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seemingly there was some hesitation on the part of the Executive. On the motion of Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Louis Riel was expelled from the House of Commons, and though he was returned later on by his constituency, he was never allowed to take his seat.

Other points of the greatest importance awaited Mr. Mackenzie's attention. He was very different from Sir J. Macdonald, being formal and cold in manner and disposed to say very little, but to try and do much. The Pacific Railway was a question demanding speedy treatment, for two and a half years out of the ten had already passed and practically no progress had been achieved. In February Mr. Mackenzie being desirous of ascertaining the local feeling on the subject, despatched a special envoy to British Columbia in the person of Mr. James D. Edgar. Small as the white population of the province was (at that time it was little more than ten thousand souls), there was intense interest in the project, as better communication with the East meant everything for a community cut off from their fellow countrymen under the Dominion by hundreds of miles of the Rockies. But though negotiations took place, no tangible result ensued, and Mr. Edgar was recalled by the Canadian Government. It was then decided by the authorities of British Columbia to depute Mr. Walkem, their Premier, to repair to England and lay their case before Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State, who had been invited by both



the Dominion and Provincial Governments to arbitrate in the dispute. It was not till November 17th, that Lord Carnarvon was enabled to formulate his views. They were to the following effect :—

1. That the railway on Vancouver Island from Esquimalt to Nanaimo (a coal producing centre), should be commenced and completed as soon as possible.

2. That the surveys for the great railway should be pushed on as rapidly as possible.

3. That both the waggon road and telegraph line (along the Pacific railway route) should be immediately constructed *pari passu*.

4. That two million dollars per annum should be the minimum expenditure on railway work within the province.

5. Lastly, that on or before December 31st, 1890, the railway should be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific sea-board to the western end of Lake Superior, where it would fall into connection with existing lines of the United States Railway, and also with the navigation in Canadian waters.

This decision, generally known as the "Carnarvon Terms" was accepted by both Governments, and it only remained to provide the necessary legislation to carry the terms into effect. We resume the history of this important matter later on.

On February 4th, in that year, the second Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion was opened. The Governor-General's speech from the Throne referred to his Excellency's tour, which



had enabled him better to grasp the comparative proportions of settled and undeveloped country, and to witness enterprise, contentment, and loyalty in every quarter. Gratifying progress had been made in the survey of the Pacific Railway route, and papers were also promised on the subject of the North-West Territories troubles.

This last-mentioned matter, which for three years had agitated the Dominion and embarrassed successive Governments, was the first to demand attention. It may be briefly here recalled¹ what the origin of these troubles was. When the north-west country was first ceded by the Crown to Canada, it became necessary in 1869 for portions of the country to be marked out into townships and lots. Unfortunately, the overbearing and injudicious behaviour of some of the surveying parties, and the failure to explain the situation, aroused the fears of some settlers and provoked the anger of others. The French and half-breeds banded together and organized a rebellion in which John Bruce was the nominal president, though Louis Riel—a shrewd young French Canadian—and his lieutenant, Ambrose Lepine, were the moving spirits. The most ridiculous stories of oppression were invented to play upon the fears and superstitions of the settlers, and a hostile force was got together to oppose the advent of the first Lieutenant-Governor. Fort Garry was occupied

¹ Lord Dufferin's exhaustive despatch to Lord Carnarvon was dated December 10th, 1874.



by Riel, and though Mr. Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona) was allowed, as Special Commissioner, to explain the views of the Canadian Government, his advice was not followed. While Archbishop Taché was hurrying to the scene from an Œcumenical Council at Rome, the lawless proceedings of Riel and his associates were brought to a climax by the cold-blooded murder of a man named Thomas Scott,¹ who had been on bad terms with Riel. Priests and influential citizens interceded with the leader, but all in vain, and the victim was despatched, without the semblance of a trial, by the bullets of half-a-dozen intoxicated half-breeds, told off for the fell purpose.

Five days later the Archbishop arrived at the Red River. The excitement was intense and the situation perilous. He went so far as to promise an amnesty on condition the rebels laid down their arms. The insurgents then yielded and prepared to send their delegates to Ottawa. Great anxiety, however, still prevailed, as Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition was pressing forward, and there was manifesting itself an uneasy feeling that as the prerogative of mercy could only rest with the Queen or her viceregent, the promise of an amnesty lay beyond the powers of either the Archbishop or the Dominion Government. Eventually this difficult point was referred to England. Lord Kimberley recorded the opinion of her Majesty's Government that the best course would be for an amnesty to be granted for all

¹ See page 106.



The Riel and Lepine Case

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offences committed during the disturbance at Red River in 1869-70, except the murder of Scott. In reply to this, the Archbishop stoutly contended that both the Imperial and the Colonial Governments were bound by the promise of immunity he gave to Riel and his band. On the other hand, Lord Lisgar, the Home Government, and the Macdonald Ministry, refused to recognise the force of any such obligation.

