could. Sir George Cartier was in charge of the shop at home and a busy place it was. "L'Arbitrage" occupied much of the time of the House with those in the Provincial arena such as Chauveau sometimes forgetting exactly where they were. Cartier, however, tried to smooth the troubled waters (66).

On March 23, Edward Blake, the highly capable constitutional lawyer, brought forward a series of Resolutions that form an interesting link in the gradual development of Canadian autonomy. Blake was worried that the Imperial Government rather than the Canadian Parliament, was drafting the Bill for Westminster concerning the entrance of the North-West into Confederation. Cartier provided a five-pronged amendment to the effect

64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., 24 fév.
66. Ibid., 13 mars.
that the House really approved the measures taken and suggested that Blake was being somewhat obtuse. On March 27, the weight of the Government passed the amendment and the matter was closed (67). The Prime Minister had been aware of the problem as the day before he left for Washington he had written to Cartier about the importance of any new province being on the same footing as the original partners, but finishing "... you had better bring down the papers, including our draft, but not the draft sent out from England (68)."

On Feb. 28 Cartier had submitted the correspondence concerning the admission of British Columbia to the House so that the members would be ready to discuss the matter. Exactly one month later the Acting Prime Minister moved that the House go into Committee to consider a series of resolutions on the subject (69). The process by which negotiations with British Columbia had reached this stage went back several years. Canadian settlers in the area had agitated for such a move and the Colonial Office used its influence to further it (70).

The petitions of some Americans that the territory be annexed to the U.S.A. acted to increase Imperial pressures. The legislature of the


colony discussed the terms to be sought for union in 1870. Three delegates were sent to Ottawa to discuss these terms with the Canadian Ministers. As in the case of Manitoba the delegates, Dr. R. W. W. Carrall, Joseph W. Trutch, and Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, were chosen to represent various areas, interests, and ethnic groups but there the comparison ends. The British Columbia envoys were well - and peacefully - received in Ottawa and the discussions were amazingly short and amicable. Undoubtedly the troubles on the Red River made the Canadian Ministers much more generous with the west coast than would otherwise have been the case. John A. Macdonald was ill when the negotiations started on June 3, 1870, so Cartier was the main contact. The absorption of the debt, the provision of subsidies and grants to help stabilize the economy; these were accepted without trouble. The delegates had asked for a carriage road from Fort Garry but Cartier told them to ask for a Railroad and they would have it. Governor Musgrave exclaimed "And the Railway, Credat Judaeus! is guaranteed without a reservation!" Sir George Cartier says they will do that, or 'burst' (71)."

The private diary of J. S. Helmcken provides a fascinating view of the negotiations. On June 6th he noted that on arriving at the Privy Council Chamber they met Sir George Cartier, "whom we found in his shirt sleeves, hard at work (72)." There followed a number of comments on the


affability of the Acting Prime Minister. The next day the diary produced a comment on Sir George's working habits, describing them as "astounding . . . morning, noon, night brings no cessation"; something that has often been remarked (73).

Of interest, though not surprising is the final paragraph. "I am to tell from Sir George Cartier that it is necessary to be Anti-Yankee. That we have to oppose their damned system - that we can and will build up a northern power, which they cannot do with their principles . . . (74)."

The oft-repeated message was being passed on to the new territory.

November elections in the Province-to-be returned a full slate in favour of Confederation.

After some preliminary remarks in the House on February 28, 1871, Sir George reminded the Members that the British Columbia Bill was in the nature of a treaty and must therefore be adopted without amendments. Spending some time detailing the financial terms, Sir George then turned to Item Eleven which he thought would "no doubt provoke discussion." This concerned the construction of the Pacific Railway. The Acting Prime Minister is reported to have stated that "It was not the intention of the Government to burden the exchequer much to obtain this railway." There followed a description of the proposed land sales that were to cover

73. Ibid., p. 117.
74. Ibid., p. 128.
most of the cost. Sir George stated that the line would start at Lake Nipissing from whence it could connect with existing railways (75).

The members of the House were learning more about the intentions of the Government with regard to the Railroad and this was certainly the point that raised the greatest clamour. The terms were certainly very, very generous, and, as many critics repeated, the schedule was impossible of fulfillment. Alexander Mackenzie, A. T. Galt, A-A Dorion; one after another members rose to question and to criticize. Cartier spoke again on March 31 to provide further figures and facts and finally on April 1 the Resolutions were passed. The going was rough, however, with J. W. Trutch, the leader of the Coastal Delegation and a house-guest of Sir George, being summoned to a Conservative Caucus to give assurances that the new province would not be unduly difficult about the implementation of the terms of union (76). Writing to Dr. Helmcken, Trutch said:

"But for the pluck and determination of the "lightning striker" (Cartier) they would have given in, the measure would have been defeated and the Govt. broken up. We must all remember in B.C. that to Sir George Cartier and his followers in Lower Canada we owe the position we are now in - and especially the Canadian Pacific Railway (77)."

On May 16 the British Government issued the Order in Council authorizing the entry of British Columbia as a Province of Canada on


77. Trutch to Helmcken, April 17, 1871: Helmcken Papers, in Ormsby, op. cit., p. 250.
July 20, 1871 (78). On April 11 Sir George Cartier introduced a motion concerning the proposed Railroad, stating that it "should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government; and that the public aid to be given to secure that undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy of money, or other aid, not unduly pressing on the industry and resources of the Dominion, as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine (79)."

This motion may have mollified some opposing voices. La Minerve wrote proudly of French explorers of an earlier era and then:

"Aujourd'hui, c'est un premier ministre canadien, l'Hon. Sir Georges E. Cartier, qui a fait décider la construction du chemin de fer du Pacifique et c'est une courageuse phalange de Canadiens-Français intelligents qui l'ont soutenu dans cette oeuvre (80)."

Opposition supporters had other adjectives for Cartier's "phalange."

Parliament prorogued on April 14, almost a month before Macdonald returned unhappily from Washington. Close communication had been kept between the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. Writing to Cartier on March 11 from his room in the Arlington Hotel, Macdonald said hopefully: "Lord de Grey is doing very well, and I do not think that there is the slightest desire to sacrifice Canada or her interests in any way in the minds

80. La Minerve, 3 avril, 1871.
of any one of the Commissioners (81)." The Canadian member of the Commission was soon to grow weary of never-ending discussions. "I am very tired of my work here and will be glad to be back in Ottawa (82)."

April 16 saw a twenty-page letter describing in some detail the course of the negotiations. This was obviously for Cabinet consumption, as was another long letter dated May 6 (83). The Washington Treaty was to cause the Conservative Government much trouble in the months to come. There is no record of Sir John A's reaction to press reports at this period that he might be named Governor-General to replace Lord Lisgar (84).

1871 saw the first elections in Quebec following those of 1867. A number of significant changes had taken place in the Province. Describing the situation, Professor Mason Wade states: "For the first time since the days of Bishop Laval, Church and State were in open conflict in Canada." Describing what is without doubt one of the most complicated eras in the history of French Canada as well as one of extreme importance in understanding the workings of the minds of a people who are little understood elsewhere, Professor Wade continues:

"Among a people so religious and so politically-minded as the French Canadians, this struggle could not fail to be of extreme bitterness; and among a people who had confused,

82. Ibid., Vol. 518, p. 513, March 31.
84. La Minerve, 17 avril, 1871.
thanks to their history, racist and nationalist ideas with religious ones, it was inevitable that the major issues of the day, the ethnic conflict, the realignment of political parties to meet the new situation created by Confederation, and the relations of Church and State, should become intricately involved in a tangle which defied the talents of statesmen and canonists alike (85).

The complete explanation of the phenomenon still awaits an exhaustive study to clarify many points that remain uncertain. A study similar to that published by Philippe Sylvain on the preceding period would be of great benefit. Speaking of the Papal struggles in 1860 Cartier was described as "l'interprète applaudi des ultramontains" but the climate had changed by 1871 (86).

Other good descriptions of what was happening are found in Robert Rumilly's biography of Monseigneur Laflèche and a thesis on "l'influence indue" by Father Noël Bélanger (87). Briefly a number of basically Conservative clerics and laymen decided that what they considered to be Gallicanism was making much headway in Canada and that something must be done to bring the state under the will of the Church. Quarrels over the erection of parishes, the keeping of registers, the right to perform ceremonies of baptism, marriage, etc., were behind the Ultramontane movement. Cartier came to represent, more than any other man, what the

86. Sylvain, Libéralisme et ultramontanisme au Canada français... , p. 233.
Noël Bélanger, ptre, Une introduction au problème de l'influence indue, illustrée par la contestation de l'élection de 1876 dans le comté de Charlevoix, pp. 14-20. (Thèse de Licence ès Lettres, Histoire, Université Laval, 1960.)
new group had to overcome. The leader who had protected the interests of
the Church for so many years now found himself denounced as a Gallican.
The fight over the division of the Parish of Notre-Dame especially fed
the flames in the political arena. Mgr. Bourget asked Premier Chauveau
to recognize the new parishes. On Cartier's advice Chauveau procrastinated.
A group of ex-Zouaves and other ultra-Catholics such as Alphonse Desjardins
(the owner of the Nouveau Monde), François-Xavier Trudel (Mgr. Bourget's
lawyer in the Guibord case), Adolphe-Basile Routhier (journalist with
Le Courrier du Canada), Testard de Montigny (ex-Zouave), Louis-Olivier
Taillon (Mgr. Bourget's lawyer in the case of the division of the Parish
of Notre-Dame), Siméon Pagnuelo (also one of Mgr. Bourget's lawyers),
Sévère Rivard (ex-Zouave), Eugène Renault (of Le Courrier du Canada),
Magloire McLeod (of the Journal des Trois-Rivières), Cléophas Beausoleil
(of the Nouveau Monde), and the Chanoine Godfroid Lamarche (who in fact
controlled Le Nouveau Monde), gathered in Montreal in early April. A
number of ex-Zouaves had already formed on February 19, the Union Allet to
further their aims.

From Routhier's pen the Programme Catholique was drawn up for the
use of all truly faithful voters in the coming elections. Submitted first
to Mgr. Bourget and to Mgr. Laflèche for approval, the Programme was
published in the Journal des Trois-Rivières on April 20 (88). This
document landed like a bombshell in the already tense political

88. Journal des Trois-Rivières, 20 avril, 1871. See Appendix XLIV.
atmosphere. The wording was most explicit. "Il est impossible de le nier, la politique se relie étroitement à la religion, et la séparation de l'Église et de l'État est une doctrine absurde et impie." Cartier believed in a close liaison between Church and State, but not stated as boldly as this. Possibly Mgr. Laflèche was spurred on by the fact that there was indeed close co-operation between the Ministers of the Crown and certain members of the Episcopacy, but he was not included to his satisfaction. Most of the prominent Conservative members assuredly drew back in horror at the implications of such a document. It was difficult enough to maintain an uneasy balance in the new Dominion but such phrases could drive a wedge between groups and Provinces that could never be removed.

Mgr. de Montréal was open in his approval while Mgr. de Québec was equally vehement in his denunciations. On April 24 the latter wrote:

"A propos des élections prochaines, le 'Journal des Trois-Rivières' et le 'Nouveau Monde' ont publié un programme politique, à l'usage des catholiques de la Province de Québec. Je crois devoir vous informer que ce programme ne m'a été connu que par les journaux, et que, par conséquent, il a le grave inconvénient d'avoir été formulé en dehors de toute participation de l'épiscopat. Je déclare donc qu'il ne saurait autoriser aucun membre du clergé de l'archidiocèse à dépasser les limites tracées par le quatrième Concile de Québec . . . (89)."

The Bishops of Saint-Hyacinthe and Rimouski followed the same line. There was thus an open split in the episcopacy of the Province. Mgr. Larocque and Mgr. Langevin were personal friends of the Minister of

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Militia and Defence. Mgr. Bourget and Cartier knew each other well although they did not agree on many occasions. Whether Cartier ever had any direct contact with Mgr. Laflèche is not certain. The Curé Luc Désilets of Le Cap who worked closely with Mgr. Laflèche, had some contact with the Minister (90). On January 20, 1871, Father Désilets wrote to his Bishop:

"Monseigneur:
J'ai reçu hier une lettre de Mr. Cartier, me parlant encore de l'entrevue, et cette fois comme devant lui-même en donner l'occasion assez prochainement. C'est la troisième fois qu'il parle de cette entrevue. Il faut qu'il y tienne assez sérieusement. Votre Grandeur voit là jusqu'à quel point le mouvement des doctrines religieuses remue les Chefs du parti Conservateur, et combien l'occasion est importante de les promulguer hautement et avec la plus grande fermeté comme on l'a commencé. Je suis convaincu que c'est l'heure de l'autorité religieuse. Aussi, je vous avoue que je suis heureux de savoir que vous allez bientôt parler publiquement à Votre Diocèse, sur ces questions. Je considère cette démarche comme la plus importante et la plus salutaire que Votre Grandeur ait jamais faite; car tout l'avenir religieux du pays y est concerné, d'autant plus que l'action a coutume de partir d'ici, et que quelques évêques n'ont pas l'air ferme."

Continuing with the same fervour, the Curé encouraged his Bishop to forge ahead as soon as possible, so as not to lose his advantage. He referred to Canada as "un des pays les plus gallicans du monde" containing many "temporiseurs" and "légistes mal indoctrinés (91)."


91. Ibid., B 3 - D 46.
When a group of his constituents presented him with a request to once more be their candidate for the Provincial House Sir George replied with thanks but politely refused, advising them to find someone who could give much more of his time to deal with the many problems of such a busy riding (92). This was obviously only one of the reasons. Both the Rouges and the Programmistes were very active in Montreal East and were too much to battle. There had also been some suggestion that Cartier would run for a seat in Ottawa for the next federal election, but nothing more is heard of this (93). The decision was made on May 29 to hold the provincial elections in a month's time. On June 3 forty citizens of Beauharnois County asked Sir George-Etienne Cartier to be their candidate for the legislature and he accepted (94). Some reports state that M. Célestin Bergevin made way for the Baronet in search of a political home but he did not do so and this was only one of the several unpleasant surprises of the election, despite the change to a rural riding (95). However, there really was not much of a contest and Sir George was returned easily (96). The official count was 750 votes for Cartier, 324 for Bergevin (97).

92. La Minerve, 22 avril, 1871.
93. Ibid., 13 fév.
94. Ibid., 3 juin, 12 juin.
95. Ibid., 26 juin, 1 juillet.
96. Ibid., 3 juillet.
Writing to his Bishop after a trip to Montreal, the abbé Désilets said:

"Il faut voir aussi combien le programme fait fureur par là. C'est le signe du ralliement pour les vrais catholiques et la condition sine qua non de l'appui. Je vous assure qu'on ne se gêne pas beaucoup par là, parce que l'Eglise est directement concernée. L'attitude est si ferme dans certains lieux que Cartier qui voulait d'abord se présenter à La Prairie a été obligé de retrograder, après les instructions de quelques courageux curés. Il a été obligé, après avoir déjà laissé Montréal Est de se jeter à Beauharnois, où il n'est pas sûr d'être élu du tout, s'il ne signe le programme. On n'aurait pas partout un complet triomphe, mais on réussit en beaucoup d'endroits (98)."


The historian - curé of Maskinongé was more kindly in his comments. On May 29 the Abbé Louis-Edouard Bois wrote of the "célèbre programme approuvé par quelques Evêques et délaissé par d'autres . . . C'est facheux, c'est toujours bien déplorable . . . Nul ne sait quelle sera l'issue de l'affaire." However, the cleric avowed that "en effet, M. Cartier qui prêche pour le Séminaire ne peut guères, sans équivoquer, donner les mains au soi-disant programme catholique (100)."


In the middle of the elections the Curé Bois wrote concerning the Bishop of Trois-Rivières: "Monseigneur des Trois-Rivières que j'ai vu à S. Léon ne paraît pas fort édifié de la tournure politique que prennent les affaires. Je dois dire cependant que le prélat est fort réservé à l'endroit des questions discutées (101)." On July 20, Father Bois wrote of the troubles in various ridings, including: "Au comté de Beauharnois le pauvre ministre Cartier a été abreuvé de dégoût - il est revenu à la ville bien humilié. J'ai vu des prêtres de ce comté qui m'ont raconté des scènes déplorables (102)."

All these reports portray a picture that is vastly changed for the Minister of Militia. Because the Provincial Party in power was considered to be his creature he was so bitterly attacked as the source of the trouble. Le Canadien wrote: "M. Chauveau et ses collègues n'osent remuer un bras, placer un messager, une laveuse même dans les passages de la Chambre, sans obtenir d'avance le bon plaisir de M. Cartier ou celui de Mr. Langevin (103)."

Despite the pace the Minister of Militia continued to see to his Department. Often in Ottawa, he also paid visits to Militia Camps at Niagara and La Prairie, and attended a function sponsored by the Montreal Rifle Association. His correspondence was voluminous. Requests for jobs, promotions, contracts, as well as innumerable other requests, flowed on to

101. Ibid., Série VIII, No. 70, 15 juin, 1871.
102. Ibid., Série VIII, No. 75, 20 juillet, 1871.
103. Le Canadien, 16 janv. 1871.
his desk. After the support he had received from the Bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe he would not be loath to accede to a request he received from Mgr. Charles Larocque concerning Militia appointments. The Bishop was careful to stress that the candidate he wanted was a Bleu, while the other aspirant was a Rouge (104).

One of the famous vacation spots of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the village of Cacouna, just below Rivière-du-Loup. Sir John A. spent some time there in August of 1871, and Cartier too took some much needed rest. However, after less than a week he was back in his office in Ottawa. Further inspections of military camps, and many trips back and forth between Montreal and Ottawa kept the Minister of Militia occupied until November. A number of cases involving the firm of Cartier, Pominville and Bétournay were heard before the courts in the fall assizes of 1871. At least three such found the Rouge triumvirate of Dorion, Dorion and Geoffrion pleading the merits of the other side of the action (105). The Minister was not always in good humour as evidenced by a letter from Mgr. Joseph-Eugène Guigues, the Bishop of Ottawa, to the Grand Vicar Cazeau. The Minister was being asked to favour French-Canadian immigration to the west but replied that earlier, when he had tried to encourage this same purpose, the Bishops had not helped him (106).


On November 7 Cartier was in Quebec City for two purposes. In the afternoon he attended the opening of the Second Parliament of the Province of Quebec. He took his seat in the front row between Solicitor-General George Irvine and Hector Langevin. In the evening Sir George sat between the Lieutenant-Governor and his fellow Federal Cabinet minister, the Hon. Peter Mitchell of New Brunswick, at a huge banquet in honour of Hector Langevin (107). The Member for Beauharnois took a fairly active part in the debates (108). He was in Quebec and in all probability heard the maiden speech of one Wilfrid Laurier, the newly-elected Member for Drummond and Arthabaska. *La Minerve*, rather surprisingly, was full of praise for the young man (109). Cartier and several colleagues went to Sherbrooke for a banquet in honour of John Henry Pope, the Member for Compton and the newly appointed Federal Minister of Agriculture. Here the Minister of Militia spoke about the good relations that existed between French and English, Catholic and Protestant, in the Province of Quebec (110). Unfortunately, the extreme views of the Programmistes were to elicit a strong negative reaction on the part of some protestants and hinder these relations.

Alexander T. Galt was one person who became quite exercised on this

107. *La Minerve*, 8 nov. 1871.
108. *L'Echo de la Session*, 20 nov. 1871.
109. *La Minerve*, 13 nov.
point. Some time later, in February of 1886, he published a pamphlet entitled Civil Liberty in Lower Canada. Sir John A. Macdonald's irreverent comments on the subject are practical to say the least. On June 2, 1875, after stating "The pretensions of the Priests are absurd," he went on to say: "Use the priests therefore for the next election, but be ready to fight them in the Dominion Parliament (111)."

On November 20, the day he left Quebec to return to Ottawa, Sir George telegraphed Sir John A. saying that he would not be in Ottawa for a few days as he had to stay in Montreal to arrange for Lady Cartier and the two girls to go to Europe some time in December (112). There is no further word about the reasons for or the itinerary of this trip.

Earlier in the month, Sir John A. had written to Sir George suggesting that he take an interest in The Daily News in Montreal, as "The Gazette is not at all reliable as White is in Sir Hugh Allan's hands and the latter is, I am inclined to believe, politically a rotten stick (113)." Both Macdonald and Cartier would be relying on the "rotten stick" for very considerable support within a few months and would also be placing responsibilities of great importance to Canada in his hands.

CHAPTER XII

DENOUEMENT

The year 1872 was full of defeat for the Minister of Militia and Defence. Politically he was rejected by the city that he had helped in so many ways. Frequent references to failing health culminated in a decision to seek medical advice in England. As early as January 4 François Pominville made urgent enquiries about his senior partner (1). Sir George was less often in Montreal than he had been for several years. Lady Cartier and the daughters were in France and there was even question of renting the house on Notre-Dame Street (2). In Ottawa there were fewer office-seekers and the house on Metcalfe Street was well cared for under the direction of Thomas Vincent, the faithful major-domo who was with his master to the end.

Political developments in the Province of Quebec were disturbing. The Rouges were a known quantity, difficult as they sometimes had been to beat, but the new Parti National was another question. With a programme that was a mixture of planks from Rouge and Bleu platforms, its members were mostly Liberals who were tired of being branded as traitors to both Church and State. The Montreal wing of the new group under the leadership of Louis-Amable Jetté, a barrister, and Honoré Mercier, the

1. F. S. C., p. 78, Pominville à Cartier, 4 janv., 1872.
2. Ibid., p. 77, Pominville à Cartier, 23 janv.
journalist-lawyer turned politician, included Laurent-Olivier David, the writer-politician; Luther-Hamilton Holton, the politically experienced advanced Liberal member for Chateauguay; Lucius Seth Huntington, the member for Shefford, who was to become the bête-noire of the Liberal-Conservative Party in the C.P.R. affair; John Young, the Chairman of the Board of Harbour Commissioners of Montreal; and Félix-Gabriel Marchand, the M.L.A. for Saint-Jean, who was later to be Premier of Quebec. Borrowed as it certainly was very largely from existing platforms, the "Programme" of the Parti National was very attractive and disarmingly reasonable. Electoral reform, colonization, development of resources—these were not unduly difficult for the Bleus to swallow. The delay of the C.P.R., election of Senators, and a tender system for government contracts caused furrowed brows. La Minerve chastised the new Party for having nothing fresh to offer, but public support was impressive, even though the movement was not to last long beyond the federal elections of 1872. It was quickly reabsorbed by the Liberal Party (3).

Sir George probably obtained brief enjoyment from the receipt of the Order of Isabella the Catholic, from the King of Spain, in recognition of the hands-off policy carried out by the Government regarding the recent troubles in Cuba (4).

Despite the snow-drifts that made the train from Ottawa to Montreal

3. La Minerve, 5 janv., 1872.
4. Ibid., 11 janv.
eight hours late, Sir George went to Sutton for a banquet on February 8, in honour of Judge Christopher Dunkin (5). The Judge, who had brilliantly opposed Confederation and then returned to his Party, was being fêted for his services to the Eastern Townships and to Canada. Undoubtedly the Minister of Militia and Defence spoke at some point during the festivities though no text is available. At the banquet offered to J. H. Pope in Sherbrooke three months earlier, Cartier had been full of praise for the newly-appointed member of the Supreme Court (6).

Many of the problems that so greatly disturbed the political scene involved relations between Church and State. The views of "Les Ultramontains" on this subject have already been noted. With a federal election due in 1872, Mgr. Bourget, Mgr. Laflèche and their supporters continued to battle for what they considered to be the safety of the Church.

The questions of the right of the State to authorize priests to keep registers, the division of the parish of Notre-Dame, a university for Montreal, and of the "opportunité" of Mgr. Bourget having a co-adjutor; all involved Cartier, whether or not he had in fact had anything directly to do with them. With regard to the registers there is little doubt that Cartier's influence had some effect in delaying the settlement of this problem. We have already seen that his law firm represented the Sulpicians in the second battle, and there is no question

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5. Ibid., 8 fév.
of the direction of the sympathies of the senior partner. It is not sure why Sir George became involved in the question of the eventual succession to the throne of Mgr. Bourget. The other Bishops of the Province were well able to deal with that.

In writing to his great friend the Grand Vicar Cazeau of Quebec, Cartier had earlier complained about Mgr. Bourget's views on the University and the Seminary, hurrying to praise the piety and sanctity of his Bishop. Sir George admitted that he was meddling in matters that were not his business but suggested that, "je me flatte de l'espoir que vous, vous-même, plus tard, serez notre Evêque à Montréal (7)." There is no record of Cartier being actively involved in the dispute between Mgr. Bourget and the Jesuits on one hand, and Mgr. Taschereau and Laval on the other.

The Archbishop of Quebec was disturbed, however, about the apparent discrepancies between the Code Civil and the law of the Church on the subject of marriage. Mgr. Taschereau talked at length to Cartier, Premier Chauveau, and Attorney-General Ouimet on the subject, then wrote a long letter to emphasize the importance of the desired changes (8). Some of the problems regarding the marriage of minors and the marriage of two Catholics by a Protestant Minister are still not completely settled. The words of Archbishop Taschereau are firm and he undoubtedly was very

8. Ibid., Régistre des Lettres, 30, 164ss, Mgr. Taschereau à Cartier, 23 fév., 1872.
expert at obtaining his desires from the civil authorities. The con­
trast with the occupants of the episcopal thrones in Trois-Rivières and
in Montreal is dramatic. Writing to Rome in favour of Mgr. Bourget's
request for a Coadjuteur, Mgr. Laflèche strikes out at "la conduite
scandaleuse des Sulpiciens" and refers to "l'opinion exorbitante et ar­
bitraire de M. Cartier." The militant prelate continued with a denun-
ciation of those Bishops who were too friendly and lenient with the po-
litical world:

"Les Evêques de St, Hyacinthe et d'Ottawa sont spéciale­
ment les amis intimes de M. Cartier et de quelques autres
hommes politiques. Or, s'il fallait en croire la rumeur
publique, ces divers liens exerceroient sur ces Prélats,
et à leur insu, une influence qui les rendroit d'une con­
descendance extrême aux exigences politiques, et d'une
grande facilité à admettre DES CAS D'INOPPORTUNITE; par
exemple, comme dans le censure d'un Programme Catholique,
dont le but principal était de faciliter, au temps des
élections, le choix d'hommes dûment qualifiés, pour la
protection de nos intérêts religieux (9)."

Although the name of the Archbishop of Quebec is not specifically
given, he too was considered to be implicated. In several walks of life
competing views were disturbing the peace. In the Bleu and the Rouge
Parties and in the Episcopacy of Quebec movements of "purification" were
causing troubles for those whose views had held sway for many years.
The known lines of demarcation and the old rules of conduct were being
challenged by ideologists. Cartier epitomized the pragmatic approach to

nécessité de donner au plus tôt un Coadjuteur cum jure futuræ suc­
cessionis à Msgr. l'Evêque de Montréal, Rome, 31 janvier, 1873.
politics that the Ultramontains were so anxious to eradicate. His realization that compromise in the situation in which the French Catholic population found itself was not only necessary but honourable was not shared by the new wave of politico-religious zealots. Freedom could be increased, not reduced, by quiet, informal co-operation between the authorities of Church and of State. The formalization and hardening of demands could only produce a negative reaction from the English Protestant population. Many of the Programmistes were undoubtedly motivated by a sincere desire to carry out their duty to their Church. How many others, however, jumped on the bandwagon because they saw a chance to upset the Party in power and further their own strictly political aims.

Before Parliament opened on April 12 Cartier was busy with many visits and appointments. A large deputation of his constituents discussed the plans for the Northern Colonization Railway (10). This line was to continue the North Shore Railway on from Montreal to Ottawa and from there west to join the transcontinental line.

One wonders what prompted a deputation from Rimouski County to come to Ottawa to offer the candidature in that riding to the Minister of Militia and Defence (11). In any case he did not accept. The successful candidate was the Liberal, Dr. Jean-Baptiste-Romuald Fiset, who sat in parliament for five intermittent terms until 1900.

11. Ibid., 30 mars.
Paying a visit to the Collège Masson at Terrebonne, Sir George made appropriate remarks about the value of education and the generosity of the Masson family. He did not forget to grant "un grand congé à la communauté (12)." It is of particular interest to note the special attention given in this speech to the great efforts of Mgr. Bourget in the field of education and the heartfelt wishes for the speedy recovery of the venerable prelate from his present indisposition. *La Minerve* adds: "L'Hon. Baronnet fit en termes très-heureux et tout à fait spirituels l'éloge des qualités éminentes du digne Prélat (13)."

A major item in the last Speech from the Throne read by Lord Lisgar concerned the need to proceed with the Canadian Pacific Railway. On April 26 Sir George Cartier described the various clauses of the Resolutions to the House. The line was to be completed to a Terminus at Lake Nipissing by 1881. A private company or union of two or more companies could compete for the Charter to be granted by Order in Council. Fifty million acres of land and $30 million were provided as subsidies. The impracticability of the completion date and the possibility of higher taxes characteristically troubled the Opposition. The choice of the terminus was meant to offend no one, but it pleased no one as well. Sir George explained every detail very carefully and attempted to answer questions fully. His speeches of April 26, May 7, 15, and 21, were less

12. Ibid., 9 avril.
13. Ibid.
contentious than had often been the case (14). With the third reading on June 1 the bill was passed and George-Etienne Cartier rejoiced in his last triumph with the oft-quoted words "All aboard for the West (15)."

The politico-religious question that caused the Bleus the greatest trouble during the election year of 1872 was that of the New Brunswick Schools. During the session of 1871 the Legislature had passed a new Education Bill specifying that all schools must be non-sectarian in order to obtain public support. The situation from this distance is clear. New Brunswick Catholics had not asked for any special protection under the British North America Act and now that education was a specifically Provincial matter the Federal Government would be setting a most unfortunate precedent if it interfered. This was the stand taken by the federal cabinet, at the same time admitting that the Protestant majority in New Brunswick had misused its strength to pass such a discriminatory piece of legislation. The British North America Act was showing its first weakness in the field of education. Other examples were to follow in Manitoba and in Ontario and the loophole has still not been plugged (16). Polemics flew back and forth across the Province of


15. Cotton Debates, p. 938, June 1, 1872.

Quebec. There was no question that those in favour of disallowance appealed to the emotions of the electorate no matter how illogical. Again Cartier was made to appear anti-Catholic by the Ultramontain Press, when in fact his stand protected the rights of the Church. Publications such as the book by the young Montreal lawyer, Siméon Pagnuelo, entitled Études Historiques et Légales sur la Liberté Religieuse en Canada, did not help matters. At one point Pagnuelo deals with Sir George-Etienne Cartier, describing "ses prétentions quant à la paroisse catholique, aux fonctions curiales, à la tenue des registres" in the most critical fashion, stating that his views contained "toute ce qu'il y a de plus gallican et de plus contraire à la liberté de l'Eglise (17)."

Was Cartier really a Gallican? In the terms of the Ultramontains certainly, but then so were most of the Catholic hierarchy in Quebec. In fact, the Minister of Militia was not fundamentally Gallican, though the exigencies of public life in a country that was not predominantly Catholic forced him to act in such a manner that it was very easy for critics to pin this epithet on him. In fact Gallicanism according to its proper definition - that is the claiming of partial autonomy of a national church with respect to Rome - did not exist in Canada in the 19th century.

George-Etienne Cartier wrote to the Grand Vicar Cazeau in Quebec that Catholic delegates to the Quebec Conference from the Maritimes, 17. Pagnuelo, Liberté Religieuse en Canada, 1872, p. 346.
such as Messrs. Ambrose Shea, Edward Whelan, and A. A. Macdonald, had stated that no guarantee of separate schools was necessary (18). The ultramontain view was expressed in the message presented by Mgr. Laflèche at the Vatican in 1873 (19). This was backed up by an unsigned legal opinion stating that the Constitution gave the Federal Government not only the right but the duty to intervene to protect citizens unjustly treated with respect to their religion or their education. When the subject was debated in Parliament Cartier simply repeated his stand that under the circumstances disallowance could not legally happen, no matter how unjust the measure concerned (20).

After three years of violent reaction in the Province of Quebec, the Catholic hierarchy and the Provincial Government of New Brunswick quietly reached an accord in 1874. However, much harm had been done and the passions and prejudices that had been aroused burned on long after their cause had been forgotten.

Next to the Pacific Railway the most important measure before the Canadian Parliament during the Session of 1872 was the ratification of the Treaty of Washington. Sir John A. was the Government spokesman in this very difficult situation, trying to persuade members on all sides that Canadian interests had not been rudely sacrificed in favour of

Britain, Cartier spoke at some length on May 15, reiterating the arguments of the Prime Minister and bringing to bear his own extensive knowledge of constitutional and commercial law. It was a well-organized speech, showing the Minister in good debating form. Despite the illness that was causing him considerable discomfort, Sir George continued to take an active part in the affairs of the House of Commons and entertained at one of his famous "conversaziones," receiving "un grand nombre de sénateurs, de membres des Communes et d'autres (21)."

By the middle of June the first Parliament of Canada was about to become history. The members were anxious to return to their constituencies as only six weeks remained before the people would cast their votes. Sir George went down on June 20 for the banquet offered to the departing Lord Lisgar by the people of Montreal. Cartier replied to the toast to the Canadian ministers proposed, possibly only a coincidence, by Sir Hugh Allan, the Chairman of the gathering in the place of the ailing Mayor Charles-Joseph Coursol (22). The pressure of business in the capital took the Minister back to Ottawa again at a time when he should have been in Montreal East. He was not a man to avoid difficulties - on the contrary he always met them head-on and even with apparent pleasure - but his advancing illness was tiring and the importunities of the details of his riding bothered him more and more. Possibly his political astuteness that had always been so sharp was sufficiently dulled

21. La Minerve, 30 avril, 1872.
22. Ibid., 21 juin.
that it did not warn him of the dangers ahead. He was not able to make the fantastic effort needed and the Bleu Party in Montreal was too divided to give the ailing Minister the necessary support. The politico-religious struggles were the most obvious reason for troubles within the Bleu Party but there were other difficulties as well. With his authoritarian ways Cartier had created a number of personal enemies. There is always a number of small people who somehow feel better to see a great man fall. It makes them feel less insignificant. Also, George-Etienne Cartier was identified with big interests such as the Grand Trunk and Montreal East was populated by modest people who were often suspicious of enterprises in which they had no say. Those who controlled such enterprises were invariably English-speaking. The problem that has existed throughout Quebec's history could be seen in microcosm in Montreal East.

On June 26 La Minerve announced that Sir George had decided to carry the Liberal-Conservative standard in Montreal East once more and ended with the pious hope that he would be elected by acclamation (23). Nothing could have been farther from the case! The same evening Le Parti National met to nominate Louis-Amable Jetté as its candidate to contest Montreal East. A Liberal who had been the lawyer for Saint-Sulpice in the Guibord case, Jetté had no political past and therefore no enemies except some of the more advanced Rouges. He was the ideal candidate to bring forward against the beleaguered Baronet. Paradoxically,

23. Ibid., 26 juin.
both candidates had represented the interests of Saint-Sulpice, though on very different occasions. The younger man was able to capitalize on this experience; for the older man all that was remembered in the election of 1872 was that he had been against Mgr. Bourget, and thus vaguely against the Church itself. Such are the bitter winds of political change. Aside from the politico-religious questions that swayed the public mind, much more by emotion than by logic, the ever present question that dogged Cartier throughout the election of 1872 was that of the Canadian Pacific Railway and related railway plans. Today the passage of the Canadian Pacific Railway Bill is undoubtedly considered the most important measure, next to Confederation itself, with which the name of Sir George-Etienne Cartier is connected. However in 1872 there were many who doubted the wisdom of the scheme and many more who considered it untimely. Aside from these objections the political opponents of the Bleu leader attacked the fact that the terminus had been placed hanging below Lake Nipissing. This was a fair enough compromise as it allowed other interests to build connecting links, but the cry rose up from Montreal that Sir George once more had sold out to Ontario interests. The enemy that has always lurked waiting to destroy any French-Canadian politician who has established himself on the federal scene was closing in ruthlessly on its increasingly defenceless victim. Declarations that in fact the terminus would actually be at Montreal were useless in the face of the bill that specifically placed it at Lake Nipissing (24). As Le

24. Ibid., 28 juin.
National stated "C'est impossible . . . . Le bill de M. Cartier l'a ainsi voulu (25)." Speaking on August 8 under extremely difficult conditions, interrupted by hecklers every few words, the wounded warrior stated: "Le chemin de fer du Pacifique se terminera à Nipissing, auprès du lac; c'est une nécessité géographique. La compagnie construira de là à Montréal un chemin qui vous donnera virtuellement le terminus du Pacifique (26)." Sir Hugh Allan followed with similar statements to back up the words of the Minister but to no avail. The crowd would be told that the terminus was at Montreal or they would not listen. Sir George announced that the two companies that were competing to build the great railway to the west had combined forces and that all was well. This was indeed a great over-simplification of the situation, but such must be the case in political speeches, particularly when tempers are frayed. It is useless to give the ins and outs of a complicated situation when the audience is suspicious and not prepared to listen. The opposition is always in a stronger position in such a situation. Monsieur Jette and his supporters could be as categorical as they wished, they did not suffer the impediment of having to worry about the details. The political task of the Government candidate is to pick the ground so that he cannot be manoeuvered into an untenable position. Having lost control of his riding this was exactly where Sir George failed.

The negotiations concerning the contract for the C.P.R. were

25. Ibid.
extremely difficult. During the session of 1872 two proposals had been received. The first was from the recently knighted Sir Hugh Allan, who had formed the Canada Pacific Railway Company. Allan, born in Scotland, had arrived in Montreal in 1826. During the 1850's he had established the most modern steamer service on the St. Lawrence and to Britain. A very successful man of affairs Sir Hugh had, by 1872, amassed a considerable fortune. Allan had been advised to make his new enterprise a Canadian one but he was still closely involved with American financial interests who also had a stake in the rival Northern Pacific Railway. The Toronto business community was suspicious of Allan and a rival syndicate, the Inter-oceanic Railway Company, drew up its own proposal. This latter enterprise was headed by Sir John A.'s long-time friend and supporter, the Scots railway contractor and financier, Senator David Lewis Macpherson.

Both companies were similarly incorporated and the government was ready with its legislation passed to give the necessary subsidies. The Montreal and the Toronto groups obstinately refused to combine and thus matters dragged on.

Confusion often arises over the names of the various enterprises. The Statutes of Canada for 1872 list three acts, concurred in consecutively on June 14. The first was the enabling legislation entitled An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway (27). The second was An

Act to incorporate the Inter-oceanic Railway Company (28). The third was called An Act to incorporate the Canada Pacific Railway Company (29).

In Montreal Sir Hugh Allan appeared in another role. He was showing a very great interest in the project for a North Shore Railway between Quebec and Montreal and thence up the Quebec side of the Ottawa River to the capital via the Northern Colonization Railway of which he was President. Public meetings and subscriptions were held and much enthusiasm was engendered with glowing reports of new commercial advantages for Montreal and improved access to the colonization areas of the north. La Minerve gave considerable space to support for the colonization railroad and insisted repeatedly that the member for Montreal East was equally enthusiastic. Cartier is reported to have signed a petition in favour of the road and he received a deputation of those interested. He remarked that ever since the first meeting on the subject held at the Marché Bonsecours in 1870, he had been a firm supporter (30). However, the Grand Trunk was not overjoyed at the prospect of competition between Montreal and Quebec and the fact that an amalgamation of the two schemes had taken place blurred the picture considerably. It was not difficult to portray Sir George as the defender of the monopoly of the company for which he was still the solicitor and thus the enemy of the popular will. Despite the open support given to Cartier by Allan during the campaign

28. Ibid., pp. 268-284.
29. Ibid., pp. 285-300.
30. La Minerve, 13 mars, 6 avril.
this impression was never erased.

Towards the end of the session in June a deputation made up of Jean-Louis Beaudry, Victor Hudon, C-S Rodier, Jr., the Hon. Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau and Sheriff Charles Leblanc visited Cartier in Ottawa and impressed upon him the importance of giving full backing to the colonization line that had caught the imagination of the people of Montreal. Otherwise, they informed him, he would likely be defeated (31).

Cartier had a number of doubts about the Pacific contract which had to be overcome as well. Writing to Mr. G. W. McMullen the financier from Chicago who represented the American interests in Allan's organization on December 29, 1871, Sir Hugh had said, "I have good reason to believe that Mr. Brydges is using all the influence he can with Cartier to thwart our views," and later in the same letter, "... I think we are sure of Cartier's opposition (32)." But these doubts gradually faded. Allan, however, did his best to involve Charles J. Brydges, the General-Manager of the Grand Trunk, in the scheme as well as the members of the Government.