Matters were, then, at a virtual deadlock when Mr. Mackenzie took office. Riel having evaded the officers of the law had never been brought to trial. On his return to Parliament as member for Provencher, he proceeded to Ottawa at the opening of the Session in May, 1874, and took the oaths, but the public excitement being so great, and his life in danger, he left secretly, and never reappeared. He was subsequently outlawed. Lepine was arrested, tried at the Assize Court at Winnipeg, and found guilty on October 10th, 1874, of the murder of Scott. This sentence, after exchange of correspondence between the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, was commuted to two years imprisonment with permanent forfeiture of political rights. In taking this important step, the former acted on his own responsibility under the Royal Instructions, which authorise the Governor-General, in certain capital cases, to dispense with the advice of his Ministers. It was a strong line to take, but the case was one of the greatest difficulty, and while Lord



Dufferin made up his mind to act thus, it is only fair to mention that his despatch, announcing what he proposed to do (which has been described as probably the best State paper he ever penned), met with the complete approval of the Secretary of State.

The case, however, neither escaped criticism nor passed unchallenged. Sir John Macdonald expressed the difficulty very shortly when he said: "If this be proper, a man may be hanged in Canada without any one being responsible for it." At the same time Sir John never carried his objection any further. In England the matter was brought up, as a grave constitutional question, in the House of Lords on April 16th, 1875. A somewhat analogous case had arisen in New South Wales, where, however, it had been held that the Governor was more bound by the advice of his Ministers, in the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. Nevertheless, the trend of the debate in the House of Lords was to extend a general and very encouraging approval of Lord Dufferin's action.

The Session of 1875 was short, closing on April 8th. With the exception of the matters already mentioned, its work was not very important. There were few points of antagonism to divide the parties and the Government was very strong. At the same time Sir John Macdonald exhibited much forbearance and consideration in supporting and helping the Government in the



Supreme Court Bill—a difficult piece of legislation—and other controversial questions.

From the time of the return of their Excellencies from their tour in Ontario to the end of the Session, their sojourn in Ottawa was marked by a brilliant series of entertainments. Balls, concerts, skating parties, curling parties (Lord Dufferin was ever an enthusiastic “bonspieler”), tobogganing and other diversions followed in pleasing succession, and at the “At Homes” at Rideau Hall the high officials, the legal and ecclesiastical dignitaries, senators, and members of Parliament, and others of official and social position, were conspicuous among the guests who flocked so eagerly to enjoy their Excellencies’ hospitality.

On May 11th, 1875, Lord and Lady Dufferin left Ottawa on a visit home. It was a private visit but was marked by some notable functions, conspicuous among them being a dinner to the Viceroy given by the Canada Club at the Albion, on July 8th, 1875. Mr. G. T. Brooking was in the chair, and among the guests were the Duke of Manchester, the Earl of Kimberley, Lord Lisgar, Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., Mr. Goschen, M.P., Mr. Childers, M.P., Sir Clinton Murdoch, Viscount Bury, Sir F. Hincks, and many other distinguished public men. Mr. W. H. Smith in returning thanks for the House of Commons, referred to the general anxiety which prevailed not only to maintain the unity and greatness of



the British Empire, but at the same time to recognise to the fullest measure the Colonial right of self-government.

Lord Dufferin—it is almost needless to say—made an eloquent speech in reply. But it was something more than this. He took the opportunity to dwell on the strong, “tender, and almost yearning love for the Mother Country” possessed by the Canadians, “their jealous pride of their legislative autonomy,” and their patriotic devotion to their own land. “The sights and sounds which caressed the senses of the Trojan wanderer in Dido’s Carthage, are repeated and multiplied in a thousand different localities in Canada, where flourishing cities, towns, and villages are rising in every direction, with the rapidity of a fairy tale.”

The speaker went on to pay a strong and complimentary encomium to the loyalty and ability of the French Canadians, who he declared were “more parliamentary” even than their English brothers. And “whatever might be the case elsewhere, in Canada, at all events, the French race had learnt the golden rule of moderation, and the necessity of arriving at practical results by the occasional sacrifice of logical symmetry, and the settlement of disputes in the spirit of a generous compromise.”

With regard to the relations between Canada and the United States he was very emphatic. “The fate of Canada has been unalterably fixed and determined, and she is destined to move within her own separate and individual orbit. So



far from regarding this with jealousy, the public of the United States contemplate with a generous enthusiasm the daily progress of Canada's prosperous career. In fact, they are wise enough to understand that it is infinitely to the advantage of the human race that the depressing monotony of political thought in the American Continent should be varied and enlivened by the development of a political system akin to, yet diverse from, their own, productive of a friendly emulation, and offering many points of contrast and comparison, which they already begin to feel they can study with advantage."

The stirring address from which I have ventured to extract these fragments seems to me to exhibit some of Lord Dufferin's most notable characteristics as an orator and statesman. It is easy to indulge in the optimistic language which abounds in after-dinner speeches; but it is not so easy to comment on the foibles of a friendly neighbour without giving cause for a vestige of offence. While laying deserved stress on the capacity for progress shown by the French Canadians, he did not hesitate to utter a passing warning, and allude to the occasional lack of moderation, and the excessive and unpractical insistence on rigidly logical solutions of public questions displayed by their elder brethren in the European Continent. Similarly, while rejoicing over the then growing *rapprochement* between Canada and the States, he was not afraid of noting the "depressing monotony of political



thought" in the Western Continent. Mr. Gladstone possessed the gift of handling difficult topics in masterly diction, but he never seemed to me "to hit the centre of the note"—to adopt a musical analogy—with quite the fearlessness, and withal, the delicacy of touch manifested by Lord Dufferin.