The Prime Minister made unsuccessful attempts during the month of July to bring the Toronto and the Montreal forces together, but the two principals were too opposed to make this possible. Cartier was


32. Ibid., p. 81.
unalterably opposed to any chance of American control of the Pacific Railroad and he believed Allan's assurances that his syndicate would be clear of such influences. In the testimony taken during the Royal Commission of 1873 there are repeated attestations of Cartier's views with regard to American involvement in the Pacific Railway plans. At least six witnesses stated that the Minister had declared that he would resign from any Government that gave the Pacific contract to a company controlled by Americans (33).

As far back as 1869 the Montreal shipping magnate had written to Sir John A. warning him of the annexation talk of John Young, who won the Montreal West seat for the Liberals in 1872, and of Lucius Seth Huntington, the member for Shefford. The same man, however, was prepared to let American financiers, to whom Canadian national interests meant nothing, have a large hand in such an important national enterprise.

At the beginning of July Sir George carried out the sort of official duty that he enjoyed; a review of the troops at Laprairie with the newly-arrived Governor-General, Lord Dufferin. The Minister of Militia was not unaware of the fact that he who had once taken up arms against Her Majesty's soldiers was now the Minister of Militia and Defence in one of Her Majesty's Dominions. Far from seeing this as a paradox Sir George was even more proud than he otherwise would have been, and indeed

33. Ibid., Appendix 1, pp. 50-70, 94, 104, 158, 185, 194.
this was probably a reason of some weight in his choice of portfolio in 1867.

Despite valiant efforts, it was no longer possible to hide Cartier's illness from the public. *Le National* wrote that the Minister was dangerously ill, and *La Minerve* replied hotly that such gossip was the desperate tactics of those who were devoid of any real arms. The reply allowed only that "Sir George est fatigué par les immenses travaux qu'il s'impose" and hastened to assure his constituents that "il conserve toujours sa vigueur et sa vivacité (34)." Possibly the pitilessly prying eyes of Montrealers were unbearable for Sir George soon returned to Ottawa (35).

The word from supporters such as Victor Hudon, a Montreal East businessman, and the Minister's junior law partner, Louis Bétournay, was quite encouraging (36). Sir Hugh Allan had telegraphed to Sir John A. Macdonald on July 12, "... a storm is raising" protesting that he was sending this message from no personal interest but that Cartier and the Government were in trouble if the Pacific question was not settled (37). In the heat of an election campaign, the series of telegrams that immediately followed was not too surprising. Allan was aware that if he was

34. *La Minerve*, 10 juillet.
36. F. S. C., Hudon à Cartier, 13 juillet; Bétournay à Cartier, 20 juillet.
to gain the contract for the Pacific railroad he must do so now when the Government needed him most. His demands were great but so were the needs of the ministerial forces.

Macdonald met again with Senator Macpherson on July 26 and telegraphed Cartier saying that "the power of the government will be exercised to secure him the position of president," but otherwise Allan must wait until after the election. Allan pressed his demands farther than Sir John A. was prepared to accept. By July 30 he had persuaded Cartier to use his influence to assure not only that he would have the presidency, but also that the controlling block of shares would be available for subscription by his friends (38). The reason for Cartier's eagerness to deal on these very severe terms was obvious. Sir Hugh had offered to help "the friends of the government" and had agreed to meet immediate requirements for Macdonald, Cartier, and Langevin totalling sixty thousand dollars. Sir John A. telegraphed his refusal of the new terms and the July 26 terms were accepted by all concerned. The funds, however, were accepted. Sir John A. had used the first twenty-five thousand dollars in Ontario and had twice appealed to J. J. C. Abbott, Allan's solicitor in Montreal, for ten thousand more. On the last occasion on August 26, the Prime Minister had sent the telegram that was often to return to haunt him. "I must have another ten thousand. Will be the last time of calling. Do not fail me. Answer today (39)." It was later

38. Ibid., pp. 50668-50669, Allan to Macdonald, 30 July.
disclosed that the Minister of Militia had accepted eighty-five thousand dollars and that the Minister of Public Works had received another thirty-two thousand. These were very large sums to be sure, but not too big for Allan when the contract for the C.P.R. was in the balance. Money was badly needed in Montreal and the demands became more imperious (40). As well as his own riding the whole Montreal area was demanding the attention of the Minister. Money was sent to Saint-Hyacinthe, to Jacques-Cartier and to other ridings (41). A battle took place for the support of the Minister in Hochelaga. Louis Beaubien, the local member for the riding and later the Speaker of the Assembly, telegraphed to Cartier in Ottawa on July 20 the information that he had accepted the candidacy and was sure that the Government would be pleased. Victor Hudon wired the same day that La Minerve had announced Beaubien's name as the Government candidate adding simply "I don't believe it (42)."

After he lost the election Hudon wrote bitterly to Cartier about irregularities in Hochelaga and added that he could tell much "du tripotage de vos prétendus amis, je regrette de vous le dire, mais vous avez toujours trop de confiance dans des gens qui assurément ne le mérite pas (43)." Hudon had earlier written talking of a "compromis

40. F. S. C., pp. 80, 84, Hudon à G. E. C., 23 juillet, 2 télégrammes.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., p. 85, 20 juillet.
43. Ibid., p. 73, Hudon à Cartier, 3 septembre.
secret" in Montreal but there is unfortunately nothing to specify to what he was referring (44).

The testimony of the two rivals for the favour of Sir George before the Royal Commission in September of 1873 throws a little more light on the events of the election. Victor Hudon was a member of the Central Committee for election funds in the Montreal area. Louis Beaubien, who was significantly the Vice-President of the Northern Colonization Railway, obviously was not a member of the same campaign committee, but stated that he was given some money by the Government supporters without Cartier's knowledge (45). Presumably this is the "tripotage" of which Hudon wrote.

A more solid support was Désiré Girouard, a young lawyer educated at the Collège de Montréal and McGill Law School, later to represent Jacques-Cartier for the Bleus from 1878 to 1895 (46). Girouard was a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada from 1895 until his death in 1911.

The Minister of Militia was back in Ottawa during late July, and La Minerve announced that he was in considerably improved health and had been working a full day in his office. However, by the 29th he was in Montreal again, speaking for an hour and a half in both French and

44. Ibid., p. 80, Hudon à Cartier, 13 juillet.


46. F. S. C., p. 85, Girouard à Cartier, 22 juillet.
English. He treated Jetté with disdain saying that he could not speak of his opponent's political past as he had none. He went on to speak of the other "National" candidates in the area and affirmed "Le parti qui m'oppose et vous oppose, n'est pas le parti national, mais bien le parti annexioniste (47)." The impression is given that this meeting was held in a relatively small hall so that some control could be gained over the audience. Such precautions were not possible at an outdoor meeting held in the Carré Saint-Jacques at 7 p.m., on August 8. Sir George Cartier and Sir Hugh Allan were the two speakers whose names received top billing in La Minerve (48). Cartier excused himself for not having been available to his constituents for several days; he had been resting on his doctor's orders, and had gone to Sir Hugh's beautiful summer home on Lake Memphremagog (49). Visitors to Allan's country place travelled comfortably by train from Montreal to Newport, Vermont, where they embarked on his private steamer. They then sailed up Lake Memphremagog to Georgeville to disembark at the small wharf below the house (50).

We do not have a clear statement of Cartier's opinion of Allan and only a few snatches of the knight's opinion of the baronet. Allan had shrewdly sized up Cartier's position in a letter to New York of July 1, 1872. Here he discusses the Pacific contract and adds "On a calm view

47. La Minerve, 1 août.
48. Ibid., 8 août.
49. Ibid., 5 août.
50. Diary of a trip to America, John Ramsay of Kildalton, p. 25.
of the situation, I satisfied myself that the decision of the question must ultimately be in the hands of one man, and that man was Sir George E. Cartier, the leader and chief of the French party (51)." Allan states that Cartier was brusque, even when he was asking for money. "He was not a man with whom you could talk very much, because in all the interviews with him he generally did most of the talking himself, and you could with difficulty say anything (52)."

In any case, the speeches on the 9th were cut short because of the presence of a large number of men who, according to La Minerve, tried to shout down the speakers (53). Sir George defended his record of twenty-five years as an elected representative. He spoke of himself as the great defender of Quebec's rights and made every effort to describe the efforts made to stem emigration to the United States and to explain the policy of the Government on the New Brunswick schools question. The general theme, in all parts of the country has been well described as: "le parti ministériel, ouvert à tous les Canadiens, peut seul donner au pays une saine administration, car l'opposition n'est qu'une mosaïque de factions (54)." He spoke of the Pacific Railway and announced, somewhat prematurely, "que les deux compagnies qui offraient de construire le

52. Ibid., Appendix 1, p. 153.
53. La Minerve, 9 août.
Allan, according to the press report, was not quite as definite. He said that he and Sir George had reached agreement and he hoped that the Government would agree. He said that he had every reason to be pleased with Sir George's actions adding that the interests of Montreal and of Lower Canada would be "probablement sauvégardés (56)." Perhaps the wealthy promoter's ardour for political platforms was cooled by an egg that found its mark in the middle of his speech.

The format of July 29 was returned to and on August 13 a meeting was held in a hall on Notre-Dame Street. Covering the same ground as in his previous speeches, but speaking only for a relatively short time, Sir George drew attention to the fact that a month before his adversaries had declared that if Sir Hugh Allan declared himself content with the arrangements for the railways that there would be no contest. Sir Hugh had appeared on the public platform to make known his acceptance of the situation, but the crowd had refused to listen to him (57). Sir Hugh had helped to create the political climate in Montreal East but he was now quite incapable of managing it. The day had passed when the opposition would draw back. They were already beginning to taste victory and nothing could restrain them. Unfortunately, there is no date on a letter simply signed Lanctot, and promising a meeting of working men to

55. Tassé, Discours..., p. 759.
56. La Minerve, 9 août.
57. Ibid., 14 août.
ascertain Cartier's opinion on "la protection, la question ouvrière et le terminus." There is no Christian name so it is not known if the letter writer was Médéric Lanctot, the labour chief who had opposed Cartier in 1867, who finished significantly: "C'est le moyen d'avoir l'élection à coup sûr et peut-être à l'unanimité (58)." In any case, Médéric Lanctot had indeed changed his political stripes and was to be found among the supporters of Sir George during the elections of 1872. This was a fact that the National found difficult to accept, threatening to publish La Minerve's articles on the Rouge candidate of 1867.

On the morning of August 17 La Minerve published some extracts that must have caught the attention of Sir George as he sat in his house on Notre-Dame Street, empty by comparison with past campaigns as his family was still in France. Sir John A. was being accused of allowing Sir George and Montreal to have all the prizes. Lower Canada would have the principal terminus of the Pacific railroad said Alexander Mackenzie and Sir Hugh Allan was making speeches for Sir George Cartier in order to obtain the contract (59). The dour Scot from Sarnia should have come to Montreal to speak. A few doors down the street from the Cartier house the Committee Room of the Bleu Party was busy with plans for the official nomination at noon on Monday the 19th in the Carré Saint-Jacques. Sir Hugh Allan was advertised again as a speaker who would give "ses

58. F. S. C., p. 126, Lanctot à Cartier.
59. La Minerve, 17 août.
explications sur le Contrat du Chemin de Fer du Pacifique (60)." In the same edition, an announcement was given in capital letters to the effect that

"Comme plusieurs personnes répandent le bruit que les curés des paroisses canoniques ont reçu des lettres de Monseigneur de Montréal leur recommandant et leur conseillant d'empêcher leurs paroissiens de voter et travailler pour Sir Georges, Nous Sommes Autorisés a Nier Emphatiquement Ce Fait Que Les Ennemis de L'Hon. Sir Georges Font Circuler Dans le Public."

It was already too late to publish announcements of this sort. It would take a great deal more to change the minds of the people of Montreal East. Sir Hugh Allan never spoke at the Official Nomination and Sir George only said a few words before the stones and other missiles brought the whole affair to a premature close. Extra police had been called in but to no avail (61).

The haste with which the August 22 issue of La Minerve was passed about by the loyal supporters of Sir George can only be imagined. It contained the news that Monseigneur de Montréal himself had paid Sir George Cartier a visit. The elderly Bishop was well aware of the very poor state of health of the Baronet, and for that reason decided to perform this very Christian act. In any case, it is unlikely that much political benefit accrued to Sir George. Le Nouveau-Monde and other mouthpieces of the Bishop's Palace did not change their tune. Several

60. Ibid., 19 août.
61. Ibid., 20 août.
other ecclesiastical dignitaries also visited the ailing Minister, and these facts were duly reported for the edification of the voters of Montreal East (62). On Wednesday morning, August 28, the voters of Montreal East were reminded in La Minerve "Votez bien et promptement." They were told that this was no ordinary election but the future not only of Montreal but of the whole of Lower Canada was at stake. The people of Montreal East made their decision; Sir George-Etienne Cartier, after eleven years as member for the riding, was soundly defeated by Louis-Amable Jetté. By a margin of twelve hundred votes in a total of seven thousand the man who probably accomplished more for Montreal than any before or since was swept out. Such is the fate of many politicians who embark on a course that is beyond the ken of their electors. No matter how important the great business of state, no Minister in our parliamentary system can afford to lose contact with his constituents. While the Globe office in Toronto was gaily decorated and the National was delirious with joy, La Minerve muttered beneath a brave exterior. Sir George was greatly effected by the blow but managed to keep going. He was heartened by the many visitors and by the letters he received. Two arrived by the same post from Quebec, one from Cartier's old friend, the astute Grand Vicar Cazeau (63). The second was from none other than the new Governor-General, offering condolences and a room should his Minister wish to pay a visit to Quebec where the vice-regal family was "emcamped

62. Ibid., 27 août.
in a barrack (64)." Dufferin, in order to escape the heat and mosquitoes of Ottawa had started what was to become a custom for the Governor-General; to spend a month in the late summer at the citadel of Quebec. Mgr. Bourget returned to offer his condolences as did many other dignitaries. These expressions of sympathy may have been pleasing to the defeated Minister but they were also very tiring.

Sir John A. wasted no time in approaching his colleague about another seat. He wrote on September 3 asking if Sir George would like to have a seat for Manitoba and received a telegram of agreement the next day. This and a few other matters were discussed by the two colleagues in Montreal on the 9th (65).

However, as the Prime Minister wrote to Lord Dufferin, his defeated colleague was completely exhausted. Macdonald also wrote a private letter to Lord Lisgar at this time and his words about Cartier are of great interest. Concerning the defeat in Montreal he wrote: "This was anticipated by us all. We knew that he had lost his hold there, but he would listen to no advice. He had everything against him." Continuing, Sir John A. mentioned all the factors involved and makes the statement: "The constituency is not Rouge, and any good man of Cartier's own party would have carried it, but he himself was

64. A. A. Q., G. XI:183, Dufferin to Cartier, Aug. 29.
doomed (66)." This rather harsh judgment is not totally inaccurate, but it is doubtful that an unknown Bleu candidate would have fared very well under the circumstances. He still would have had to bear much of the criticism that was heaped on the Minister. Concerning Sir George's health we find the only account of any detail available:

"I am sorry to say that he is in a very bad way. His legs are swollen to an enormous extent. It has all the appearance of confirmed dropsy. But still worse, Dr. Grant tells me confidentially that his ailment is what is commonly known as 'Bright's Disease' which is generally considered as incurable. I do not anticipate that he will live a year, and with all his faults, or rather with all his little eccentricities, he will not leave so good a Frenchman behind him; certainly no one who can fill his place in public life. I cannot tell you how I sorrow at this. We have acted together since 1854, and have never had a serious difference (67)."

This letter probably gives us as honest an opinion of the Quebec leader as Macdonald ever allowed himself. He purposely does not mention the period immediately following Confederation when Cartier toyed with the idea of forming a new alliance. It is impossible that Sir John A. would not have at least some knowledge of those events. The "little eccentricities" probably referred to Cartier's brusque manner, his often rauccous style of public speaking, and his constant hurry from one problem to another.

With the help of Archbishop Taché the constituency of Provencher in


67. Ibid.
Manitoba was quickly made available to Sir George, and on September 14 he became the Member for an area that he would never see. By this move an immediate problem was also deferred. As the Bishop of Saint-Boniface wrote to the Prime Minister the day after the election, "I am glad also to avoid the complications which naturally would have arisen had Riel gone to Ottawa as a member of Parliament (68)." Taché emphasized: "I have done all in my power to bring this result which was not at first an easy matter." Riel had not stayed across the border as had been hoped, and the problem of his attempting to take his seat was indeed a difficult one when it arose in 1874. The new member for Provencher sent a message to his constituents dated September 21. He expressed the hope that he would be able to represent Provencher suitably but regretted that because of his poor health he must leave immediately for England in search of medical advice (69).

Before taking the trip to London there was much to do. He went to Ottawa where, despite the pain that his malady inflicted on him, he attempted to put the affairs of government in order. Cartier's arrival in Ottawa was the signal for a torch-light procession from the station to the City Hall. Such attention must have been pleasing and a short speech was in order. Like the political warrior that he was Cartier told the friendly audience that he was a representative of the whole

68. Ibid., pp. 41554-41556, Mgr. Taché to Macdonald, Sept. 15.
69. Tassé, Discours..., pp. 767-769.
Province of Quebec and defeat in one locality would not deter him (70). Back in Montreal an address awaited Cartier from the voters of L'Assomption and their Member, Cartier's old friend and colleague, Louis Archambault. To this too a reply full of hope for the future was given (71).

The Canadian Pacific required much attention in the few days prior to Cartier's departure. On September 5, Sir Hugh Allan wrote identical letters to both Macdonald and Cartier saying that he had written to Macpherson about amalgamation and that he wished to settle the question of the members of the Provisional Board (72). Final but unsuccessful attempts were being made by Sir John A. to bring Macpherson and Allan together. The Toronto Senator was naturally somewhat sarcastic about the Government's attachment to Allan after Cartier's defeat in Montreal (73). On September 13 Allan, who was certainly checking all possibilities before Cartier left for Europe, wrote a long letter setting out the main points of agreement as he understood them. These included the subsidies, the terminus, branch lines, and the encouragement of settlers (74). The next day Allan sent a private letter to Cartier

70. Ibid., pp. 765-766.
71. Ibid., pp. 771-772.
72. P. A. C., Macdonald, pp. 50693-50694, Allan to Macdonald, Allan to Cartier, Sept. 5.
73. Ibid., pp. 50721-50724, Macpherson to Macdonald, Sept. 6.
74. Ibid., pp. 50725-50743, Allan to Cartier, Sept. 13.
submitting suggestions for the Provisional Board of Directors (75). The list that finally appeared in early 1873 contained only some of the suggested names (76). Regional and political needs had to be satisfied.

Before he left for London Cartier had some very different matters to settle. He went to see his faithful friends at Saint-Sulpice; the Superior, Abbé Bayle, and the Abbé des Mazures. For some reason that remains difficult to ascertain Sir George was not at peace personally with his Church. In any case, the Grand Vicar Cazeau in Quebec wrote to Monsieur Bayle on September 21, and the Superior of Saint-Sulpice replied on September 27 saying that all was well and they were very happy with the state of grace of their ailing friend. This very interesting letter feeds very considerably the speculation about Mlle. Luce Cuvil-lier. The term "rompre ses liens" surely refers to this liaison. The letter from Cazeau to Bayle of the 21st would undoubtedly clarify many points but the Archives de Saint-Sulpice do not yet yield the original and no copy is to be found at the Archevêché de Québec (77).

Writing from London on October 24 Cartier said: "Je suis content que l'Acte pieux et religieux que j'ai accompli avant mon départ et duquel j'ai ressenti tant de bonheur moi-même ait rempli de feu votre

75. Ibid., pp. 50744-50745, Allan to Cartier, Sept. 14.
77. A. A. Q., 27 sept., 1872. S. M. III, 166, M. Bayle à M. Cazeau. See Appendix XLV.
coeur et ceux de tous mes amis, et vous ait tous rendus aussi heureux (78)." On September 27 Sir George sent a characteristic telegram to Sir John A. "Goodbye. I leave this evening for Quebec by train. Don't forget militia promotions about which I gave you memorandum. Kind remembrances to Lady Macdonald and colleagues (79)." A simple farewell but still a thought of government business and a politesse. Amongst the last visitors to the house on Notre-Dame Street was Mgr. Bourget, come to bid the Minister goodbye (80). He arrived at Bonaventure Station for the last time to take the train for Quebec leaving at 10:30 p.m., and a large group was present for this very moving occasion. Short speeches were given by Attorney-General Gédéon Ouimet, Judge Charles-Joseph Coursol, and by Sir George himself (81). Accompanied by his loyal partner, François Pominville, Cartier boarded the Grand Trunk sleeper. At nine o'clock the next morning, the Steamer William left Quebec carrying a large company to wish the Baronet Bon Voyage. The Grand Vicar Cazeau, Premier Chauveau, and several other Provincial Cabinet Ministers headed the group. Sir George's sister Léocadie, the widow of Dr. Joseph Lusignan of Saint-Ours, was also there. Addresses were presented signed by a great number of citizens of both Québec and Pointe-Lévis. Sir George replied very briefly. As the William passed under Cap-aux-diamants

78. Ibid., G. XI, 150, Cartier à Cazeau, 24 oct.


80. La Minerve, 28 sept.

81. Ibid.
towards the larger Prussian of the Allan Line, a salute of seventeen
guns boomed from the citadel in honour of the Minister of Militia and
Defence (82). Sir George-Etienne Cartier sailed for England in a vain
search for a cure for his painful affliction. Only his body was to re-
turn to the Canada he had struggled so valiantly to serve.

Arriving in London, Sir George was met by Lady Cartier, Josephine
and Hortense. They stayed at the Westminster Palace Hotel, so familiar
to the colonial minister, but soon moved to lodgings at 57 Queen Anne
Street, Cavendish Square. It was quieter here, less expensive, and
close to Harley Street where Dr. George Johnson, the greatest specialist
in kidney ailments of the time, had his office (83). A regular corre-
spondence was carried on between the two leaders of the Canadian Govern-
ment. Cartier gave frequent reports of his health, always hoping that
there was some improvement. He often mentioned a possible date for his
return to Canada but this seemed to recede. He received the best medical
attention that was available but all that could be done was to lessen the
distress, no real assault could be made on the disease. The diet pre-
scribed appeared to be mostly milk. As Sir George remarked, "I drink
eight or ten tumblers of it every day. In fact, I am almost living on
it (84)." Never losing his interest in his country, Cartier made

82. Ibid., 30 sept.
17, 1872.
84. Ibid.
frequent visits to the Colonial Office. He was particularly concerned to obtain the transference of the Imperial Guarantee of funds for fortifications to the use of the Pacific Railway (85). Macdonald did not bother his colleague with too many details about the difficulties that dogged the C.P.R. In any case, there were no dramatic developments during the remainder of 1872.

Sir John A. did not inform his colleague of the New Year's present he received in the form of a visit from George W. McMullen, the owner of the Chicago Post, who held a great interest in the Northern Pacific Railroad. McMullen had been a close associate of Sir Hugh Allan's but the Prime Minister assumed, as Cartier must have also, that Allan had severed his connection with his American partners and had neatly closed the book. Such was not the case. Allan had badly misled the American financiers, just as he had the Canadian cabinet. The former threatened to disclose all they knew if they were not allowed to have a sizeable portion of the C.P.R. pie. The only alternative they gave was the complete exclusion of Allan from the scheme. For the first three months of 1873 Macdonald laboured under the threats of blackmail from McMullen and his friends. Finally a solution was arranged by Sir Francis Hincks, and Macdonald felt some relief - though not for long. But his letters to Cartier showed nothing of this. Writing on January 22, he said: "I hope that we shall have the Pacific Railway Charter signed by the 28th

85. Ibid., pp. 85599-85610, pp. 85611-85618, pp. 85619-85622, Ocr. 17, Nov. 9, 16, 23, 30.
of this month, and then we shall have plain sailing for Parliament (86)."

As the negotiations for the Board continued, despite the disquieting pressures from the south, Macdonald wrote encouragingly on January 29: "I hope that in three or four days everything will be finished. It has been an interminable job but we see our way out of it (87)."

Another cheerful note was struck on February 17: "The Charter of the Pacific Railway is issued dated the 5th of February. This mail will bring you a copy. The Board is considered a very good one, and altogether, the document finds favour in the public sight (88)."

The Board represented all parts of Canada. From Quebec were Sir Hugh Allan, the Honourable Joseph-Octave Beaubien, recently defeated federal member for Montmagny and the Commissioner for Crown Lands in the Quebec Government, Jean-Louis Beaudry, the repeatedly elected Mayor of Montreal, and the financier R. N. Hall of Sherbrooke.

Sir George was spared the repeated arguments over his defeat and such annoying events as the sermon pronounced on the occasion of the Noces D'Or of Mgr. Bourget. The festivities generally were an excellent chance for many elements within the Church and without to re-unite in doing honour to the esteemed prelate. However Father Antoine-Nicolas Braun, a Jesuit, was chosen to give the sermon and he managed to insult

86. Ibid., Vol. 522, pp. 645-647, Macdonald to Cartier, Jan. 22, 1873.
87. Ibid., Vol. 522, pp. 708-709, Jan. 29.
many people present. Only the most rigid Ultramontains found grace in his eyes (89).

The very restricted life he was forced to live in London obviously did not please the ailing Cartier. In mid-November he and his family moved to new lodgings at 47 Welbeck Street, also Cavendish Square (90). However, he found life "tedious" and talked continually of returning to Canada (91). Cartier's contact with Mademoiselle Cuvillier carried on to the last as a business letter from Maurice Cuvillier added "Luce's letter will no doubt give you all the details of what is going on here (92)." John Rose visited every few days and English friends were very kind and solicitous.

December 18 brought a very welcome visit from the Archbishop of Quebec and the Rector of Laval University, the Abbé Thomas-Etienne Hamel. Mgr. Taschereau reported that he found the patient thinner but somewhat improved as a result of his London treatment (93). In writing to the Grand Vicar Cazeau on December 9, Sir John A. mentioned Sir George saying, "He writes in good spirits but the accounts I hear from


90. P. A. C., Macdonald, pp. 85599-85610, Cartier to Macdonald, Nov. 16.

91. Ibid., pp. 85619-85622, Nov. 30.

92. F. S. C., Maurice Cuvillier à Cartier, 15 nov.

93. La Minerve, 8 janv., 1873.
other sources are the reverse of encouraging and I fear there is but little hope of his restoration to health." The Prime Minister finished his letter with a sentiment similar to that he had earlier expressed to Lord Lisgar: "This is deeply to be regretted, because I know no one at all his equal in Lower Canada among the public men (94)." Sir John A. was indeed never to have as effective a colleague from Quebec again. Hector Langevin lacked the ability of the man to whom he had once been articed. Despite the impatience of the younger man to loosen the tight yoke imposed by the fiery Montrealer, they had continued to work closely together. It was Langevin who had taken over the Department of Militia and Defence in the absence of the Minister, and there was also considerable correspondence between his office and the lodgings in Cavendish Square. Cartier was full of details about promotions, estimates and many other matters (95).

On December 28 Cartier wrote a rather pitiful letter to Macdonald. "I feel anxious to know what is going on about the 'Pacific Railway,'" he said. Assuring his colleague that "All the time I am carrying on useful talk for Canada with the different public men whom I have occasion to meet now and then," he ended, "I wish so much to be cured so as to be able to return to assist you (96)." Despite some optimism about

setting a date for the return to Canada, Lady Cartier wrote to Sir John A. on January 15 to say that she had had a private interview with Dr. Johnson and that although matters were improving it would at least be late April before there could be any thought of an ocean voyage (97).

A letter from the lion of Nova Scotia is somewhat amusing as the sentiments therein do not parallel those expressed earlier on the same subject. Joseph Howe was unwell and not happy in Ottawa and was about to return to his native province for a very brief term as Lieutenant Governor before he died on June 1, 1873. On January 18 he wrote to Sir George about his health saying:

"During all the time that we have been associated together your health, spirits, and activity of mind and body appeared to be unfailing, and I looked forward to your giving to our country, for a long period after I had retired from its Councils, the benefit of your great intelligence and long experience (98)."

Lady Cartier and the daughters went to Paris for a few days during January but were soon back to continue their vigil (99). Writing to Langevin in mid-February, Cartier expressed the great need for cohesiveness within the Conservative Party in Quebec and the importance of having representatives of all races and religions in the Party. He

98. Harvard University, Houghton Library, Dr. William Inglis Morse Collection, Howe to Cartier, January 18, 1873.
became quite eloquent when he wrote of the nefarious schemes of the Grits to oppress the French Canadians and to rule the country for their own selfish ends. He added a postscript in which he gave very shrewd advice about several new members who could be persuaded to support the Government. He advised Langevin to treat the new member for Rouville, Honoré Mercier, later to be Prime Minister of Quebec, "gently" adding "ce dernier pourra plus tard devenir ami - ou au moins demi-ami (100)."

The news towards the end of March sounded encouraging. Sir George and Lady Cartier dined as the guests of the Prince and Princess of Wales. Several visits were made to various government offices. There was talk of sailing by the 20th or the 25th of April (101).

April brought new developments in the Canadian Pacific problems that Sir John A. would have to face without his French-speaking colleague's assistance. Lucius Seth Huntington, the rather negative, annexationist member for Shefford, had obtained a number of highly compromising documents from the private files of J. J. C. Abbott, Sir Hugh Allan's lawyer. Huntington charged (a) that Sir Hugh Allan had made arrangements to obtain funds for the building of the Canadian Pacific from the United States; (b) that the Government was fully aware of the said arrangements; (c) that subsequently an agreement was made between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan; (d) that Sir Hugh agreed to furnish

100. A. P. Q., Langevin, Cartier à Langevin, 20 fév.

large sums for the use of Government candidates in the recent elections in return for a promise of the C.P.R. contract; (e) that Sir Hugh had indeed furnished large sums for the purposes mentioned, obtaining these from his American colleagues (102). Sir John said not a word and the shocked House voted on party lines on the question of a Committee of Investigation into the charges. Sir John A. then moved to set up a Committee himself and after this was done it was possible to gain time because of the absence from Canada of Cartier, Abbott, and Allan, the last two also in London, seeking investment funds for the C.P.R. It was thus July before the whole business was examined in detail (103). Cartier did not appear to grasp the situation fully as he seemed more annoyed than worried by the new turn of events. He continued to write about many other less pressing subjects. He did congratulate Sir John A. on his course of action and said that "McMullen must be at the bottom of the mischief (104)." In the last letter written to Macdonald in his own hand, Cartier still talked of leaving England on May 29 for Canada (105). However, a letter he dictated to Josephine the next day, complained that he was so weak that he could not hold a pen (106).

102. La Minerve, 3 avril.
103. Ibid., 7 mai, 9 mai.
105. Ibid., pp. 85722-85725, May 16.
106. Ibid., May 17.
On the morning of May 20, 1873, Sir John A. Macdonald received a telegram from Sir John Rose that Sir George-Etienne Cartier had died peacefully that morning. Macdonald read the telegram to a hushed House, and continued: "I find myself incapable of saying more at the moment," and sat down (107). Josephine Cartier wrote two days later that there had been some fear that her father would summon all his energies in an attempt to embark for Canada. One of his last phrases was one of pleasure over the entry of Prince Edward Island into Confederation. Thomas Vincent, Sir George's faithful servant, was to return to Canada as soon as possible but the family were exhausted and needed some immediate rest before deciding what to do. Josephine Cartier sent her regards to Sir John and to Lady Macdonald, "and also to all the members of the Canadian Cabinet, whom four days ago my poor father still called so fondly 'his colleagues (108).'"

Sir John Rose wrote on the day his late colleague had died giving details of the medical consultations of the last few days. The pain became so great that Sir George's mind was affected but "In all his wanderings his mind seemed to dwell on public affairs and on going back to Canada (109)."

Condolences flowed in from all over the Dominion and from Great

107. La Minerve, 21 mai.
Britain. Queen Victoria telegraphed to Lady Cartier from Balmoral. The Canadian press was full of eulogies and of plans for the funeral when the body of the leader of French Canada reached the shores he had so wanted to return to alive.

Writing to Monsieur Cazeau, Father Joseph Toursel, who signed himself Chan. Hon. d'Arras, reported that a service had been held at the Chapelle Française in London and that "un public distingué, en majorité protestant, est venu assister (110)." The information is given that, "M. Gauthier (the French Consul) m'a assuré de ses sentiments religieux, et la famille affirme qu'il a toujours été le défenseur de la bonne cause. Au Canada, il y a donc lieu d'espérer qu'il aura trouvé graces devant le bon Dieu." John Rose wrote several days later that all was in order and that the coffin would leave Liverpool on the 29th for Quebec, ironically on the same date that Cartier had said to Macdonald he hoped to return. Rose continued: "The body has been embalmed and I have been assured by the undertaker (who is a person of great skill and respectability) that it will be sure to reach Canada in such a condition as his friends would wish (111)."

On the last day of the Parliamentary session, May 23, the Prime Minister moved that the funeral for his late colleague should be at the public expense and that a monument should be erected to the memory of


"that excellent statesman (112)." Speaking for the Opposition, Messrs. Mackenzie and Holton objected that it was not right for public funds to be used to commemorate political services but they did not press their objections. The monument, executed by the distinguished Canadian sculptor Louis-Philippe Hébert, was unveiled on Parliament Hill on January 29, 1885. Sir John A. Macdonald delivered an oration on that occasion that was most laudatory:

"... From the time he entered Parliament he was true to his province, his people, his race, and his religion. At the same time, he had no trace of bigotry, no trace of fanaticism. Why, those who were opposed to him in his own province used to call him a French-speaking Englishman ... Gentlemen, he was true to his province, he was true to the institutions of his province ... (113)."

This extract points up one of the great difficulties in evaluating Cartier's career and his services to his countrymen. He must bear the epithet of being called a French-speaking Englishman because he saw the future of French Canada in a larger context than the immediate borders of the Province of Quebec. The same charge is laid today against French-Canadian politicians who venture on to the broader scene. In some cases this accusation may be valid. French-Canadian politicians have been known to lose touch with the feelings and aspirations of their own people and indeed to cease to think as French Canadians. But George-Etienne Cartier broadened his horizons without losing touch with his

112. La Minerve, 24 mai.

roots. He always kept the interests of Quebec in mind, at the same time attempting to accomplish what was best for Canada as a whole.

The arrangements for the funeral proceeded swiftly and articles about the distinguished Minister appeared in the press of all colours. Le National could not restrain itself, however, from issuing a stern warning that although the funeral procession should be: "accueilli avec le respect que doit inspirer la dépouille d'un chrétien et d'un compatriote ... il faut encore se défier des vivants, et ne pas aider à des démonstrations qui auraient pour but de glorifier non pas M. Cartier mais le ministère dont il fait partie (114)."

Dr. Théodore Robitaille, the Member for Bonaventure who was shortly to enter the federal cabinet as Receiver General, had charge of the funeral arrangements, and his rooms in the St. Lawrence Hall were a scene of constant activity (115).

Lady Cartier and her two daughters had gone to France for a while; they would not be back in Canada for the funeral. Madame Hector Bossange, an aunt of Lady Cartier's, received them at Citry (116). Lady Cartier was never to return to Canada. She died at Cannes in 1898. Very little is known of her life there. It must have been very quiet. She received the occasional visit from friends and relatives in Canada,

114. La Minerve, 30 mai.
115. Ibid., 2 juin.
116. Ibid., 6 juin.
including one in 1888 from her brother, the first Archbishop of Montreal (117). When Sir George's will was made public several weeks after his funeral all Montreal talked of the terms which were, as we have already seen, extremely insulting to Lady Cartier and to the Fabre family. Madame Jules Fournier (née Thérèse Surveyer) of Montreal, whose mother Hectorine was a sister of Lady Cartier's, vividly remembers the displeasure in the Fabre household during her childhood whenever Sir George's name was mentioned. Newspapers such as the *Witness*, the *Herald*, *Le National*, and the *Journal de Québec*, could not resist the temptation of publishing the will, and *Le National* embellished the already startling document with correspondence that hinted darkly at all kinds of problems (118). A letter signed "Une épouse et une mère" stated that "la vie de Lady Cartier comme épouse et comme mère a toujours été irréprochable." Sir George was described as having "rien de grand dans son caractère; il était rempli d'activité et d'énergie, dévoué à ses amis et exigeant d'eux qu'ils se plient aveuglement à ses ordres." Recalling the optimism of Edouard-Raymond Fabre on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to the young lawyer, it is of interest to read another phrase in this same letter: "Mariée très jeune, elle n'avait aucune ambition mondaine et d'une nature remarquablement franche et candide, elle n'a pu, je crois bien, toujours se prêter aux


adulations auxquelles les partisans de son mari l'avaient accoutumé (119)." The tone of this letter is understandable with the explanation given us by Madame Jules Fournier that the author was Josephte Éléanor Debartzch, the daughter of the late Seigneur of Saint-Charles and the wife of Lewis-Thomas Drummond, Cartier's ex-colleague. *La Minerve* was hard pressed to know what to do but it finally published the will itself, saying, "Nous ne demandons qu'une chose à nos amis, c'est d'étudier avec impartialité les intentions du testateur et de remarquer l'expression de ses sentiments religieux là où elle se trouve (120)." *Le National* predictably took another approach and finished an Editorial on the subject with: "L'étude de ce testament fait il y a plus de six ans, jette beaucoup de lumière sur le caractère de Sir George, et sera certainement très utile à ses historiens, auxquels il servira à expliquer même des actes de sa vie politique (121)."

Under the circumstances Lady Cartier could not very well return to Montreal. Her financial situation was far from good as the will tied everything up so tightly. Lady Cartier indeed wrote to the Prime Minister from Paris to ask if, "in recognition of my husband's services to his country . . . I could expect that the Canadian Government would grant me and my daughters a small annuity, as we are all three left in

very poor circumstances (122)." The train of events that finally led up to the granting of a pension for Lady Cartier was lengthy and tortuous. Lord Dufferin, Hector Langevin, and John A. Macdonald were all involved. Philippe-Baby Casgrain, the M.P. for L'Islet, wrote to the Prime Minister in 1881 that he had received reliable information to the effect that Lady Cartier was reduced to one meal a day (123). On May 1, 1881, Macdonald wrote to Lady Cartier that she would receive a grant of $500.00 from the Canadian Government (124). Over a year later a rather pathetic letter was received from Josephine Cartier asking for a definite decision on the pension one way or the other (125). During the discussion of the estimates for 1883-1884 an item of $1,200.00 appeared as a pension for Lady Cartier. Sir Leonard Tilley, the Minister of Finance, affirmed that this was to be permanent and indeed the Estimates confirm that the amount was paid until Lady Cartier's death in 1898 (126). Josephine Cartier died at Cannes in 1886. Hortense escaped from France at the beginning of the Second World War on a coal boat and died in London in 1941 (127). She

123. Ibid., pp. 142607-142610, P. B. Casgrain to J. A. Macdonald, March 8, 1881.
124. Ibid., Vol. 21, pp. 468-469, Macdonald to Lady Cartier, May 1, 1881.
127. Le Progrès de Valleyfield, 8 janvier, 1942.
had taken an active part in the ceremonies that took place in Montreal and in Saint-Antoine in 1914, the centenary of the birth of her father, and again in 1919 on the occasion of the unveiling of the very impressive monument on the slopes of Mount Royal, the work of the Montreal sculptor George W. Hill (128). The Cartier Succession carries on today with the grand-nieces and nephews receiving two-thirds of the revenue divided between them. Of the thirteen who originally received these monies only three remain today. With the passing of the last of this generation, the total capital will be divided among the numerous great grand-nieces and nephews of Sir George. The estate that was certainly not large in 1873 is now worth a considerable amount. Some of the land that was worth little at that time has since been sold at a handsome profit. However, the number of great grand-nieces and nephews means that no one person will inherit a large amount (129).

One matter that the will did not mention was the disposition of Sir George-Etienne Cartier's papers. Sir John Rose had mentioned that he had sent any state papers to Sir John A. and business papers to Pominville, while Lady Cartier had kept personal correspondence (130). But this only covers the very small amount of material in London. Writing to Pominville, Benjamin Suite, who had served in the Department of


129. A Genealogical tree was prepared for the Succession by Monsieur Lucien Lusignan of the Library of Parliament in Ottawa.

130. A. S. S., Rose to ?, May 28, 1873.
Militia and Defence in Ottawa since 1867, said, "En partant, Sir George m'avait confié un gros pacquet de papiers," adding that most of them belonged in government files, but that he was sending Pominville a bundle of letters and telegrams. It is probable that these are a part of the papers that are at present in the possession of the Cartier family in Montreal (131). A list of his partner's possessions in the hands of Pominville at the same period includes a "travelling bag full of private papers (132)." There is no further detail given in either case. François Pominville continued to look after the Grand Trunk and other legal business during 1872, and into early 1873 (133). He died later that year.

On Monday, June 9, the Prussian arrived at Quebec with the body of the Canadian statesman. The coffin was transferred to a "chapelle ardente" erected on the deck of the Government steamer Druid, tied up at the Queen's wharf. The same evening the funeral cortège proceeded up the Côte de la Montagne to the Basilica. A libera was sung by the Grand Vicar Cazeau, who had been so close to the deceased, and a funeral oration was delivered by Mgr. Antoine Racine, soon to be named the first Bishop of Sherbrooke. The Druid then sailed for Montreal, stopping at Trois-Rivières, where another libera was sung. One of the journalists

131. F. S. C., Suite à Pominville, 7 juillet, 1873.
132. Ibid., n. d.
aboard the steamer was Sir George's brother-in-law, Hector Fabre, representing *L'Evénement*. Lady Dufferin, in *My Canadian Journal*, tells of passing the *Druid* as she and her children were sailing from Montreal to Quebec on the evening of June 10.

"When we were at tea we heard some music - the 'Dead March' - being played; and looking out, we saw, passing slowly in the darkness, the steamer with the body of Sir George Cartier on board; it was a striking moment; the chapel on board lighted up, the band playing, and bells tolling at sea, answered by bells tolling on shore (134)."

After anchoring off Verchères for the night, the *Druid* proceeded to Montreal where the coffin was taken to the Court House and the faithful and the curious filed by for two days.

Friday, June 13, may not be an auspicious date on which to be born, but for a funeral it no longer mattered. It was a bright, warm day as the huge funeral procession started to form on the Champs-de-Mars. Sir George's old friend, the Superior of Saint-Sulpice, Abbé Bayle, performed the levée du corps, and the procession marched slowly to Notre-Dame. The hearse, drawn by eight horses, was extremely ornate. Twenty feet in height, bearing Sir George's arms and motto, and surmounted by a silver cross, *La Minerve* confided that this magnificent example of the workmanship of Montreal craftsmen had cost two thousand dollars. The list of different groups marching in the procession totalled fifty-four, including the Cabinet, the representative of the Governor-General, various

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labour movements, the Sociétés of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. George, the Temperance Societies, and the students from the various schools. Mgr. Edouard-Charles Fabre, brother-in-law of the deceased and recently named Bishop of Gratianopolis and coadjutor to Mgr. Bourget, celebrated the solemn funeral service assisted by the Grand Vicar Cazeau, who Sir George had at one time hoped would receive the succession to the episcopal throne in Montreal. There was no eulogy. This was unusual but no reason was given. Perhaps the divisions within the Conservative Party or more likely between the Bishop's Palace and Saint-Sulpice made it difficult to agree on a priest for this very sensitive task. La Minerve stated simply that "Msgr. de Montréal a jugé à propos de ne pas l'autoriser (135)." The students of the Collège de Montréal provided the music for the service. Leaving Notre-Dame the procession wound up to Ste. Catherine Street, past the Anglican Cathedral where the bells were tolling, up Mountain Street and along Sherbrooke to Guy. From here carriages carried those who wished to go further to the plot high up at the back of the Côte-des-Neiges Cemetery, where Sir George was finally laid to rest. The monument is crowned by a bust of the late Baronet sculpted by Louis-Philippe Hébert. For many years a magnificent wrought iron fence with the arms of Sir George worked in bronze on the gate surrounded the plot; but when the authorities of the cemetery ruled that such things made upkeep difficult, it was removed to L'Annonciation in Labelle County, where it can be seen proudly

135. La Minerve, 14 juin.
displayed in the garden of the late Dr. Côme Cartier, one of Sir George's grand-nephews. *Le National* dared to suggest that the Bleu chief's funeral had been somewhat perfunctory, but *La Minerve* replied hotly that seventy-five thousand people had paid their respects at the Court House and more than five thousand people had marched in the funeral procession, while one hundred thousand looked on (136). The pallbearers included the Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario and Quebec, several judges and two distinguished representatives of the Rouge Party, Antoine-Aimé Dorion and Luc Letellier de St. Just. The registers of Notre-Dame yield the burial certificate signed by many people, starting with the names of Sir George's Cabinet colleagues, John A. Macdonald, Peter Mitchell, Samuel Leonard Tilley, Hector-L Langevin, John Henry Pope, Alexander T. Galt, Jean-Charles Chapais, Francis Hincks, Alexander Campbell and James C. Aikins (137).

The memory of Sir George-Etienne Cartier was not allowed to fade, for the enquiry into the Canadian Pacific Railway had not yet been finished, and his name appeared often in the documents and the verbal questions. The Committee of Enquiry ran into procedural difficulties but the public soon became aware of most of the facts through the publication of a large part of the Allan-McMullen correspondence in the *Montreal Herald* and the *Toronto Globe* of July 4. Allan immediately prepared and published a long statement in the *Gazette*. Then the

136. Ibid., 16 juin.

publication of the telegrams that had been stolen from Allan's office by his clerk, George Norris, giving the various requests for money from the Ministers in the last elections, finally did the Government in. The demise of the Government was not swift but despite Macdonald's every effort to delay the inevitable, it was bound to happen. The Royal Commission that the Government wished was duly appointed and met during September and October, but many witnesses refused to attend and it was somewhat less than the hoped-for success. At the request of the Governor-General, the Prime Minister prepared a long memorandum giving his account of the events that were now referred to, at least by the Opposition Press, as "The Pacific Scandal." This very good account, of course, shows the Government in the best possible light but the matter of the large election sums accepted from one who was looking for a huge government contract was not denied. Sir John A. did not spare Sir Hugh Allan and the duplicity that had been shown, nor did he fail to mention the devious means by which the Opposition obtained its information. At one point he stated that, "It is evident, however, from the evidence that has come out before the Commissioners, that Sir Hugh Allan took undue advantage of the failing health and waning mental faculties of Sir George (138)." This statement is a fair one for there is little doubt that Cartier would have been able to deal much more effectively with the problems at hand if he had been in better health. Sir John begged the point somewhat in a further passage as he in fact knew quite well what

was going on, certainly before the publication of the documents. However, he wrote that he had indeed requested ten thousand dollars more from Sir Hugh, through Sir George. He added:

"In writing to Sir George, I was quite unaware of the extent to which he had committed himself in Montreal. His persistence in offering for East Montreal against all advice was most distressing. It was known that if elected at all it must be after an enormously expensive contest, and I pressed him to take a rural constituency, where he could have been returned by acclamation. Not until after his death and the evidence was produced were any of his colleagues aware of his insane course. As I have already said, it showed too clearly that mind had broken down as well as body. Of course, I can only say this to you, as I would rather suffer any consequences than cast any reflections on his memory before the public, or say anything that would have even the appearance of an attempt to transfer any blame that may attach to these transactions on one who is no longer here to speak for himself. No member of the Government here knew or had any suspicion of the arrangement made between Sir George and Sir Hugh Allan, or of the papers signed by the former, until they were recently published. I certainly did not (139)."

Sir John A. did a very good job of describing the facts without straining unduly the credulity of his reader. On November 5, the resignation of the Government was placed in the hands of the Governor-General and Alexander Mackenzie was requested to form an administration. Sir George-Etienne Cartier was spared these last weeks of the Liberal Conservative regime.

139. Ibid.
CONCLUSION

In the twelve chapters of this thesis we have traced the development of George-Etienne Cartier from his childhood on the Richelieu River, through his education, the Troubles of 1837, his professional life, his personal life, and the many political events with which he was connected. We have seen him fighting elections, striving for commercial expansion, contributing to constitutional developments, and enmeshed in complicated politico-religious disputes. We have seen him rise from the role of aide to Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, to Member of Parliament, to Minister, and to Premier of the United Canadas. We have seen him at the Conference table in Charlottetown, Quebec and London in the exchanges preceding Confederation, and then return to London again to conduct negotiations of the greatest importance on behalf of the new Dominion. We have seen him receive the plaudits of his people, the respect of Royalty and political leaders in London, and only a year before his death be categorically rejected by the people of Montreal, the city for which he did so much.

This is the first time that all the available evidence has been brought together to present as clear a picture as possible. The material from the Succession Cartier in Montreal has never been used before. The sources in the Archbishoprics of Quebec, Saint-Boniface, Montreal and Rimouski would not appear to have been tapped previously to such an extent. The same could be said for the Bishopric of Saint-Hyacinthe and
the Seminaries of Nicolet and Trois-Rivières. Although the newspapers of the period have been quoted on various occasions, no systematic search has been conducted to recreate the events and the commentaries on them as has been done in this case particularly with La Minerve. The lack of first-hand oral sources has placed limitations that did not exist to the same extent for earlier biographers; but the passage of the second half of the first one hundred years of the Canadian Confederation has given us some insight into the value of the accomplishments of the political figures of the middle of the last century that was not previously possible. Previous writers must certainly have been aware, much more so than will ever be possible again, of the influence of certain aspects of Cartier's personal life on his career. For reasons of discretion they were unable, however, to mention these; but now that all the individuals involved have died, it is possible to give a more accurate and fuller picture of George-Etienne Cartier.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that we had hoped to locate much more unused source material. A thorough search has been made to no avail. We will continue to follow any new leads that may arise unexpectedly and hope that one day the hidden treasure will be discovered.

Our study of the life of George-Etienne Cartier has persuaded us of the need of more information about other people with whom he came in contact. Among the most obvious needs a biography of Antoine-Aimé Dorion and of his brother Jean-Baptiste-Eric would be most valuable. Likewise
biographies are needed of Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, Augustin-Norbert Morin, Etienne-Paschal Taché, Joseph Doutre, Sir Hugh Allan; these personalities and many others provide very worthy subjects for the pens of interested historians. The history of ideas is of the greatest importance, but one can comprehend ideas much better by understanding the men who first enunciated them and those who chose to propagate these ideas.
APPENDIX I

The Jacques Cartier Family

Pierre Cartier - Marie Beaumier
(Prulier, diocèse d'Angers, France)

Jacques I(s'établit à Québec vers 1738) marié à Beauport, le 6 juillet 1744, avec Marguerite Mongeon.


2. Joseph, baptisé à Québec, en 1752, épousa à Québec, Marie-Anne Cuvillier.

3. Louise, morte jeune.


5. Marguerite, épousa Louis Dragon de Saint-Denis.


Jacques II - Cécile Gervaise

(plusieurs enfants dont 2 seulement ont survécu)

Jacques III
(né en 1774)

Cécile

L - J - Edouard Hubert - Cécile Cartier
(marié en 1796)

(plusieurs enfants dont R-A-R Hubert, né à Saint-Denis en 1811)

Jacques III - Marguerite Paradis
(marié en 1798)

1. Marguerite (née en 1801)

2. Jacques-Elzéar (né en 1803) décédé pendant ses études au Collège de Montréal.
4. Antoine-Côme (né en 1809).
5. Emérente (née en 1810).
6. François-Damien (né en 1813).
7. George-Etienne (né le 6 sept. 1814).
8. Léocadie (née en 1816).

(F.S.C. pp. 130-139)
APPENDIX II

Two letters from Edouard-Etienne Rodier to George-Etienne Cartier, dated December 11, and December 12, 1832.

Letter No. 1

Mon cher George,

Je ne vous envoie pas actuellement d'instructions relatives à mes affaires professionnelles car j'espère vous revoir samedi de la semaine prochaine et peut-être auparavant s'il est possible.

Nous n'avons pas pu commencer l'affaire du 21 mai hier au soir, car l'élection contestée de Mr Gosset nous a occupés jusqu'à minuit, tant les débats ont été longs. Mr Hamilton a été déclaré par la chambre le membre duement élu à sa place, à une majorité de 35 contre 12. L'affaire du 21 mai, sera aujourd'hui le premier ordre du jour.

Nous avons depuis quelques jours parlé de dissolution; mais son Excellence, nous a-t-on dit ce matin, ne veut pas risquer cet acte de désespoir. J'ai été hier avec Mr Neilson lui porter trois messages de la chambre, et il nous a reçu bien poliment. Je lui faisais pourtant les gros yeux; et l'air de dédain à ses aides de camp; mais je vois que pour se faire respecter des tyrans il faut les mépriser et jamais plier. J'aurais bien voulu sacrer le Château St Louis en bas du Cap, avec tout ce qu'il y a dedans, au risque de le suivre moi même avec Milady Aylmer; mais ce n'est pas avec des désirs qu'on fait tout cela.

Dans la formation du Bureau d'audition, nous avons chassé Cary qui est un Ecossais pour mettre un Canadien à sa place. J'ai fait un discours contre les Anglais, sans cérémonie, et j'ai été tout prêt de crier en pensant à Duvernay, à bas les Anglais!

Nous n'avons pas été à Montmorency car il neigeoits.

Vous me demandez des nouvelles de Mould et s'il est vrai qu'il est admis au Château; cela est absolument faux, et Leclerc même, malgré ses relations avec la Bureaucratie, n'y a pas été car c'eut été faire une insulte aux Membres qui s'y trouvaient. Parent y a été invité, quoiqu'il n'y ait pas été, mais c'est en qualité d'avocat et Traducteur pour la chambre, et le respect pour les officiers de la chambre.
Armour avait coutume d'entrer dans nos chambres de comité et dans les bureaux de Greffiers, quand nous n'y étions pas Lafontaine et moi.

Le jour de sa destitution, je priaï Mr Bourdages, comme doyen de faire des plaintes à la chambre sur les allants et venants dans les passages et dans les chambres de Comités. Effectivement Mr Bourdages fit plainte et il fut enjoint au greffier de faire strictement son devoir. Armour se présenta avec son audace ordinaire le lendemain matin et entra ou plutôt veut entrer chez Lindsay, notre greffier. Lindsay lui a répondu aussitôt. "Arrêtez, Monsr: n'entre pas ici, retirez-vous, point d'espion." Depuis ce temps, il est aussi méprisé à Québec qu'il est méprisable et tout le monde lui jette la pierre. Il n'approche plus de nos chambres et se tient bien tranquillement et bien tristement dans le vestibule ou garde-robe jusqu'à ce que la Séance commence. Dites à Duvernay que tout ceci est vrai, et que j'en suis témoin.

Dites à Duvernay que je lui permets de glisser avec les veuves et de se comporter avec elles comme je fais à Québec: je suis plus chaste qu'une Lucrèce. Je n'ai pas eu même de pensées ni de désirs concupiscentieux avec les Québécoises, quoique une certaine petite grivoise fasse bien son possible pour me consoler des chagrins d'absence. Mais je n'ai pas que l'agacer et quand je la vois sérieuse, je n'ai qu'à lui parler sérieusement de ma femme, et aussitôt je la fais bouder: parce que je suis un peu lèste et badin, elle s'imagine que je suis peu délicat sur le point de fidélité conjugale, et a pris pour sérieux des charades que je me suis permis avec elle: je vous ferai rire à mon retour de cette petite coquinne-là, dont cependant je ne puis vous dire le nom par rapport aux bienséances amicales.

Jeudi nous avons un parti de seize voitures à Lorette, et vous serez surpris de voir comme le vin, les viandes, les desserts etc. etc. sont bien reparties. Chacun est obligé d'apporter quelque chose excepté nous, c'est à dire, Mr Raymond, Lafontaine et moi. Bleury est toujours laissé de côté.

Assez pour aujourd'hui. Vous n'aurez pas besoin de me répondre après la réception de cette lettre, à moins que je vous écrive, car je crois partir lundi ou mardi prochain pour vous revoir, si toutes fois je puis m'absenter.

Mes amitiés à nos amis.

Votre affectionné Patron,

Edouard E. Rodier.

Dites à Duvernay que je n'ai pu voir sa géolière quoique j'y ai été.
deux fois. Rappellez lui aussi certains ordres qu'il devait me donner pour une personne de Québec.

Mes salutations à Mdme Rodier et embrassez mes petites filles.

Au revoir.

Letter No. 2

Mon cher George,

Vous recevez cy inclus dix piastres que vous approprierez aux besoins de la maison, comme c'est vous qui êtes chargé du département des comestibles.

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 fâlon.

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 prendre les injures par écrit, et après cela Ogden 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 priés 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. Sr George a donné une partie de son témoignage. Les Québécois ne l'avaient jamais cru si bête. L'enquête doit continuer vendredi prochain.

Je ne puis vous en écrire d'avantage pour le présent. Je suis malade, et je ne pourrai assister à la séance ce soir: je vais immédiatement me mettre au lit.

Dites à mon cousin que je lui écrirai aussitôt que je serai un peu mieux.

Je crois partir d'ici la semaine prochaine, mais n'annoncez pas cela à mes clients, car j'iraï seulement pour faire l'assemblée de parents pour régler la succession de mon frère et ma mère, ce qui ne peut se faire par procuration. Informez Jean Terroux de cela, mais lui seulement.

Je vous écrirais bien encore des bécane, mais je vous assure que je suis bien loin d'être en humeur de le faire.
Agréez mes assurances d'amitié et d'affection et croyez-moi

Votre sincère ami et patron

Edouard E. Rodier.

Mr. George Cartier,

Soyez toujours patriot; détestez toujours l'Aristocratie: méprisez l'orgueil et la morosque 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.

Si vous preniez une femme à Québec, vous prendriez assurément une patriote, car elles savent toutes, plus ou moins, bien des choses de la politique, et vous seriez étonné d'entendre parler Madame Huot, une jeune dame de 17 ans: elle parle avec autant de facilité et dans un langage aussi pur et aussi élégant que Papineau. Madame Leblanc est encore plus instruite, mais elle est bavarde.

Les femmes sont des patriotes plus zélés que leurs maris, dans la ville de Québec, mais ce qu'il y a de drôle c'est que les plus instruites n'ont point d'enfant. Je n'y comprends goute.

Adieu – adieu.

Endos. Mr George Cartier

Etudiant en droit

chez Edouard E. Rodier, Ecuier

Rue Craig, Montréal.

Archives of the Chateau de Ramezay.
APPENDIX III

O CANADA, MON PAYS, MES AMOURS.

Comme le dit un viel adage:
Rien n'est si beau que son pays;
Et de le chanter, c'est l'usage;
Le mien je chante à mes amis (bis).
L'étranger voit avec un oeil d'envie
Du Saint-Laurent le majestueux cours;
A son aspect le Canadien s'écrie:
O Canada! mon pays! mes amours!

Maints ruisseaux et maintes rivières
Arrosent nos fertiles champs;
Et de nos montagnes altières,
De loin on voit les longs penchants.
Vallons, coteaux, forêts, chutes, rapides,
De tant d'objets est-il plus beau concours?
 Qui n'aimerait tes lacs aux eaux limpides?
O Canada! mon pays! mes amours!

Les quatre saisons de l'année
Offrent tour à tour leurs吸引力.
Le printemps, l'amante enjouée
Revoit ses fleurs, ses verts bosquets.
Le moissonneur, l'été, joyeux s'apprête
A recueillir le fruit de ses labours,
Et tout l'automne et tout l'hiver, on fête.
O Canada! mon pays! mes amours!

Le Canadien comme ses pères,
Aime à chanter, à s'égayer,
Doux, aisé, vif en ses manières,
Poli, galant, hospitalier,
À son pays il ne fut jamais traître,
À l'esclavage il résista toujours;
Et sa maxime est la paix, le bien-être
Du Canada, son pays, ses amours.

Chaque pays vante ses belles;
Je crois bien que l'on ne ment pas;
Mais nos Canadiennes comme elles
Ont des grâces et des appas.
Chez nous la belle est aimable, sincère;
D'une Française elle a tous les atours,
L'air moins coquet, pourtant assez pour plaire,
0 Canada! mon pays! mes amours!

O mon pays! de la nature
Vraiment tu fus l'enfant chéri;
Mais l'étranger souvent parjure,
En ton sein, le trouble a nourri.
Puissent tous tes enfants enfin se joindre,
Et valeureux voler à ton secours!
Car le beau jour déjà commence à poindre.
0 Canada! mon pays! mes amours!

1834

G.-E. CARTIER
Extrait d'une lettre signée Henri Lappare dans L'Avenir, 9 août 1848.

Le second des faits que je vais rectifier est celui qui tend à faire croire que le petit George E.C. fut brave à la bataille de St.-Denis. Voici, par rapport à ce dernier, le fait tel qu'il est, tel que le Dr. sait qu'il est et le petit George lui-même mieux que qui que ce soit. Figurez-vous, M. le directeur, le petit George revêtu d'un vieux capot d'étoffe du pays fait pour un homme, et couvert d'une immense tuque bleue qui lui pendait jusque dans le milieu du dos et dont la largeur correspondait à la longueur, de manière, qu'au besoin, il n'y a aucun doute qu'elle aurait pu le contenir tout entier, surtout pas plus gros qu'il était ce jour là. Figurez-vous dis-je, si vous voulez avoir une idée correcte de sa bravoure, de le voir ainsi affublé, relégué pendant tout le temps qu'il resta à la bataille, dans un petit coin de la grande chambre de la maison de Madm. St. Germain, qui se trouvait à l'extrémité sud-ouest de cette maison, c'est-à-dire, dans la partie la plus éloignée du combat et des combattants, tremblant de toutes ses forces et demandant constamment en pleurnichant et pour l'amour de Dieu, à son cousin Henri C. qui ne l'abandonna pas un instant, quoique tremblant moins fort, de supplier le Dr. Nelson de retraiter, car nous allions tous être massacrés, s'il persistait. Le cousin qui, comme on le devine, n'était pas tout à fait sans peur, se laissa gagner et alla demander au Dr. de retraiter. Dites vous même Dr. ce que vous lui avez répondu, car il ne serait pas décent pour moi de rapporter ici les expressions dont vous fîtes usage pour lui dire que s'il était trop lâche pour aider, du moins il ne devait pas décourager les autres par sa lâcheté. Le petit George déconcerté du refus que le Dr. venait de donner un peu brutalement à son cousin, tremblait toujours de plus fort en plus fort, au point M. le directeur, que pour ma part, je l'avoue franchement, j'en eus pitié. Mais oh! bonheur inattendu voilà-t-il pas tout à coup, vers les 2 heures de l'après midi, que qu'un se plaint de manquer de cartouches. Le petit George déconcerté du refus que le Dr. venait de donner un peu brutalement à son cousin, tremblait toujours de plus fort en plus fort, au point M. le directeur, que pour ma part, je l'avoue franchement, j'en eus pitié. Mais oh! bonheur inattendu voilà-t-il pas tout à coup, vers les 2 heures de l'après midi, que que! - qu'un se plaint de manquer de cartouches. Le petit George déconcerté du refus que le Dr. venait de donner un peu brutalement à son cousin, tremblait toujours de plus fort en plus fort, au point M. le directeur, que pour ma part, je l'avoue franchement, j'en eus pitié. 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Mais oh! bonheur inattendu voilà-t-il pas tout à coup, vers les 2 heures de l'après midi, que que! - qu'un se plaint de manque...
ferait un sage et prudent usage. Aussi je ne me trompai pas; il ne revint qu'une grosse demie heure après qu'il fut bien informé que nous étions victorieux, et que les troupes étaient à plus de moitié chemin de St. Denis. Oh! C'est alors, par exemple, qu'il arriva bravement, et je délie qu'il se soit de dire le contraire. Où sont-ils! où sont-ils! En voilà des cartouches; C'est à présent que nous allons les servir. Pas pour aujourd'hui lui répondit quelqu'un qui se trouvait près de lui, car ils arrivent à St.-Ours maintenant. Quoi? ils sont partis! c'est malheureux; comme nous les aurions ravagés! C'est assez comme cela, repliqua la même personne; il me semble que nous ne les avons pas trop ménagés. Dans ce moment une pensée vint au petit bonhomme, et l'acca-bla de tristesse; ils pourraient bien revenir cette nuit, dit-il tout épouvanté! non, non, rassurez-vous, lui dit-on, pour cette nuit il n'y a aucun danger. Mais tout fut inutile; on ne put parvenir à vaincre la peur du brave petit George. Et quant à la bravoure dont il fit preuve en traversant à St.-Antoine pour aller chercher des cartouches, elle est aussi éminente que celle dont il fit preuve à la bataille; et pour qui connaît les lieux il sera facile de s'en convaincre lorsqu'on saura qu'il alla traverser à quarante arpents plus haut que le lieu où se sont tenues les troupes durant l'action, et qu'il y avait entre le lieu où il a traversé et le lieu où étaient les troupes, une Isle de plus de dix arpents de long sur quatre ou cinq de large. Le Dr. en rapportant ce fait, comme il le rapporte à l'avantage du petit George, aurait dû, s'il eut été honnête et de bonne foi, le rapporter à la gloire des habitants de Contre-coeur, qui furent les seuls et uniques braves qui affrontèrent le danger de traverser en bas de l'Isle dont je vins de parler, durant l'action et malgré le canon que les troupes dirigèrent sur eux pendant qu'ils traversaient, et le boul de l'Isle qui atteignant la barque qui les portait sans heureusement faire de mal à personne et sans décourager ni entraver la marche de ces braves gens qui, un instant après, étaient avec nous. Honneur donc aux braves habitants de Contre-coeur qui, de leur propre mouvement, d'eux mêmes, et sans l'assistance d'un quel que pour les diriger et commander, sont venus si généreusement nous donner main-forte; et honte au Dr. W. Nelson qui voudrait dérober à ces braves et honnêtes gens un aussi beau trait de bravoure et de dévouement.

Le troisième fait dont je vais parler est celui par le quelle Dr. dit que le petit Georges et son cousin assistaient à la mort du brave et honnête Ovide Perrault, dont le pays regrettera longtemps encore la perte qu'il fit en perdant cet homme, qui quoique jeune encore, était déjà l'un de ses plus zélés comme l'un de ses plus habiles et éminents défenseurs. Je n'y étais pas présent moi, mais ce que je vais en dire concernant le petit Georges et son cousin, c'est ce que tout le monde en disait le lendemain de la bataille et ce que je ne sache pas que le Dr. ait jamais contredit avant ce moment: C'est que le soir de la bataille il est vrai que le petit Georges et son cousin se réfugièrent chez M. Deschambault, mais qu'y étant toujours
sous l'influence de la peur, ils s'y étaient réfugiés dans la cave, d'où l'on eut toute la peine possible pour les faire sortir le lendemain; personne ne m'ayant jamais dit le contraire, j'ai toujours été et suis encore sous l'impression que c'est la vérité."
Extrait d'une lettre du docteur Wolfred Nelson dans

La Minerve, 4 septembre, 1848.

"Qu'il est vrai que M Henri Cartier a remarqué qu'il serait bon de retraiter, vu les ravages causés par les décharges de l'ennemi, le manque de munition, et la fuite d'un nombre de personnes de conséquence. Je me suis fortement opposé à cette démarche, et nonobstant cela, M Henri Cartier nous a vigoureusement secondé pendant toute la journée, M Georges Cartier n'a jamais fait allusion à la retraite, et lui, comme son cousin, M H. Cartier, a vaillamment et efficacement contribué au succès de cette lutte. Et ces messieurs ne m'ont laissé que lorsque je fus moi-même obligé de partir, neuf jours après cette époque, à la seconde expédition des troupes contre Saint-Denis, la résistance alors étant devenue impossible.

Que j'ai envoyé M George Cartier, vers les deux heures de l'après-midi, chercher des munitions à Saint-Antoine, et qu'il était promptement de retour avec des secours, après environ une heure d'absence. M Geo. Cartier ne portait point de tuque bleue le jour de la bataille.

Que si j'ai vu le nommé Henri Lappare pendant cette journée, ce n'est qu'au commencement, je ne me souviens pas de l'avoir vu ensuite. S'est-il caché dans une cheminée, dans sa frayeur, comme il l'a lui-même avoué, et ensuite s'est-il sauvé avec d'autres, comme il a été prouvé sous serment, c'est ce que j'ignore. Mais dans tous les cas, s'il se fut conduit avec courage et valeur durant la bataille, il me semble que je n'aurais pu manquer de le remarquer comme j'ai remarqué les faits saillants de tant d'autres."
Extrait d'un témoignage anonyme cité dans L-0 David, Biographies et Portraits, pp. 150-151.

"À la dispersion des patriotes, après la bataille de Saint-Charles, Sir George avec son cousin Henri Cartier, en son vivant médecin à Vaudreuil, se sont réfugiés à la "Beauce" de Verchères, à une lieue et trois quarts du village de Saint-Anthoine, chez un riche cultivateur, Antoine Larose, et y ont passé tout l'hiver. Singulière coïncidence, curieux rapprochement, son futur beau-père Fabre était caché tout près, chez le curé de Contrecœur. C'est George lui-même qui écrivit et fit publier l'article où on le disait mort dans les bois. Ceux qui l'ont bien connu doivent reconnaître leur homme à ce trait-là. Ayant reçu le journal qui contenait son article, et, après l'avoir lu, il le passa à son cousin en lui disant: "À présent, mon cher Henri, nous pourrons dormir tranquilles" (textuel).

Cependant, il avait compté sans l'amour. Antoine Larose avait une servante qui recevait les visites assidues d'un cavalier. Ou notre amoureux avait ignoré la présence des jeunes proscrips, dans la maison d'Antoine Larose tout l'hiver; ou sa belle lui avait lié la langue par l'empire qu'elle exerçait sur lui. Je ne puis vous dire à quelle époque notre cavalier avait vu, par-dessous le poêle, dans la chambre voisine, deux paires de jambes. Ce soir-là, sa belle fut obligée de lui dire tout en lui enjoignant le secret. Au printemps notre amoureux devint jaloux comme un turc. Un soir, il fit une scène à son amante. Il l'accusa de lui préférer les deux jeunes messieurs, lui déclara que non seulement il allait divulguer leur retraite, mais même qu'il allait dénoncer Antoine Larose aux autorités.

Après son départ, la jeune fille s'empessa d'avertir son maître et les deux MM Cartier. On résolut de décamper immédiatement. Ils passèrent sans accident aux États-Unis, se fixèrent à Plattsburg et se mirent en pension chez les Delles Gregory ou Palmer (un des deux noms; je crois que c'est le dernier, cependant), que je visitai dans l'été de 1839, et qui avaient leur résidence au fond de la baie Cumberland, d'où la vue sur le lac Champlain est magnifique. Plus tard, comme le plus grand nombre de leurs amis, le plus grand nombre de réfugiés importants, parmi lesquels figurait Ludger Duvernay, résidaient à Burlington, ils laissèrent Plattsburg et allèrent résider à Burlington, d'où ils revinrent en Canada."
APPENDIX VII

Song written by George-Etienne Cartier - probably in 1838.

Air: Combien j'ai douce souvenance.

Dans le brillant de ma jeunesse
Où tout n'est qu'espoir, allégresse,
Je vis captif, en proie à la tristesse
Et tremblant je vois l'avenir
    Venir.

De Longtemps ma douce patrie
Pleurait sous les fers asservie;
Et désireux de la voir affranchie
Du combat j'attendais l'instant
    Gaiement.

Mais advint l'heure d'espérance
Où j'entrevoyais délivrance
Eh! mon pays en surcroît de souffrance
Mars contraria tes vaillants
    Enfants.

Et moi, victime infortunée
De cette fatale journée,
Le léopard sous sa griffe irritée
Sans pitié me tient mains et pieds
    Liés!

La reverrai-je cette amie
Naguère qui charmait ma vie,
Souvent en moi, son image chérie,
Fait soupirer dans sa douleur
    Mon coeur.

Adieu! ma natale contrée,
Qu'à jamais je vois enchaînée
T'accorde un fortuné retour
    Un jour!

(A-D De Celles, Cartier et Son Temps, p. 13).
Monsieur:

Je n'ai pas vu sans surprise mon nom figurer dans la liste des proscrits mentionnés dans une ordonnance passée et adoptée par son Excellence le Gouverneur Général et son Conseil Spécial en date du vingt-huit juin dernier. J'y suis désigné comme ayant laissé la Province du Bas-Canada pour me soustraire à la mise à exécution d'un mandat d'arrestation émané contre moi portant accusation de Hautre Trahison envers l'autorité et le Gouvernement de sa Majesté notre Gracieuse Dame Souveraine la Reine, Victoria Ire.

Ne connaissant pas la nature ni le contenu des dépositions qui ont pu être données pour appuyer l'émanation d'un semblable mandat, il m'est impossible d'entrer dans les détails d'une ample justification; je dirai seulement que je ne suis nullement coupable de l'offense dont on m'accuse, que je n'ai point forfait à mon allégeance envers le Gouvernement de sa Majesté dans la Province du Bas-Canada, et que je n'ai point laissé le pays dans la vue de me soustraire aux poursuites judiciaires.

Il est vrai que j'ai quitté Montréal le dix-sept Novembre dernier pour aller passer quelques jours dans ma famille qui réside à la campagne, et la seule chose qui m'ait empêché de retourner à la ville est la rumeur parvenue à mes oreilles qu'un mandat d'arrestation pour Haute-Trahison avait été émané contre moi. Néanmoins fort de mon innocence je suis demeuré au Pays, mais hors de Montréal, jusqu'au dix-sept mai dernier, temps auquel il m'a plus de visiter les Etats-Unis d'Amérique; et je déclare en même temps que sans la suspension de l'acte d'Habeas Corpus et la mise en force de la loi martiale je me serais immédiatement rendu à la ville, nonobstant toute accusation que l'on pouvait avoir formulée contre moi. Me voici aujourd'hui condamné à l'exil pour une offense dont m'absout entièrement ma conscience; je souffre une punition imméritée; mais connaissant l'esprit de justice et la droiture de caractère de Son Excellence le Comte de Durham, je n'entretenais aucun doute que si son Excellence eut connu ce qui en est par rapport à moi, je n'habiterais pas aujourd'hui une terre de proscription. Convaincu que son Excellence le Comte de Durham est toujours prêt de rendre justice à qui la mérite et la désire, je prends cette occasion de vous faire connaître mes ardents souhaits de retourner...
dans ma Patrie pour y reprendre mes occupations et continuer de m'acquitter de mes devoirs de citoyen et de sujet Britannique, et que je serais infiniment reconnaissant envers son Excellence le Comte de Durham, s'il me permettait ma rentrée dans le Bas-Canada exempt de toute molestation quelconque. Si toutefois, il plaisait à son Excellence, le Comte de Durham, de se conformer à mes voeux, (en demandant) quelque cautionnement pour bonne conduite, je suis prêt de souscrire à cette condition.

J'ai l'honneur d'être
Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur
George Et. Cartier.

R.A.P.Q., 1925-1926 Evénements de '37 – '38, No. 897
Document dated December 28, 1840, dissolving the partnership between George-Etienne and Damien Cartier.

APPENDIX IX

Il est entendu et convenu entre les soussignés Georges Etienne Cartier et Damien Cartier, Ecuiers, Avocats, que le dit Damien Cartier n'a à prétendre aucun droit de Société ni aucune part comme associé avec le dit Georges Etienne Cartier dans les affaires professionnelles que ce dernier a faites et transigées jusqu'à ce jour et qu'il fera et transigera par la suite sous la raison de "Cartier & Cartier" n'y ayant jamais eu ni existé entre eux aucune société, le dit Damien Cartier - rapportant pour rémunération de son travail et de son aide professionnels donnés ou à être donnés au dit Georges Etienne Cartier à la libéralité et générosité de son frère Georges Etienne Cartier comme ce dernier en a agi jusqu'à ce jour à son égard.

Fait double à Montréal ce vingt huit Décembre mil huit cent quarante -

Geo. Et. Cartier
D. Cartier

F.S.C., p.95
APPENDIX X

Letter from Antoine-Côme Cartier to George-Etienne Cartier.

St. Antoine, 30 Juillet, 1860.

L'Hon. G. Et. Cartier

Cher frère,

Je pensais toujours pouvoir descendre à Québec avec Jacques, qui depuis que tu nous as invités, désirait beaucoup aller voir ses cousines. J'ai commencé à faire ma récolte de foin, et il m'est impossible de laisser la maison pour cet agréable voyage maintenant.

J'ai dit à Jacques que nous irions l'été prochain. Il sera plus avancé en âge pour profiter de ce voyage. Il a fait sa première année de latin assez bien malgré l'ennui et le mal de tête qu'il éprouve souvent au Collège. Il a eu 3 accessit (s). J'espère qu'il fera mieux l'année prochaine. Hervé Lusignan est obligé de recommencer ses éléments. Je pense qu'il n'était pas assez avancé pour faire une année de Latin. Victorine a très bien fait au couvent, elle a eu 7 prix et 6 accessit (s). Elle n'a plus qu'une année pour finir le cours d'Étude suivi dans le couvent. La Supérieure m'a dit qu'il serait malheureux pour Victorine de ne pas terminer ses études cette année. Je lui ai dit que je pensais qu'elle pourrait retourner. J'aime à te donner le montant des récoltes des deux dernières années sur les terres de la succession de maman.

L'année 1858 a produit en argent-

| Terre du Village avec la concession | £ 62 | 10 courant |
| Terre des Bonin en bas de la paroisse | £ 38 | do |
| | £100 | 10 cy |

L'année 1859 a produit en argent

| terre du Village avec la concession | £ 75 | 0 cy |
| terre des Bonin en bas de la paroisse | £ 45 | - cy |
| | £120 | - |
Je suis obligé de faire rebâtir la maison sur la terre d'en bas cette année vu qu'elle tombait à terre et le fermier ne pouvait plus hyverner dedans. Cela va monter à peu près 50 courant. Sur la terre du Village, il faut absolument un bout d'alonges. Il y a un bon fermier maintenant qui cultive bien la terre. Sa famille augmente tous les ans. Le logement qu'il occupe à part celui de Léocadie est trop petit pour le loger. Avec un bout d'alonges qui ne déguisera pas la maison, il aura un logement convenable. L'Éducation de Victorine et Hervé au couvent et au Collège coûte 50 cy. J'ai déjà fait faire sans endetter la succession sur la terre du Village deux étables et j'en fait recouvrir en bardeaux la grange qui a 120 pieds de longueur. J'administre pour le mieux sur ces terres dans l'intérêt de la famille. Je regrette que Damien me conserve une petite rancune pour l'avoir mis à la porte dans un état d'ivresse. Je le plains beaucoup avec son manque d'énergie et sa tendance à boire. Je ne le vois pas quand je vais à la ville, on me dit qu'il s'ennuie moins souvent, depuis qu'il est retourné à la ville. Mde Leveque m'a dit la semaine dernière que tu devais laisser Québec prochainement pour aller au devant du Prince de Galles. Je tâcherai d'aller à Montréal avec Jacques pour voir le Prince quand il y sera rendu. Josephte se joint à moi pour t'assurer ainsi que ta Dame de mes meilleures amitiés avec mille baisers pour les demoiselles.

Ton frère

A C Cartier

(F.S.C. pp44-45)
APPENDIX XI

Letter, with account attached, from George-Etienne Cartier in Montreal to Ludger Duvernay in Vermont.

Montreal 10 Janvier 1840

Monsieur

Vous recevrez avec la présente le compte que j'ai contre vous et lequel je vous assure avoir bien réduit. Je sais que vous avez contre moi une réclamation qui rencontre à peu près la moitié de mon compte; néanmoins vous devez voir et vous convaincre que je suis loin d'être dans vos dettes. J'espère donc que pour l'avenir si vous avez quelque chose à me demander ce ne sera certainement pas à titre de créancier. De même si plus tard il m'arrive de traiter avec générosité votre malice et votre indiscrétion à mon égard ce ne sera point en qualité de débiteur. Je sais que vous avez publiée dans votre journal avec dessein prémédité de me nuire une de mes chansons composée il y a environ quatre ans. Vous ne deviez pas insérer un tel morceau sans mon autorisation. Au reste vous avez manqué votre but; au lieu de me nuire vous vous êtes nui à vous-même. Vous vous êtes fait tort dans mon esprit et celui des amis de mon oncle qui en commun avec moi par suite de ce petit acte de malice vous ont défavorablement apprécié. Je dois vous dire qu'entre nous, nous avons conçu de la peine de voir que vous vous étiez oublié à ce point et que vous connaissiez si mal votre monde. Cette publication a eu l'effet de convertir en indifférence complète la sympathie que j'avais pour vous.

J'en viens à mon compte. La raison pour laquelle je vous l'envoie est pour que dorénavant dans vos correspondances à Pierre & à Jacques vous ne me fassiez plus faire de demandes pécuniaires.

Vous avez été informé de ma détermination de vous traiter plus tard d'une manière bien différente de celle dont vous avez usé envers moi. Toutefois je ne veux point être importuné à cause de cela. Comme vous avez choisi votre temps pour me faire de la malice, il est bien juste que (sic) choisisse le mien pour faire mes libéralités. Je n'ai point besoin de réponse.