Mr. William Leggo, in his interesting and thoughtful work, says that Canadians had been somewhat mortified to find that their ardent love of their Mother Country had been but coldly reciprocated by many of the leading minds of England. This feeling, however, had been modified by the Toronto speech referred to above, and by Lord Dufferin's subsequent orations.

The Canada Club address, however, took people by storm. The sound of his voice from Toronto fell with a mellowed cadence on the distant shores of Britain, but his manly, firm and dignified exultation in being the ruler of so magnificent a domain as Canada, expressed in this speech (at the Albion), passed like an electric shock through the British heart. His words were uttered in the very centre of British power, in the presence of the leading men of the Empire. He stood face to face with the rulers of the greatest country in existence, and in words of burning eloquence thundered into their ears that in the Dominion of Canada they possessed a child, splendid in beauty, and marvellous in physical and intellectual strength, whom they might be proud to exhibit to the nations of the world.

On July 28th, 1875, their Excellencies arrived at Belfast, and thence proceeded by train on their way to Clondeboye. A numerous deputation of



the tenantry was in attendance, and in his reply to their address Lord Dufferin made mention that among numerous countrymen of his whom he met in Canada, the most prosperous, contented, and fortunate were those who had been connected with the County Down. Near Fredericton, the Capital of New Brunswick, the owner of a flourishing estate had built a village, a magnificent church, a school-house and a mansion almost as large and as splendid as Clandeboye.

The owner had taken a lease from the Government of two or three hundred thousand acres of forest; he had cut down the trees, made dams, constructed weirs, he had cleared the country and had created, I might say, a large extent of arable land and, *pari passu*, with his increasing prosperity he had devoted his wealth and intelligence to promote the happiness of those to whose labour and industry he was so much indebted for his own advancement. He was very glad to receive me, and introduced me to his mother, and I then found that this good old lady had originally come from Clandeboye; that this gentleman himself had been, I believe, a tenant of my neighbour Mr. Sharman Crawford, and I spent an hour with them giving an account of their grand-nieces, grand-nephews, and their various other relations.

Again, on the waters of Lake Superior a sort of miniature Venice had been built in piles, for the purpose of excavating a silver mine beneath the waters of the lake, and he was glad to find a Killyleagh¹ man installed as head of this amphibious but healthy enterprise.

¹ Lady Dufferin's home in County Down.



In October, after a short but much appreciated stay at Clandeboye, Lord and Lady Dufferin returned to Canada in the *Prussian*, the same steamer in which, three years before, they had set out for their home in the West. Little of note occurred during the remainder of the year beyond the formation of the Supreme Court of the Dominion, the Hon. W. B. Richards (subsequently knighted) being the first Chief Justice. This gave an opportunity to the Viceroy to entertain the judges at dinner at Government House. Departing from his usual custom, which was to confine the toasts to that of the Queen, he took the occasion to propose in addition the health of the Chief Justice and the other judges, coupling with it some felicitous remarks on the degree of development and the stage of progress which had called the Supreme Court into being, and the authority and respect which a great court gained amongst enlightened communities even beyond its sphere of action, quoting as an instance, the respect and deference with which the dicta of the Chief Court of the United States was quoted by British and European jurists.

The third Session of the Third Parliament of Canada opened on February 10th, 1876, with more *éclat* than usual. Among other distinguished personages the Judges of the Supreme Court attended in their new robes, similar to those worn by the Supreme Judges of England—scarlet trimmed with ermine, a costume which had been selected at the