Je suis
Votre Serviteur
très Humble
Geo E Cartier
M. L. Duvernay
doit à
Geo. Etienne Cartier, Avocat

1837 Pour honoraires et déboursés dans une cause au Terme Supérieur originée en Octobre 1837 à la poursuite de T. Guérin contre John Jones & L. Duvernay,

action de 2nde classe, frais taxés

£1. 11.4

Pour do do do dans une cause

au Terme Supérieur originée en Octobre 1837 à la poursuite du même contre L. Duvernay,

action de 1ère classe, frais taxés

£2. 11.10

Pour salaires et vacations professionnelles consultatives et avis, et pour avoir agi comme conseil à F. Filletteau, Ecr., avt, dans une cause contestée de 1ère classe, au Terme Supérieur à la poursuite de G.H. Cherrier contre L. Duvernay originée en Février 1836 et plaidée en octobre 1837; dans laquelle cause j'ai passé pas moins de 25 jours entiers à l'Enquête, à examiner et transquestionner divers témoins, où j'ai examiné, lu et relu le volumineux témoignage dont j'ai fait un résumé pour faciliter et préparer l'argumentation; ce qui ne vaudrait pas moins de £10. Or, je réduis à

£9. 13. 2

Montréal 8 janvier 1840
APPENDIX XII

Speech delivered by George-Etienne Cartier at a rally in favour of Sir Charles Bâgot: La Minerve, 13 avril, 1843.

"Mr. Cartier, en secondant la dernière résolution soumise à l'adoption de l'assemblée, dit qu'il ne pouvait s'empêcher de demander excuse de ne pouvoir être en état, à raison d'une indisposition qui obstruait sa voix, d'exprimer les sentiments qui l'animeraient en ce moment; qu'il éprouvait néanmoins la consolation, que cette assemblée ne perdrait rien en n'entendant point sa parole, qui ne pouvait qu'être bien faible et de peu de valeur, après la sublime et éminemment patriotique parole des orateurs qui l'avaient précédé; qu'il ne pouvait toutefois, s'abstenir d'exprimer une pensée que fesait surgir en lui l'aspect de la majestueuse assemblée à laquelle il s'adressait; qu'il voyait réunis devant lui, Français-Canadiens, Anglais, Irlandais, Écossais, sans distinction de race ni d'origine, que là, il trouvait un démenti formel donné à cette fausse doctrine, à cette impiété et à ce blasphème politiques, s'il pouvait s'exprimer ainsi, prêchées depuis longtemps et encore aujourd'hui par des hommes aveuglés par l'ignorance, la malice et les préjugés, que dans cette province, il était impossible de voir réunis sur le même terrain, dans la poursuite et la conquête des droits constitutionnels des Canadiens d'extraction française et d'origine britannique, et qu'entre-eux il y avait guerre de races; que des hommes qui prétendent à la réputation de publicistes, mais à idées et principes rétrécis, lorsqu'ils parlent des deux populations qui habitent cette province, disent que c'est un malheur politique qu'elles soient d'extraction différente que ce fait retarde la prospérité du pays; que lui (Mr. Cartier) au lieu de voir dans ce fait un malheur politique y voyait un avantage social et politique, et que nous devions en bénir la providence; que c'était pour le Canada une situation heureuse et inappréciable de renfermer dans son sein deux populations qui doivent en grande partie leur origine aux deux grandes nations qui sont à la tête de la civilisation, du progrès et de l'industrie, les Français et les Anglais; que les langues de ces deux grands peuples, étant indistinctement parlées et pouvant être si facilement apprises en ce pays, il en résultait un avantage immense pour les habitants du Canada qui puissent leurs connaissances et leur instruction politiques, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires, à deux sources et deux langues différentes, et que l'esprit ne pouvait qu'en profiter prodigieusement, par l'exercice de la comparaison; que les habitants de ce pays d'extraction britannique, n'avaient rien à apprécier de leur co-sujets les Canadiens-Français, qui ne veulent point des droits exclusifs, et qui sont prêts et ont toujours été prêts d'aider et donner support à toute administration qui les trai-
terait avec justice et impartialité; nul doute que l'adresse à Sir Charles Metcalfe, soumise à l'adoption de cette assemblée, ne fera une impression vive sur cet illustre personnage; et qu'il apprenne, tout en saluant son heureuse arrivée parmi nous, que dans toutes mesures gouvernementales et administratives basées sur la justice et l'égalité de droits, il trouvera chez nos compatriotes Canadiens-Français comme chez tous autres, des coeurs britanniques dans toute l'extension du terme et ne voulant que le bonheur et la prospérité du pays."
APPENDIX XIII

Speech given by George-Etienne Cartier during the Election of 1844: La Minerve, 28 mars, 1844.

"M. Cartier prit la parole et s'est exprimé avec sa chaleur et sa vivacité ordinaires et a observé: Que dans le cours de sa vie il avait eu l'avantage d'avoir assisté à de beaux et magnifiques spectacles, mais que jamais il n'en avait vu de plus beau, de plus imposant et de plus saisissant que celui d'une nombreuse et majestueuse assemblée populaire, comme celle à laquelle il avait l'honneur de s'adresser. Que de même, dans le cours de sa vie, il n'avait pas été sans avoir éprouvé de vives jouissances, que néanmoins il n'en avait jamais gouté de si satisfaisantes, de si enivrantes que celle qu'il ressentait dans le moment, celle d'être agréable au peuple. Qu'il remercierait l'assemblée pour le bon accueil qu'elle lui faisait: que, s'il ne méritait point cet accueil par rapport à son talent, il espérerait du moins qu'il n'en était pas indigne par rapport à son cœur dont les pulsations étaient et avaient toujours été pour la patrie. Qu'il ne pouvait s'empêcher de féliciter l'assemblée sur son nombre. Qu'il voyait devant lui une foule, non seulement nombreuse, mais intelligente, ardente et déterminée à remporter la victoire dans la prochaine lutte électorale. Qu'il ne pouvait y avoir de doute sur le sort de l'élection; que M. Drummond, soutenu par des électeurs si éclairés et si amis de leur pays, devait nécessairement triompher. Que le principe politique que devait affirmer l'élection de M. Drummond était un principe vital, bien connu et bien compris de tous, le principe du gouvernement responsable, que le gouvernement provisoire et ses partisans professent et avouent en parole, mais qu'ils heurtent de front et tuent dans l'essence et la pratique. Que le gouvernement responsable, tel que compris par l'ex-ministre La Fontaine-Baldwin et par la grande majorité du pays, était quelque chose de tangible, clair et explicite, tandis que le gouvernement responsable, tel qu'avocassé par le gouverneur et les tories, était inexplicable, indéfinissable et quelque chose de contradictoire jusqu'à l'absurdité. Que la question, qui avait amené la résignation de l'ex-ministre, était bien simple, bien facile à saisir. Que le gouverneur non seulement avait négligé à dessein de consulter ses ministres sur l'administration des affaires locales et qu'il n'avait pas seulement violé le principe de la responsabilité par omission et commission, en nommant des officiers publics sans consulter son ministère ou en faisant des nominations contrairement aux avis qu'il avait reçus, mais que même il avait affirmé n'être point obligé de prendre l'avis de ses ministres sur la nomination aux emplois sous le faux prétexte que c'était un envahissement de la prérogative royale. Que cette position du gouverneur
était insoutenable, et qu'elle était en contradiction avec la doctrine du gouvernement responsable, et avec la pratique journalière en Angleterre. Que le gouverneur voulait donc par là s'arroger plus de pouvoir que la reine en possède elle-même. Qu'il n'appuierait pas d'avantage sur cette controverse que le peuple dans sa lumière et son bon-sens avait déjà jugé en faveur de l'ex-ministère. Que dans ce moment il y avait une chose déplorable pour les amis du pays et surtout pour les Français Canadiens, c'était la position prise par l'hon. D.B. Viger, l'erreur dans laquelle le vénérable vieillard était tombé, qui l'avait glait au point de l'empêcher de voir qu'il servait d'instrument à nos ennemis, les tories, pour semer la division dans nos rangs, et pour étouffer à sa naissance le principe vital du gouvernement responsable, Qu'il a dû être certainement douloureux pour M. Viger de se voir abandonné par le peuple dont il avait été si longtemps l'idole; mais que ça n'était pas la faute du peuple, c'était la sienne. Que le peuple ne pouvait et ne voulait point tomber dans l'erreur avec lui. Qu'en politique l'erreur d'un parti était presque toujours sans remède, tandis que l'erreur d'un homme n'avait pour résultat généralement que la perte d'une individualité pour le parti et rien au delà. Que les Canadiens, dans cette délicate conjoncture, avaient fait preuve de leur intelligence et de leur bon jugement; qu'après avoir compris la politique présente de M. Viger, ils ont de suite séparé le passé d'avec l'actualité du vénérable vieillard, et ont blâmé et répudié son actualité, tout en respectant son passé. Que c'était une chose bien attristante pour les Canadiens de voir M. Viger faire tout en son pouvoir pour nous empêcher de réussir dans notre élection, et s'efforcer de faire triompher M. Molson, le candidat tory. Que jamais on aurait pu croire que lui, M. Viger, aurait consenti de prendre du service dans les rangs de nos ennemis. Qu'il ne fallait pas croire que M. Viger avait été bien reçu dans le comté de Richelieu. Que les électeurs de ce comté avaient apprécié la conduite de M. Viger comme les habitants de Montréal. Que lui, M. Cartier, avait eu occasion avec plusieurs de ses amis de rencontrer, dans une récente occurrence, un grand nombre d'électeurs du comté de Richelieu, et qu'il s'était pleinement convaincu qu'ils n'approuvaient pas la conduite de leur représentant. Qu'en s'adressant à quelques électeurs, il leur avait demandé si le pamphlet de M. Viger les avait beaucoup éclairés sur la crise ministérielle, qu'un des électeurs lui avait donné, en badinant, pour réponse, que ce pamphlet n'avait pas répondu à son attente, que c'était, selon lui, du galimathias ou plutôt du gali-Viger. Qu'au reste; l'abandon ou la retraite de M. Viger d'avec nous ne devait pas tirer à conséquence; qu'en faisant preuve d'union et d'adhésion, comme nos amis les Irlandais, qu'on avait voulu aussi diviser, nous devions nécessairement réussir dans notre conteste électorale.
APPENDIX XIV

Exchanges in La Minerve of June 24 and June 27, 1844, concerning the quarrel between George-Étienne Cartier and Guillaume Lévesque.

"M. L'Editeur,

Comme le Times du 21 juin courant, dans sa note éditoriale, fait allusion à une altercation qui a eu lieu entre Georges Et. Cartier, écuyer, avocat et Guillaume Lévesque, écuyer, avocat, tous deux de cette ville, dans le cours des procédés d'une assemblée tenue à l'Hôtel Nelson, le 18 du courant, et comme son rapport de cette délicate affaire est loin d'être correct et exact, et pourrait laisser le public sous l'impression que M. Cartier aurait pu endurer une insulte sans chercher à obtenir satisfaction, permettez-moi de me servir des colonnes de votre journal pour rétablir la vérité dans son entier par la publication de la correspondance et des détails qui concernent cette difficulté. Le 18 du courant, vers 11 heures du soir, M. Cartier, ayant à se plaindre de la conduite de M. Lévesque à l'assemblée, me pria de vouloir lui servir d'ami et de transmettre à Mr. Lévesque le message suivant, que je lui remis presque de suite, vers minuit, le même soir, ci-dessus le message.

Montréal, 18 juin 1844, à 11 heures P.M.

Monsieur,

Votre conduite de ce soir vis-à-vis de moi à l'Hôtel Nelson, n'ayant pas été celle qu'un gentil-homme doit observer envers un autre qui, sous tous les rapports, croit s'honorer de ce titre, et m'ayant offert une injure que je considère grave et offensante, au dernier point, je me trouve dans la nécessité de m'adresser à vous pour obtenir la réparation qui m'est due. Mon ami, M. Hubert, à qui je remets la présente, est chargé de négocier et de s'expliquer avec vous, sur cette affaire délicate, et d'arranger les préliminaires que l'honneur veut en pareil cas. J'ai mentionné à M. Hubert les détails de l'offense, et que ce dont je me plains surtout de votre part est d'avoir sans cause ni raison et soudainement, levé la main sur moi, au moment que je m'y attendais le moins.

Je suis,

G. Lévesque, Ecuyer,
Avocat, Montréal.

votre & c.
Geo. Et. Cartier.
Après la remise de la note ci-dessus à M. Lévesque, ce dernier me demanda jusqu'au lendemain à 1 heure de l'après-midi, pour y répondre. Ce à quoi j'acquiesçai, quoique le délai me parut long.

Vers 1 heure P.M. le 19 du courant, je reçus par l'entremise de A. Dorion, écuyer, avocat, agissant comme ami de M. Lévesque, la réponse de ce dernier que je passi de suite à M. Cartier et que voici:

Montréal, 19 juin 1844.

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu par l'entremise de votre ami, M. Hubert, la note que vous m'avez adressée hier soir. Vous vous y plaignez de ce que je vous ai offert une injure que vous considérez grave et offensante "sans cause ni raison." Je dois, pour rétablir les faits tels qu'ils sont arrivés, vous rappeler que la cause de l'offense dont vous vous plaignez est l'usage par vous d'expressions injurieuse à moi adressées, dans une assemblée publique et que ces expressions étaient celles-ci. "Tu est un petit impertinent." Après cet exposé, je vous prie de croire, Monsieur, que je suis prêt à vous donner la satisfaction que vous me demanderez: à cet effet, j'ai chargé mon ami, M. Dorion, de se mettre en communication avec M. Hubert.

Je suis,

M. G. E. Cartier
Votre & C.
Avocat, Montréal.  
Guil. Lévesque.

Un instant après avoir remis la note plus haut à M. Cartier, je reçus de lui, pour me guider, dans ma communication avec M. Dorion, la note suivante:

A. R. Hubert, Ecuyer,
Avocat, Montréal.

Montréal, 19 juin 1844.
1 ½ heure P. M.

Mon Cher Monsieur,

Je viens de recevoir la note de M. Lévesque, en réponse à celle que je lui ai adressée hier soir. Je vois qu'il veut justifier l'assaut qu'il a commis sur moi par l'usage que j'ai fait vis-à-vis de lui du mot "impertinent." Je reconnais en effet qu'un instant avant qu'il ait levé la main sur moi, je me suis servi à son égard du terme "impertinent," en lui observant, si je me rappelle bien, à quelque chose qu'il me disait, "je ne parle pas aux impertinents." Il pourrait bien se faire que je m'aît servi du terme "impertinent," en prononçant la phrase qu'il mentionne dans sa note. Au reste, ce qu'il importe de constater est de savoir si j'ai fait usage du terme "impertinent," ce qui est le cas.
Tout en admettant qu'une semblable expression de ma part n'était pas tout-à-fait convenable, permettez-moi de vous observer qu'elle ne justifiait pas la violation de ma personne, par un assaut commis d'une manière aussi soudaine. Mon expression n'a pu qu'être de mauvais ton, tandis que sa conduite a été gravement injurieuse et beaucoup au-dessus du degré auquel sa sensibilité a pu être blessée par mon langage. Ainsi je me crois en droit d'insister sur la satisfaction et la réparation que j'attends de sa part.

Tout à vous, votre ami,
Geo. Et-Cartier.

En me mettant en possession de cette note, M. Cartier m'observa que, quelque blâmable qu'ait été son langage, celui dont s'était servi M. Lévesque, dans cette circonstance, n'était pas plus justifiable, que d'ailleurs M. Lévesque, n'ayant pas jugé à propos de lui en demander compte et s'étant mis dans son tort, en essayant d'avoir recours à la force physique, lui M. Cartier, insistait particulièrement pour réparation d'un acte si étrange, qu'une injure verbale ne pouvait justifier, et que quelques regrettables que fussent les paroles échangées de part et d'autres, elles se compensaient et ne lavaient point l'assaut commis par M. Lévesque, à raison duquel M. Cartier demandait spécialement satisfaction.

Muni de ces détails et de ces instructions, je me suis remis de suite en communication avec M. Dorion, auquel je fis part de leur substance. M. Dorion proposa ensuite d'arranger l'affaire par un écrit signé par les parties, dans lequel elles devaient reconnaître respectueusement des torts, et terminer ainsi leur différend. Je conférai avec M. Cartier sur cette proposition, qu'il rejeta de suite, en me disant qu'il n'aurait pas d'objection à accepter une apologie de M. Lévesque, qui comporterait que, quoiqu'il (M. Lévesque) eut été blessé par M. Cartier, néanmoins, son injure envers M. Cartier étant plus grave, il lui en faisait apologie. Je revis après Mr. Dorion auquel je communiquai le refus de M. Cartier d'acquiescer à sa proposition, mais que M. Cartier serait satisfait d'une apologie, dans le genre et le sens de l'écrit suivant, dont je lui fis part.

Je soussigné affirme par ces présentes, que, quoique M. Georges E. Cartier s'est servi à mon ....................... à l'Hôtel Nelson, mardi soir, d'une expression injurieuse en me traitant d'impertinent, néanmoins ma conduite à son égard, en l'assaillant, étant une injure plus grave, je regrette de m'être porté à cet excès et lui en fais apologie.

M. Dorion donna pour réponse que M. Lévesque, ne pouvait signer une semblable apologie. Alors j'intimai à M. Dorion que c'était la moindre chose que M. Cartier pouvait accepter de M. Lévesque, vu la
nature de la difficulté, qu'une apologie dans ce sens et que puisque tout arrangement devenait impossible il fallait fixer l'heure et le lieu de la rencontre, attendu que le temps pressait, qu'il était déjà 4 heure et que j'insistais à ce que la rencontre eût lieu le même soir, et aussi promptement que possible. Le lieu et l'heure de la rencontre furent en conséquence fixés entre M. Dorion et moi pour avoir lieu à 7 heures précise du soir. Je fus ensuite en avertir M. Cartier, et un instant après M. Dorion, ami de M. Lévesque accompagné de Chs. Coursolles, écuyer, est entré chez M. Cartier et a annoncé que M. Lévesque consentait à faire et signer l'apologie suivante qu'il a définitivement souscrite et que M. Cartier a acceptée.

Je soussigné, affirme avoir été injustifié par Geo. Et. Cartier, écuyer, à l'Hôtel Nelson, mardi soir, le 18 du couran à l'assemblée que y avait lieu, en disant que j'étais un "impertinent" comme il l'a lui-même admis, et reconnaissant avoir commis une injure plus grave que celle qu'il m'a faite, en l'assillant, dans l'excitation du moment, je regrette de m'être porté à cet excès et lui en fais mon apologie; le dit George Et. Cartier m'ayant fait témoigner par son ami qu'il regrettais le langage dont il s'était servi à mon égard, et moi, de ma part témoignant de même regrette de celui dont j'ai fait usage à son égard.

Montréal, 19 juin, 1844

Guil. Lévesque,

Je suis satisfait de cette apologie,

Geo. Et. Cartier.

Ainsi s'est terminée cette affaire délicate qui n'aurait jamais du devenir un sujet de publication, mais qu'il a été impossible d'empêcher par suite du rapport contenu dans le Times.

Je suis M. votre, etc.
R.A.R. Hubert.

(La Minerve, 24 Juin, 1844).

"Mr. l'Editeur,

Une correspondance signée R.A.R. Hubert relative à une difficulté entre M. Cartier et M. Lévesque, ayant été insérée dans la Minerve de lundi dernier, sans m'avoir été préalablement communiquée, comme ami de M. Lévesque, je me trouve forcé quoiqu'avec la plus grande repugnance, d'ajouter aux détails dont le public est déjà en possession sur cette affaire, quelques remarques, afin de compléter le rapport qu'en a fait M. Hubert et aussi de signaler quelques petites erreurs
qui s'y sont glissées.

M. Hubert observe dans sa correspondance qu'en remettant vers minuit le message de M. Cartier à M. Lévesque, ce dernier lui demanda jusqu'au lendemain à une heure P. M. pour y répondre, et qu'il accéda à cette demande, quoique le délai lui parut un peu long. Mais il est de fait, que M. Lévesque n'a pas pris usage de ce délai, car à dix heures et demi A.M. j'ai rencontré M. Hubert au sujet de l'affaire dont il est question.

Quant à l'intervention de M. Coursol, je dois dire après avoir réglé avec M. Hubert le lieu et l'heure du rendez-vous. J'étais chez M. Lévesque à faire les préparatifs pour notre départ, lorsque M. Coursol est entré tenant à la main un papier qu'il me remit, ce papier était écrit de la propre main de M. Cartier, et M. Coursol me dit que si M. Lévesque voulait le signer M. Cartier serait satisfait de l'apologie qu'il contenant. Après l'avoir examiné je crus que M. Lévesque pourrait le signer pourvu que M. Cartier déclarât par écrit qu'il était satisfait de son contenu et qu'il en remit copie à M. Lévesque. Je me rendis immédiatement chez M. Hubert mais il était absent, pensant le trouver chez M. Cartier je rejoignis là M. Coursol où je trouvais aussi M. Hubert, et l'arrangement fut définitivement conclu, par les signatures de M. Cartier et de M. Lévesque qui furent apposées au bas de la dernière dans la correspondance de M. Hubert, M. Cartier ayant consenti d'en remettre une copie à M. Lévesque.

Je regrette d'être obligé de donner ces détails d'une affaire qui n'aurait pas du être rendue publique.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,
Votre etc.
A. Dorion

M. l'Editeur,

Mon nom ayant été mentionné sans nécessité dans une correspondance signée, "R.A.R. Hubert," relative au différend qui a eu lieu entre, G. E. Cartier, ecr., et Guillaume Lévesque, ecr. et qui a paru dans la Minerve de lundi dernier, je suis forcé d'expliquer comment je me suis trouvé concerné dans cette affaire. Ayant été témoin de l'altercation survenue entre ces messieurs à l'Hôtel Nelson, mardi soir le 18 du courant, et les regardant tous deux comme mes amis, et plus particulièrement M. Lévesque, je m'étais proposé de faire tous mes efforts pour les concilier dans le cas où cette altercation entrerait des conséquences sérieuses. N'ayant pu obtenir de M. Lévesque, aucune information à ce sujet j'allai trouver M. Cartier, le lendemain, entre 4 ½ et
5 heures P. M. Il m'informa qu'il avait la veille envoyé un cartel à M. Lévesque, et que l'affaire en était à ce point, que l'heure et le lieu du rendez-vous étaient fixés. J'exposai à M. Cartier qu'un arrangement devait être possible avant d'en venir aux extrémités, et je lui offris ma médiation. M. Cartier l'ayant acceptée, je me rendis au bureau de M. Lévesque, où je le trouvai causant avec un ami, je lui communiquai ce que m'avait dit M. Cartier, il s'en suivit une conversation dans laquelle M. Lévesque ne prit que peu ou point de part. Il fut suggéré que je pourrais voir à ce sujet, M. Dorion, second de M. Lévesque. Ne trouvant pas M. Dorion à son bureau, je retournai directement chez M. Cartier, et là pendant cette entrevue, la note subséquemment signée par M. Lévesque, fut rédigée en ma présence par M. Cartier lui-même. Je portai cette note ainsi rédigée à M. Lévesque, que je trouvai avec M. Dorion, son ami. Il en fut de suite référé à M. Dorion, qui ne trouvant rien à objecter à la substance de la note, décida que M. Lévesque pouvait la signer. Je retournai immédiatement chez M. Cartier, pendant que M. Dorion passait chez M. Hubert, qui était absent. Jusqu'à ce moment M. Hubert, second de M. Cartier, n'avait eu aucune connaissance de mon intervention. M. Dorion me rejoignit de suite chez M. Cartier, où nous rencontrâmes M. Hubert. Deux copies de la note convenue entre les parties furent alors faites, et sur la déclaration écrite de M. Cartier, qu'il était satisfait elles furent portées par M. Dorion à M. Lévesque pour y apposer sa signature. Quant à l'interprétation de l'apologie contenue dans la note ainsi rédigée par M. Cartier et consentie par M. Lévesque, je réfère au mot de la note elle-même.

Je suis, Monsieur, Vot. ob. serviteur,
Charles J. Coursol.

(La Minerve, 27 juin, 1844).
Extrait des Régistres de Mariage pour George-Etienne Cartier et Hortense Fabre.

Le seize Juin, mil huit cent quarante six, après la publication d'un ban de mariage sans empêchement ni opposition la dispense de deux bans ayant été obtenue de messire Pierre Billaudele grand vicaire de l'Evêque de Montréal je prêtre soussigné, curé de Contre Coeur, dûment autorisé, ayant pris le mutuel consentement par la parole de présent de Georges Etienne Cartier écuyer, avocat domicilié en cette paroisse, fils majeur de feu Jacques Cartier, écuyer et de dame Marguerite Paradis de la paroisse de Saint Antoine d'une part, et de demoiselle Hortense Fabre, fille mineure d'Édouard Reimond Fabre, écuyer et de dame Luce Perreault de cette paroisse d'autre part; les ai mariés suivant les lois et coutumes observées en la Sainte Eglise en présence d'Édouard Reimond Fabre écuyer père de l'épouse lequel nous a donné son consentement au dit mariage, de l'honorable Louis Hypolite Lafontaine, l'honorable Augustin Norbert Morin et de plusieurs autres soussignés avec les époux.

Hortense Fabre
L. H. La Fontaine
Wlfd: Nelson
A. C. Cartier
Caroline La Montagne
H. Cartier
A. P. Nowlan
M. C. Cuvillier
Sophie Gravel
Lewis T. Drummond
P. D. Perrault
J. A. Gravel
R. A. R. Hubert
Geo. Et. Cartier
A. N. Morin
E. R. Fabre
D. Cartier
Delphine Levesque
E. L. Perrault
J. A. Berthelot
Adèle R. Morin
Adèle B. La Fontaine
Charlotte Nelson
H. Fabre
Ant. Lèvesque
Frs LS L'HEUREUX ptre

Reg. Notre-Dame de MtL, 1846
APPENDIX XVI

Will of George-Etienne Cartier

Je soussigné Georges Étienne Cartier avocat de Montréal dans la vue de la mort fais le présent testament - Après le payement de toutes mes dettes et après le payement d'une somme de vingt cinq livres, courant, que je lègue en œuvres pieuses à l'institution de l'Asile de la Providence de cette ville, présidée et fondée par M'dame Gamelin, je veux et ordonne ce qui suit, savoir:

Premièrement. Comme il n'y a jamais eu de société existante entre moi et mon frère Damien Cartier pour la science et la pratique de la profession d'avocat, ainsi qu'il en appert par acte sous seing privé entre nous en date du vingt huit décembre mil huit cent quarante et qui pour rémunération de son labeur, le dit Damien Cartier s'en est toujours rapporté à ma libéralité, je lui donne et lègue, en sus de ce que je lui ai fourni jusqu'à présent pour ses dépenses, avec maintien et son support, la somme qui se trouvera en être due lors de mon décès en capital & intérêt par Dame Marguerite Paradis, ma mère, que je retire de l'obligation qu'elle m'a consentie devant Me Chapron & son confrère Notaire le ou vers le vingt juin mil huit cent quarante sept; Et dans le cas ou je me trouverais lors de mon décès avoir retiré de ma dite mère, Marguerite Paradis, la créance qu'elle me doit, alors et dans ce cas je donne et lègue au dit Damien Cartier et lui constitue pour lui tenir lieu de la dite somme une rente et pension annuelle viagère de soixante livres courant par an à lui être payée tous les ans par quantité, à compter de mon décès et à s'éteindre au décès du dit Damien Cartier. Mais qu'il soit bien entendu et je veux qu'aucun du legs ci-dessus ne sera payé et saisible par le dit Damien Cartier dans le cas, ou à l'époque de mon décès, je me trouverais avoir fait en sa faveur quelque don ou avantage par actes entre-vifs en forme de donation en renonciataire auquel dernier cas les legs ci-dessus se trouveront un acquit de plein droit.

Secondement: quant aux bénéfices de mes biens, je les lègue et donne aux enfants nés ou à naître à la partie de mon mariage avec Hortense Fabre, laquelle j'institue mon exécuteur testamentaire. Si lors de mon décès je n'ai point d'enfants vivants issus de mon dit mariage, ou qu'il en naissie aucun après mon décès de mon mariage avec la dite Hortense Fabre, alors dans ce cas mes biens iront et retourneront à mes frère et parents ou à leurs enfans au cas de décès d'aucun de mes dits frères et soeurs pour être mes dits biens partagés entre eux à titre d'héritiers, en collatérale suivant la loi des succes-
sions. Bien entendu que ce dernier legs ne pourra valoir si j'ai lors de mon décès ou même si depuis mon décès il naissait des enfants issus de mon dit mariage avec la dite Hortense Fabre lesquels j'institue comme ci dessus mes légataires universels.

Ce présent testament est fait à la hâte en cas d'accident soudain de mort je révoque aucun testament que je puis avoir fait avant ce jour.

Fait et signé par moi ce premier Novembre mil huit cent quarante sept, dans mon étude en la cité de Montréal. Le présent testament est écrit en entier de ma main.

Geo. Et. Cartier

(F.S.C. pp.96-97)
APPENDIX XVII

Satirical scene written by "Tuque Bleue", from L'Avenir, 2 août, 1848.

"UNE SCENE D'INTERIEUR,

Ou relation d'une séance du comité chargé de surveiller la rédaction des lettres d'un célèbre,

DR. GUERRIER.

Ludger, Octave, Hector, Georges, sont assis devant une table, dans un bureau de la rue St-Vincent.

Le Docteur entre d'un air empressé et salue,

LE DR.- Bonjour messieurs, bonjour mes petits amis: je vous ai taillé de l'ouvrage: êtes-vous venus travailler?

PLUSIEURS.- Oui, nous allons nous y mettre tout de bon, cette fois.

LE DR.- Bien, très bien - Oh! c'est de ce coup-ci que nous allons le mener le petit grand homme!

OCTAVE ET HECTOR.- Tant mieux! tant mieux! apprenons lui ce qu'il en coûte à ne pas vouloir être avec nous.

GEORGES.- Ah! ça, il ne faut rien faire à demi.

OCTAVE.- Il faut l'écraser du coup, ce s....gueux là.

LUDGER.- Pas trop vite, pas trop vite: prenons bien notre temps et nos mesures - il n'est pas si facile de l'écraser que vous le croyez.

OCTAVE.- Oh! dame, vous êtes toujours la poule mouillée de la bande, vous! vous êtes comme le lièvre de Lafontaine qui avait peur des grenouilles.

LUDGER.- Et toi, tu es un bravache qui ne craint rien parce qu'il ne connaît rien et ne prévoit rien: tu n'as aucune habi-
OCTAVE.-

(rouge de colère) Comment? Comment?

LUDGER.-

Oui, tous les jours tu en commets de nouvelles: je ne te parlerai pas de ton boeuf échappé avec un petit garçon sur son dos, ni ton badaud défroqué en pleine rue par son tailleur, deux anecdotes parisiennes que tu as eu le front d'assurer s'être passées dans le faubourg de Québec: c'est du vieux cela - parlons des plus récentes: par exemple de cette correspondance si gauche-ment fabriquée que tu la supposes venir du comté de Richelieu et la fais sortir ici en réponse à une attaque, avant que l'attaque n'ai pu se rendre dans le comté, d'où vient, suivant toi, la réponse: aussi t'es-tu fait donner sur les doigts, d'importance? parlons de tes plates injures à Campagnard encore, quand tu devais raisonner et répondre sérieusement: il est vrai que tu en étais incapable et que personne n'a voulu t'aider - parlons encore de.....

(Octave à l'air tout penaud)

GEORGES.-

Allons! Ludger, vous vous fâchez un peu trop. Quelques peccadilles ne sont pas des crimes. Nous sommes toujours en dispute sur des vétilles! La correspondance de Richelieu prouve une erreur de date, rien de plus. Nous n'avons jamais pensé à obliger la Revue à être plus habile et plus fine que nous. Nous lui avons enjoint de nous défendre le moins mal possible, elle a fait ce qu'elle a pu, si nous l'abandonnons à ses seules ressources, c'est un peu notre faute, après tous.

LUDGER.-

Oui, c'est vrai, mais ce qui me fâche, c'est que maître Octave s'imagine toujours avoir écrasé son monde quant au lieu de raisons, il a accumulé des injures grosses comme des montagnes; et que même la diminution de ses abonnés ne lui ouvre pas les yeux.

OCTAVE.-

Ah-ça, allez-vous prétendre que vous n'en faites pas vous, des sottises. Par exemple, je me tue à prouver qu'une réforme électorale est essentielle mais qu'il ne faut la demander que quand nous serons un peu affaiblis, afin de ne pas alermer le gouvernement; c'est ce que nous sommes convenus de faire: eh! bien vous, vous
venez dire au public que, vous la demanderez si elle doit être avantageuse au pays: en voilà une restriction. Vous me faites dire depuis deux ans qu'elle est essentielle, elle est donc avantageuse: mais non, L'Avenir vous met au pied du mur, vous ne savez plus sur quel pied danser vous ne tennez plus compte de ce que vous m'avez fait dire, et vous me désavouez. Quelle est la conséquence? Tout le monde rit de moi!

**LUDGER.**-
Tu dois pourtant savoir mieux que personne qu'on se tire d'un mauvais pas comme on peu. Qu'est-ce que je pouvais répondre? Je ne pouvais pas dire non, je ne voulais pas dire oui, c'était avouer qu'ils avaient raison: j'ai pris un biais, et il me semble qu'il n'était pas trop mal inventé pourtant. Entre nous soit dit, je fais semblant de mépriser l'Avenir, mais je ne sais pas trop comment lui répondre, souvent: Maudite collaboration!

**OCTAVE.**-
Eh! bien vous êtes en peine de lui répondre, et vous le laissez paraître; moi, je suis plus en peine que vous, car on m'aide moins, et je ne paraît pas l'être; quel est le plus sot de nous deux? (Ludger se gratte l'oreille.)

**GEORGES.**-
Allons! ça n'est pas comme ça - tu dois comprendre, Octave, que dans une bataille on a une avant-garde et un corps d'armée: Tu est l'avant-garde. La Minerve est le corps d'armée: Or si tu te lances quelquefois étourdi-ment, tu ne peux pas exiger que nous compromettions le corps d'armée pour te soutenir?

**OCTAVE.**-
Bon, quand je me lance moi-même, à la bonne heure, mais quand c'est vous qui me poussez, soutenez-moi donc.

**HECTOR.**-
Octave a raison.

**GEORGES.**-
Toi, Hector, tu es encore un peu jeune pour penser par toi-même, travaille. Quant-à-toi, Octave, tu sais que le comité de direction est absolu, bien? tu te rappelles nos conditions, j'espère: tu sais bien que nous nous sommes réservé le droit de te désavouer quand nous serions trop pressés; eh bien! nous n'en usons que rarement - admet-le!

**OCTAVE.**-
Oui, mais avec tout cela je passe pour un imbécile!

**GEORGES.**-
Tiens, tu cherches bien à faire passer ce maudit Papineau pour un fou, un furieux, un maniaque.
HECTOR.- C'est un moyen de polémique cela: d'ailleurs allez-vous le lui reprocher? C'est par votre ordre.

GEORGES.- Tais toi donc, toi: tu as une furieuse démangeaison de parler. Quel mal fera à Octave ce qu'on aura dit de lui, quand il sera placé? Comment veut-il qu'on le place s'il est toujours mécontent?

OCTAVE.- Quand je serai placé!!! Va-t-en voir s'ils viennent; Jean, elles viennent vite, vos places!!

GEORGES.- Patience, que diable, patience, voila notre brave Dr. qui doit passer avant toi; vois donc les services qu'il nous rend contre l'ogre de la rue Bonsecours; s'il eut persisté à se taire, ou à ne vouloir dire que la vérité, où en serions nous?

LUDGER.- Je lisais ce matin que la vérité tue quelquefois ceux qui la défigurent de préférence à ceux aux dépens de qui on l'écorche.

OCTAVE.- Ah! ah! faites-nous donc un cours de morale, maintenant! ce serait superbe après toutes vos histoires sur le comté St-Maurice.

GEORGES.- Allons, pas de mauvaise humeur, Octave.

OCTAVE.- Non, sans doute; M. Ludger aura droit de me dire tout ce qu'il voudra, et il faudra que je me taise moi, j'enrage, en vérité! C'est pour lui que vous me compromettez; que vous me faites jouer le rôle d'homme de paille, vous me sacrifiez à ses caprices, à son intérêt...........

GEORGES.- C'est faux.

OCTAVE.- Allons! pourquoi donc lui avez vous laissé dire dans la Minerve, qu'elle n'avait jamais, elle, prétendu que l'Union nous eut sauvés? Y avait-il du bon-sens, après m'avoir forcé d'avancer une aussi monstrueuse sottise, à vous mettre à couvert derrière un mensonge, car si vous ne l'avez pas dit dans la Minerve, vous l'avez fort bien soutenu ici, puisque c'est sur votre propre programme, écrit pour moi, que je l'ai pris.

LUDGER.- Tu as dit cela trop crûment aussi; tu dépases toujours les programmes qu'on te fait.

OCTAVE.- C'est pas vrai: vous m'avez dit que l'Union était une
mesure de salut.

LUDGER.- Eh bien! cela veut-il dire qu'elle nous a sauvés?

OCTAVE.- Et, sans doute!

LUDGER.- (d'un air capable) Et non, mon cher diplomate en herbe, cela veut dire qu'elle pouvait nous sauver: or, de la possibilité au fait, il y a loin: dire qu'elle nous a sauvés, c'était trop mentir, les lecteurs ont beau être bénévoles, il ne faut pas avoir l'air de les croire bêtes. (OCTAVE ne sait que répondre, et regarde Georges mais celui-ci s'entretient avec le Dr.)

HECTOR.- J'ai fini.

GEORGES.- Allons, vous autres, tachez de vous accorder mieux, vous êtes toujours pris de querelle. Le plus jeune veut vivre, le plus vieux veut le tuer; c'est à n'en jamais finir. Travaillons au lieu de nous dire nos vérités.

Eh! bien Dr. comment allons-nous vous tirer d'affaire. Vous avez refusé d'aller au comté de Richelieu, et cela parait louche à bien des gens.

LE DR.- Oh! mais, cette fois-ci, j'accepte; lisez mon écrit.

GEORGES.- Tiens, pourquoi donc n'acceptiez-vous pas tout de suite?

LE DR.- Parce que j'espérais m'en tirer sans cela.

LUDGER.- Mais, Dr. celui qui refuse un cartel n'a plus le droit de le proposer, ni même celui de l'accepter après réflexion.

GEORGES.- (souriant) C'est une comparaison que fait Ludger. Dr., il veut dire que par votre refus vous avez donné à M. Papineau le droit de rester chez lui et de refuser votre défi.

(Le Dr. paraît consterné.)

LE DR.- Quoi! est-ce que vous croyez qu'il a le droit de le refuser.

LUDGER.- Et sans doute. Il vous propose une rencontre; vous la refusez sans donner de raison plausible (car vous adme-
tiez bien que celle que vous avez donnée était un peu pauvre) puis après un semblable refus, sans provocation nouvelle de la part de M. Papineau, vous lui faites précisément la même offre que vous avez refusée - M. Papineau peut certainement vous dire "puisque vous n'avez pas osé venir quand je vous l'ai proposé, alors que j'étais sur les lieux, je ne ferai pas maintenant quarante lieues pour satisfaire votre caprice. Il fallait accepter tout de suite, vous refusez quand je suis proche; vous n'acceptez donc aujourd'hui que parce que mon éloignement vous fait espérer que je refuserai" - Que répondrez-vous?

LE DR.- Diable, si c'est comme ça, je suis mal pris! qu'allons-nous faire?

OCTAVE.- Si, dès votre première lettre, vous nous aviez demandé de vous aider vous n'en seriez pas là aujourd'hui!

LE DR.- Eh bien! je me suis fait aider par ce niais de Joseph, mais il ne pense pas plus loin que son nez.

HECTOR.- (bas) Vous étiez bien ensemble alors.

LE DR.- Dans tous les cas il faut se tirer de là. Allons, parlez, vous savez bien que si je peux me battre, je ne pense pas creux.

OCTAVE.- J'ai bien un moyen; mais vous ne m'en tiendrez pas compte: ou bien encore vous vous attribuerez ma suggestion: cherchez; après tout que chacun pense pour soi.

LUDGER.- Allons, tu as toujours de la rancune, toi - Est-ce que je t'en conserve, moi? Dis nous donc ton moyen!


GEORGES.- Mais, Octave, tu n'y penses pas. Si ton moyen est bon, dis le.

OCTAVE.- Non!

GEORGES.- Ce n'est pas bien, Octave. M. L.....le saura.

OCTAVE.- Et bien! me promettez-vous de ne plus me désavouer ou de ne me faire dire que ce que vous serez décidés à
soutenir?

TOUS.- Oui, Oui.

OCTAVE.- Eh bien! au lieu d'accepter purement et simplement une assemblée du comté du Richelieu, acceptez-la à la condition qu'il en sera faite une seconde du comté de St-Maurice à laquelle le Dr. assistera.

LE DR.- Mais votre moyen est très mauvais. Comment! vous voulez que j'aille au comté de St-Maurice après le résultat de l'assemblée du mois de juin. C'est bien assez que j'offre de retourner au comté de Richelieu après ma réception à St-Ours!

OCTAVE.- Et c'est précisément parce que nous avons été enfoncés à St-Maurice qu'il faut faire ce que je propose!

LE DR.- Je ne vous comprends pas. Vous savez que je me bats bien - mais c'est tout.

OCTAVE.- Eh bien! si vous proposez une assemblée du comté de St-Maurice comme condition de celle de Richelieu, M. Papineau, qui a certainement le droit de refuser d'aller à St-Maurice où il nous a battus, refusera inévitablement; alors vous n'irez pas à Richelieu.

LUDGER.- Très bien, c'est vrai, c'est une idée magnifique cela. (battant des mains). Merci Octave.

LE DR.- Au fait, c'est peut-être vrai: mais s'il acceptait les deux?

GEORGES.- Eh bien! alors vous vous résignerez: mais comme vous n'avez que ce moyen, je crois, qu'il faut le prendre.

LE DR.- C'est un peu votre faute, si je suis dans cet embarras!

GEORGES.- Bah! vous savez si bien payer d'audace que vous n'avez rien à craindre. En vérité, je vous dois le compliment d'avoir été de première force dans vos avis fraternels à M. Papineau, et dans la manière dont vous avez fait semblant de regretter qu'il eût perdu, par sa faute, une belle position. Vous avez l'air tout convaincu de ce que vous dites!

LE DR.- Mais c'est qu'à force de le dire je commence à l'être.
HECTOR.- Tant mieux, tant mieux. Si vous êtes si fort avant de croire, que sera-ce quand vous croirez?

LUDGER.- Tout cela est bien beau, mais je ne vois pas encore trop comment nous en sortirons. Nous savons bien que ce n'est pas M. Papineau qui écrit Anti-Unionnaire et Campagnard - Ce n'est donc pas lui qui provoque!

LE DR.- Vous savez bien que ce sont ses neveux!

LUDGER.- Voilà précisément ce qui prouve que ce n'est pas lui, et vous admettrez bien qu'il n'est pas responsable de leurs écrits!

LE DR.- Si fait, il l'est: pourquoi ne les fait-il pas taire?

LUDGER.- Tiens, avons-nous pu vous faire taire, quand vous étiez si loyal et si monarchique à l'assemblée de chez Steller? Allons mentez tant que vous voudrez: je ne dis rien, mais au moins faites le donc finement!

LE DR.- Au fait je me bats bien, mais..............

GEORGES.- C'est bon, c'est bon, mais après tout, ce que dit Ludger est vrai. Ce n'est pas M. Papineau qui provoque.

LE DR.- Oh! attendez si je ne pense habituellement pas, cela m'arrive quelque fois, néanmoins. Ainsi faites attention que dans mon écrit, je fais semblant de savoir que c'est Papineau qui s'est affublé des signatures ordinaires de ses neveux. Je le dis en toutes lettres et c'est dit de manière à ce que les lecteurs de la Minerve ne puissent pas soupçonner que je le suppose. Pour eux, c'est ce maudit Papineau qui aura écrit les deux articles. Je puis donc le provoquer.

LUDGER.- Mais si Campagnard et Anti-Unionnaire donnent leurs noms.

HECTOR.- Nous soutiendrons fort et ferme qu'ils ne sont que de prête-noms. Nous avons soutenu bien autre chose.

LUDGER.- Il ne suffit pas de soutenir pour être cru - tenez, vous n'allez pas assez à coup sur.

OCT:- Bah! on nous croit bien quand nous disons que nous avons le gouvernement responsable: quand nous disons que nous sommes les maîtres: quand nous parlons de la
justice de nos bons amis d'en haut qui nous ont si bien pillés et ruinés encore: quand nous nous faisons mutuellement le compliment d'avoir écrit des articles parfaitement raisonnés, car, entre nous, on peut bien dire que nous avons manqué quelquefois de logique et qu'on s'est fait peigner.

LE DR. - Nous avons peut-être plus manqué encore d'adresse que de logique.

GEORGES. - Savez-vous en effet que si M. Papineau refuse d'aller à St-Maurice, et que par conséquent nous n'allions pas à Richelieu, je suis aux oiseaux!

LE DR. - Oh mais, c'est que l'Avenir saura bien vous rappeler que vous avez fait le premier refus - et s'il y va?

GEORGES. - (baissant la tête et se grattant l'oreille) Heu! s'il y avait moyen d'empêcher que M....L.....C.....D..... ne fussent trop bavards, je l'écraserais. Mais ils étaient à St. Denis- tu t'en rappelles Georges, - tu les avais vus avant la bataille - et s'ils disent ce qu'ils savent, il faudra être pas mal bronzé pour rester le front haut.

GEORGES. - Il faut trouver le moyen de les faire taire.

OCTAVE. - Va les voir, Georges.

GEORGES. - Moi! ils savent bien que je ne me suis pas battu, ils étaient furieux contre moi - je ne ferai rien là.

LUDGER. - C'est inutile, ce que nous avons de mieux à faire c'est de suivre le conseil d'Octave: car il est à peu près certain que M. Papineau ne voudra pas retourner à St-Maurice et se moquera d'une proposition qui devra, à bon droit, lui paraître étrange, alors nous brûlons Richelieu et laissons les autres bavarder, s'ils le veulent.

TOUS. - C'est bon, arrêtons nous là.

GEORGES. - Maintenant, Dr., vous avez dit qu'un ami commun était allé, de la part de M. Papineau, vous demander une attestation écrite de sa conduite à St-Denis. Campagnard l'a indirectement nié. Allez-vous le prouver?

LE DR. - Sans doute!
GEORGES.- Allez-vous donner son nom?

LE DR.- C'est C.... peut-être vaudrait-il mieux ne pas le donner.

GEORGES.- Ah bah! en voila une preuve! un écervelé s'il y en a un: n'allez pas donner un nom pareil - qui le croira? Est-ce que vous n'avez pas de lettre?

LE DR.- Non.

GEORGES.- Comment donc prouverez-vous votre avancé, alors?

LE DR.- Voici ce que j'ai fait. Voyez- (il montre son manuscrit) je donne ici copie d'une lettre que j'ai écrite à C...... dans laquelle je lui dis que Papineau s'est sauvé.

GEORGES.- C'est votre propre lettre?

LE DR.- Oui.

GEORGES.- Mais cela ne veut rien dire. Vous ne pouvez pas vous servir de preuve à vous même! Une seconde assertion ne vaut que ce que vaut la première et a la même besoin d'être prouvée.

LE DR.- Et non, c'est une preuve écrite, cette fois.

GEORGES.- Oui, mais écrite par vous, ce qui l'empêche d'être une preuve; il faudrait qu'elle fut écrite par un autre. Comprenez-donc, vous faites une assertion: On vous demande de la prouver par un fait ou un document, au lieu de donner ce qu'on vous demande vous renouvellez votre assertion - cela ne signifie rien - D'ailleurs, vous dites que dans cette lettre vous informez C...... que M. Papineau s'est sauvé à St-Denis - cela ne prouve pas qu'il vous ait fait demander une attestation par C......et c'est là ce qu'il faut prouver!

LE DR.- Oh! mais je donne aussi une lettre de C...... sans le nommer.

GEORGES.- Eh bien! que dit-il?

LE DR.- Qu'il a perdu toute confiance en Papineau, qu'il est entièrement désillusionné sur son compte: qu'il est un démagogue, etc., etc.

GEORGES.- Est-ce là tout?
LE DR.- Est-ce que ce n'est pas suffisant?

GEORGES.- Mais S...........comprennez-donc, encore une fois. Vous avez à prouver que M. Papineau vous a fait demander par un ami commun une attestation écrite etc. vous venez de me dire que vous le prouviez par une lettre de C............et cette lettre n'en dit rien! M. Papineau n'a donc jamais donné cette commission à C............

LE DR.- J'ai cru comprendre que C............me demandait cela.

GEORGES.- Ah! vous avez cru comprendre! Vous voilà bien, maintenant. Diable! c'est mauvais! ne dites donc que ce que vous êtes sûr de prouver! - Comment faire maintenant, car il faut ou vous rétracter ou prouver.

LE DR.- Voyons, mon petit Octave, un moyen - car si je sais bien me battre.......

GEORGES.- Oh! mon Dieu, laissez-nous donc tranquille avec votre phrase banale moyen.

OCTAVE.- En voilà, un.

LE DR.- Lequel.

OCTAVE.- Invitez M. Papineau à aller voir chez vous la preuve écrite - Lui sait bien qu'elle n'existe pas, et il n'ira pas - et les neuf dixièmes des lecteurs de la Minerve seront satisfaits.

LUDGER.- (battant des mains) Bravo, bravo! Octave; tu es un homme de mérite; je te vote un diner.

HECTOR.- Hourra pour Octave! - c'est un matois celui-là.

LE DR.- Le moyen est bon, où mettre la phrase?

OCTAVE.- Parbleu! ici (montrant le manuscrit)

LE DR.- C'est bien - avez-vous encore des changements à faire?

GEORGES.- Ma foi! oui, corrigeons les fautes de français!

OCTAVE.- Y pensez-vous? cette sottise que vous allez faire là! Il faut les augmenter et non les diminuer?

LUDGER.- Pourquoi?
OCTAVE  Mais c'est bien simple pourtant. Comment voulez-vous qu'on croie que c'est notre brave Dr. qui écrit, s'il n'y a pas de fautes de français?

GEORGES.-   C'est peut-être mieux, en effet.

(OCTAVE et HECTOR se mettent à l'ouvrage)

LE DR.-   Allons tout est fini, et nous ne nous en sommes pas mal tirés. Bonjours messieurs - (il frappe sur l'épaule d'Hector) bonjour mon petit ami.

TOUS.-    Bonjour.

(Quant il est sorti.)

GEORGES.-   Faites donc des législateurs maintenant avec une pareille pâte!

TUQUE BLEUE."
APPENDIX XVIII

Speech by George-Etienne Cartier in the Assembly of the United Canadas, Feb. 5, 1849.

"M. Cartier. - M. L'orateur, dans une discussion comme celle-ci, je m'attendais bien à nous voir faire des objections par les membres du Haut-Canada, mais je ne croyais pas à avoir d'objections formulées de la part de membres du Bas-Canada. M. l'orateur, je suis dans ce moment ici plus à même de déduire mes raisons que je l'aurais été l'autre soir, lors de la première discussion sur cette question. D'abord un des côtés de cette question a été de savoir si le Bas-Canada était en état de lutter avec les États-Unis par rapport aux objets dont il s'agit. Je dis donc que je croyais avoir de l'objection de la part du Haut-Canada plutôt que de Bas-Canada; c'est que le Haut-Canada produit à peu près les mêmes produits que les États-Unis. Je dis que la production du Bas-Canada est un peu différente de celle du Haut-Canada. La raison en est simple: c'est que, quoi qu'il ait été remarqué que le Bas-Canada ne produisait que des menus-grains, il ne faut pas regarder avec mépris cette récolte. Que serait devenu le Bas-Canada, si nous n'avions pas eu ces menus-grains, ces années dernières? Eh! bien je dis donc que depuis trente (ans) la seule chose qui ait sauvé le Bas-Canada de la ruine et de la famine qui l'ont fait végéter, c'est cette production. Je dis cela parce que je regrette que l'hon membre pour Simcoe, auquel je reconnais une grande somme de bon-sens, ait parlé avec légèreté de cette récolte. Il est constaté que le Bas-Canada peut produire ce grain en grande abondance.

Que doivent donc faire les législateurs, c'est d'adopter quelques mesures pour obtenir les meilleurs prix pour ces menus-grains. Que nous est-il offert aujourd'hui? Il nous est offert par les États d'aller vendre tous nos produits sur leurs marchés. Est-ce que la mesure qui est aujourd'hui en discussion dans le sénat n'a pas été adoptée dans la Chambre des représentants a la dernière session? Fallait-il attendre qu'on se mit à genoux devant nous? Les États-Unis ont fait plus qu'ils devaient faire à cette occasion. Je partage l'opinion de l'hon. membre pour le comté de Saint Maurice. Quand bien même les américains n'auraient rien fait, nous devions prendre l'initiative nous qui souffrons. Ils se sont montrés plus généreux que nous avions droit de l'espérer. Eh! bien l'adoption d'une mesure semblable dans cette Chambre, nécessairement devra faciliter l'adoption de la mesure au congrès. M. l'orateur, dans le cours de la discussion, il a été fait mention qu'en 1844 le Bas-Canada a produit de toutes espèces de grains onze millions de minots; il les a produits depuis et les pro-
duira encore. Eh! bien si ces grains au moyen de la mesure qu'on discute actuellement devaient nous donner un chelin de plus par minots, quelle ne serait pas notre richesse au prix de ce qu'elle est! Est-ce que ceci n'est pas pour nous un objet important?

Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que le Bas-Canada dépend surtout de ses mis grains. Je laisse aux membres pour le Haut-Canada de discuter cette mesure, pour l'autre partie de la province. Mais pour moi Bas-Canadien, qui a toute ma famille à la campagne, qui a moi-même des terres que je fais cultiver, je dois discuter cette mesure pour le Bas-Canada. Eh! bien, je dis que cette mesure importante est la seule que nous puissions adopter pour soulager l'agriculture et le commerce qui souffrent. C'est un fait notoire: tout le monde sait que le district de Montréal regorge de produits qu'on ne peut pas vendre. Eh! bien, aujourd'hui il faut ouvrir un marché auquel nous appelle, malgré ce qu'on a dit, la diversité de climat et de sol. Les états de l'Union américaine qui entourent ce pays, à partir du Maine à l'Etat de New-York, produisent-ils des avoines, de l'orge et des pois? Ils en produisent, mais en petite quantité; il leur faut souvent s'en passer ou aller les chercher ailleurs. Je puis citer à l'appui de ceci un fait incontestable, un fait personnel. L'année dernière, je suis allé aux Etats-Unis. Un jour que j'étais à Boston, je me suis enquis des prix du marché. J'ai appris avec douleur et étonnement quels grands prix les cultivateurs y recevaient pour leurs produits, quand nos pauvres cultivateurs sont obligés de donner leurs produits à des prix si petits. J'en ai subi du chagrin, de la douleur, et je me suis bien promis, qu'appelé à prendre part à la vie publique, je ferais tout en mon pouvoir pour ouvrir à mes concitoyens un marché si avantageux. J'ai vu vendre sur les marchés de Boston, les pois à six chelins le minot et l'avoine trois chelins. Eh! bien, je me suis informé de la raison pour laquelle ces produits se vendaient si chers. On m'a dit, c'est parce qu'on n'en a pas beaucoup et qu'on en a un grand besoin pour la consommation des Antilles. Eh! bien le Bas-Canada après une mesure comme celle-là va se trouver entouré par la nouvelle Angleterre qui lui ouvrira un marché certain, accessibles à tous les habitants comme à tous les districts de la province; au district de Montréal comme au district de Québec par la rivière Chambly. Les deux districts feront transporter leurs produits à New-York et à Boston. Le chemin de fer de Portland est presque terminé; en sorte que nos produits, on pourra les diriger sur le point qu'on voudra pour son intérêt. Ne sera-ce pas là un avantage immense pour le Bas-Canada? Personne ne saurait le méconnaitre. Une autre raison qui m'engage, M. l'orateur, à tenir la ligne d'argumentation que je tiens, est celle-ci: lorsque autrefois, avant la passation du bill qui impose des droits sur les produits Américains qui viennent dans ce pays, il n'en venait pas plus qu'aujourd'hui.

Je le demande; est-il à la connaissance des membres de cette Cham-
bre, que les américains aient, par exemple, jamais envoyé sur nos marchés un seul minot de pois? Non; car ils n'en produisent pas assez pour suffire à leur propre consommation. Ils ont un besoin continué de nos mis-grains: et aujourd'hui nous perdrons l'occasion de leur en donner! Je ne crois pas que ça soit la décision de cette Chambre. Il a été fait allusion, M. l'orateur, par l'hon. membre pour Sherbrooke à une objection qu'il avait contre cette mesure. Il dit que ce bill devrait être appelé bill pour l'annexion du Haut-Canada aux Etats-Unis. Je répondrai quelque mots à ceci. D'abord l'hon. membre doit savoir que dans le monde aujourd'hui l'intérêt est la mesure des affaires. Je demande à l'hon. membre, s'il est producteur, et il l'est; je lui demande, si lui ne serait pas satisfait, tout loyal qu'il soit; est-ce qu'il trouverait mal qu'on vint lui donner double prix pour ses produits? Est-ce que sa loyauté l'empêcherait de recevoir un prix des américains pour ses produits qu'il n'en retirerait pas d'un autre côté? Est-ce qu'il refuserait l'argent des américains plutôt que de tout autre, parce qu'ils sont républicains. Non, il ne le ferait pas; il ne devrait pas le faire, même dans l'intérêt de sa loyauté. Plus on est riche, plus on est puissant et plus on peut défendre sa loyauté. Je ne crains pas, comme l'hon. membre, que la mesure en question ait les effets qu'il en attend. Il est vrai que nous allons nous trouver vis-à-vis les uns des autres. Nous aurons l'avantage qu'ils ont de commercer entre eux, sans gêne ni restrictions.

Nous serons comme la Pensilvanie (Pennsylvanie) qui envoie à New-York presque tous les produits agricoles qu'on voit sur les marchés de cette ville. Nous allons nous trouver dans la même position, mais nous aurons de moins les charges de l'Union. Tout le monde sait que les revenus des douanes sont consommés pour les dépenses du gouvernement fédéral et chaque état est obligé de payer à part les frais de son gouvernement local. Et bien nous allons nous trouver dans l'Union, sans avoir à concourir à payer les dépenses du gouvernement fédéral. Je dis donc que la passation de cette mesure, au lieu d'avoir la tendance que semble appréhender mon hon. ami aura un effet tout contraire. Je dirai, maintenant, aussi quelques mots, M. l'orateur, en réponse à l'argumentation de l'hon. membre pour le comté de Rouville. Il semble craindre que la passation de cette mesure amenera la ruine de nos revenus. Eh! bien, je suis bien aise de la lecture que nous a faite l'hon. membre pour le comté de Kamouraska. Je trouve dans la lecture de ce document la raison la plus convainquante contre l'espèce de raisonnement de l'hon. membre pour le comté de Rouville. J'entends mon hon. ami dire que la somme des revenus qu'il a trouvé dans ce tableau sera autant du moins dans notre poche; mais il perd de vue que de l'autre côté des lignes on préleve sur les chevaux canadiens des sommes encore bien plus considérables; et que nos cultivateurs perdent ce qu'ils auraient eu de plus sur le prix."

(La Minerve, 8 fév., 1849) (Le Canadien, 5 mars, 1849)
Counter Petition published in La Minerve of Oct. 15, 1849 against the Annexation Manifesto.

"Nous soussignés, membres de la législature provinciale, résidant dans la ville de Montréal et ses environs, avons vu avec surprise et regret une certaine adresse au peuple du Canada, récemment publiée par nombre de personnes, dans le but avoué de susciter au sein de notre population un mouvement en faveur d'une séparation d'avec la Grande-Bretagne et d'une adjonction aux États-Unis d'Amérique.

Sincèrement attachés aux institutions que la mère-patrie a depuis peu reconnues, et convaincus que ces institutions sont suffisantes pour nous assurer, au moyen d'une législation sage et judicieuse, un remède prompt et efficace à tous les maux dont la province puisse se plaindre, nous croyons devoir nous empresser de protester d'une manière publique et solennelle contre les opinions énoncées dans ce document. Nous croyons devoir en même temps, et sans attendre le concours des autres membres de la législature, lequel, à peu d'exceptions près, nous est d'ailleurs assuré, en appeler à la sagesse, à l'amour de l'ordre et à l'honneur des habitants de ce pays, pour les engager à s'opposer par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir, à une agitation qui a pour but de saper cette constitution si longtemps désirée et dont l'octroi a été accueilli par des sentiments de vive reconnaissance envers la métropole, agitation qui enfin ne peut avoir pour résultat que la continuation des scènes dont cette ville a déjà tant souffert. Le renversement de l'ordre social et le renouvellement des troubles et commotions dont nous avons eu jadis à déplorer les suites désastreuses.

Montréal, le 15 octobre 1849.

J. Leslie, M.C.L.
R.E. Caron, M.C.L.
L.M. Viger, M.P.P. pour le comté de Terrebonne.
Malcolm Cameron, M.P.P. pour le comté de Kent.
Jos. Bourret, M.C.L.
A.N. Morin, M.P.P. pour le comté de Bellechasse.
Lewis T. Drummond, M.P.P. pour le comté de Shefford.
Wolfred Nelson, M.P.P. pour le comté de Richelieu
N. Dumas, M.P.P. pour le comté de Leinster.
Pierre Davignon, M.P.P. pour le comté de Rouville.
Ls Lacoste, M.P.P. pour le comté de Chambly.
A. Jobin, M.P.P. pour le comté de Montréal.
T. Bouthillier, M.P.P. pour Saint-Hyacinthe.
D.M. Armstrong, M.P.P. pour Berthier."
APPENDIX XX

Speech delivered by George-Etienne Cartier in the Throne Speech Debate as reported in the Journal de Québec of Aug. 31, 1852.

"M. Cartier prononça durant le débat le discours éloquent que notre correspondant de Québec a analysé dans sa dernière lettre. Ce discours a été prononcé en anglais, mais comme il contenait beaucoup de chiffres, les rapporteurs de la presse n'ont pu en faire qu'un maigre rapport. Au surplus, ils font dire à M. Cartier le contraire de ce qu'il a voulu prouver: ils lui font dire que le gouvernement des Etats-Unis est moins dispendieux que le gouvernement d'Angleterre, tandis que c'est le contraire qu'il a soutenu et prouvé par ses chiffres, comme notre correspondant l'a bien fait comprendre dans sa lettre, en indiquant sa ligne d'argumentation.

Voici comment ce discours est rendu dans le rapport du Journal de Québec:

M. Cartier - M. l'orateur, parmi les résolutions qui nous sont proposées comme base de la réponse à faire au discours du trône, celle qui parle de la prospérité de la province a suscité le plus de débats. Cependant s'il y a eu des étrangers présents en chambre en ce moment, je suis bien certain qu'ils auront dit que l'apparence de cette chambre donnait un démenti à cette prétendue pauvreté qu'on nous dit régner en Canada; personne de nous, en effet, n'a l'air de venir d'un pays pauvre. C'est une des raisons qui me font blâmer les observations du représentant senior de la cité de Toronto, dont j'ai entendu avec la plus grande satisfaction l'autre représentant qui entretient des idées toutes différentes.

Le même senior de Toronto est allé choisir le Massachusetts, un des états les plus prospères de l'Union Américaine pour le comparer à cette province. Il a prétendu nous prouver que montant et la circulation du capital des banques du Canada n'étaient pas tant s'en faut aussi considérables que dans le Massachusetts. Chose remarquable, l'hon. membre prend pour terme de comparaison avec le Canada l'état le plus florissant des États-Unis sous le point de vue commercial. Il est vrai que le montant de notre capital n'est pas aussi élevé que celui du Massachusetts et qu'il n'est pas employé à transiger une aussi grande quantité d'affaires.

Mais l'hon. membre a-t-il oublié par hasard que le Massachusetts renforce la cité de Boston, et que cette cité est le banquier non seu-
lement du Massachusetts, mais d'un grand nombre d'autres états de 
l'union? Et, d'ailleurs, si c'est là, selon l'hon. membre, le critérium 
de la prospérité, il faut avouer alors que les autres États sont dans un 
état de pauvreté déplorable. D'un autre côté, si réellement le capital 
de la banque du Massachusetts est de $30,000,000, il faut déclarer que 
l'état de New-York est plus pauvre que le Massachusetts, puisqu'il ne 
posède en capital de banque que $50,000,000 et que sa population est 
beaucoup plus considérable; mais tel n'est pas le cas.

Le seul mode loyal de juger de la prospérité relative du Canada, 
c'est, M. l'orateur, de prendre le capital de la banque de tous les 
États-Unis. On aurait vu alors que l'union ne peut guère se vanter 
d'être dans une position plus florissante que le nôtre, puisque par 
chaque mille habitants le capital de banque y est de $8,000, ou de $9 
par tête, ce qui est le cas pour le Canada, comme le font voir des cal-
culs exacts.

L'hon. membre pour Toronto nous a encore annoncé que chaque habi-
tant du Massachusetts ne payait pour les frais de son gouvernement 
qu'une demi-piastre. Pourquoi l'hon. membre n'a-t-il pas dit aussi à 
la chambre que, dans la seule cité de Boston, la dépense du gouverne-
ment municipal est de $2,000,000? C'est presque autant que la dépense 
totale de notre gouvernement provincial, et encore la cité de Boston 
paie sa quote part des frais de l'administration de la justice et des 
écoles communes.

L'hon. membre n'aurait-il pas pu ajouter et démontrer que le 
gouvernement républicain des États-Unis est réellement plus coûteux 
que le gouvernement monarchique de l'Angleterre?

M. Boulton - Ecoutez, écoutez.

M. Cartier. - Oui, plus coûteux que celui de l'Angleterre. Tout 
de monde ne sait-il pas que la dépense du gouvernement fédéral est de 
$50,000,000 annuellement? Eh! bien, celle de l'Angleterre est de 
£50,000,000. Or, retranchez de l'un et de l'autre côté, l'intérêt de 
da dette nationale, l'entretien des troupes et de la marine, qui doi-
vent être comptés à part, et vous vous trouverez avoir environ $30,000,000 
pour la dépense du gouvernement fédéral des États-Unis et une moindre 
somme pour le gouvernement de la Grande-Bretagne (M. Cartier prouve ici 
ses avancés par des chiffres.)

Mais l'hon. membre fait un avancé bien plus curieux; il nous dit 
que le Canada ayant, en trois ans, fait pour £4,000,000 d'importations 
de plus que d'exportations, il est évident que cette colonie est plus 
pauvre qu'elle n'était de quatre millions.

M. Boulton. - Ce que j'ai dit et voulu dire, c'est que le pays
pourra être plus pauvre quand il aura à payer cette différence.

M. Cartier. — Pour lors M. l’orateur, il faut qu’il y ait eu un bien long crédit, et tel ne peut pas être le cas, car l’hon. membre nous a informé que le commerce gagnait les États-Unis, et l’on sait que le frère Jonathan exige de prompts paiements. Mais pour éclaircir cette question, il suffit de remarquer que le taux du change n’a pas augmenté à notre préjudice, soit en Angleterre, soit aux États-Unis. Or, il ne faut pas se cacher que tout cet argent qui nous vient sous forme de marchandises, d’instruments ou d’outils, crée constamment un immense capital dans la province.

Et pour passer à l’extension du suffrage, je crois M. l’orateur, que nous devrions remercier S.E., de ce qu’elle suggère de donner droit de vote à tous les occupants de terre. Ce sont en effet là des propriétaires, puis-qu’ils ont amélioré la terre sur laquelle ils sont, et qu’ils paieront bientôt. Ils ont intérêt à la chose publique. Mais je ne suis pas de la même opinion que certains hon. membres; je ne veux pas du scrutin universel, et voici pourquoi: je crois en effet que, dans un pays démocrate tel que le nôtre, le scrutin universel agirait contre les bases de la société. L’homme, dans l’état de société, n’a pas seulement à jouir de ses facultés animales, il lui faut jouir du plaisir de la propriété sur laquelle est fondée la société. 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. Voyez en France ce qu’a fait le scrutin universel: les Français en jouissent depuis trois ans. Le résultat en a été de servir les vues ambitieuses de Napoléon de le faire monter au fauteuil présidentiel pour dix ans, et de cheminer vers le trône impérial. Quant aux États-Unis, le scrutin universel là où il peut régner, n’a pas encore eu tous ses mauvais effets, grâce aux habitants des campagnes qui, étant propriétaires, ont intérêt à défendre et maintenir les bases de la société: et aujourd’hui même, si l’on avait à refaire la constitution des États-Unis, il est certain qu’on n’y introduirait pas le scrutin universel.

Une autre mauvaise chose contre laquelle je combattrai jusqu’à la dernière goutte de mon sang, est le scrutin secret. C’est à sa faveur que la corruption a été si affreusement profonde aux États-Unis, que l’on a connu des électeurs qui, par le moyen d’entrepreneurs d’élections, avaient dans la même élection vendu leur vote quatre ou cinq fois. L’hon. membre pour les Deux-Montagnes (M. Papineau) a parlé en faveur de ce vote au scrutin, et s’est plaint de la manière dont on le mettait à exécution à Montréal pour les élections municipales. Mais l’hon. membre doit apprendre que la législature n’a pas voulu donner le vote du scrutin dont elle connaissait trop les abus; elle a eu la sagesse d’insérer dans la loi une clause qui impose à chaque voteur.
l'obligation d'apposer son nom à son bulletin. C'est un moyen d'empêcher la corruption.

On nous a parlé aussi, M. l'orateur, d'un conseil législatif électif. Je déclare franchement que je ne suis pas beaucoup en faveur de ce projet; sans néanmoins lui être beaucoup opposé. Ce que je désire si l'on nous donne un conseil électif, c'est que ceux qui en feront partie soient tenus à avoir entre autres qualifications celle de la propriété. Quant à ce que nous a dit l'honorable membre des Deux-Montagnes à ce sujet, je diffère d'opinion avec lui, au moins sur ce point que je crois illégal, de vouloir faire rappeler ou amender par notre parlement un acte du parlement impérial; et l'hon. membre a beau nous dire que l'hon. secrétaire-provincial (M. Morin) avait fait une pareille proposition dans la chambre du Bas-Canada, cela ne m'empêche pas de le regarder comme illégale. Ce que l'on se propose de faire dans cette enceinte, j'espère, M. l'orateur qu'on le fera constitutionnellement et non pas comme on a tenté de le faire dans le parlement du Bas-Canada, alors que l'hon. membre pour les Deux-Montagnes en était l'orateur et aurait dû arrêter le membre qui proposait une semblable mesure.

Et pour en venir à l'immense calamité qui a visité la ville où je réside, je ne puis m'empêcher de regretter que, par un malentendu, la corporation de Montréal ait été induite à rejeter l'offre du gouvernement en faveur des malheureux incendiés; et j'aime à croire que le gouvernement est encore disposé à faire du bien à ces infortunés même contre leur volonté. Je vais plus loin, et je leur suggère de considérer s'il ne serait pas à propos de faire revivre pour tout le Canada l'ancienne ordonnance du gouvernement français contre l'érection des bâtisses en bois dans les villes qui auraient plus de 4,000 ou 5,000 habitants. Cette ordonnance est tombée en oublie, mais il est toujours temps de la faire revivre. (Écoutez, écoutez).

Je ne peux me décider à terminer, M. l'orateur, sans revenir à l'honorable représentant sénior de la cité de Toronto; j'ai commencé par lui, c'est aussi par lui que je veux terminer. L'hon. membre nous a parlé de la liberté des débats, et c'est aussi sur ce point que je veux lui faire une ou deux observations. En effet, pendant que nous, en Canada, nous jouissions de la plus grande liberté des débats, qui va jusqu'à nous permettre la discussion de la question d'annexion à l'Union américaine, le congrès des États-Unis refusait de recevoir une seule pétition contre l'esclavage. Je conseille aussi à l'hon. membre de ne pas trop faire parade de ses idées d'annexion, car cela pourrait le rendre inhabile à servir son pays, malgré le goût prononcé qu'il a montré pour les statistiques et qui pourrait plus tard le rendre capable d'être ministre des finances. Les États-Unis, je les admire; mais il est certain qu'ils ne seraient rien sans l'Angleterre, qui achète une si grande portion de leur récolte de coton, et
si ce n'est pas une disgrâce pour les États-Unis de dépendre d'un aussi petit point du globe que l'Angleterre, ce ne peut être assurément une dégradation pour nous d'être sujet anglais. Enfin, personne plus que moi n'apprécie les États-Unis et n'admire leur énergie; je suis Américain, M. l'orateur, mais je ne suis pas annexioniste."
Letter from P.S. Hamilton of Halifax to George-Etienne Cartier concerning a federation of the British North American Colonies.

To the Hon. Geo. E. Cartier
Attorney General
Canada East.

Sir,

Although personally an entire stranger to you, I trust that the subject of this letter, a great question of public policy, will be considered a sufficient excuse for my thus addressing myself to you as a public man and a Cabinet Minister. That subject is a Union of the North American Colonies.

I send by the mail which carries this, a copy of a pamphlet written by me on this subject, not long since also a few members of the "Acadian Recorder", a newspaper which I edit, containing part of a series of articles on the same matter. As these productions contain, in a great measure, the opinions which I would like to bring to your notice, I will not, in this letter, pretend to retrace the ground touched upon in them.

I have no means of knowing your personal opinions, or the leanings of your Cabinet, with reference to the question of this Union. This being the case, you will probably wonder why — with the exception of Mr. Taché, your Premier, whom I wrote on the subject not long since — I should single you out, among the members of the Canadian Cabinet, for this purpose; and you may smile when I tell you the reason. I have heard — whether correctly or not, I cannot say, that you are a lineal descendant of the great navigator, Jacques Cartier the man who first revealed the existence of Canada to the ancestors of its present inhabitants. I have thought that were I a descendant of the brave old Jacques Cartier, and in a position to do it, I should be proud to take the lead in fully establishing, as the proposed Union would do, a great empire on the territory which he may be said to have marked out for that purpose; and I have thought presumptuously perhaps, that a feeling of this kind might possibly have been experienced by you, and would lead you to give a more mature consideration than others of like official rank would give, to this whole question of Union. To have taken the lead in the actual accomplishment of so great and necessary a work, is, in my humble opinion, an objet well worthy of the honora-
ble ambition of any British American statesman; and it is an object which seems, at the present time, almost peculiarly within the reach of some members of the Canadian Cabinet.

As I have already observed, I know nothing of your particular opinions relative to a Union of the Colonies. I am inclined to think from indications that I have seen - and perhaps partly from my own strong convictions of the importance of such a measure after much thought upon the subject, that none of the more eminent public men of British America are averse to it. Besides the obvious inducements which these Colonies have in common to enter into such a Union, they have each very important special objects to the attained by it. These I cannot undertake within the limits of this letter even to specify. Those which have relation to Canada in particular have probably suggested themselves to you. I may merely say that a pretty close observance of the affairs of your magnificent Province, for some years past, from a distance, leads me to the conclusion that a Union with the lower Colonies would be an effectual cure of that sectional rivalry which bids far to be the curse of Canada under its present organization. I am pleased to have observed too that among these of the two great rival interests which have taken the most extreme positions and hostile attitudes towards each other, this very Union has been freely and undoubtingly spoken of as a step which would avert the evils which they, from different points of view, anticipated from a continuance of the present Canadian organization.

The present time, with its absence of other very important subjects for extraordinary legislation, seems, in all of the Provinces, to be particularly suited for the carrying out of this measure. As you may be aware, it was brought before the Novascotian legislature two years since; and, as I was recently assured by the Hon. J.W. Johnston, who took the initiative on the former occasion, it will again be moved in with all possible vigor, the coming session. I think it probable, from my knowledge of the feelings which some leading members of the Government in that Province entertain upon the subject, that a like effort will be made in New Brunswick. Is there no reason to hope that Canada, whose adherence to such a course is of so much more consequence and whose example would have such an overwhelming weight, will do likewise? I can scarcely expect you, in your Ministerial capacity, to answer such a question. Yet, if not too great presumption in a stranger, I venture to hope that you will honor me with some indication of your personal feelings upon this subject, and some expression of opinion as to the Canadian prospects of the Unions going into operation.

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Halifax, Novascotia,
November 6th 1856.
(F.S.C. pp. 32-33)

P. S. Hamilton
APPENDIX XXII

Official Memorandum and Private Letter presented to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton concerning a federation of the Provinces by Messrs. George-Etienne Cartier, John Ross, and Alexander Tillock Galt.

London 23rd October, 1858.

Sir,-

We have the honor to submit for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government that the Governor-General of Canada, acting under the advice of his responsible advisers, has been pleased to recommend that the subject of a Federative Union of the Provinces of British North America should form the subject of discussion by Delegates from each Province, to be appointed under the orders of Her Majesty's Government, and we have been instructed to urge the importance of this step as well upon grounds peculiar to Canada as from considerations affecting the interests of the other Colonies and of the whole Empire.

It is our duty to state that very grave difficulties now present themselves in conducting the Government of Canada in such a manner as to show due regard to the wishes of its numerous population. The Union of Lower with Upper Canada was based upon perfect equality being preserved between these provinces, a condition the more necessary from the differences in their respective language, law and religion, and although there is now a large English population in Lower Canada, still these differences exist to an extent which prevents any perfect and complete assimilation of the views of the two sections.

At the time of the Union Act Lower Canada possessed a much larger population than Upper Canada, but this produced no difficulty in the Government of the United Provinces under that Act. Since that period, however, the progress of population has been more rapid in the western section, and claims are now made on behalf of its inhabitants for giving them representation in the Legislature in proportion to their numbers, which claims, involving, it is believed, a most serious interference with the principles upon which the Union was based, have been and are strenuously resisted by Lower Canada. The result is shown by an agitation fraught with great danger to the peaceful and harmonious working of our constitutional system, and consequently detrimental to the progress of the province.
The necessity of providing a remedy for a state of things that is yearly becoming worse, and of allaying feelings that are daily being aggravated by the contention of political parties, has impressed the advisers of Her Majesty's representatives in Canada with the importance of seeking for such a mode of dealing with these difficulties as may forever remove them. In this view it has appeared to them advisable to consider how far the Union of Lower with Upper Canada could be rendered essentially federative - in combination with the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, together with such other territories as it may be hereafter desirable to incorporate with such confederation from the possessions of the Crown in British North America.

The undersigned are 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 are satisfied that the time has arrived for a constitutional discussion of all means whereby the evils of internal dissension may be avoided in such an important dependency of the Empire, as Canada. But independent of reasons affecting Canada alone it is respectfully represented that the interests of the several Colonies and of the Empire will be greatly promoted by a more intimate and united Government of the entire British North American Possessions. The population, trade and resources of all these Colonies have so rapidly increased of late years and the removal of Trade restrictions has made them, in so great a degree, self-sustaining, that it appears to the Government of Canada exceedingly important to bind still more closely the ties of their common allegiance to the British Crown, and to obtain for general purposes such an identity in legislation as may serve to consolidate their growing power, thus raising, under the protection of the Empire, an important confederation on the North American Continent.

At present each Colony is totally distinct in its Government, in its customs and trade, and in its general legislation. To each other, no greater facilities are extended than to any Foreign State and the only common tie is that which binds all to the British Crown. This state of things is considered to be neither promotive of the physical prosperity of all, nor of that moral union which ought to be preserved in the presence of the powerful confederation of the United States.

With a population of three and a half millions, with a foreign commerce exceeding Twenty-five million Sterling, and a Commercial Marine inferior in extent only to those of Great Britain and the United States, it is in the power of the Imperial Government, by sanctioning a confederation of these Provinces, to constitute a Dependency of the Empire, valuable in time of peace, and powerful in the event of war - forever removing the fear that these Colonies may
ultimately serve to swell the power of another Nation.

In the case of the Australian Colonies the Imperial Government have consented to their discussion of the question of Confederation - although the reasons for it, as relates to the Empire, can scarcely be either so urgent or so important as those which affect British North America.

The Government of Canada do not desire to represent the feelings of the other provinces. Their application is confined to the request that the Imperial Government will be pleased to authorise a meeting of Delegates on behalf of each Colony and of Upper and Lower Canada respectively, for the purpose of considering the subject of a Federative Union, and reporting on the principles on which the same could properly be based.

That such delegates should be appointed by the Executive Government of each Colony, and meet with as little delay as possible.

That the Report of such Delegates should be addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that a Copy of it as soon as it is prepared, should be placed in the hands of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of each Colony, in order that he may lay the same before the Provincial Parliament, with as little delay as possible.

Upon the Report of such Delegates it will be for Her Majesty's Government to decide whether the interests of the Empire will be promoted by Confederation and to direct the action of the Imperial Parliament thereon - with the concurrence of the Legislatures of the respective Colonies.

We have the honour to be,

Your most obedient and humble servants,

G. E. Cartier.
JNO. Ross.
A. T. Galt.

London, 25th October, 1858.

The Right Honourable
Sir E. B. Lytton, Bart.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Dear Sir Edward:

In the official communication which we have this day the honour to address to you, on the Confederation of the British North American provinces, we have felt it improper to offer any opinion upon the details which will form the subject of the proposed discussion by Delegates. It is also our duty not to cause embarrassment by advancing views which may yet have to be greatly modified. We venture, however, in compliance with your desire for a confidential communication on these points to suggest:—

That the Federal Government should be composed of a Governor-General, or Viceroy, to be appointed by the Queen, of an Upper House or Senate elected upon a territorial basis of representation, and of a House of Assembly, elected on the basis of population, the Executive to be composed of ministers responsible to the legislature.