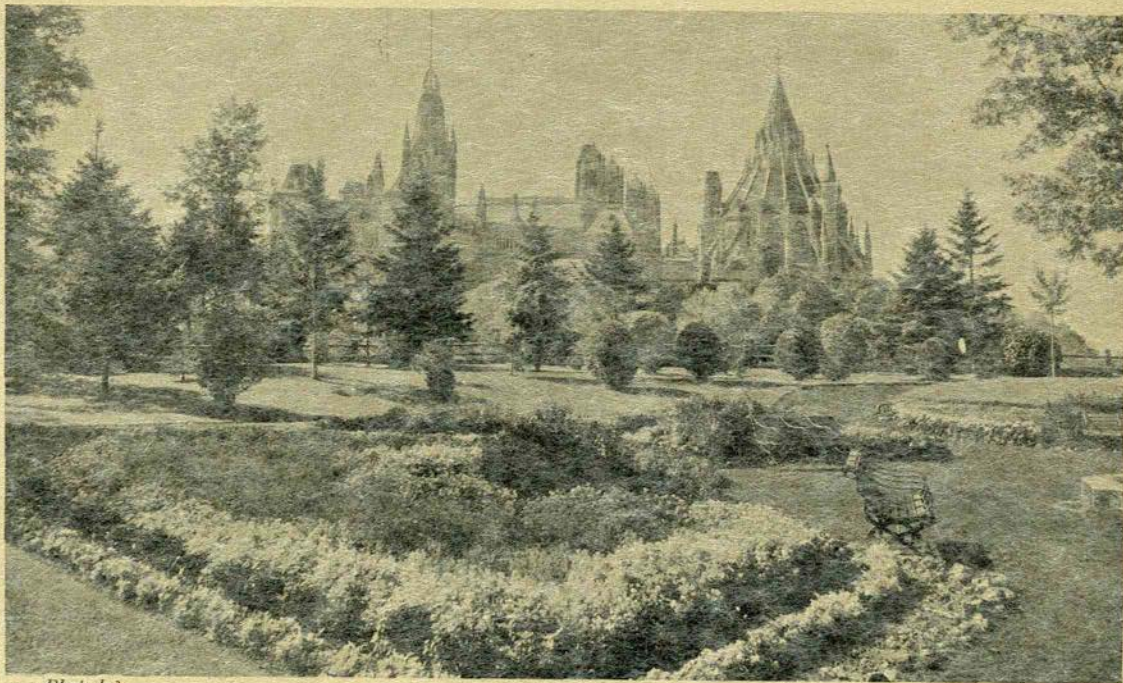


Photo by]

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

[Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

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Festivities at Ottawa

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particular recommendation of his Excellency. Amid a legislative programme of considerable variety, the depressed state of trade attracted some anxiety, and it was announced that curtailment of expenditure would be necessary. The provinces, with the exception of British Columbia, whose dissatisfaction at the long pending Pacific Railway controversy was just coming to a head, were contented. The Session was dull, but social life in Ottawa was briskly relieved by a series of entertainments at Rideau Hall, conspicuous among which was a fancy dress ball on February 23rd, to which fifteen hundred invitations were issued. The skill of Paris, London, New York and Boston were invoked for the occasion, and the result was an entertainment which far surpassed anything of the kind previously seen in North America. It was also a pleasant social success in bringing together the best families of the Dominion, who were nearly all present in Ottawa, the Parliamentary Session being in full swing. The *London Standard* was enthusiastic over this function, in its praise of the cheery way that Lord Dufferin showed he could play as well as work.

The Queen's birthday was marked by the grant of the dignity of the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George to Lord Dufferin, in consideration of his public services, and a few weeks later their Excellencies repaired to Quebec. Here a complimentary dinner was given to them by the Mayor and citizens of Quebec.



The reply of Lord Dufferin was happily inspired. He opened with a stirring recall of the perils and vicissitudes through which Quebec passed in the three eventful centuries that had elapsed since her foundation. He dwelt on the interest and romance attaching to her old battlements and her "crown of towers," and thus led up to the plan then afoot for embellishing and improving these structures, making prominent reference to the grant provided in the Imperial estimates, for a monument to the joint memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, but reserving to the end the quite unexpected announcement that the Queen had desired that she might be specially and personally associated with the work, by presenting her good city of Quebec with one of the new gateways with which the *enceinte* was to be pierced, and for the erection of which her Majesty had forwarded to her representative a handsome subscription. The Queen also desired that the gateway might be named after her father, the Duke of Kent, in grateful recollection of the pleasant days he had passed in that city. The news came as the pleasantest shock of surprise; the company rose *en masse* and remained cheering for some minutes.

A circumstantial account of the improvements proposed and sanctioned appeared in the *Quebec Morning Chronicle* of November 22nd, 1875. They have since been carried out with the assistance of the Dominion Government, and have adorned what is probably the most dignified and



interesting, as it is undeniably the most historically distinguished city of the American continent.

It will, however, be easily understood from what has been said that placid euphemisms were far from being the sole or even normal feature of Lord Dufferin's addresses. To the Female Normal School at Quebec he took the opportunity of expressing his and Lady Dufferin's warm interest in the education of girls; but speaking of the refining influence which womanhood exercises on a nation, he laid his finger on the "vulgar solecism" of alluding to ladies of position, who might chance to be spoken of in newspapers, by their Christian names, or such pet appellation as might fitly be applied to them in the privacy of the home circle. He instanced the case of Miss Grant, "the daughter of the occupant of one of the most august positions in the world, who was generally referred to in the newspaper as 'Nellie,' as though the paragraphist who wrote the item, had been her playfellow from infancy." It is only fair to mention that the rebuke of the practice was taken in good part by the *New York World* among other journals, who further animadverted strongly on the vulgarity of adding diminutives like "ie" to almost every lady's name. As one writer remarked, "Fancy 'Bessie' Browning writing 'Casa Guidi Windows' and 'Aurora Leigh,' or 'Flo' Nightingale furthering her mission of mercy at Scutari!'"