That the powers of the Federal legislators and Government should comprehend the Customs, Excise and all trade questions, Postal Service, Militia, Banking, Currency, Weights and Measures and Bankruptcy, Public Works of a National Character, Harbours and Light-houses, Fisheries and their protection, Criminal justice, Public Lands, Public Debt and Government of unincorporated and Indian Territories. It will form a subject for mature deliberation whether the powers of the Federal Government should be confined to the points named, or should be extended to all matters not specially entrusted to the local legislatures.

The Confederation might involve the constitution of a Federal Court of Appeal.

The general revenue, having first been charged with the expense of collection and civil government, to be subject to the payment of interest on the public debts of the Confederation to be constituted from the existing obligations of each,—the surplus to be divided each year according to population. The net revenue from the Public Lands in each province to be its exclusive property, except in the case of the territories.

It may be expedient for a limited time to provide from the general revenue a certain fixed contribution for educational and judicial purposes until provision is made for the same by each member of the Confederation.

It will be observed that the basis of Confederation now proposed differs from that of the United States in several important particulars. It does not profess to be derived from the people but would be the constitution provided by the imperial parliament, thus affording the means of remedying any defect, which is now practically impossible under
the American constitution. The local legislature would not be in a position to claim the exercise of the same sovereign powers which have frequently been the cause of difference between the American states and their general government. To this may be added that by the proposed distribution of the revenue each province would have a direct pecuniary interest in the preservation of the authority of the Federal Government. In these respects it is conceived that the proposed Confederation would possess greater inherent strength than that of the United States, and would combine the advantage of the unity for general purposes of a legislative union with so much of the Federation principle as would join all the benefits of local government and legislation upon questions of provincial interest.

We have, etc. etc.
(Signed)

G.E. Cartier.
JNO. Ross.
A. T. Galt.

(Skelton, *Life and Times of Sir Alexander T. Galt*, p.239-244).
APPENDIX XXIII

Acte de Société entre George-Etienne Cartier et François Pominville.

Acte de Société

5 Mars 1859

Nous soussignés désirons former une société entre Nous, sommes convenus de ce qui suit:

Il y aura dès ce jour une société commune entre nous pour toutes les affaires du ressort de notre profession qui pourront nous être confiés à l'avenir dans toutes les Cours de Justice de cette Prov- (1)ince, laquelle société dont la signature sera Cartier & Pominville pourra être dissoute à demande de l'un d'entre nous.

Dans les revenus de la Société le dit Sieur Cartier n'aura droit qu'à un cinquième à l'exception cependant des affaires de la Compagnie du Grand Tronc de chemin de fer du Canada des Contracteurs Jackson & Cie et du Chemin de fer de Vaudreuil, dans les quelles affaires le dit Sieur Cartier aura droit à deux tiers et dit Pominville à un tiers seulement.

Les pertes et les dépenses seront supportées par les dits associés.

Toutes ces conventions n'auront d'effet que tant que le dit Sieur Cartier demeurera dans le Gouvernement.

Vu la multiplicité des affaires dans la dite société, il sera loisible au dit Pominville de prendre un nouvel associé dans la sus-dite société sujet à l'approbation du dit sieur Cartier.

Fait en double à Toronto ce cinquième jour de mars mil huit cent cinquante neuf. Un renvoi en marge bon.

Geo. Et. Cartier
F. Pominville

(1) et pour tous,
conseil, avis
& vacations quelconques.

GEC.
FPP
APPENDIX XXIV

Results of the 1861 Election in Montreal East, La Minerve, 6 juillet.

DIVISION EST.
Premier et Second Jour

QUARTIER STE. MARIE

Total des votes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cartier</th>
<th>Dorion.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 383</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 244</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 156</td>
<td>150</td>
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QUARTIER ST. JACQUES.

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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 405</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 250</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 407</td>
<td>193</td>
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QUARTIER ST. LOUIS

<p>| | | |</p>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 383</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 418</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Poll</td>
<td>. . . . 383</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

3029

1527

1502

Maj. pour M. Cartier

25.
APPENDIX XXV

Description of the Epergne presented to George-Etienne Cartier as reported in La Minerve of April 14, 1864.

Les électeurs de la Division-Est qui ont accompagné, lundi, l'hon. M. Cartier, jusqu'à sa résidence, ont pu voir la magnifique épergne que lui ont offerte quelques-uns de ses admirateurs et de ses amis dévoués. Sur l'un des côtés de l'épergne est le portrait de Sa Majesté la Reine Victoria. Sur l'autre, sont les armes de la famille de M. Cartier, avec l'inscription suivant:

OFFERT

A

L'Honorable George Etienne Cartier, C.R., M.P.P.

Par ses constituant
de la division est
de la Cité de Montréal
en témoignage
des services qu'il a rendus

au Pays

Montréal:
26 décembre 1862.

Sur le troisième se trouve le portrait de M. Cartier. Notre honorable compatriote tient dans sa main un écusson sur lequel sont les inscriptions suivantes:

PONT VICTORIA.

Codification

Décentralization judiciaire.
Ecoles normales.
Abolition finale
De la tenure seigneuriale.
Au-dessus des trois côtés sont les portraits de Jacques-Cartier, de Mgr. Plessis et de Montcalm.

L'exécution de ce magnifique travail est due à Mr. Hendrey.
APPENDIX XXVI

Results of the Election of 1863 in Montreal East as reported in La Minerve, 11 juin.

DIVISION EST

Quartier Ste. Marie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1er Jour</th>
<th></th>
<th>2me Jour</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. Cartier</td>
<td>M. Dorion</td>
<td>M. Cartier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1er Poll</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2me Poll</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3me Poll</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
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</table>

Quartier St. Jacques

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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1er Poll</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2me Poll</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3me Poll</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quartier St. Louis

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1er Poll</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2me Poll</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3me Poll</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total        1267    957    612    246

Maj. pour M. Cartier 2me 366
Maj. du premier jour 310

Majorité de M. Cartier pour les deux jours 676
Letter from Isaac Buchanan to George-Etienne Cartier

Hamilton 28 Dec. 1863.

My Dear Sir,

I have your note of Saturday, and have to thank you for your kind expressions regarding my speech. I was the more anxious to take upon me the explanations which are unpleasant—such as defining the name and position of the Grits—on account of the likelihood of my health not permitting me to remain in public life. If my day were 48 hours instead of 24, I could occupy it all with my own business; and even if my health stood up, I would be doing justice neither to my own nor the public business. But my object in intruding upon you now, is to request you to show my views of extended reciprocity to the influential parties you may meet in U. S. You may—if you see an opportunity to do good by doing so—explain that I am, and have always been, a great admirer of the United States—and have for the last thirty years thought upon their subjects (especially currency and labour, which I consider one question, the resolving of the one being the resolving of the other question) more than most of themselves. As to their resolution I quite agree that they benefitted themselves and the world by gaining their independence—but in order to attain this there was no necessity to rush into Republicanism. They could have been equally independent, if they had asked their mother England for one of her princes to be King or (if the name suited these attitudes better) Elector of America. (As their ancestors were Electors of Hanover). Now I recur to this old idea of mine at present for the purpose of saying that, as a friendly looker-on I am firmly persuaded that if the Union is to be kept together, it will be by both North and South agreeing upon some new ground—such as a proposition that, in concert with Canada, they should ask for an Elector in the person of one of our Queen's sons. How much they would gain in the acquisition of the St. Lawrence and the immense sea coast of the Atlantic and Pacific. Of course such a call would require to be by universal suffrage, after due means were taken to inform the people's minds on the point that the Americans would be losing nothing—but gaining everything by the step. America with England and Russia, made sure allies by their interest, would, with these countries, rule the World. It would be no small inducement, both North and South, that their debts and Greenbacks could be paid in this, but in no other way. There is no man in the United States who admires more Mr. Chase's most admirable manage-
ment of the Nation's Finance then I do - and yet I cannot help seeing the fate of the Greenbacks unless something very extraordinary occurs. So serious after much consideration am I on the great subject on which I have written you that I shall send copy of this to Lord Lyons. It can by possibility do no harm - and may do good - Wishing you the compliments of the Season.

I am, My Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
Isaac Buchanan.

Buchanan to Cartier, Dec 28, 1863).
APPENDIX XXVIII

Message to his constituents concerning Confederation by
Antoine-Aimé Dorion.

Aux Electeurs du Comté de Hochelaga in
La Minerve, 11 nov. 1864.

Messieurs,

Les événements importants qui se sont passés depuis la dernière
session du parlement, les conséquences graves qu'ils peuvent avoir
sur l'avenir et la prospérité du pays, m'engagent à vous soumettre
quelques observations sur la situation politique et sur les compli­
cations qu'elle a fait naître.

Vous savez déjà qu'une conférence a eu lieu à Québec entre les
ministres canadiens, et des délégués venus des provinces maritimes,
dans le but de s'entendre sur une confédération de toutes les pro­
vincies britanniques de l'Amérique du Nord.

Cette conférence a duré près de trois semaines. L'on y a discuté,
en séances secrètes, les plus grands intérêts du pays, et l'on est con­
venu (ce qui a été annoncé publiquement) des bases d'une confédération,
dont le projet, après avoir été communiqué aux autorités impériales,
sera soumis à la législature dans sa prochaine session.

L'absence de toute communication officielle des procédés de la
conférence, le silence absolu des ministres Bas-Canadiens sur les dé­
tails de cette confédération projetée, semblent indiquer que l'on
veut précipiter cette mesure, sans consulter le public et sans même
lui donner le temps d'en étudier les dispositions et d'en apprécier la
tendance et la portée.

Le fait que les ministres, sans aucune mission quelconque, prépa­
rent dans l'intérieur de leur cabinet un changement de constitution,
une révolution politique complète, qui devra affecter tous les rap­
ports existants sous l'Union actuelle entre le Haut et le Bas-Canada
pour y substituer une autre Union qui embrasserait toutes les provinces
de l'Amérique du Nord, est de nature à attirer votre sérieuse considé­
ration.

A défaut de documents officiels, les journaux dans la confidence
ordinaire des ministres et le discours prononcé par M. Brown au banquet
offert, à Toronto, aux délégués des provinces maritimes, nous ont suffisamment fait connaître le projet de la conférence pour qu'il soit maintenant permis de l'apprécier dans son ensemble sinon dans tous ses détails.

Lorsque le quatorze juin dernier, la chambre condamnait l'emploi que, sans autorité, le ministre des finances avait fait de la somme de $100,000 pour payer une dette du Grand-Tronc, personne ne prévoyait, et personne ne pouvait prévoir, que cette censure méritée serait l'occasion de l'alliance extraordinaire qui a eu lieu depuis entre les ministres et une partie de ceux qui les avaient condamnés, et encore moins que cette étrange coalition conduirait à un changement radical de nos institutions.

Il est inutile de rechercher quelles sont les raisons qui ont pu induire les ministres canadiens, en l'absence de toute discussion publique, de toute manifestation populaire et contre l'opinion souvent exprimée par plusieurs d'entre eux, à solliciter l'union avec les provinces inférieures à l'occasion d'une défaite sur une question purement financière et qui n'avait aucun rapport aux conditions politiques du pays. Ce qu'il importe maintenant d'examiner ce ne sont pas les motifs, ni le but des promoteurs de la conférence, mais bien leur projet en lui-même.

Ce que l'on propose c'est l'union du Haut et du Bas-Canada, des provinces du Nouveau-Brunswick, de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, de l'Île du Prince-Édouard et de l'Île de Terre-Neuve, avec faculté aux habitants du territoire du nord-ouest, de la Colombie et de l'Île Vancouver de s'y joindre s'ils le désirent.

L'autorité, sur ce vaste territoire plus grand que toute l'Europe et ne contenant cependant que 3,400,000 habitants, serait confiée à un Gouverneur ou Vice-Roi nommé par la Couronne avec un Conseil Exécutif, un Conseil Législatif et une Assemblée Législative. Le Conseil Législatif serait composé de soixante et seize membres nommés à vie par la Couronne, dont vingt-quatre pour le Haut-Canada, vingt-quatre pour le Bas-Canada et vingt-huit pour les Provinces Maritimes.

La Représentation, dans l'assemblée ou chambre basse sera repartie d'après la population de chaque province. Elle sera, pour commencer, composée de 194 membres élus pour cinq ans, dans la proportion suivante:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Membres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Haut-Canada</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Bas-Canada</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Nouvelle-Ecosse</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Nouveau-Brunswick</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terreneuve</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Île du Prince-Édouard</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Le Bas-Canada conservera toujours le nombre de soixante-cinq députés. Dans les autres provinces, le nombre sera augmenté ou diminué tous les dix ans, d'après le mouvement de la population, de manière que chaque province ait toujours la même proportion de représentants que le Bas-Canada en égard à sa population.

Le nombre total de représentants devra aussi être augmenté dans le cas ou le territoire du Nord-Ouest, la Colombie et l'Ile Vancouver feraient partie de la confédération.

Sous ce gouvernement ainsi organisé et qui exercera une autorité sur toutes les provinces unies, il y aura un gouvernement local pour chaque province, avec un lieutenant-gouverneur nommé pour cinq ans par le gouverneur-général.

Le lieutenant-gouverneur sera avisé par des chefs de département responsables au peuple. La composition des législatures locales sera déterminée par les parlements actuels de chaque province.

Le gouvernement général aura le droit de régler toutes mesures d'intérêt général, celles affectant le commerce, la navigation, les finances, le revenu, la dette publique, le cours des monnaies, les banques, les postes, l'émigration, les pêches maritimes, les patents, le recensement, les lois d'usure, de banqueroute, celles réglant les poids et mesures, et généralement toutes les lois commerciales, les lois criminelles, la constitution de la cour d'appel, la nomination et le paiement des juges, et toutes les autres questions qui ne seront pas spécialement réservées aux gouvernements locaux. La milice et tout ce qui regarde la défense du pays sera aussi sous le contrôle exclusif du gouvernement général.

Les lois civiles et municipales, les terres publiques, l'agriculture, les travaux publics d'un intérêt purement local, comme la construction des chemins et ponts, des prisons, hâvres, hôpitaux et asiles d'aliénés, etc., seront sous le contrôle des gouvernements locaux, qui auront le droit de prélever par taxes locales et directes les sommes nécessaires pour ces objets et pour subvenir à leurs autres dépenses.

Le gouvernement local aura aussi le contrôle de l'instruction publique, mais il ne pourra l'exercer que sous les restrictions qui seront imposées soit par la constitution ou par les lois que fera le gouvernement général. De plus, les actes des législatures locales seront soumis à l'approbation du gouvernement général qui pourra les désavouer dans le cours de l'année après qu'ils auront été passés.

Ottawa sera la capitale de la confédération.

Québec sera celle du Bas-Canada et Toronto celle du Haut-Canada.
Quant aux finances, les dettes de toutes les provinces seront consolidées et mises à la charge du gouvernement général. Mais pour égaliser les charges entre les provinces, l'on a fixé le montant des dettes qui, réunies, formeraient la dette fédérale, et l'on a établi d'après la population la proportion que chaque province aurait à en payer. L'on est ensuite convenu que l'Ile de Terre-Neuve et l'Ile du Prince-Édouard, dont les dettes ne s'élevaient pas à cette proportion, recevraient sur la différence un intérêt annuel de cinq pour cent, et que le Bas et le Haut-Canada, dont les dettes excédaient cette proportion, paieraient au trésor public le même intérêt sur cet excédant. Le montant de la dette fédérale ayant été fixé sur ce que devaient le Nouveau-Brunswick et la Nouvelle-Écosse, le Haut et le Bas-Canada demeurent chargés d'une partie de la dette actuelle du Canada. D'après ce règlement, l'Ile du Prince-Édouard et l'Ile de Terre-Neuve devront recevoir chaque année du gouvernement général une somme d'environ $225,000, ce qui représente à 5% un capital de $4,500,000 et le Haut et le Bas-Canada devront payer au trésor public environ $300,000 chaque par année pour intérêt sur l'excédant de leurs dettes. Ces chiffres ne sont qu'approximatifs, mais ils suffisent pour faire comprendre l'effet de l'arrangement qui a été conclu.

L'Ile de Terre-Neuve recevra encore pour des terres publiques qu'elle cédera au gouvernement général une somme d'environ $60,000 représentant à 5% un capital du $1,200,000.

Le gouvernement général paiera aussi aux gouvernements locaux pour les aider à subvenir à leurs dépenses une somme totale de $2,633,000. Cette somme, repartie d'après la population de chaque province à l'époque du dernier recensement, donnera 80 cts. par tête. Elle est fixée définitivement et ne variera pas avec l'augmentation de la population. La part du Haut-Canada sera donc de $1,112,872, celle du Bas-Canada de $889,252 par année. En déduisant de cette dernière somme les $300,000 que le Bas-Canada aura à payer annuellement au gouvernement général il restera $589,252 pour rencontrer les dépenses du gouvernement local. Le surplus qui sera considérable devra être payé au moyen de taxes locales ou directes.

Enfin il est entendu que le gouvernement général se chargerait de faire le chemin de fer intercolonial; d'organiser une milice effective et de pourvoir immédiatement à un système complet de défense.

Tels sont les principaux traits du projets de confédération arrêtés par les délégués.

Mais pour qu'il y ait confédération, il faut que les différents États liés entr'eux pour les mesures d'intérêt général, conservent leur indépendance propre pour tout ce qui concerne leur gouvernement intérieur. Or, quelle indépendance les différentes provinces réunies
sous la constitution proposée conserveront-elles, avec un gouvernement général exerçant une autorité souveraine, non seulement sur les mesures d'intérêt général, mais encore sur la plupart des questions de régie intérieure, et un contrôle direct sur tous les actes des législatures locales? Quelle indépendance conserveront-elles, si elles sont privées du droit de régler leur lois criminelles, leurs lois commerciales, et si elles ne peuvent modifier leurs lois civiles et municipales, les lois concernant l'instruction publique et autres questions semblables, qu'avec l'approbation du gouvernement, - si elles n'ont pas même le droit de déterminer la constitution de leurs tribunaux et de nommer les Juges qui doivent veiller à l'exécution de leurs lois?

Ce n'est donc pas une confédération qui nous est proposée, mais tout simplement une Union Législative déguisée sous le nom de confédération, parce que l'on a donné à chaque province un simulacre de gouvernement sans autre autorité que celle qu'il exercera sous le bon plaisir du gouvernement général.

Si c'est une union législative que l'on veut avec un gouvernement central fortement organisé, pourquoi cette complication de gouvernements locaux dont les pouvoirs seront à peu près nuls et qui ne serviront qu'à surcharger les contribuables de dépenses inutiles? - Si c'est une Union Fédérale que l'on desire, pourquoi alors ne pas lui en donner tous les caractères et tous les attributs? - Pourquoi ne pas conserver à chaque province cette indépendance, cette souveraineté sur tout ce qui regarde son gouvernement intérieur qui est une condition essentielle à tout gouvernement fédéral?

Chaque système offre ses avantages et ses inconvénients, mais le projet de la conférence réunit les inconvénients des deux, sans donner la simplicité et l'efficacité que l'on rencontre dans l'unité législative, ni les garanties pour les institutions de chaque province que le système fédéral pourrait seul assurer.- Ce projet de la conférence n'est propre qu'à faire renaître, surtout parmi les populations mixtes du Bas-Canada, les divisions et les animosités d'autre-fois, qui étaient heureusement disparues et à produire entre les gouvernements locaux et le gouvernement général des collisions fréquentes qui ne feront que créer du malaise et des embarras de toutes sortes.

L'Union des provinces entr'elles n'est pas désirables il est vrai, disent les partisans de la coalition, mais il faut parer aux difficultés que présente la question de la représentation et c'est pour cela que nous l'accepons. Je trouve dans cette excuse la condamnation même du projet que l'on propose. L'on admet qu'il est mauvais et qu'on ne l'adopte que comme expédient pour sortir d'une difficulté- Examinons un instant cette question de la représentation et voyons quel remède l'on propose.
Le Bas-Canada refusait d'accorder au Haut-Canada quelques députés de plus que son nombre actuel parce qu'il craignait que leur influence ne fût préjudiciable à ses institutions particulières. Il eut été facile en tout temps de satisfaire le Haut-Canada en lui donnant quatre ou cinq membres de plus qu'au Bas-Canada, tout en conservant l'égalité dans le Conseil Législatif. Pour éviter le danger que cette augmentation de membres pouvait faire attendre, l'on propose de donner au Haut-Canada dix-sept membres de plus qu'au Bas-Canada, et l'on ajoute encore quarante sept membres pour les provinces maritimes, en tout soixante et quatre membres ajoutés à l'élément britannique, outre les vingt-huit membres de plus que l'on donne au Conseil Législatif; et c'est ainsi que l'on prétend protéger les institutions du Bas-Canada.

D'un autre côté, le Haut-Canada ne demandait une augmentation de représentation que parce qu'il se plaignait de ce qu'il contribuait plus que le Bas-Canada au revenu de la province; il supportait une beaucoup plus forte proportion des dépenses publiques sans pouvoir les contrôler et c'est pour remédier à ce grief que l'on propose de l'unir à quatre autres provinces, dont les ressources et les revenus sont de beaucoup inférieurs à ceux du Bas-Canada et qui mettent pour condition de leur union, les unes, le paiement d'un subside annuel, les autres la construction du chemin de fer intercolonial, et toutes, le paiement d'une partie de leurs dépenses locales.

La dette publique du Canada est d'au moins $75,000,000 de dollars. Les débentures portant 5% d'intérêt sont cotées à 23 ou 24% au dessous du pair et c'est lorsque nos finances sont dans cet état que l'on propose d'ajouter aux $75,000,000 que nous devons déjà les $15,000,000 dus par le Nouveau-Brunswick et la Nouvelle-Ecosse, $16,000,000 pour la construction du chemin de fer intercolonial et environ $5,500,000 représentant le subside annuel qui sera payé à l'Ile du Prince-Edouard et à l'Ile de Terre-Neuve, en tout $36,500,000 avec la perspective d'y ajouter de suite quelques millions de plus pour mettre le pays en état de défense.

Prenant pour base la population des différentes provinces d'après les derniers recensements, le Haut-Canada aurait à payer plus de cinq-douzièmes, le Bas-Canada plus de quatre-douzièmes, et les autres provinces moins que les trois-douzièmes de toutes ces dépenses additionnelles. Cette disproportion s'accroîtra encore par suite de l'augmentation plus rapide de la population dans le Haut et le Bas-Canada que dans les autres provinces.

Dans la période écoulée entre le dernier recensement et celui qui l'a immédiatement précédé, la population des différentes provinces s'est accrue dans les proportions suivantes:
Dans l'Ile de Terre-Neuve..............................1,50
" La Nouvelle-Ecosse.............................1,82
" L'Ile du Prince-Edouard.......................2,07
" Le Bas-Canada.................................2,50
" Le Nouveau-Brunswick.........................2,60
" Le Haut-Canada...............................4,34

Ce tableau du progrès de la population ne peut donner qu'une faible idée de la proportion que le Haut et le Bas-Canada auront à supporter dans dix ou vingt ans d'ici, dans les nouvelles charges créées par l'Union des Provinces.

Quels sont donc les avantages de cette Union pour contrebalancer les sacrifices qu'elles imposera?

Est-ce le commerce des provinces maritimes qui offrira une compensation? Mais ce commerce est comparativement nul. Les productions de ces provinces sont à peu près les mêmes que celles du Canada. Il ne peut, par conséquent, y avoir que peu d'échanges et peu de commerce entre des pays ainsi placés.

La valeur totale des importations

pour l'année 1863 était de.............$45,964,493

Celles des produits importés des provinces maritimes de.........................510,713

Ou d'un et 1/10 pour cent des importations totales.

Les exportations totales pendant la même année étaient de....................41,831,532

Les produits exportés du Canada aux provinces maritimes de....................935,196

Ou deux et un quart pour cent.

Il serait facile de démontrer que depuis dix ans, il n'a pris aucun ----- quoique les moyens de communication sont maintenant beaucoup plus faciles et plus expéditifs qu'ils ne l'étaient ci-devant.

Sous le rapport de la défense du pays dont l'on parle tant, au sujet de cette confédération, je ne puis concevoir ce que nous gagnerions. Le Nouveau-Brunswick avec ses cinq cents milles de frontières le long des États-Unis et avec sa faible population, serait plutôt une cause de faiblesse qu'un moyen d'augmenter nos forces.
Je ne m'arrêterai pas à discuter les détails du projet de la conférence. Il n'est pas difficile de prévoir l'effet que pourra avoir sur le fonctionnement de la constitution un Conseil Léguislatif composé d'un nombre de membres nommés à vie par la Couronne. L'expérience le pouvoir qu'un semblable corps pourrait exercer pour entraver les voeux de l'opinion publique et paralyser toute législation progressive.

L'on oublie les luttes d'autrefois entre un Conseil nommé par la Couronne, et l'Assemblée Léguislative du Bas-Canada; l'on oublie les efforts qui ont été faits par le parti libéral du Haut et du Bas-Canada pour reconstituer ce Conseil sur des bases plus en harmonie avec le sentiment populaire, et c'est lorsque l'expérience a donné raison à ceux qui ont obtenu cette grande réforme qui a donné au peuple le droit de choisir lui-même la seconde Chambre de la Législature, que l'on veut retourner à un système qui a été jugé et condamné par l'immense majorité du Haut et du Bas-Canada!

Evidemment l'on se défie du peuple, l'on craint son influence. Non seulement on lui retire les concessions qu'on lui a faites, mais on refuse même de la consulter sur les changements que l'on propose, et dans la crainte qu'il n'ait l'occasion d'exprimer son opinion, on va même jusqu'à proposer de faire voter les constitutions locales du Haut et du Bas-Canada par la législature actuellement existante. C'est à dire que la Législature du Canada devra établir une constitution pour le Bas-Canada et une autre pour le Haut-Canada, donnant ainsi à la majorité des représentants du Haut-Canada le droit d'imposer dans la constitution locale des dispositions qui répugneront au sentiment populaire du Bas-Canada, et à la majorité du Bas-Canada le droit d'imposer au Haut-Canada des institutions auxquelles celui-ci ne voudrait pas se soumettre.

Pour ne point consulter le peuple, l'on tombe dans l'absurdité de faire voter les constitutions locales par ceux qu'elles ne devront pas affecter.

Chaque fois que j'en ai eu l'occasion, je me suis toujours prononcé contre toute union soit législative soit fédérale avec les provinces maritimes. Il m'a toujours paru que rien dans les circonstances actuelles des différentes provinces ne rendait cette union désirable, et que l'on pouvait au moyen d'un traité de commerce ou de réciprocité, assurer à chaque province tous les avantages que l'union pourrait produire.

Je ne vois rien dans le projet de la conférence pour me faire changer d'opinion à cet égard.

L'union que l'onproposeparait prématurée et si elle n'est
pas tout à fait incompatible avec l'état colonial, elle est du moins sans précédent dans l'histoire des colonies. Je n'y vois que complications et embarras dans le fonctionnement du gouvernement, qu'une augmentation de dettes pour la confédération, et un surcroît de charges pour les contribuables.

Cette union ne peut que retarder le progrès et la prospérité du pays et je la repousse parce que je la crois contraire aux intérêts du toute la province et surtout désastreuse pour le Bas-Canada.

De quelque manière que l'on apprécie les changements projetés, il est un point sur lequel il ne peut y avoir de différence d'opinion, c'est que lorsqu'il ne s'agit de rien moins que de refaire la constitution, de poser de nouvelles bases à l'édifice politique, le peuple dont l'intérêt et la prospérité sont affectés par ces changements doit être consulté; et comme les deux sections de la province ont également droit de se prononcer sur le caractère des institutions qui doivent à l'avenir les régir, ces changements ne peuvent être adoptés sans le concours de la majorité des représentants de chaque section.

C'est à vous de faire connaître vos vues sur l'importante question dont il s'agit; de faire respecter les droits que vous avez d'être consultés, en vous prononçant fortement et énergiquement contre toute tentative de passer une mesure de cette importance sans un appel au peuple.

J'ai l'honneur d'être,

Avec la plus haute considération

Messieurs,

Votre obéissant serviteur,

A. A. DORION.

Montréal, 7 Nov. 1864
Report from Mgr. Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau on the subject of the
Confederation Proposals, La Minerve, 10 avril, 1865.

"Dans le mois d'octobre 1864, des députés de quelques colonies
d'Amérique soumises à l'Angleterre se sont assemblés à Québec. Ils
convinrent de former une union fédérale entre ces colonies, chaque
Province devant avoir son gouvernement particulier pour ses affaires
particulières, tandis que les questions communes ou plus générales
seraient laissées au congrès fédéral, qui sera composé des députés de
echaque Province. Parmi les questions exclusivement réservées à l'au-
torité du congrès fédéral, sont mentionnés le mariage et le divorce,
sans aucune explication. Maintenant, dans le parlement canadien, on
propose la discussion de la dite union fédérale, et quelques députés
catholiques pensent pouvoir l'appuyer de leur vote, tandis que d'autre-
tres disent que l'article relatif au mariage et au divorce leur par-
rait mauvais en lui-même et contraire aux lois de l'Eglise.

"La difficulté vient surtout de ce que le projet d'union fédérale
n'est pas proposé article par article, mais qu'il faut l'admettre ou
le rejeter totalement, sans aucun amendement.

Ceux qui pensent pouvoir voter pour la confédération présentent
les raisons suivantes.

1. Qu'il ne s'agit pas de créer le pouvoir, de faire des lois
sur le mariage et le divorce, mais de déclarer où devra exister dans
l'avenir le pouvoir qui existe déjà dans le parlement de chaque pro-
vince soumise à la Couronne anglaise;

2. Parce qu'une telle déclaration restreint plutôt qu'elle
n'étend le pouvoir déjà existant, et qu'elle l'enlève aux parlements
de chaque province, en déclarant qu'il ne pourra être exercé que par
le congrès fédéral;

3. Quand il s'agira du divorce, il sera plus difficile, dans
plusieurs circonstances, de l'obtenir du congrès fédéral que des par-
lements particuliers.

On demande si dans ce cas un député catholique peut voter pour la
dite confédération.

Réponse: oui.
Ainsi ont répondu l'abbé de Angelis, professeur de droit Canon au Séminaire Pie, et le R. P. Ballerini, S. J., Professeur de Théologie au Collège Romain. Le principal motif de leur décision est le premier dessus cité, savoir qu'il s'agit simplement de transporter d'un pouvoir à un autre, un droit qui existe déjà indépendamment des députés catholiques.

L'Abbé de Angelis a dit aussi que le vote se donnant sur tout le projet de confédération, offrait moins de difficultés que si chaque article était proposé séparément.

E. A. TACHEREAU, Ptre.

Rome, 9 mars 1865.

La même réponse a été faite à une consultation du Rev. Evêque de Kingston, par Mgr. A. Gapalti, secrétaire de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande, ancien professeur de droit canon et très versé dans la science des sacrés canons.

E. A. T., Ptre...."
APPENDIX XXX

Hand-written Memorandum by George-Etienne Cartier on the subject of Confederation.

LONDON 2 JUNE, 1865.

MEMORANDUM

1st Confederation

With regard to the question of Confederation, it is properly viewed and appreciative by the Imperial Cabinet - It is the principal questions that are dominating all other questions, if properly dealt with, we may rely with certainty that before long, the Confederation will be the Constitutional law of the Canada & of the B. (?) With the Confederation the Defence question would be easily solved.

2nd Defence

Not the least doubt that the question of Defence as applying to Canada alone is difficult of solution - But it has to be considered and dealt with before the Confederation scheme is carried out - I think we are in a fair way of having it settled - The G. has determined to fortify Quebec leaving to us to fortify Montreal. We have replied to the Imp. C. that such a plan of Defence would not be a proper Defence of Canada and we have called upon the G - to furnish us with the opinion of the Proper Military Authorities respecting a complete system of Defence of Canada - We have that opinion which in the main adheres to the report of Col. Jarvis - The report besides the fortification of Quebec & Montreal recommends the fortification of Kingston, Toronto & Hamilton & the placing of Gun Boats & Flotilla on Lake Ontario - With the additional fortification & flotilla the Military Authorities state that Canada will have a complete system of Defence - It becomes then of the utmost importance and a necessity that the opinion of the Military Authorities & the report of Col. Jarvis be carried out - We have told the I.C. that we accepted & that we were ready to abide
by that opinion & that report we have intimated to the C that with the assistance of the I. G. we would undertake the building of the fortification at Montreal Kingston Toronto and Hamilton leaving to the I. G. the fortifications of Quebec, the placing of the flotilla on Lake Ontario, and the procuring of all necessary Armaments & munitions for the Defence of Canada - I understand that this I.G. is ready to do & perform all what is left to be done by it except the immediate placing of the Flotilla in Lake Ontario for some political & international reasons binding (?) the Imperial Policy; but the I.G. is ready to assure the C. G., (as I understand it) That the Flotilla will be procured and be forthcoming at the proper & required time, & the Gun Boats to be of such tonnage & dimensions as to their sizes & dimensions of our Canal will admit of their passage through them. Some of us do not understand that the I.C. is ready to give such an explicit assurance - I differ with them - If the I G give us the assurance with respect to the Flotilla as I understand it I am of opinion that at once we should say to the I.G. that we will undertake the fortifications at M - K - T and N. The cost of these fortifications will be in the neighborhood of £1.10. Sterling, which will be borrowed with the I. G. at a rate not exceeding 4 p c, which will make an annual charge on the C. G - including a moderate sinking fund of £7 on our army - Canada can bear such a charge and it will be a very small charge return I consider that it will secure to us the goodwill trend(?) & opinion of the B. Nation, the certainty of the continuation of the British connexions & the immediate view in the market of our securities & the bringing to an end of the state of uneasiness & uncertainty existing in the minds of everyone here in Canada - Such a charge too will not be of such a magnitude so as to be in the way of the carrying out of the Confederation scheme - I know that the I. G. resists on the proper organization & training of our Militia at our own expense - I think that the degree of organization & training ought to be left to those whose duty it will be to have them carried out. The I. G. on that caution ought to trust us as we trust to them with
regard to the forthcoming of the Flotilla at the proper time - The I. G. ought to be satisfied of our opinion that this will be yearly a very liberal operation of about £150 or £200 sterling for that service -

Considerable Securities for the Widening of our Canals

With regard to the demand of the I. G. for the widening of the Canals, it ought not to be made & insisted upon as a correction for us undertaking the building of the fortifications at M.K.T. & H - It ought to be made & insisted upon as further means to us to defend better the casualty never, larger (?) gun Boats will be enabled to be thrown out on Lake Ontario, & as some means for us to create demand for Labor & to increase our population to bring on a greater state of prosperity & to increase our ability to meet our liabilities -

Hudson B Company questions

I will apply to this question the same view & reasoning as above respecting the widening of our Canals -

Respecting Treaty

This grave matter must immediately attract the attention of the I. G. The abrogation of the Treaty will have the most severe consequence - if the Americans should prove to be determined in having
it abrogated I do not see any issue of the difficulty in which both Canadas will be placed than in the building within the shortest time possible of the Intercolonial Railway - Then to build that Railway the Confederation ought to be carried out as soon as possible - In fact for military as well as for commercial reasons the sooner to obtain the Confederation, the better for the B.C., & also for England -"
APPENDIX XXXI


No. 1- MEMORANDUM MADE 4TH AUGUST, 1865, OF CONVERSATION, HELD ON THE PRECEDING DAY BETWEEN MESSRS. MACDONALD AND BROWN.

Mr. Macdonald, yesterday, sought an interview with Mr. Brown and informed him that His Excellency the Governor General had sent for him, that morning, and had stated his desire that the Administration, as it was formed in 1864, should continue in office, with as few changes as possible, in order to carry out the policy announced by the Government on its formation—that, with that view His Excellency had expressed the opinion that the most obvious mode of supplying the place, vacated by the death of Sir Etienne Taché, would be for Mr. Macdonald to assume the position of First Minister—as being the Senior Member of the Ministry—and that Mr. Cartier would, on the same principle, become the Leader of the Lower Canadian Section of the Government—and that, for the purpose of carrying those views into effect, he had commissioned Mr. Macdonald to take the post of First Minister—at the same time requesting all the other Ministers to retain their offices. Mr. Macdonald further informed Mr. Brown that he had assented to this proposition of His Excellency, and had seen Mr. Cartier, who, at once, agreed to it. He then invited Mr. Brown to accede to the proposal of His Excellency.

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

Mr. Macdonald stated in answer that at the time the Coalition was effected in 1864, Sir Etienne Tache held the position of Premier with him, (Mr. Macdonald,) as leader of the Lower House, and of the Upper Canadian section of the Government. That on reference to the memorandum containing the basis of Coalition, it will be seen that
Mr. Brown at first preferred to support the Government in its policy as then settled without entering the Government, but that it was afterwards agreed in deference to the wishes of his supporters and at the pressing instance of Mr. Macdonald that he and two of his political friends should enter the Government. These terms were acceded to, the offices that happened to be then vacant placed at Mr. Brown's disposal, and the Coalition was completed. Mr. Macdonald further stated that Sir Etienne Tache was not selected at the time of the Coalition or as a part of the agreement for the Coalition, as First Minister, but he had been previously and was then the Head of the Conservative Government, and was accepted with all his Lower Canadian Colleagues without change. That on the lamented decease of Sir Etienne, His Excellency had, without any previous communication of his opinion to him or (as he understood) to any one else, come to the conclusion that the best mode of carrying on the Government was (as already stated) for Mr. Macdonald to take one step upward; that Mr. Cartier, as next in seniority should do so also, and that the other arrangements should remain as before. That he (Mr. Macdonald) thought with His Excellency that this was the best solution of the matter, and could not but accede to it; that, however, he had no personal feeling in the matter, and that if he had, he thought it his duty to set aside such feeling for the sake of carrying out the great scheme so happily commenced, to a successful issue. He therefore would readily stand aside and waive his pretensions, so that some other party than himself might be appointed to the Premiership; that he thought Mr. Cartier should be that party; that after the death of Colonel Tache, Mr. Cartier, beyond a doubt, was the most influential man in his section of the country, and would be selected by the Lower Canadian supporters of the Government as their leader; that neither Mr. Brown nor Mr. Macdonald could dictate to Lower Canada as to their selection of leader; that the Premier must be, according to usage, the leader or senior member either from Upper or Lower Canada: and that as he (Mr. Macdonald), had, in consequence of the position taken by Mr. Brown, waived his own pretentions, it followed that Mr. Cartier should be appointed as Prime Minister. Mr. Macdonald stated in conclusion that although he had no reason to suppose that His Excellency would object to the selection of Mr. Cartier, yet he must of course submit the proposition to him, and obtain His Excellency's assent to it.

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

The interview then terminated, and the following correspondence took place.
No. 2.—HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD TO HON. GEORGE BROWN.

Quebec, August 4, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,

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

May I request the favour of an early reply.

Believe me,
My dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Geo. Brown,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 3.—HON. GEORGE BROWN TO HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Quebec, August 4, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,

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

GEO. BROWN.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald,
&c., &c. &c.

No. 4.— HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD TO HON. GEORGE BROWN.

QUEBEC, Saturday, 5th August, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,

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

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

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

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

JOHN A. MACDONALD

The Hon. GEORGE BROWN.
&c., &c., &c.

No. 5.—HON. GEORGE BROWN TO HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Quebec, 5th August, 1865.
Saturday, 5, P.M.

MY DEAR SIR—

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

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

I think, however, it will be necessary that Sir Narcisse Belleau shall have stated to him and shall accept, in more distinct terms than you have indicated, the policy on which our Coalition now rests. It is quite right that the basis of June, 1864, should be stated as the basis still, but he should also clearly understand the modification of that agreement, rendered necessary by succeeding events, and which was ratified by Sir Etienne Tache in March, 1865. The agreement of June 1864, was as follows:—

"The Government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session, for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the Federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-west Territory to be incorporated into the same system of Government. And the Government will seek by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces and to England, to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation to such
a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general legislature based upon the Federal principle."

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

I remain,
My dear Sir,
Yours truly,

GEO. BROWN.

The Hon. John A. MACDONALD.

No. 6—HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD TO HON. GEORGE BROWN.

Quebec, August 7, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,

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

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

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

Believe me,
Faithfully Yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

APPENDIX XXXII

TESTAMENT DE SIR GEORGES-ETIENNE CARTIER

LE 10 NOVEMBRE 1866

L'an mil huit cent soixante six, le dixième jour du mois de novembre.

En présence de Théod Doucet & de John Helder Isaacson, les notaires Publics pour cette partie de la Province en Canada ci-devant appelée Bas Canada, résidant à Montréal, dans le Bas Canada, soussignés.

A Comparu L'Honorable George Etienne Cartier, de la Cité de Montréal Avocat, Procureur Général de Sa Majesté pour le Bas Canada, Membre du Conseil Exécutif de la Province du Canada &c &c &c.