The great Viceregal visit to British Columbia commenced in July 1876. In these days such



a journey is simplicity itself, thanks to the Canadian Pacific Railway, whose massive engines and lengthy trains convey you so swiftly and directly from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A quarter of a century ago a formidable *détour* had to be made by way of Chicago, the Rocky Mountains and San Francisco, and on quitting the terminus of the Union Pacific Railway, H.M.S. *Amethyst* conveyed them for a distance of seven hundred and sixty miles to Esquimalt Harbour. The reception was here most enthusiastic. Sir James Douglas, the first Governor of Vancouver Island, with a Committee and a guard of honour welcomed their Excellencies, and the party drove off to Victoria. Here decoration was profuse and ubiquitous: flags, streamers, and bunting were flying from all the public buildings and many private houses, and numerous triumphal arches spanned the streets, some of them erected by the Chinese inhabitants. The all-absorbing theme of the railway was in evidence on many of the mottoes emblazoned on the arches, "United without Union," "Confederated without Confederation," "Railroad the bond of Union," "Psalm xv. verses 5 to 7,"¹ "Our Railway iron rusts," and "British Columbia the key to the Pacific"—all displayed the general earnestness and solidarity on the great pending question.

¹ "He that sweareth unto his neighbour, and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance. He that hath not given his money upon usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. Whoso doeth these things shall never fall."



The "Rebel" Arch

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The framers of one motto, however, had allowed their political feelings to get the better of their judgment. While the procession was moving through the principal streets, a gentleman, breathless with excitement, hurried up to his Excellency's carriage to say a "rebel" arch had been placed across the road so as to identify the Viceroy with approval of the disloyal inscription thereon.

"Can you tell me what words there are on the arch?" quietly asked his lordship.

"Oh, yes," replied his informant, "they are 'Carnarvon Terms or Separation.'"

"Send the Committee to me," said his Excellency.

"Now, gentlemen," resumed Lord Dufferin, with a smile, "I'll go under your beautiful arch on one condition. I won't ask you to do much, and I beg but a trifling favour. I only ask that you allow me to suggest a slight change in the phrase which you have set up. I merely ask that you alter one letter in your motto. Turn the S into an R—make it Carnarvon Terms or Reparation, and I will gladly pass under it."

To this, however, the Committee foolishly would not agree, so the Viceregal party turned a corner and went down another street, to the surprise and mortification of those who had made so unwise an exhibition of themselves.

But the feeling which had given rise to this open expression of opinion was not allayed. On August 21st, a deputation appointed at a public meeting of citizens held before the Governor-



General's arrival, waited on his Excellency to present an address. The gist of the complaint was that the Dominion Government had "ignored" the Carnarvon settlement, that this had produced a wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction towards Confederation, and that if the Dominion failed to carry out their side of the bargain, the withdrawal of British Columbia from the Confederation would be the inevitable result.

It was, of course, impossible for the Governor-General to receive an address containing anything like a threat of secession, and this was privately explained to the deputation. But the mere fact that such a resolution had been adopted at a public meeting of men of the highest standing in the province, was enough to create a good deal of anxiety in Lord Dufferin's mind, and to prove that the task of mediator, which he had undertaken, was far from easy. The British Columbians, as Mr. Leggo remarks, may not have had any real intention to secede; the threat may have been a strong mode of expressing bitter disappointment, and might be likened to the threat of Nova Scotia, that she would appeal to the United States. In neither case was it serious; but it was an undoubted blot on the administration of Mr. Mackenzie, that his policy led to this discontent. It was, perhaps, difficult for those in the East to realise the feelings of those in the West, who saw millions of dollars spent on the eastern and central sections of the line and only a few surveying parties in their section.



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The Governor-General took every opportunity of gaining the acquaintance of the people, and as Mr. Richards, the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia had not yet moved into Government House, and was good enough to place it at the disposal of Lord Dufferin, there was here inaugurated a series of receptions, "At Homes," dinner parties, regattas, garden parties and balls, similar to those which had made the hospitality of Rideau Hall proverbial. The crowning event was a ball on September 18th, at which about five hundred guests were present, and which gave opportunity for complimentary testimony as to the exceptional personal beauty of the women of British Columbia—a feature attributed, rightly or wrongly it may be, to the salubrity of the climate.

Before leaving, Lord Dufferin made, on September 20th, an important address to a small but influential meeting of members of the various Committees he had seen. After describing in picturesque language some of the varied scenes of interest and beauty he had explored, he frankly pronounced British Columbia to be "a glorious province, a province which Canada should be proud to possess, and whose association with the Dominion she ought to regard as the crowning triumph of Federation." His lordship then plunged *in medias res* into the thorny topic of the railway, reviewing the main points from the beginning. The "Carnarvon Terms" were substantially those



of Mr. Mackenzie; that is to say, Mr. Mackenzie proposed the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, the telegraph line, the waggon road, and the annual expenditure. All that Lord Carnarvon himself did was this: finding the parties already agreed as to the principal items of the bargain, he suggested that the proposed expenditure should be two millions instead of one and a half million, and that a time limit should be added. These further concessions were necessary to bring the province into final accord with the other side. Since then surveying parties had been organised on a most extensive and costly scale, and the entire line to the Pacific had been aligned, graded and its profile taken out, and the estimated cost of construction, though naturally very great, was less than anticipated.