Lequel étant en bonne santé de corps et sain d'esprit mémoire, jugement & entendement a requis nous les dits notaires de recevoir son testament qu'il a fait dicté & nommé de la manière suivante:

1. Je recommande mon âme à Dieu, je supplie sa Divine bonté de me faire miséricorde.

2. J'ordonne que mes justes dettes & frais funéraires soient payées aussitôt possible après mon décès.

3. Je désire être inhumé dans l'Eglise de la paroisse de Saint Antoine de la Rivière Chambly où sont enterrés depuis plusieurs générations mes parents tant du côté paternel que maternel, c'est à dire: du côté Cartier et du côté Paradis; Et quant aux obsèques je m'en rapporte à mes exécuteurs et fidéicommissaires ci après nommés. Si toutefois mes dits exécuteurs & fidéicommissaires et mes amis personnels et politiques de la paroisse de Notre Dame de Montréal étaient d'opinion pour quelque raison publique que je fusse inhumé dans le Cimetière de la paroisse de Notre Dame de Montréal, mes dits exécuteurs et fidéicommissaires seront libres de me faire inhumer dans ledit Cimetière, et dans tel cas ils me feront chanter un service funéraire dans l'Eglise Notre Dame de Montréal, lequel, s'il est possible sera célébré par le Supérieur du Séminaire Saint Sulpice de Montréal, et si ce dernier ne le peut, tel service devra être chanté par un des prêtres dudit Séminaire.

4. Je lègue à ma soeur, Emérande Cartier, épouse du Docteur Des-Rosiers, une rente annuelle et viagère de trente livres, argent courant
de cette Provinc, à lui être payée par trimestres par mes Executeurs & fidéicommissaires ci après nommés; sur ses simples reçus & sans autorisation de son Mari. Si son mari lui survit cette rente annuelle et via-gère lui sera payée jusqu'à son décès, déclarant lui faire ce legs par l'amitié que je lui porte: cette rente lui sera payable par trimestre.

5. Je lègue à ma dite soeur Emérande Cartier, épouse du dit Docteur DesRosiers et à ma soeur Léocadie Cartier, veuve de feu Docteur Lusignan et à la survivante d'elles l'usufruit durant leur vie des parts qui m'appartiennent dans les terres ou immeubles situés dans ladite paroisse de Saint Antoine de la Rivière Chambly dépendant de la succession de ma feue vénérée & pieuse mère, dame Marguerite Paradis. Ces parts consistent dans un cinquième dans les dites terres de mon chef et dans un cinquième appartenant à feu Damien Cartier, mon frère décédé, qui est mort me devant au delà de Mille livres, courant et auquel cinquième du dit Damien Cartier, mes frères et soeurs devront renoncer chacun pour sa part dans la succession du dit Damien Cartier en faveur de ma succession pour permettre l'effet des legs que je fais à mes dites deux soeurs. Si mes dits frères & soeurs ne veulent pas renoncer en faveur de ma succession à leur part respective dans le dit cinquième appartenant à la succession dudit feu Damien Cartier dans les dites terres ou immeubles, alors mes exécuteurs & fidéicommissaires réclameront d'eux ou de ceux qui n'auront pas renoncé, la part à laquelle ils ou elles pourraient être tenus dans la réclamation que j'ai contre la succession de mon dit frère Damien Cartier.

Si à l'époque de mon décès j'ai disposé par vente ou autrement des dites parts de terres, ce legs d'usufruit des dites parts de terre à mes dites soeurs deviendra caduc.

6. Je donne et lègue au curé en titre et desservant la dite paroisse de Saint Antoine de la Rivière Chambly, une rente annuelle de dix livres, courant, par année, payable par semestre, pour être employée par lui à l'éducation Élémentaire des enfants pauvres de la dite paroisse de Saint Antoine. Cette rente annuelle sera payée audit curé pendant vingt cinq années après mon décès, à la condition que le dit Curé fera dire par année trois messes basses pour le repos de mon âme et celui des âmes des membres de ma famille tant du côté de la famille Cartier que du côté de la famille Paradis inhumés dans l'Eglise de Saint Antoine ou ailleurs. Ces trois messes devront être annoncées au prône et dites le jour de la fête St George, de la fête Saint Etienne & de la fête Saint Jacques, le nom de Jacques ayant été le nom de mes ancêtres pendant plusieurs générations.

7. Je donne et lègue à Demoiselle Luce Cuvillier, de la Cité de Montréal, fille majeure & usant de ses droits, pour être employée comme elle l'entendra et à la condition qu'elle fera dire vingt cinq messes basses pour le repos de mon âme par les prêtres du Séminaire de Saint
Sulpice de Montréal, la somme de Cent cinquante livres courant, la priant en autant qu'elles le pourra, donner bon avis, à mes deux filles ci après nommées ou à mes exécuteurs et fidéicommisaires dans l'intérêt de mes filles, m'étant convaincu d'après ce que je connais d'elle et d'après la sagesse & prudence dont elle a fait preuve dans l'éducation de sa nièce, Mlle Symes, qui avait été commise à ses soins, que ses avis en ce qui concerne mes filles, pourront leurs être d'une grande utilité.

8. Quant au surplus de mes biens en quelques lieux qu'ils soient situés, et de quelque nature, valeur ou description qu'ils soient, je les donne & lègue à titre de fidéicommis au Révérend Messire Joseph A. Baile, supérieur du Séminaire de Saint Sulpice de Montréal, et à ses successeurs en office, Antoine Côme Cartier Ecuyer, notaire Public, de la paroisse de Saint Antoine, mon frère, François Pierre Pomíville, Ecuyer, avocat de Montréal, Maurice Cuvillier, Ecuyer, marchand de Montréal, que je nomme et institue fidéicommisaires et exécuteurs de mon présent testament, à la charge par eux d'administrer tous mes dits biens et sur le revenu clair et net de mes biens, si ce revenu suffit, payer à chacune de mes filles, Joséphine & Hortense Cartier une somme annuelle de cent cinquante livres courant payable par trimestre jusqu'à ce que l'aînée de mes dites filles ait atteint l'âge de vingt six ans, et ensuite à chacune d'elles une somme annuelle de deux cents livres courant aussi payable par trimestre jusqu'à ce que l'aînée de mes filles aura atteint l'âge de trente ans, auquel et après lequel âge mes dits fidéicommisaires & exécuteurs testamentaires devront payer à chacune de mes dites filles, leur vie durant le tiers du revenu net des biens tant meubles qu'immeubles dépendant de ma succession ou provenant des achats d'immeubles ou autres placements faits par eux pour l'avantage de ma succession.

Dans le cas où l'une de mes filles viendrait à décéder sans laisser d'enfants nés en légitime mariage, alors la part ou proportion que cette dernière aurait eu droit de recevoir en vertu du présent testament sera reversible en entier et accroîtra à sa soeur survivante.

Mais si mes dites filles ou l'une ou l'autre décèdent laissant des enfants nés en légitime mariage alors la part ou proportion que ma ou mes dites filles décédées auraient eu le droit de recevoir pendant leur vie, savoir: les dites sommes ou le tiers du revenu net de mes biens tant ceux que je délaisserai que ceux provenant d'achats d'héritages ou autres placements faits par mes fidéicommisaires pour l'avantage de ma succession continueront à être payés à leurs ou à ses enfants et petits enfants par égales parts entre eux & par substitution légale que je crée par le présent testament.

J'appelle à recueillir par tête la propriété de tous mes biens et accroissement d'iceux, mes arrière petits enfants.
9. Mes dits fidéicommissaires et Exécuteurs testamentaires en cas de résignation ou de décès de l'un d'eux auront le droit de choisir et nommer toute telle personne pour remplacer celui décédant ou résignant qu'ils jugeront convenable, à condition toutefois que telle personne ainsi choisie aura du respect pour ma mémoire et de l'amitié pour la famille Cartier et aussi à condition qu'ils choisiront par préférence un membre de la famille Cartier ou allié à la famille Cartier et encore à condition que telle personne ne sera ni parente ni alliée de la famille Fabre c'est à dire de la famille de mon épouse Hortense Fabre soit du côté paternel soit du côté maternel.

Cette nomination devra se faire par acte notarié et pour et durant le temps que la substitution créée par ces présentes durera.

Dans le cas ou mes dits fidéicommissaires et exécuteurs omettraient ou négligeraien de faire telle nomination, alors l'autorité Judiciaire devra faire telle nomination telle que présentée par la loi, mais toujours à condition que telle personne a choisir ne sera ni parente ni alliée de la famille Fabre, c'est à dire, de la famille de mon épouse Hortense Fabre, soit du côté paternel soit du côté maternel.

10. Après le paiement fait par mes fidéicommissaires & exécuteurs testamentaires de ce qu'ils doivent payer à mes filles & petits enfants tel que ci haut stipulé, le surplus devra être employé par eux en achat d'héritages, de parts de Banque & fonds publics ou autres placements qu'ils jugeront le plus avantageux.

11. Je veux et entend et c'est une condition expresse de mon présent testament que les biens meubles et immeubles par moi délaissés à mon décès, de même que ceux qui après ma mort seront acquis par mes fidéicommissaires, leur remplaçant ou successeurs ne soient ou ne puissent être en aucune manière quelconque saisis ni les biens immeubles aliénés, affectés ou hypothéqués pour quelque cause que ce soit et que les sommes de deniers ou proportion de revenu des dits biens payable à mes dites filles, petits enfants, aussi bien que la propriété d'iceux à être recueilli par mes arrières petits enfants ne puissent non plus être saisis, vendus aliénés ou hypothéqués pour quelque cause que ce soit. Je veux aussi que les legs faits à mes dites soeurs mon dit beau frère ne puissent non plus être saisis ou aliénés pour quelque cause que ce soit.

Je veux absolument que mes filles, petites filles et arrière petites filles reçoivent & retirent les sommes d'argent qui leur seront payables ou quoique ce soit à leur revenir, sur leurs simples reçus, sans qu'il soit aucunement besoin de l'intervention ou autorisation de leur mari.

12. Pour récompenser mes fidéicommissaires & exécuteurs testa-
mentaires du trouble que leur donnera l'administration de mes biens, ils auront le droit de retenir une commission de cinq pour cent sur le revenu de mes biens tant meubles qu'immeubles.

Cette commission sera repartie comme suit: quinze livres courant par année au dit Messire Joseph A. Baile et à ses successeurs que chacun d'eux pourra employer en œuvres pies à la condition qu'il dira ou fera dire trois messes basses par année pour le repos de mon âme, l'une à la St Geroge, l'autre à la St Etienne et l'autre à la St Jacques: la moitié du reste de la commission sera payable audit François Pierre Pominville et la balance sera divisée entre les deux autres fidéicommissaires.

Je compte que Messire Joseph A. Baile & ses successeurs me rendront à moi même et à ma famille, le service de se charger de l'exécution du présent testament et fidéicommiss en mémoire de ce que j'ai pu faire pour la pieuse et vénérée corporation de Saint Sulpice de Montréal.

J'ai pourvu par mon contrat de mariage devant Me Girouard & confrère notaires qui comporte séparation de biens entre mon épouse Hortense Fabre et moi, au soutien de ma dite épouse après ma mort, ce qui est la raison pour laquelle je ne lui fais aucun legs par ce testament. Aussi comme elle n'a rien reçu de son père ou de sa mère je compte qu'elle devra en justice partager également avec ses frères & soeurs dans les biens de son père et de sa mère, mais si elle ne partage pas également dans les biens de ses père et mère, les legs que je fais par le présent testament à mes filles seront diminuées dans la proportion que leur mère recevra de moins dans la succession de ses père & mère et dans tels cas je lègue la diminution des legs faits à mes filles à mon frère Antoine Côme Cartier et mes deux soeurs ci-haut nommés et à leurs enfants et petits enfants par têtes, de degré en degré avec substitution d'un degré à un autre.

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 soit du côté maternel, et si aucune d'elles le faisait ou toutes deux le faisaient elles perdront le legs que je leur fais 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 fais 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 & insaisissable pour quelque dette et pour quelque cause que ce soit.
Mes exécuteurs & fidéicommissaires laisseront en jouissance à mes deux filles, si elles n'encourrent pas la perte de leur legs comme il est ci haut mentionné l'Epargne en argent qui m'a été présenté par mes amis et mes constituants en reconnaissance de mes services publics, laissant à mes dites filles à décider l'espace de temps que chacune d'elles devra la posséder alternativement et je veux et ordonne que si un de mes petits fils respectant et chérissant ma mémoire politique et qui ajoutera à son nom de famille celui de Cartier devra avoir jouissance & possession de la dite Epargne; et pour cette dernière disposition je m'en rapporte à la discrétion et au choix de mes exécuteurs testamentaires & fidéicommissaires.

Si mes dites filles décèdent toutes deux sans enfants en minorité ou en majorité je leur substitue et à leurs descendants respectivement quant au legs que je leur fais, à elles 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 substitutions de degré en degré tant que substitution pourra avoir lieu, le tout devant être encore incessible, insaisissable et inaliénable pour quelque raison ou cause que ce soit.

Je révoque tous autres testaments que j'aurais pu faire avant le présent auquel seul je m'arrête comme contenant ma ferme constante et dernière volonté.

Le présent testament a été ainsi fait dicté & nommé par le testateur à nous dits notaires comme son testament et ordonnances de dernières volontés, & par moi Theod. Doucet, l'un de nous rédigé par écrit et lu et relu audit testateur qui a déclaré le bien comprendre et y persévéré, le tout en présence de l'autre notaire à Montréal, en l'étude du dit Theod. Doucet, les jour & an susdits, sous numéro Vingt six Mille neuf cent sept du Répertoire dudit T. Doucet, et le dit testateur a signé avec nous notaires, après lecture faite & refaite.

Geo. Et. CARTIER

John Helder Isaacson T. DOUCET (Notaire)

(1) Archives Judiciaires de Montréal.

R.A.P.Q. Tome 41, 1963 pp 175-180
APPENDIX XXXIII

Two letters from George-Etienne Cartier to the Grand-Vicar Charles-Félix Cazeau of Quebec.

Confidentiel

Mr. Cartier

Montréal 2nd November 1865

Mon cher Grand Vicaire

M. King le General Manager de la Banque de Montréal écrit par la malle de ce soir à l'Agent de la Banque de Montréal à Québec de vous payer sur votre chèque quatre cents piastres, dont l'usage entendu - vous n'aurez pas besoin de vous inquiéter du remboursement de votre chèque -

Dites à Langevin mon collègue de conférer avec vous sur les points essentiels pour le rapport catholique & financier qu'il est important de mettre sous les yeux de nos Confrères Catholiques du Nouveau Brunswick et d'Halifax - Si pour votre voyage vous avez besoin de plus d'argent faites le moi savoir - J'ai écrit à John A. de voir notre ami l'Evêque de l'accepter - Mon cher Grand Vicaire, soyez convaincu que plus les événements se déroulent, plus nous devons sentir les besoins de la Confédération pour ne pas être absorbés dans l'horrible, le vulgaire et l'anti-catholiques système démoniaque de nos voisins - J'écris à Langevin que vous lui communiquerez ces quelques lignes - Ainsi ayez la bonté de les lui remettre.

Croyez moi Votre Serviteur bien sensible & ami mon cher Grand Vicaire,

Geo Et Cartier.

Probablement que Galt ne sera à Montréal que samedi prochain

- - - - - - -
Montréal 30ème Novembre 1865

Mr Cartier

Mon cher Grand Vicaire,

Je ne puis m'exprimer en termes assez reconnaissants pour vous remercier ainsi que Monseigneur Horan du service inappréciable que tous deux vous avez rendu à Notre cher Canada dans votre voyage au Nouveau Brunswick et à la Nouvelle Ecosse. J'ai fait part à mes collègues, en stricte confidence comme de raison des deux intéressantes lettres dont vous avez bien voulu m'honorer. De leur part, et de la mienne veuillez bien accepter les plus vifs et les plus sincères remerciements - Permettez-moi de vous dire que vous avez mené les affaires de votre profession apostolique avec le tact, la délicatesse et le jugement qui s'attache d'ordinaire à tout ce que vous faites - Vous avez mis en bon chemin la question de Confédération qui devra tourner si grandement à l'avantage de nos compatriotes sous le double rapport de notre religion et de notre nationalité. Brown nous a fait un rapport favorable. J'ai reçu une lettre de Sir F. Williams qui aussi m'a donné de bonnes nouvelles; tous les bons et vieux amis du Pays peuvent espérer avec certitude que la "Confédération" va triompher prochainement. Quant un "Ministre" puissant comme moi voyage pour le Pays, il est obligé de faire des largesses aux voituriers, domestiques et autres; et quand un "Ministre" Apostolique comme vous voyage aussi pour le bien de son Pays les largesses qu'il a à faire sont ses aumônes, charités et autres œuvres pieuses -

Ainsi Mon cher Grand Vicaire gardez et distribuez Propter magnam gloriam Dei ce qui peut vous rester de fonds entre vos mains. J'espère que Monseigneur Horan a du fournir ses frais de voyage de Kingston à Québec et aussi de son retour jusqu'à Kingston. S'il y avait besoin de fonds additionnels je vous ferai toucher ce qui sera nécessaire - J'ai bien recommandé à John A. de remercier en personne Monseigneur Horan.

Veuillez bien me croire, mon cher Grand Vicaire,

Votre très humble serviteur & dévoué ami

GEO ET CARTIER

(A.A.Q. G., XI, Nos. 138 et 139.)
Les Marguilliers de la paroisse de Notre Dame de Montréal n’ont vu qu’avec peine l’écrit en réponse à leur mémoire, fourni au nom de Sa Grandeur Mgr. l’Evêque de Montréal, écrit qu’on aurait raison de croire fait sans sa connaissance, tant il est loin du langage de Sa Grandeur et en dehors des règles de la courtoisie et des convenances à observer dans la discussion de matières aussi importantes. Le ton acrimonieux qui y règne et les personnalités qui y sont répandues, ne sauraient tenir lieu de raisons, et les marguilliers, par déférence et respect pour le tribunal auguste auquel ils ont appelé se garderont de descendre sur le terrain où l’on veut les attirer pour détourner l’attention du vrai sujet de la difficulté.

Les Marguilliers doivent cependant protester contre ce qu’on peut appeler le moins sévèrement, les fausses appréciations et l’interpré­tation malveillante des énoncés de leur mémoire, ainsi qu’on verra ci-après.

Les Marguilliers doivent encore déclarer qu’il ne s’agit pas ici de la personne de M. Beaudry, ni de l’honorable M. Cartier, et encore moins du Séminaire de St. Sulpice. Leur mémoire représente les difficul­tés que les marguilliers et les paroissiens ont vues dans la procé­dure de l’Evêque et qu’ils soumettent au jugement du S. Siège, en autant que les paroissiens généralement en supporteront le poids et qu’ils y sont personnellement intéressés. C’est donc aux marguilliers et aux paroissiens que l’écrit aurait dû répondre; mais l’auteur de cet écrit a oublié, ou bien ignoré la règle reçue partout que le proc­cureur n’est jamais en cause, à moins qu’il ne manque à son devoir qu’il n’excède ses attributions. Quant à l’honorable M. Cartier, il semble que la reconnaissance pour des services rendus à l’Eglise et à l’Evêque lui-même, auraient dû faire supprimer des observations qui sont, pour dire le moins, déplacées. Mgr. l’Evêque de Montréal n’igno­re pas que, comme avocat, M. Cartier doit donner conseil à qui le lui
demande; Mgr. l'Evêque sait bien que M. Cartier a été consulté par les marguilliers de la fabrique de Montréal, et il a en mains copie de toutes les délibérations de la Fabrique à ce sujet, ainsi que les questions proposées à M. Cartier et ses réponses; Mgr. doit savoir que la Fabrique, par l'organe du marguillier en charge, a prié M. Cartier de s'occuper de la présente affaire en la Cour de Rome; Mgr. de Montréal connaît toutes les lois que M. Cartier a fait passer, soit pour permettre à l'Evêque lui-même de tenir registres, soit pour régulariser les paroisses et les registres qui n'étaient pas conformes à la loi; Mgr. l'Evêque ne saurait nier les efforts de M. Cartier pour arrêter des projets de lois pour abolir la dixme, et que c'est à son influence qu'est dûe l'adoption d'un statut, qui, étendant aux townships l'opération des lois françaises, a permis d'y établir des paroisses canoniquement et civilement comme dans le reste du pays et comme conséquence, de prélever la dixme en faveur du clergé catholique; et depuis plus de dix ans qu'il est en position d'aviser le Gouvernement du Canada, on ne saurait citer un seul cas où il a été en défaut. Il est inutile d'ennumérer les actes nombreux passés par son influence depuis plus de quinze ans, pour encourager des communautés religieuses, des collèges, maisons d'éducation et institutions de charité, ou pour protéger les droits des corporations religieuses dans la commutation des droits seigneuriaux, toutes mesures dont l'Evêque de Montréal a parfaitement connaissance. Que doit-on penser alors des insinuations faites à l'égard de M. Cartier dans l'écrit de réponse donné comme représentant la pensée de l'Evêque?

Dans la seconde partie de l'écrit de réponse, on a la prétention d'exposer les rapports entre l'Eglise et l'Etat, et l'on se contente de protester contre toute idée d'Union entre les deux autorités dans le Bas-Canada. Par Union, le mémoire n'a pas entendu parler d'une fusion, mais bien d'un accord qui existe certainement, et d'une protection nettement formulée de l'Eglise Catholique par l'autorité séculière. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre, d'ouvrir le code civil et, les statuts pour le Bas-Canada. S'il n'y avait pas cette union ou accord entre les deux pouvoirs, pourquoi aurait-on conservé au clergé la tenue des registres civils? Pourquoi toutes les dispositions qu'on y trouve, relativement à l'observation des Fêtes de l'Eglise, à la profession religieuse, au mariage, à l'administration des biens des églises et presbytères, et surtout à la dixme? Ce n'était certainement pas dans l'intérêt des congrégations protestantes. Pourquoi, dans l'acte de confédération des Provinces, toutes les dispositions dont le but est de conserver l'autonomie du Bas-Canada, et n'est-il pas venu à l'esprit de l'Evêque que les observations de Lord Carnarvon sont dues aux suggestions de l'honorable M. Cartier, qui, seul parmi les délégués des provinces, et comme représentant le Bas-Canada catholique, avait des motifs de faire valoir les engagements pris par l'Angleterre relativement à l'exercice de la Religion Catholique Romaine et au maintien des lois civile françaises.
dans le Bas-Canada. La législation, de même que la constitution du Bas-Canada, est donc basée sur le Catholicisme, nonobstant la dénégation contenue dans l'écrit de réponse, et on n'y trouve aucune disposition spéciale en faveur des autres congrégations religieuses; loin de là, la législation relative aux registres civils exige d'elles des formalités dont les catholiques sont exempts, telles que la prestation du serment d'allégeance, et, dans quelques cas, l'obligation de fournir caution pour la bonne tenue des registres. Les paroles empruntées par l'écrit de réponse à l'auteur des "Questions du ressort du droit civil" sont donc, pour le moins, inexactes et injustes, car, tout en ne restreignant pas la liberté des autres croyances religieuses, la législation du pays ne s'est basée ni sur leurs besoins ni sur leur organisation.

L'auteur de l'écrit de réponse ne voyant chez ses adversaires que des intentions mauvaises et des idées de partisans, remarque que par les paroles nous-mêmes employées dans le mémoire en rapport avec les efforts faits pour obtenir l'union et l'accord des deux autorités, on a voulu signifier le parti politique dont l'Hon. M. Cartier est le chef. C'est encore une perversion des énoncés du mémoire, faite avec malveillance qui doit surprendre. Rien ne justifie cette interprétation, et si Mgr. de Montréal veut bien relire le mémoire, il se convaincra que ces paroles mises en corrélation avec nos ancêtres, qui les précèdent, ne peuvent s'appliquer qu'à toute la population catholique du Bas-Canada, et à la génération présente. Mais l'interprétation adoptée dans l'écrit de réponse donnait occasion de lancer une accusation contre MM. Cartier, Chauveau et autres, et de les représenter au Saint-Siège comme des ennemis de l'Eglise, en citant quelques mots du préambule d'un acte et en ayant soin de taire le véritable sens et la portée de cet acte. Eh bien! ce que l'écrit de réponse a supprimé, il est à propos qu'on le sache pour juger l'accusation.

La Couronne d'Angleterre avait réservé un septième de toutes les terres non concédées du Canada pour le soutien du Clergé Protestant. Le Gouvernement ne donnait part dans ces biens qu'à quelques congrégations religieuses. Toutes les autres congrégations protestantes dans le Haut-Canada voulaient y participer; de là des difficultés sans nombre que le Gouvernement ne parvenait pas à apprécier. Pour en terminer, en 1854, fut passée une loi dont le préambule est comme suit "Pour faire disparaître toute apparence d'union entre l'Eglise et l'Etat et régler entièrement et définitivement toutes matières, réclamations et intérêts provenant des réserves du clergé par une distribution aussi prompte que possible des revenus des dites "réserves"; on donne ensuite au Gouverneur le pouvoir de commuer les appointements qui avaient été donnés sur ces réserves, et le fonds de ces réserves pour le soutien du clergé protestant est converti en un fonds appartenant aux municipalités et approprié à des objets
temporels et séculiers, en sorte que par cette loi la Religion protestante a cessé d'être unie au pouvoir civil, et que le clergé protestant n'est plus supporté par l'Etat, pendant que les Catholiques continuent à recevoir la protection du pouvoir civil dont ils jouissaient auparavant; et Mgr. l'Evêque de Montréal vient condamner ceux qui ont voté cette loi! (Voir Statuts Réfondus du Canada, ch.25.)

La troisième partie de l'écrit de réponse contient des "Conclusions"; voici comment nous y répondons: I. Nous laissons au Saint Siège à apprécier les raisons invoquées dans le mémoire et dans le présent, ainsi que la manière dont on a prétendu refuter les énoncés de ce mémoire.

En réponse aux deuxième, troisième, quatrième et sixième conclusions de l'écrit de réponse, nous disons que les opérations de l'Evêque, constituent une innovation qui n'est nullement justifiées, qui prive les paroissiens d'avantages dont ils jouissaient, et qui provoque un conflit regrettable entre les deux autorités, devraient être infirmées.

A l'égard des cinquième et septième conclusions, les marguilliers, tant en leur nom qu'en nom des paroissiens, protestent de la manière la plus formelle contre les accusations gratuites contenues dans ces deux conclusions, et ils affirment, sans crainte d'être contredits par qui que ce soit, qu'ils n'ont été aucunement poussés ou entraînés dans leurs représentations ou leur appel par le Séminaire de St. Sulpice qu'on mêle sans aucune raison quelconque dans le présent appel. Mgr. l'Evêque de Montréal lui-même sait parfaitement bien que du moment que sa première lettre pastorale a été lue, les paroissiens, qui ignoraient absolument les démarches faites auprès du Saint Siège par leur Evêque, ont été douloureusement affectés par l'annonce de ce démembrement, prévoyant instinctivement les résultats pénibles que ce serait la conséquence, sentiment auquel la prudence devait engager l'Evêque à avoir égard, mais auquel il a imposé silence par sa seconde lettre pastorale, en mettant fin à une discussion publique qu'il avait d'abord provoquée. Ce sentiment était général sans que les Messieurs du Séminaire eussent prononcé un seul mot pour engager les paroissiens à faire de l'opposition à l'Evêque, et les représentations contre l'érection de la paroisse canonique de St. Jacques par quelques paroissiens ont été préparées et présentées sans aucune communication ou entente quelconque avec les Messieurs se sont mornés à soumettre leurs observations écrites et cela dans des termes qui les attaquent. Les marguilliers ajoutent de plus que c'est aux sollicitations des Messieurs de Séminaire qu'est due la circonstance qu'on n'a pas provoqué, de la part des paroissiens parlant la langue française, une expression d'opinion qui eût été peut-être plus énergique que celle des paroissiens Irlandais.
S'il était permis aux marguilliers et aux paroissiens, à l'exemple de la septième conclusion, de formuler un désir, ce serait de voir cesser ces accusations malveillantes et de toutes espèces, et dénuées de fondement, qui, presque chaque jour, prennent naissance à l'Évêché, pour se répandre ensuite dans toute la paroisse et même dans le diocèse, pour exciter des sentiments de dérision, de mépris et de haine, contre le Séminaire et contre tous ceux qui, de bonne foi et dans leur conscience, ne peuvent approuver les procédés de l'Évêque.

J. U. Beaudry,
pour les Marguilliers.

Montréal, 19 Juillet 1867.

Les marguilliers ne peuvent terminer sans faire quelques observations sur les appendices qui accompagnent l'écrit de réponse.

Il y a d'abord une "Dissertation" (anonyme) "sur le droit de tenir les registres civils dans les paroisses canoniques de Montréal", dont il a été question plus haut. Le principal objet de cet écrit, qui est un appel aux préjugés, semble être de jeter de l'odieux sur les paroissiens qui, voyant de grands inconvénients et de grands dangers dans les procédures de l'Évêque, ont cru devoir les soumettre au tribunal du Père commun des Fidèles. On met en suspicion leur bonne foi, à raison même de cet appel, et l'esprit qui anime l'auteur est en harmonie avec les imputations qu'on ne sêgène aucunement de lancer contre les adversaires qu'on appelle l'Opposition, en les traitant de rebelles, gallicans, jansénistes et schismatiques. Quant au fonds de l'écrit même, l'auteur, au lieu de s'attacher à comprendre la loi qui nous régit, invoque des législations étrangères, fait allusion en les travestissant, à des faits passés, connus aujourd'hui de bien peu de personnes et qu'on eût mieux fait de laisser dans l'oubli, à tel point que les marguilliers ne se sentent ni la volonté, ni le courage de suivre l'auteur de cet écrit qui n'est certainement pas digne d'un homme sérieux. Plusieurs des erreurs qui y sont contenues sont refusées soit dans le mémoire de la Fabrique ou dans les observations qui précèdent. Nous devons en signaler encore une ou deux pour montrer le degré de confiance qu'on peut accorder à cet écrit. On y lit qu'il y a à Montréal plusieurs espèces de succursales: celles qui sont sous le contrôle de la Fabrique et du Séminaire; celles qui sont sous le contrôle du Séminaire seul, et celles qui sont sous le contrôle ni de l'un ni de l'autre, telle que la Cathédrale de Montréal. Il y a erreur dans cet énoncé, car il n'y a à Montréal qu'une seule espèce de succursales, celles qui sont dépendantes de la paroisse de Notre Dame et sous le contrôle de la Fabrique; telles étaient les églises de St. Patrice, de Notre Dame de Toute Grâce et même celle de St. Louis à
laquelle la Fabrique fournissait des registres. Quant à la Cathédrale, le droit d'y tenir des registres civils lui a été donné par une loi exceptionnelle; mais parce que cette loi ajoute que les registres y seront tenus comme dans les autres succursales de Notre Dame de Montréal, il ne s'ensuit nullement qu'elle soit une succursale de Notre Dame.

L'auteur de la "Dissertation", sans doute pour affaiblir le moyen résultant du défaut de requête de la majorité des paroissiens, dans les procédures de l'Evêque, émet comme une proposition absolue que l'autorité de l'Evêque ne peut être soumise au suffrage de la majorité populaire. Cependant on ne peut pas dire, non plus, qu'en matière d'érection de paroisse, l'Evêque peut exercer son pouvoir d'une manière arbitraire. Plus que tout autre, il doit procéder avec raison, prudence et circonspection; aussi doit-il consulter tous les intéressés, et dans certains cas il ne saurait se refuser au désir de la majorité. Qu'il nous soit permis sur ce point de citer un passage d'un canon du Concile de Toulouse, qui peut recevoir application dans cette affaire. Cette citation se trouve à la page 24 du "Traité des Erections de Bénéfices" par Laubry, exposant les règles sur cette matière au temps où le Canada a changé de domination: "Ut episcopi parochias presbyterorum propter inhonestum et periculosum lucrum non dividant. Sed si necessitas populi exigerit ut plures fiant ecclesiae.....statuatur altare; et si ita populo complacet...parochia maneat indivisa. Sin autem praedictae causae postulaverint, et populus non conductus neque cupiditate vel invidia excitatus, sed rationabiliter acclamaverit ut ecclesia illis fieri et presbyter debeat ordinari, hoc episcopi episcopaliter teste Deo in conscientiae puritate..mature concilio canonico tractent."

C'est sans doute sur cette sage doctrine qu'a été basée la loi qui nous gouverne, et qui exige la requête de la majorité des paroissiens pour procéder à l'érection des paroisses, à raison de la dotation dont ils sont chargés, ainsi que des frais pour la construction des édifices nécessaires pour le culte et la desserte.

Au soutien de l'écrit de réponse, il a été produit un travail intitulé: "Questions du ressort du droit civil à l'occasion des Décrets canoniques de l'Evêque de Montréal démembrant Notre Dame." Comme l'auteur de cet écrit a prétendu réfuter les opinions de l'Hon. M. Cartier, nous demandons permission de renvoyer à la réponse de ce dernier produite avec les présentes.

J.U.B."

(A.S.T.R.)
APPENDIX XXXV

La Patrie, 18 février, 1887

SIR JOHN ET LES CANADIENS

DECLARATION SOLENNELLE

Province de Québec
District de Joliette

"Je, Louis Archambault, notaire public l'un des membres du Conseil Légalatif de la Province de Québec, résidant en la paroisse et le village de L'Assomption, déclare solennellement ce qui suit:

"Les déclarations que je rapporte ci-après et qui m'ont été faites par feu Sir G. E. Cartier ne m'ont pas été faites confidentiellement mais intimement et, d'ailleurs, elles ont été faites par lui à d'autres qu'à moi.

"Je déclare donc que, durant la session tenue à Ottawa, en 1872, Sir G. E. Cartier m'ayant prié de m'asseoir, à côté de lui, à son siège en chambre, me dit et m'a répété en différents temps durant cette session, qu'il avait eu beaucoup à se plaindre de la conduite de Sir John A. Macdonald à son égard et à l'égard du Bas-Canada, lorsqu'il s'est agi de faire passer en Angleterre l'Acte Impérial établissant alors la confédération des Provinces d'Ontario, Québec, Nouveau-Brunswick et Nouvelle-Ecosse. Il me demanda si je me rappelais les causes et motifs qui avaient donné lieu à la demande de cette confédération.

"Vous savez, me dit-il, que les chefs politiques de chacune de ces provinces, réunis à Québec, en 1865, en étant venus à entente, arrêtèrent des résolutions qui devaient servir de base à l'Acte Impérial, qui serait demandé et passé à cette fin. Ces résolutions furent soumises à chacune des législatures de chaque province, avec l'entente qu'elles devraient être adoptées in toto, sans amendement aucun, car elles devaient servir de base à l'Acte Impérial.

"Rendu en Angleterre, Sir John ne voulait plus de la confédération des quatre provinces avec des législatures locales pour chacune d'elles, telles que les résolutions le comportaient, mais tout simplement l'Union Législative de ces quatre provinces, Sir John a persisté près d'un mois dans cette prétention. CARTIER ET LANGEVIN SE TROUVAIENT SEULS POUR LA PROVINCE DE QUEBEC A REPOUSSER UNE TELLE PRETENTION, CAR GALT, M'A DIT CARTIER, S'ETAIT RANGE DE L'OPINION DE JOHN A. MACDONALD. Cartier me dit qu'il avait été indigné de la conduite de ce dernier, lui qui était monté au pouvoir en 1854 et ne s'y était maintenu depuis, que grâce à la majorité du Bas-Canada, car la majorité de la députation du Haut-Canada lui était hostile. C'était de sa part manquer de cœur et de loyauté vis-à-vis le Bas Canada, le perdre (lui Cartier) politiquement parlant, et mettre la province de Québec à la merci et sous le contrôle des autres provinces, avec lesquelles elle diffère, tant sous le rapport des lois, du langage et des habitudes que sous le rapport des institutions civiles et religieuses.

"ENFIN, SIR JOHN VOULAIT, EN JOUANT CE TOUR DE JARNAC, ANNihilER DE LA PROVINCE DE QUEBEC ET EN FAIRE UNE PROVINCE ANGLAISE, AU LIEU DE FRANÇAISE QU'ELLE EST. ALORS NOS LOIS, NOS INSTITUTIONS CIVILES ET RELIGIEUSES AURAIENT DISPARU PETIT A PETIT, POUR FAIRE PLACE A DES INSTITUTIONS CRÉES SUIVANT LE MODE ET LA VOLONTE DE MESSIEURS LES ANGLAIS QUI N'AIMENT PAS, COMME ON LE SAIT, LES CANADIENS-FRANÇAIS ET CATHOLIQUES, GROS COMME LEUR CŒUR."

Voilà le sort que nous réservait notre bon Sir John, s'il eût pu réussir dans son dessein machiavélique. Mais il avait affaire à un homme, dans Cartier, qui avait une volonté de fer, un patriotisme à toute épreuve, qui opposa à son plan une volonté invincible. Cartier me dit, voyant la mauvaise foi de Sir John, qu'il écrivit de suite à Sir N. F. Belleau, qui, heureusement, était alors premier ministre, pour l'informer des misères et des embarras suscités par Sir John, en lui disant que s'il recevait un télégramme de lui contenant tel mot, de résigner de suite, afin de tout briser. Enfin, après un mois d'efforts pour amener Sir George à son opinion, Sir John pose de nouveau la question: "Aurons nous l'Union Législative?"

Cartier, appelé à donner son opinion, répondit par un "non" assez sec pour que Sir John comprit qu'il ne pourrait pousser la chose plus loin.

Alors l'Acte Impérial fut passé.

"Cartier m'a dit que dès lors il avait perdu toute confiance en Sir John, qu'il ne lui avait pas pardonné son acte de trahison et qu'il ne le lui pardonnerait jamais. Si bien qu'il avait prévenu Mackenzie alors chef de l'opposition, de ne point imiter George Brown, qui, dans
son journal, le Globe, avait sans cesse, insulté, vilipendé et injurié les institutions civiles et religieuses du Bas-Canada et qui, par là, s'était rendu impossible; donnant à entendre à Mackenzie qu'il y aurait peut-être moyen de s'entendre avec lui. Voilà exactement ce que m'a dit Cartier relativement à la conduite de Sir John; et cette déclaration je pourrais au besoin l'affirmer sous serment.

Je dois ajouter ceci: la veille ou l'avant veille du départ de Cartier pour l'Angleterre, où il allait se faire soigner, je fus le voir à sa résidence à Montréal. Là il me dit, entre autres chose, qu'il partait malade pour l'Angleterre et qu'il pensait ne plus revoir le Canada, parce que les médecins d'ici lui disait que sa maladie était incurable.

"Il me pria de me rappeler ce qu'il m'avait dit durant la dernière session, à l'égard de Sir John A. Macdonald et ajouta: "Méfiez-vous de lui, il n'aime pas les Canadiens français, il les déteste! "C'est un avis que je vous donne; à vous d'en profiter"

"Ainsi m'a parlé Cartier. Et je fais cette déclaration solennelle, la croyant sincèrement vraie et en vertu de l'acte passé dans la 37e année du règne de Sa Majesté, intitulé: Acte pour la suppression des serments volontaires et extra judiciaire.

"Et j'ai signé.

"Déclarée solennellement devant moi à l'Assomption, ce 23 décembre 1886." C. Chaput, J. P.

L. Archambault.
APPENDIX XXXVI

31 Victoria. Sessional Papers (No. 64). A. 1868

Mr Cartier to the Governor General.

Ottawa, 2nd July, 1867.

My Lord,—I beg that you will be kind enough to allow me to express to Your Excellency my most sincere feelings of gratitude for the honor so graciously conferred on me by Her Majesty, in the selection of myself as one of the Companions of the Bath, in connection with the Federal Union of the British North American Provinces, now forming the Dominion of Canada, and the expression of my grateful thanks. I cannot however, but observe to Your Excellency, that since January, 1855, I have had the honor and responsibility, except for a very short time, of being one of Her Majesty's Advisers in the former Province of Canada and that it has been my happy lot always to enjoy the confidence of the French Canadians and of the British inhabitants of Lower Canada, now the Province of Quebec, as their acknowledged political leader. It is for me a great subject matter of pride and also of satisfaction, that I am the representative man of one million of French Canadians, who, as well as the British population of the Province of Quebec, honor me with their confidence. During the period that I have just now mentioned, I have had the honor and responsibility of having been the Leader and Premier of the Government, during, perhaps, a longer continuous interval, than any other one who has had the same honor and responsibility. The Government of August, 1858, of which I had the honor of being the Premier, and which lasted nearly four years, adopted, amongst other things as their principal policy, the measure of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. In the fall of 1858, the Hon. Mr. Galt, and the Hon. Mr. Ross, my then colleagues and myself, have had the honor of going to England as delegates to press, amongst other matters before the Imperial Government, the favorable consideration of the question of Confederation. I have never ceased to advocate and to urge the necessity of the Federal Union of the British Provinces, with the view of making them stronger, and at the same time with the view of binding them more closely to the monarchical rule of England. I have had more than any public man to contend in allaying the sensibilities of a large class of Her Majesty's subjects in Lower Canada. In reference to the question of Confederation, in fact, I jeopardized on that question my political position, and in Canada as well as in England, I did not spare labour and trouble to bring the scheme of Confederation to successful issue. As political leader and co-worker, my position is
inferior to that of no other. I feel delighted, and every one is de-
lighted in the high tribute of honor awarded by Her Majesty to my worthy
colleague, the Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald. The inhabitants of the Pro-
vince of Quebec will hear with joy that the principal political leader
of Ontario has received such a high mark of Royal favor, but they will
fail, I am afraid, to understand why a similar honor was not extended
to some one enjoying their confidence as their political leader in their
Province. I have further to mention to Your Excellency that the French
Lower Canadian population is over one-fourth of the population of the
whole Dominion, and it happens to be that mine is the only French Cana-
dian name amongst the seven honored by Her Majesty. It is not for me
to add here that my worthy and meritorious colleague the Hon. Mr. Lan-
gevin, a French Canadian like myself, was one of the co-delegates from
Lower Canada, and distinguished himself by his assiduity and labor in
the Conference. I have also to observe to Your Excellency, that while
applauding to the honor conferred on my two esteemed colleagues, the
Hon. Mr. Howland and the Hon. Mr. Macdougall, I fail to understand and
appreciate why, in the list of the Companions of the Bath, their names
should have precedence of mine. I have thought a great deal about the
delicate conclusion to which I am brought; but I find that the keeping
of the honor which has been confered on me will not be favorably ap-
preciated by those whose confidence I enjoy, and might diminish my
worth and usefulness as a public man, and as political leader of the
Province of Quebec. It seems to me that I have no other alternative
than to beg that Your Excellency should have the kindness to convey to
His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Her Majesty's Principal
Secretary of State for the Colonies, my most sincere feeling of gra-
titude for the honor Her Majesty has bestowed upon me, in having so
graciously been pleased to confer on me the title of Companion of the
Bath, but, at the same time, to convey to His Grace my most and deep
and sincere regret, that I am under the necessity of praying that Her
Majesty will be pleased to allow me to decline the honor conferred on
me. I take this opportunity of thanking Your Excellency for the inter-
view you have granted me this morning, and my verbal explanations will
I hope, supply anything wanted in this letter.

I have, &c.,
GEO ET. CARTIER

His Excellency Viscount Monck, &c., &c., &c.
"My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I must say at the outset, that it requires from me a certain amount of boldness to address you after the eloquent speeches which have been made, and particularly in the presence of the Premier of England, who stands in this country not merely as the premier in the political world, but who also stands as one of the foremost in eloquence, and as a scholar. As a matter of course, if you expect anything eloquent from me, I must tell you at once that you will be disappointed. At all events, I will do my utmost, and I am sure you will excuse my shortcomings. My name is connected with this toast as relating to the colonial Parliaments. I regret very much that the selection fell on me to answer for the representative bodies, as applied and carried out in the colonies which have the happiness to be connected with the British empire with the mother-country. (Hear, hear.) With regard to us, when we formed our Confederation, namely, the Dominion of Canada, we were allowed by the liberality of the English Parliament and the English Government to set our brains to work, in order to present our own scheme of representation to the English Parliament for adoption. The Constitution which we enjoy was enacted by us, though it is by virtue of an imperial Act. It was not the initiation of the British Parliament, or of the British nation; we were allowed by the liberality of England to do it ourselves. (Cheers.) We came before the English Government, we came before the English Parliament, we presented a system which was of course a representative system; and it is a great source, I will not say of pride, but a great source of encouragement, to the public men who then took part in that great scheme, that it was adopted by the English Government and by the British Parliament without, I may say, a word of alteration. (Hear, hear.) We feel grateful for the freedom of action which was given to us on that occasion. When we had to consider what would be the representative institutions which ought to rule the great Dominion of Canada, we had, as a matter of course, to look into the past or the present history of nations which had enjoyed, or were enjoying representative institutions. We came to the conclusion that a legislative body, to be useful, ought to represent the sense of rectitude of the nation, but not the passions of the nation. (Hear, hear.) Consequently, we adopted a system of representative government which allowed to the representatives elected a certain length of parliamentary life, in order to achieve great things. We did not like that the parliamentary trust should be a mere species of power to last for only
one session, and then to have another election. We wanted that there should be a trust, in order that the electors themselves should show that they had confidence in those whom they elected; and then that those who were elected should show in return, to those who had elected them, the realisation of their promises, made in honour, that they would legislate according to the interest and the welfare of the community at the time.

Monsieur Guizot, I think, said on one occasion, that "common sense rules the world in the long run." It is so, and consequently a Parliament of small duration, an annual Parliament, or a Parliament of too short duration, can never do any great work. With regard to us, we do not find fault with our neighbours. We are good friends with our neighbours, and at this festive board, in the presence of the illustrious minister who represents that great nation - (hear, hear) - I am glad to have this opportunity of telling him that with regard to him, and with regard to ourselves, we are as fully in the exercise of our freedom as anyone on the earth. Our Dominion, our Confederation, is not formed on the democratic principle; the representative element is a part of it, but it is founded on a monarchical basis. Our neighbours have their Confederation based entirely on the democratic principle; they have tried the experiment, and it is a great success; but we have tried our system to some extent, and we expect that its trial will result in this - that so long as England shall be England, and so long as England shall enjoy the freedom and the advantage of a Parliament, our political gravitation and our political affection will always be towards the mother country. (Hear, hear.) In order that we may not lose sight of this fact, that we have founded a great empire which will extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, we intend that all that immense territory shall be well governed, and governed not merely on a selfish principle as applied to us, but in order to add to the power and to the prosperity of the mother-country. (Hear, hear.) I am sure that there will never be any cause of difficulty between England and our friendly neighbours on account of ourselves, or on account of England or of themselves. But it matters not; if that unfortunate day shall ever come, we in Canada are ready to accept our position. (Hear, hear.) We will accept the situation of the moment. But everyone of us who understands the natural inclination of our neighbours, as well as of ourselves or of Englishmen, to enjoy peace, is convinced that that unfortunate day will not come. If, however, it ever should come, we will be there. (Loud and continued cheers).

My Lord, I have heard a great deal this evening with regard to the Anglo-Saxon race. I had the honour to be presented to Her Majesty when she graciously gave me an invitation, ten or twelve years ago, to go to Windsor, and Her Majesty was kind enough to interrogate me about the French Canadians. The shortest definition which I could give (because you must always be brief to Royalty, and perhaps to this meeting)
was, that the French Canadians, as well as myself, were Englishmen speaking French. (Cheers.) They appreciate the worth and the value of Saxon blood; and I cannot lose sight of the fact that there is an admixture of Norman blood with the best blood of England. I merely mention this to show that I am not in any way wounded by the admission, because I know a little of past history. With regard to ourselves on the other side, the two races there are Frenchmen and Englishmen; we are Frenchmen and the Frenchmen in Lower Canada have proved (or rather Englishmen speaking French), that we can carry out representative institutions. It is said, by our neighbours opposite here, that representative and free government cannot be carried out. If they looked to that French colony, which a few years ago numbered only 45,000, and which now numbers 1,000,000 they would see that the carrying out of the representative system has been a success. I thank you, my Lords and Gentlemen. (Cheers.)"

Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute (1869).
Published by the Institute, 26, Suffolk St., Pall Mall East, 1870.
p.32-35.
Letter from Mgr. Alexis-Frédéric Truteau, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Montreal to Sir George-Etienne Cartier.

Montréal le 3 Juin 1869

Sir Georges,

Je viens de lire dans la Minerve d'aujourd'hui votre discours, au sujet de la motion de Mr Holton sur l'abolition de l'église d'Irlande. Je crois qu'il est de mon devoir de vous en témoigner ma vive satisfaction. La haute profession de foi et des principes purement catholiques que vous y faites vous fait véritablement honneur. Elle doit nécessairement vous attirer l'estime et le respect du parti protestant, en même temps qu'elle augmente la confiance que les Catholiques du Canada reposent en vous, à cause de vos talents et de la courageuse persévérance que vous montrez à travailler à leur bonheur et à leur prospérité temporelle. Veuillez donc agréer mes plus sincères félicitations. Je suis heureux de pouvoir vous dire que mes confrères les Chanoines de l'Évêché de Montréal partagent envers vous mes sentiments à cet égard.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec la plus haute considération, Sir Georges,

Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur,
Administrateur.

(A.C.A.M., R.L.B 18,288).
APPENDIX XXXIX

Report made by Sir George-Etienne Cartier and the Honorable William McDougall on the subject of the discussions held on Defence matters with the Imperial Government, 1868-1869.

REPORT

To His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir John Young Bart, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., Governor General of Canada, &c., &c., &c.,

IN COUNCIL.

We, the undersigned, having been specially authorized by Order in Council of 1st October last, to confer with Her Majesty's Government, during our stay in England, on the subject of Fortifications and the Defence of Canada generally, had the honor to have several communications with the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and through him, with the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for War on those important questions.

In the first place, on the subject of Fortifications, we reminded Earl Granville that the Canadian Government was as yet without an answer to the representations conveyed in Lord Monk's Despatch of 27th May, 1868, last, respecting the granting of the Imperial guarantee for the loan required for the construction of the Fortifications contemplated by the Act of last session.

Secondly, We deemed it our duty strongly to urge on Her Majesty's Government the necessity of keeping and maintaining in the Dominion as large a force of Her Majesty's Regular Troops as possible.

Earl Granville informed us in reply that the views entertained by her Majesty's Government on these two points should be conveyed in a Despatch to your Excellency, and accordingly, since our return to Canada the subjoined Despatch under date 14th April, 1869 has been received intimating the intention of the Government to introduce a measure during the present session of the Imperial Legislature to authorize the guarantee of the sum required for the contemplated Fortification, and intimating, with respect to the Regular Force to be maintained in Canada, that although for the reasons therein, assigned, full effect cannot be given to our views as above expressed, yet, that a limited number of Troops will for the present continue to be stationed at certain points in the Dominion.

During our stay in England we received from Earl Granville a
communication, dated 22nd February, 1869, enclosing copies of two letters from the War Office, the first relating to the number of breech-loading arms, either appropriated for the local forces or held in reserve, and to the supply of ammunition in store in Canada, and proposing to withdraw a large portion of both unless the Canadian Government should express a desire to purchase any of such arms. And the second preferring a claim on the Government of the Dominion for a sum of £847 18s 3 3/4d being for damage caused to the Enfield rifles issued on loan to this Government and lately returned into store.

On these subjects we had personal interviews with Earl Granville and subsequently embodied our views thereon in a letter to his Lordship dated 23rd March, 1869, in which we remonstrated against the proposed reduction of the number of arms and quantity of ammunition held in reserve in Canada on the ground that if, in addition to the reduction of the regular troops, it became known that a diminution of the number of Snider rifles in reserve had also taken place, encouragement might thereby be given to the Fenian organization, which still existed in the United States, to renew their attempts to invade our soil.

Moreover, that the Canadian Militia Act had made provision for the regular training of a certain number of extra militiamen, and of the Reserve Force, which would require, at least, 65,000 rifles or nearly the entire number intended to be left in Canada for the ordinary colonial force, leaving no reserve to meet any case of sudden emergency.

With reference to the offer made for the purchase by the Canadian Government of a portion of these arms, we represented to Earl Granville that as the subject was not one specially connected with our mission, and as it would involve an appropriation of money by the Canadian Parliament, we requested that instructions for the withdrawal of such arms and ammunition would be deferred until after we should have had an opportunity of submitting the matter for the consideration of your Excellency in Council.

No decision on these two questions had been conveyed to us prior to our departure for Canada, but, since our return a Despatch (No. 75) under date of 24th April last has been received from Earl Granville communicating to your Excellency a correspondence between the colonial and war offices, from which it appears that as regards the first proposition, viz: the number of breech-loading rifles to be left in Canada, the Secretary of State for War has consented to defer the withdrawal of any portion of them or of the ammunition held in reserve, until next autumn, and that, with respect to the amount claimed for damages to arms issued on loan, Mr. Cardwell, for the reasons given in
the letter of 20th April last, from Sir Edward Lugard to Sir Frederic Rogers, does not feel warranted in relinquishing the claim.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

GEO. ET. CARTIER,
WM. McDOUGALL.

Ottawa, 20th May, 1869.

P.A.C. Macdonald Papers, Vol.100, Militia and Defence, pp. 39586 to 39587.
APPENDIX XL

Letter from Richard Cartwright, M.P., to Sir Alexander Galt, M.P.

Kingston, Oct. 29th, 1869.

Confidential

Dear Sir Alexander,

By some blunder your telegram was not given me till the train had passed Kingston which was unlucky as a few minutes conversation would have been useful. I have no idea of displaying one's hand, publickly till the House meets, but I have pretty good reason for thinking that very prompt action will be advisable when it does. I have been approached without any solicitation on my part by several of our people here and I am pretty sure that if any Ontario Conservative in good standing speaks out, at once, a considerable section must follow, whether they like it or not, under penalty. The feeling is quiet but deep seated and I think will only need an exponent to make itself felt most seriously. In fact if any of your old supporters, Pope & Webb, for instance, are disposed to stand by you, we could effect more than I choose to say just now. I know nothing of what the French will do but I suspect there are two or three of them who would not be sorry to show fight in good company. It is not a case for letter writing except to yourself but you may and probably will see several of these parties and might ascertain their real views. In especial I would like to know what Shanley and T. Workman will do. I think they could be relied on if they once stated (?) their opinion and though I had made up my mind to fight single-handed if need be, every supporter of that stamp will count quadruply. I informed Morris of my determination but to say truth, in view of possible emergencies, I will not be altogether sorry if he goes into the Cabinet, my wish being, as I assume yours also is, to preserve the present Liberal Conservative Party, if possible, in spite of all their Leader has done to destroy it.

To do this it seems to me we must get and keep the initiative from the outset and must not give Sir J. time to buy off the weaker brethren in detail nor let the regular opposition use us as cats' paws for their special objects.

If you approve of programme above suggested let me know and also whether you are quite sure to be in Canada when the session opens. If your trip to England be put off I would like very much to see you sometime before we meet at Ottawa, in fact if you thought it desirable I
would go down to Montreal on purpose at any time. I don't want to go
to Sherbrooke as it would inevitably excite suspicion and for the same
reason it is perhaps as well you did not stop here. I write as you will
perceive and I need hardly say that unreservedly I have never hinted to
anyone that I had opened communication with you and that until specially
authorised I will not do so, though it is not unlikely it may be guessed,
and I have a kind of idea I have been put under surveillance as a sus-
picious character.

Yours faithfully

R. J. C.

P.S. I warned Sir John before Hincks appointment as well as after
so he knows what to expect from me.

(P.A.O. Cartwright Papers, Cartwright to Galt, Oct 29, 1869.)
APPENDIX XLI

Memorandum presented by Father Joseph-Noël Ritchot, Judge John Black, and Alfred H. Scott to the Canadian Government on behalf of the Provisional Government of Manitoba, April, 1870.

(1)
Que les territoires ci-devant connus sous le nom de Terre de Rupert et du Nord Ouest n'entreront dans la confédération de la Puissance du Canada qu'à titre de Province et connus sous le nom de Province d'Assiniboia et jouissant de tous les droits et privilèges communs aux différentes Provinces de la Puissance.

(2)
Que jusqu'au temps ou l'accroissement de la population de ce pays ait donné droit à plus nous ayons 2 représentants au sénat et 4 aux communes du Canada.

(3)
Qu'en entrant dans la confédération la Province d'Assiniboia restera complètement étrangère à la dette publique du Canada et que si elle était appelée à assumer quelque partie de cette dette du Canada ce ne soit qu'après avoir reçu du Canada la somme même dont on voudrait qu'elle se rendit responsable.

(4)
Que la somme annuelle de quatre vingt mille piastres soit allouée par la Puissance du Canada à la Législature de la Province du Nord Ouest.

(5)
Que toutes les propriétés tous les droits et privilèges possédés soient respectés et que la reconnaissance et l'arrangement des coutumes usages et privilèges soient laissés à la décision de la Législature Locale seulement.

(6)
Que ce pays ne soit soumis à aucune taxe directe à l'exception de celles qui pourraient être imposées par la Législature locale pour des inté-
rêts municipaux ou locaux.

(7)

Que les écoles soient séparées et que les argents pour écoles soient divisés entre les différentes dénominations religieuses au pro rata de leurs populations respectives.

(8)

Que la détermination des qualifications des membres du Parlement de la Province ou à celui du Canada soit laissée à la Législature locale.

(9)

Que dans ce pays, à l'exception des Indiens qui ne sont ni civilisés ni établis, tout homme ayant atteint l'âge de vingt et un ans et tout sujet Anglais étranger à cette Province mais ayant résidé trois ans dans ce pays et possédant une maison ait le droit de voter aux élections des membres de la Législature Locale et du Parlement Canadien et que tout sujet étranger autre que sujet Anglais ayant résidé le même temps et jouissant de la propriété d'une maison ait le même droit de vote à condition qu'il prête serment de fidélité.

Il est entendu que cet article n'est sujet à amendment que de la part de la Législature Locale exclusivement.

(10)

Que le marché de la compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson au sujet du transfer du gouvernement de ce pays à la puissance du Canada soit considéré comme nul en autant qu'il est contraire aux droits du peuple d'Assiniboia et qu'il peut affecter nos relations futures avec le Canada.

(11)

Que la Législature Locale de cette Province ait plein contrôle sur toutes les terres de la Province et ait le droit d'annuler tous les arrangements fait ou commensés au sujet des terres publiques de R. Land et du Nord Ouest appelé maintenant Province d'Assiniboia, (Manitoba).

(12)

Qu'une commission d'ingénieurs nommés par le Canada ait à explorer les divers terrains du Nord Ouest et à deposer devant la Chambre Législative dans le terms de cinq ans un rapport sur la richesse minérailes du Pays.
(13)
Que des traités soient conclus entre le Canada et des différentes tribus sauvages du pays à la requisition et avec le concours de la Législature Locale.

(14)
Que l'on garantisse une communication continue à vapeur du lac Supérieur au Fort Garry à être complétée dans l'espace de cinq ans.

(15)
Que toutes les bâtisses et édifices public soient à la charge du trésor Canadien ainsi que les ponts, chemins et autre travaux publics.

(16)
Que les langues française et Anglaise soient communes dans la Législature et les Courts et que tous les documents publics ainsi que les actes de la Législature soient publiés dans les deux langues.

(17)
(Raisons exprimé en anglais)
Que le Lieutenant-Gouverneur à nommer pour la Province du Nord Ouest possède les deux langues française et anglaise.

(18)
Que le juge de la cour suprême parle le Français et l'Anglais.

(19)
Que les dettes contractées par le Gouvernement Provisoire du Nord Ouest soient payées par le trésor de la Puissance du Canada, vu que ces dettes n'ont été contractées que par suite des mesures illégalles et inconsidérées adoptées par les agents canadiens pour amener la guerre Civile au milieu de nous. De plus, qu'aucun des membres du Gouvernement Provisoire, non plus que ceux qui ont agi sous sa direction ne puissent être inquiétés relativement au mouvement qui a déterminer les négociations actuelles.

(20)
Qu'en vue de la position exceptionnelle d'Assiniboia les droits sur les marchandises importées dans la Province excepté sur les liqueurs
continueront à être les mêmes qu'à présent, d'ici à trois ans à dater de notre entrée dans la confédération et aussi longtemps ensuite que les voies de communication par chemin de fer ne seront pas terminées entre St. Paul et Winnipeg et le Lac Supérieur.

Archives de l'Arch. de St. Boniface.
Memorandum dated May 30, 1870, sent to Sir George-Etienne Cartier from the Abbé Joseph-Noël Ritchot recounting recent events in the North-West.

Notes sur le Nord Ouest

A la première nouvelle des négociations entre le Canada, la compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et l'Angleterre au sujet du Nord Ouest, les métis éprouvèrent de la satisfaction.

Sans être mécontents du gouvernement d'Assiniboia ils le trouvaient insuffisant pour répondre aux besoins du pays.

Ils n'auraient cependant jamais fait aucune démarche pour le renverser. Ils respectaient les membres de ce conseil.

Ils trouvaient que le temps de le changer n'était pas encore venu.

Le changement se faisant par lui-même, ils auraient été contents d'avoir un gouvernement responsable; et c'est ce gouvernement responsable qu'ils s'attendaient à avoir quand le temps serait venu de remplacer le conseil à Assiniboia.

Ils furent étonnés d'apprendre par la voie des journaux que des arrangements devant changer l'administration du pays étaient conclus.

Ils étaient surpris de voir que les conseillers d'Assiniboia eux-mêmes ne pouvaient leur donner aucun renseignement sur ces arrangements.

Les sommes d'argent convenues entre les parties contractantes étaient regardées comme un prix de vente du pays.

Certains étrangers établis depuis peu dans le pays, exploitaient ces transactions au profit de leur haine contre la compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, et s'efforçaient de faire comprendre au peuple qu'il avait été vendu par la dite compagnie; ce qui était de nature à inciter et excita en effet la mécontentement et le murmure de la population.

Quelque démarches des agents du chemin du Fort Garry au Lac Supérieur avaient déplu nos habitants.
La prise de possession par quelques-uns de ces agents, de cer-
tains terrains destinés par l'usage et une entente nationale à de-
meurer terres communes, ou à être occupés par une certaine partie de la
population indisposa les esprits.

L'arrivée des arpenteurs inquiéta les habitants. Leur opiniâtre-
té à tirer des lignes malgré les colons, dans des endroits où ceux-ci
s'y opposaient, les menaces de quelques subalternes, devant avoir effet
à l'arrivée du gouverneur; la conduite insolente et malhonnête de cer-
tains individus arrivés depuis peu du Haut Canada, la communication
intime de ces derniers avec les employés du Canada; les injures lancées
contre la nation par certains journaux, le mépris manifesté par les
aventuriers, furent autant de causes propres à convaincre la population
que tous ces nouveaux arrivés n'étaient autre chose que les agents d'un
parti organisé pour s'emparer du pays au détriment de la nation.

Le peuple métis (?) fait des assemblées dans le but de pourvoir au
moyen de défendre les droits menacés. Il décide de surveiller les mou-
vements de ces nouveaux arrivés, et de s'opposer à temps et énergique-
ment à leur empiètement.

La nouvelle de l'arrivée prochaine d'un certain Mr McDougall s'avan-
çant dans le pays avec une organisation gouvernementale complète, con-
seillers, troupes, armes etc. les confirmait dans leurs craintes.

Les métis suivant la coutume en temps de danger, convoquaient la
nation et organisèrent le conseil national.

(Ce conseil national, comme nous l'avons dit dans nos autres notes
ci-jointes, était entièrement distinct du conseil d'Assiniboia).

Le conseil, sans se soustraire à l'allégeance anglaise, résolut de
repousser Mr McDougall, ne lui reconnaissant aucun droit d'entrer sur le
territoire, ou titre avec lequel il était annoncé!

Le conseil lui intime la défense d'entrer sur le territoire.

L'Hon: McDougall persiste et se rend au Fort de la Compagnie de la
Baie d'Hudson, à Pembina.

Les Métis vont le repousser lors des lignes.

Mr. McDougall reste sur les frontières.

Les Métis demeurent sous les armes.

Mr. McDougall ne communique pas avec les Métis.
Les aventuriers venus du Haut-Canada avec les employés du gouvernement du Canada, s'organisent pour disperser les Métis.

Le Gouverneur McTavish lance sa proclamation.

Les Métis s'animent.

Quelques jours après, Mr McDougall lance sa proclamation.

Les Métis regardent ces deux proclamations comme annulant entièrement l'existence du Gouvernement d'Assiniboia.

Mr McDougall lance sa proclamation d'appel aux armes.

J. S. Dennis, "Délégué Lieutenant Gouverneur et conservateur de la paix dans et pour le Territoire du Nord Ouest," pénètre dans le pays.

Les aventuriers Haut Canadiens, sous les ordres de Dennis, se croyant suffisamment appuyés d'un certain parti du Métis Anglais, s'avancant en armes pour disperser les Métis Canadiens.

(7 Décembre) Schultz et 60 à 70 de ces gens sont faits prisonniers.

Des pourparlers d'entente se font dans le pays.

Le Gouvernement Provisoire se fortifie.

Les prisonniers sont mis en liberté.

De nouveaux partis hostiles organisés par les Haut-Canadiens s'avancent sur le Fort Garry.

40 à 50 de ces hommes sont faits prisonniers.

Durant tout ce temps, le Révérend Mr Thibault et le Col. de Salaberry, commissaires du gouvernement travaillaient à amener les esprit à un arrangement.

Des Délégués avaient été nommés pour se rendre en Canada.

Le Gouvernement Provisoire, composé de 28 membres, représentant toutes les parties de la population du Nord Ouest, après avoir donné liberté à tous les prisonniers et avoir rétabli l'ordre et la paix dans le pays, autorisaient, le 23 mars, les Délégués à se rendre au Canada, auprès du Gouvernement et la Puissance, pour négocier l'entrée du Nord Ouest dans le Confédération.

Le 24, les Délégués partaient pour se rendre en Canada.
L'arrivée de Mgr. Taché, (11 Mars) ne contribua pas peu à calmer les esprits, et à hâter le départ des Délégués.

Ottawa, 30 Mai, 1870

Ritchot

A Sir George E. Cartier
Ministre de la Milice
&c, &c, &.

Confidential Memorandum from Sir George-Etienne Cartier to Sir John Young on the subject of a General Amnesty for the Inhabitants of the Red River region. (No Date)

Confidential

The undersigned has the honour to submit for Your Excellency's consideration under the seal of confidence the following observations on the Confidential Despatch of the Right Honble. the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Granville, of the 30 June 1870, suggesting that the opinion of the Canadian Cabinet should be obtained on the question of granting a general amnesty to such of the Inhabitants of Red River settlement as may have participated in the political disturbances in that portion of H. M. Dominions.

The undersigned takes this opportunity again to refer your Excellency to the debate and explanations which took place in Parliament during the discussion on the Manitoba Bill —

The question of amnesty was then brought up, and the answer & explanations given by the Ministers were that the Canadian Government had no power to grant such an amnesty & that the exercise & the prerogative of mercy rested solely with H. M. the Queen.

During the negotiations which took place between Sir John A. Macdonald & the undersigned on behalf of the Canadian Government and Judge Black, Father Ritchot & Mr Scott, Delegates from the Inhabitants of Red River Settlement the question of a general amnesty was brought forward as a part of the extended Bill of Rights forming the basis of their negotiation, and proposed as a necessary and preliminary step towards their assenting on behalf of its inhabitants to the adoption of a political system for the Government of that Territory.

The reply made by Sir John A Macdonald & the undersigned to this proposition was to the effect that the Canadian Government could not advise upon or in any way deal with that question, inasmuch as the Acts and offences intended to be covered by it had taken place during a period of time when the Canadian Government had no authority over that Territory & also because H. M. the Queen had at the outset and irrespective of the Canadian Government taken up the question of amnesty, as shown by Y. E. Proclamation of the 6th December last in which Y. E. by direct command by the Queen, announced in the name & on
behalf of H. M. that in case of their immediate & peaceable dispersion he would order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in the unfortunate breaches of the law at Red River. In fact it was instructed to the Delegates by Sir John A Macdonald and the undersigned that the Inhabitants of Red River Settlement must necessarily look to H. M. the Queen solely & directly for the exercise of the Royal Clemency in favor of the participators in the disturbances referred to & must trust to the merciful disposition ever shown by H. M. in all cases in which she felt warranted in exercising her prerogative of pardon..............

It was further intimated to the Delegates that the claim prepared by them in that respect would irrespective of the reason above given be more certain of a favorable reception from the fact that according to their own pretensions the opposition raised in the settlement was directed rather against the Canadian than against the Imperial authorities & that consequently H. M. would be in a better & a more favorable position to consider their alleged grievances & their prayer for a general amnesty.

The Delegates relied upon these explanations & forthwith entered upon the negotiation which resulted in the passing of the act relative to the Government of the Province of Manitoba - without these explanations it is more than probable they would not have felt themselves justified in negotiating.

When the Government, during the debate on the Manitoba Act in the House of Commons, was questioned with regard to a general amnesty they declared that that matter belonged exclusively to the jurisdiction of H. M. & could not be dealt with nor advised upon by the Canadian Ministers.

In consequence of this explanation Father Ritchot brought the matter personally under your Excellency's notice & subsequently submitted to Y. E. a Petition addressed to H. M. signed by him on behalf of himself and his co-delegates praying for the exercise by H. M. of her prerogative of mercy in favor of those who had participated in the disturbances in the Red River country.

It may be proper here to remind Y. E. of the Instructions given to you by H. M. Government, to receive the Red River Delegates & listen to the grievances of the Inhabitants irrespective of any opposition that might be raised in any quarter in the Dominion of Canada, also, to recall Y. E. attention to the 3"par. of the confidential Telegram from Lord Granville to Y. E. of the 23" April last, which is in the following words:- "Canadian Government to accept decision of H. M. Government on disputed points of Settlers' Bill of rights".
As stated above the Delegates brought as an extension of the so-called settlers Bill of Rights the question of amnesty.

Irrespective of the reasons given above for leaving the question of amnesty to be dealt with by the Imperial authorities, without the advice or interference of the Canadian Government, your Excellency knows as a fact that it would have been impossible for this administration to agree among themselves on this question & it was within the spirit & purport of that paragraph to reserve the question for the decision of H. M. advised by Her Imperial Ministers inasmuch as no decision could have been otherwise arrived at.

It may moreover be observed that had the views of the Delegates with regard to the question of amnesty, as a preliminary step to negotiation, been at all entertained it would have been manifestly impossible to arrive at any conclusion with them, and the passing of the Manitoba Act would have been an impossibility.

If your Excellency were to refer that question for the consideration of your Council the answer would necessarily be that it was not one for the action or advice of the Canadian Government but for that of Her Majesty in Her Imperial Council, and further that in view of the explanation offered by your Ministers in the House of Commons, Parliament & the Country expect a solution of that question directly by H. M. advised by Her Imperial Ministers.

Already the Members of the Privy Council in a communication addressed to Bishop Taché on 4th July last by the secretary of state for the Provinces, written in answer to one from His Lordship of 9th June preceding, have informed His Lordship that the question of amnesty is one depending exclusively upon the exercise of H. M. prerogative, under the advice of Her Imperial Ministers; the matter having been freely considered by the Council before that communication was transmitted.

The undersigned understands that copy of Bishop Tache's letter & of the answer thereto have already been forwarded by Y. E. for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The undersigned is in a position to state that from a telegram received from the Hon Sir John A Macdonald, now in Prince Edwards Island; on the 18 July, respecting the question of the Red River amnesty, he Sir John A Macdonald is of opinion that the decision of "that question should proceed from England without advice from Canada".

Notwithstanding the transfer to Canada of the North West Territories on the 15 July inst. that transfer cannot deter the legal aspect of the question as regards offences committed by the people of that
Territory anterior to that date, the pardoning of which offences resting now as well as then properly with Her Majesty under the advice of Her Imperial Ministers.

As regards the merits of the question of amnesty itself the undersigned persists in the views which he has already individually expressed to Her Excellency and in which Sir Francis Hincks has stated his concurrence.

I have etc.

P.A.C. Macdonald Papers, pp.41435-41445).
APPENDIX XLIV

The Programme Catholique, published in the Journal des Trois-Rivières on April 20, 1871.

LES PROCHAINES ELECTIONS.

Notre pays, soumis au régime constitutionnel, aura, dans peu de temps, à choisir ses représentants. Ce simple fait soulève nécessairement une question que notre devoir de journaliste catholique nous oblige de résoudre, et cette question doit se poser comme suit:

Qu'elle doit être l'action des électeurs catholiques dans la lutte qui se prépare, et qu'elle doit être leur ligne de conduite dans le choix des candidats qui solliciteront leurs suffrages?

Nous croyons pouvoir répondre à cette question d'une manière satisfaisante en donnant quelque développement aux idées exprimées par Sa Grandeur Mgr. l'Evêque des Trois-Rivières dans sa dernière Lettre Pastorale.

Voici les lignes que nous y trouvons:

"Les hommes que vous envoyez vous représenter dans la législature sont chargés de protéger et de défendre vos intérêts religieux, selon l'esprit de l'Eglise, autant que de promouvoir et sauvegarder vos intérêts temporels. Car les lois civiles sont nécessairement en rapport sur un grand nombre de points avec la religion. C'est ce que les pères du Concile disent clairement dans leur décret.

"Vous devez donc vous assurer prudemment que le candidat à qui vous donnez vos suffrages est duement qualifié sous ce double rapport, et qu'il offre, moralement parlant, toutes les garanties convenables pour la protection de ces graves intérêts.

"Nous devons sans doute rendre grâce à Dieu de la pleine et entière liberté que la constitution de notre pays accorde en droit au culte catholique de se régir et de se gouverner conformément aux règles de l'Eglise. C'est par un choix judicieux de vos législateurs que vous pourrez vous assurer la conservation et la jouissance de cette liberté la plus précieuse de toutes, et qui doit donner à vos premiers pasteurs l'immense avantage de pouvoir gouverner l'Eglise du Canada selon les prescriptions et directions immédiates du St. Siège et de l'église romaine la mère et la maîtresse de toutes les églises."
Ces conseils, dictés par la sagesse, seront compris, nous l'espérons, par tous les électeurs catholiques de la Province de Québec. Il est impossible de le nier, la politique se relie étroitement à la religion, et la séparation de l'Eglise et de l'État est une doctrine absurde et impie. Cela est particulièrement vrai du régime constitutionnel qui, attribuant au parlement tout pouvoir de législation, met aux mains de ceux qui le composent une arme à double tranchant qui pourrait être terrible.

C'est pourquoi il est nécessaire que ceux qui exercent ce pouvoir législatif soient en parfait accord avec les enseignements de l'Eglise. C'est pourquoi il est du devoir des électeurs catholiques de choisir pour leurs représentants des hommes dont les principes soient parfaitement sains et sûrs.

L'adhésion pleine et entière aux doctrines catholiques romaines en religion, en politique et en économie sociale, doit donc être la première et la principale qualification que les électeurs catholiques devront exiger du candidat catholique. C'est le critérium le plus sûr qui devra leur servir à juger des hommes et des choses. On comprend qu'il ne peut être ici question des protestants auxquels nous laissons la même liberté que nous réclamons pour nous mêmes.

Ces prémisses posées, il est facile d'en déduire des conséquences qui serviront de guide aux électeurs. Mais pour établir des règles pratiques dont l'application soit facile, il faut tenir compte des circonstances particulières où notre pays est placé, des partis politiques qui s'y forment et de leurs antécédents.

Nous appartenons en principe au parti conservateur, c'est-à-dire, à celui qui s'est constitué le défenseur de l'autorité sociale. C'est assez dire que par le parti conservateur nous n'entendons pas toute réunion d'hommes n'ayant d'autre lien que celui de l'intérêt et de l'ambition personnelle mais un groupe d'hommes professant sincèrement les mêmes principes de religion et de nationalité, conservant dans leur intégrité les traditions du vieux parti conservateur qui se résument dans un attachement inviolable aux doctrines catholiques et dans un dévouement absolu aux intérêts nationaux du Bas-Canada.

Dans la situation politique de notre pays, le parti conservateur étant le seul qui offre des garanties sérieuses aux intérêts religieux, nous regardons comme un devoir d'appuyer loyalement les hommes placés à sa tête.

Mais ce loyal appui doit être subordonné aux intérêts religieux que nous ne devons jamais perdre de vue. Si donc il existe dans nos lois des lacunes, des ambiguités ou des dispositions qui mettent en péril les intérêts des catholiques, nous devons exiger de nos candidats un engagement formel de travailler à faire disparaître ces défauts de notre législation.
Ainsi, la presse religieuse se plaint avec raison que nos lois sur le mariage, sur l'éducation, sur l'érection des paroisses et sur les registres de l'état civil sont défectueuses, en ce qu'elles blessent les droits de l'église, gênent sa liberté, entravent son administration ou peuvent prêter à des interprétations hostiles. Cet état de choses impose aux députés catholiques le devoir de changer et modifier ces lois selon que Nos Seigneurs les Evêques de la Province pourraient le demander afin de les mettre en harmonie avec les doctrines de l'Eglise catholique romaine. Or, pour que les députés s'acquittent plus diligemment de ce devoir, les électeurs doivent en faire une condition de leur appui. C'est le devoir des électeurs de n'accorder leurs suffrages qu'à ceux qui veulent se conformer entièrement aux enseignements de l'Eglise relativement à ces matières.

Concluons donc en adoptant les règles générales suivantes dans certains cas donnés.

1o. Si la lutte se fait entre deux conservateurs, il va sans dire que nous appuierons celui qui acceptera le programme que nous venons de tracer.

2o. Si, au contraire, elle se trouve engagée entre un conservateur d'une nuance quelconque, et un adepte de l'école libérale, nos sympathies actives seront pour le premier.

3o. Si les seuls candidats qui s'offrent à nos suffrages dans un comté sont tous libéraux ou oppositionnistes, nous devons choisir celui qui souscrira à nos conditions.

4o. Enfin, dans le cas où la contestation serait engagée entre un conservateur rejetant notre programme, et un oppositionniste quand même l'acceptant, la position serait plus délicate.

Voter pour le premier serait nous mettre en contradiction avec la doctrine que nous venons d'exposer. Voter pour le second serait mettre en péril ce parti conservateur que nous voudrions voir puissant. Quel parti prendre entre ces deux dangers? Nous conseillerions alors l'absention des électeurs catholiques.

On comprend néanmoins que ces règles posées laissent encore aux électeurs une certaine liberté d'action qui dépendra des circonstances particulières de chaque comté et des antécédents de chaque candidat. Au reste, nous avons tenu à mettre surtout en évidence les convictions et les qualifications religieuses que les électeurs doivent exiger de ceux qui sollicitent leurs suffrages. Il est utile d'ajouter que pour faire prévaloir leurs convictions religieuse il faut chez les députés l'intelligence et l'instruction. Après s'être assuré des principes religieux des candidats, il faudra donc en second lieu s'efforcer de faire parve-
nir en chambre la plus grande somme possible d'intelligence de d'instruction.

Nous réprouverions donc toute action ministérielle qui tendrait à éliminer de l'arène parlementaire des hommes capables de rendre service à la cause catholique et nationale, sous le prétexte qu'ils gênaient quelques ambitions. Composer la représentation de nullités dociles et impuissantes serait certainement un grand mal qu'il faut éviter.

En deux mots, nous voulons sauvegarder à la fois l'honneur de la Patrie et la liberté de l'Eglise, et tout notre programme peut se résumer dans ce motto: "Religion et Patrie."

Tel est le programme que nous pensons devoir adopter pour les prochaines élections et qui, croyons-nous, devrait être adopté par tous les catholiques conservateurs de cette province."
Montréal, le 27 septembre 1872.

Monsieur le Grand Vicaire,

Il doit vous tarder de savoir quel a été le résultat de votre lettre du 21. Eh bien, le voici tout au long: elle a d'abord fait sur moi une très bonne impression. Je n'ai pu m'empêcher de voir là le procédé d'un ami vraiment digne de ce nom, et tel que j'en souhaiterais à tous ceux qui peuvent se trouver dans les mêmes difficultés que notre ami commun. J'ai vu de suite qu'il comprendrait la chose comme moi, et je ne me suis point trompé. J'avais déjà fait quelques démarches dans ce but. Votre lettre me prêtait un nouveau point d'appuis. Je lui en ai parlé sans détour. Tout a été parfaitement compris et goûté. L'excellent homme était plus que moi-même préparé. On aurait dit qu'il attendait un messager du ciel pour rompre ses liens. Nous sommes convenus de gré à gré que Monsieur Desmazures, avec qui Sir George avait eu des rapports assez particuliers, remplirait, en cette circonstance, cette touchante et divine fonction. Tout s'est accompli en effet en deux séances secrètes, mais avec une mutuelle et parfaite satisfaction. Ce matin même L'Honorable Ministre a assisté très pieusement à la messe de Monsieur Desmazures, et a reçu de sa main La Sainte Communion. J'ai eu le plaisir et l'honneur de le voir depuis: et je l'ai trouvé inondé de consolations. Je n'ai pas balancé à me faire votre interprète et l'interprète de tous ses amis véritables pour lui présenter nos félicitations et lui faire agréer en même temps nos recommandations amicales, fraternelles et sacerdotales. Nous nous sommes embrassés dans la joie. Et je lui ai promis, en le quittant, que nous l'accompagnerons tous de nos prières et de nos vœux les plus ardents. Je n'ai pas manqué de faire valoir auprès de lui la satisfaction que tout ceci donnerait spécialement à nos Seigneurs les Evêques.

Je suis avec un très respectueux dévouement, Monsieur le Grand Vicaire,

Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur

T.A. BAILE, Supé

(A.A.Q. 27 septembre, 1872. S.M. III, p.166.)
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