With regard to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, Lord Dufferin explained that he had no wish to defend or hold a brief for Mr. Mackenzie. At the same time he made a most clear and manly exposition of the true facts, which were that the Bill passed the House of Commons by a large majority, but that it was the Senate who threw it out by a majority of two. This, he assured his hearers, was most disconcerting and annoying to the Premier; and Lord Dufferin effectually vindicated the good faith of Mr. Mackenzie, who had done the right thing, by way of reparation, to offer a pecuniary equivalent for the stipulation in the "Carnarvon Terms," which he had not



“Separation” Talk

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been able to make good. The sum offered was seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and as under the provisions of the rejected Bill the bonus to be contributed by Canada was ten thousand dollars a mile, and the total distance seventy miles, the offer was practically the bonus converted into a lump sum. Whether this was really a fair offer or not Lord Dufferin did not undertake to say authoritatively, one way or the other ; but he clearly inclined to think it was, and that the complaints of its inadequacy were not quite justifiable.

As to the still more delicate matter of the “separation” threat, the Governor-General was not afraid to tackle that. He treated it as the vague and rather ill-considered talk of a small minority. It would only result in the deflection of the railway southward to New Westminster, which would become the capital of the province, while Nanaimo would become the chief town of the Island, and Vancouver Island itself would be ruled, “as Jamaica, Malta, Gibraltar, Heligoland, and Ascension are ruled, through the instrumentality of some naval or other officer.” But Lord Dufferin refused to believe in such a speculative contingency, and added :

I hope they will forgive me if I am not intimidated by their formidable representations. When some pertinacious philosopher insisted on assailing the late King of the Belgians with a rhapsody on the beauties of a Republican Government, his Majesty replied, “You forget, sir, I am a Royalist by profession.” Well, a Governor-General is



a Federalist by profession, and you might as well expect the Sultan of Turkey to throw up his cap for the Commune, as the Viceroy of Canada to entertain a suggestion for the disintegration of his Dominion. I hope, therefore, they will not bear me any ill-will for having declined to bow my head beneath their "separation arch." It was a very good-humoured, and certainly not a disloyal bit of "bounce" which they had prepared for me. I suppose they wished me to know they were the arch enemies of Canada. Anyhow, I made them an arch reply.

Lord Dufferin's address closed with an eloquent appeal on behalf of the Indian population. He reminded his hearers that the Indians were not represented in Parliament, and that therefore the Governor-General was bound to watch over their welfare with especial solicitude. In British Columbia there had been an initial error, since the time when Sir James Douglas quitted office, in a neglect to recognise the Indian title to land. In Canada this mistake had not been made, and no Government, whether provincial or central, had failed to acknowledge that the original title to the land existed in the Indian tribes and communities that hunted or wandered over them. But in British Columbia, the Provincial Government had generally assumed that the fee simple in, as well as the sovereignty over the land, resided in the Queen. This had created jealousy and dissatisfaction, and though happily a joint commission had been agreed to for putting Indian interests on a more satisfactory footing, the eventuality of a collision with the warlike tribes in the North-



The North-West Indians

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West, would have a most disastrous effect. Lord Dufferin had seen them in all phases of their existence

From the half-naked savage perched, like a bird of prey, in a red blanket, upon a rock trying to catch his miserable dinner of fish, to the neat Indian maidens in Mr. Duncan's school at Metlakatlah, as modest and as well-dressed as any clergyman's daughters in an English parish, or to the shrewd horse-riding Siwash of the Thompson Valley, with his racers in training for the Ashcroft Stakes, and as proud of his stock yard as a British squire. In his first condition it is evident he is scarcely a producer or a consumer; in his second he is eminently both, and in proportion as he can be raised to the higher level of civilisation, will be the degree to which he will contribute to the vital energies of the province. What you want are not resources, but human beings to develop them and consume them. Raise your thirty thousand Indians to the level Mr. Duncan has taught us they can be brought, and consider what an enormous amount of vital power you will have added to your present strength.¹ But I must not keep you longer. I thank

¹ The Indians of the Province numbered about twenty-five thousand in 1896, the total number throughout the Dominion is about four times as many and the probability is that they have not decreased very rapidly during the last twenty-five or thirty years. In British Columbia the abundance and accessibility of food, the mildness of the Coast climate, the protection, as it is officially claimed, of a beneficent form of Government, and the better social status of many of them, have operated in their favour. One thing which has tended largely to their benefit is their independent position. They receive no annuities or, indeed, any financial help, and are obliged to maintain themselves by hunting, fishing, trade, and labour, the opportunities for which are always at hand. Game is abundant, the sea and rivers teem with fish, and during the canning season the Indians are largely employed at good wages, and also earn money lumbering on the farms, and in other capacities. As compared with their eastern brethren, they



you most heartily for your patience and attention. Most earnestly do I desire the accomplishment of all your aspirations; and if ever I have the good fortune to come to British Columbia again, I hope it may be—by rail.¹

This was the final speech of Lord Dufferin's extended tour in British Columbia. He had

are industrious, while such a thing as famine or starvation rarely or never occurs. In many places they have comfortable houses, and though not remarkable for cleanliness or intelligence, they possess to some degree the refinements of civilisation. Though not so picturesque as the plain Indians, they are considered sociologically on a higher plane. The Indian of the prairies or lowlands is tall, lithe, and sinewy, has an elongated face, aquiline nose and black piercing eyes. He is built to run, ride, see and smell at long range; is quick, agile and restless. The "Siwash" or British Columbian Indian, on the other hand, is short, thick-set in body and small in the legs, with a big square flat face on a head that sits close to a pair of heavy shoulders, while there is usually large chest and arm development. His occupation, *i.e.*, to sit in a canoe and fish, has largely helped to make him what he is, and his canoe is to the "Siwash" what the horse is to the Sioux.

As is known, there is a striking resemblance between the Indian and the Japanese, and when dressed alike it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the two nationalities. Mr. Charles Hill-Tout of Vancouver, Western Member of the Special Committee appointed by the British Association to organise and carry out an ethnological survey of British North America, is distinctly of opinion that the ancestors of the present Indian tribes in British Columbia, and those of certain Asian stocks, had a community of origin, or once lived in close contiguity.

¹ It took then sixteen days by a roundabout route *via* Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco to do what the Canadian Pacific Railway can now achieve in five or six days. Bute Inlet was the site for the terminus then most in favour; Lord Dufferin preferred New Westminster, and twelve miles north thereof the Canadian Pacific now ends. The flourishing and picturesque town of Vancouver was then non-existent. I myself visited it a few years ago and it was almost impossible to realise, while traversing its busy and populous streets, that so recently as 1886 Vancouver had been burnt down to the ground with the exception of a single house!



travelled over ten thousand miles, and had inspected one of the most valuable provinces, occupying nearly one third of the total area of the Dominion. The gold mines of British Columbia are well-known: coal, iron, silver and copper are widely distributed, and the fisheries are highly valuable. Moreover, her forests and pastures are abundant, and the climate is especially favourable for their growth as well as genial for emigrants, being comparable to that of France or England. The Douglas pine grows to a gigantic size and is highly prized for, amongst other uses, its length, straightness, and tenacity and adaptability for masts of ships. Oaks, cedars, yew, maple, birch and many other trees furnish a practically illimitable supply of timber. All this may give some idea of the natural wealth of the province which it was to the general interest should be united with the Dominion by closer and more practicable lines of communication.

Lord Dufferin's speech was thus a very important pronouncement, but on the whole it did not satisfy the western province. He was sharply taken to task for publicly defending Mr. Mackenzie from the charge of double dealing in regard to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. His Excellency was charged with improperly throwing the great weight of his public and private character into the scales in his favour. This, however, was an untenable accusation, as had Mr. Mackenzie been guilty of what was imputed to him, it would have



seriously reflected on Lord Dufferin's personal honour, in maintaining such a person as his premier adviser. The Governor-General was thus fully justified in saying what he did : distinguishing what was a matter of policy from what was a point of honour.

About the close of the year any disappointment felt at the criticisms passed on his speech at Victoria must have been effectually banished from Lord Dufferin's mind by the receipt of a despatch from the Secretary of State, in which Lord Carnarvon said :

I cannot convey to you in adequate terms my appreciation of the ability with which you have dealt with this very difficult question, and of the admirable language in which you have brought your views before the delegation. Your speech, I cannot doubt, will have the best effect upon the public opinion of British Columbia and, indeed, in every part of the Dominion, and will I hope contribute greatly to that calm and dispassionate view which is called for in a case surrounded by so many and great difficulties as in the present controversy.

Lord Carnarvon also wrote another and a lengthier despatch, under date of December 18th, 1876, in which he carefully reviewed the Report of the Committee of the Executive Council of British Columbia on the railway question, together with a previous report and a petition to the Queen from the Legislative Assembly of the province. The general trend of this despatch was towards the conclusion that the objections against the



Philadelphia Exhibition

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course taken by the Dominion Government had been couched in severe and exaggerated language. Lord Carnarvon also took the opportunity to dwell on the importance of the terminus question, which depended so greatly on a proper access to the sea, and which was still unsettled. Consequently his Lordship refrained from expressing any definite opinion on the various points submitted for his decision, and which hinged on the foregoing.

But the crux of the difficulty had been substantially got rid of by Lord Dufferin's diplomacy. The great speech at Victoria, though not greeted with unreserved approval, had crushed out the talk of secession, and disposed the people of the province to hope on and rely on the Government promises to proceed actively with the construction of the railway.

On the return journey a visit was paid to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia—a show which did great service to the Dominion. Her admirable system of Township, County, Central, and Provincial Exhibitions had been gradually preparing her for the larger competition at Philadelphia, where she was brought face to face with the experience, skill, and wealth of the globe. In the multifarious products of the farm she proved to be excellent; while her agricultural implements, and the out-turn of her machine shops, called for general admiration. So far as mineral products were concerned, there was a vast and varied display: gold from the Mari-



time and Pacific Provinces; silver, platinum, and copper from the Lake Superior regions; iron and coal from the Maritime Provinces, British Columbia, and the Saskatchewan Valley; splendid marble and building stone from all parts of the Dominion; gypsum and alabaster, plumbago and phosphates, and oil from the wells of Petrolia, with its allied products such as soaps, candles, paraffine, benzine, axle oil, and tar. Lastly may be mentioned her wonderful timber and lumber from British Columbia, the Ottawa Valley, and the Maritime Provinces; her cereals; fish gathered from the banks of Newfoundland to the waters of the Pacific, and her rich furs—all these combined to make a display as impressive as it was valuable.

On their arrival at Ottawa, Lord Dufferin was naturally presented with an address, in replying to which, he modestly said to his hearers, he could not presume that his visit to the West would have been productive of much practical result, but that his presence there amongst their fellow countrymen at the further side of the Rockies had been universally regarded as a proof pledge of the friendliness and goodwill felt for them by the people of Canada at large. He also spoke admiringly of the show made by Canada at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, and concluded with an eloquent panegyric on the joint productions and achievements of the English-speaking community, "As you traverse the building from end to end, you almost forget to remember whether you be



English, Canadian, Australasian, American, from Africa, or from India, in the proud consciousness that you are a member of that great race, whose enterprise has invaded every region, whose children have colonised two continents, whose language is spoken by one-third of civilised mankind, whose industry throngs the markets of the globe, and whose political genius has developed the only successful form of constitutional government as yet known to the nations of the earth."

Although Lord Dufferin's relations with the United States were excellent, he could not resist the temptation, now and then, of poking a little sly fun at his friends across the border. On January 12th, 1877, he happened to be entertained at dinner by the National Club at Toronto, and took the opportunity to allude to the constitutional position of the Governor-General in a self-governing community like that of the Dominion. His Excellency went on to say that the principal achievements of such a personage consist rather in preventing mischief than in accomplishing any substantial good.

Even in regard to his public speeches, which communicate some little substance to his shadowy individuality, the best parts of them, to adopt the privilege of my country, are those which have been left out. His ordinary duties are very similar to those of the humble functionary we see superintending the working of some complicated mass of steam-driven machinery (laughter). This personage merely walks about with a little tin vessel of oil in his hand (renewed laughter), and he pours in a drop here,



and a drop there, as occasion or the creaking of a joint may require, while his utmost vigilance is directed to no higher aim than the preservation of his wheels and cogs from the intrusion of dust, grits (roars of laughter, renewed again and again), or other foreign bodies. There, gentlemen, what was I saying? See how easily an unguarded tongue can slip into an ambiguous expression (uproarious laughter)—an expression which I need not assure you is entirely innocent of all political significance.

“Grits,” it may be explained, was the slang name of the Opposition. The playful allusion to the States came in in reference to a passage congratulating Canada on “her school systems, her feudal arrangements, her municipal institutions, her maritime regulations,” which had repeatedly been cited in England as worthy of imitation:

I am quite sure there is not an American politician between the Atlantic and the Pacific, who would not at the present moment be content to give half his fortune, and perhaps a great deal more, to possess that most serviceable and useful thing, a Governor-General (great laughter). Indeed . . . I have been extremely nervous (laughter) about passing so near the border, as I had to do on my way hither. There is no knowing what might happen in the case of people under such a stress of temptation. Raids have been prompted sometimes by love as well as hate (renewed laughter). Who knows to what lengths Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hayes, and the millions of their respective adherents, now drawn up in hostile array against each other, might not be driven in the agony of their present suspense? (laughter). A British Governor-General! What a cutting of the Gordian knot! (great laughter). And so near, too: just across



the water. A gun-boat and a sergeant's guard, and the thing is done!

And with a half threat of moving nearer to the North Pole in self-defence, and also with many protests and asseverations that nothing would induce him to part from his friends in the Dominion, Lord Dufferin concluded with this highly moral sentiment:

Nay, more, so deeply attached am I to our Canada, that the Pashalik of Bulgaria shall not tempt me away (laughter), even though a full domestic establishment, such as is customary in that country, should be provided for me out of the taxes of the people, and Lady Dufferin gave her consent, which is doubtful (great laughter and applause).



CHAPTER VII

THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF CANADA

(continued)

FOURTH PARLIAMENTARY SESSION—TOUR TO MANITOBA—HALIFAX
FISHERY COMMISSION—VISIT TO NEW YORK—FIFTH SESSION
—FAREWELL FUNCTIONS AND SPEECHES—VISIT TO HARVARD
—MACDONALD MINISTRY—RETROSPECT

ON February 8th, 1877, the fourth Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion opened. The Viceroy's speech—not so colourless and depressing a production as a normal Royal speech with us—made mention of a variety of interesting points. Progress with the Welland and Lachine canals (with the view to the improvement of the St. Lawrence navigation) was notified; the opening of the Inter-colonial Railway for traffic was announced, one of its immediate advantages being the delivery and reception of the British mails at Halifax after the closing of the St. Lawrence; and favourable notice was made of the Canadian products, manufactures and works of art at the Philadelphia Exhibition. The Governor-General expressed regret at his inability to announce any settlement of the Fishery claims under



the Washington Treaty—a dispute that was destined to occupy a good deal of further time. Further concessions were announced to the Indian tribes of the North-West Territories : on this the Viceroy remarked that the expenditure involved by the Indian Treaties was undoubtedly large, but the Canadian policy was nevertheless the cheapest ultimately, and above all it was a humane, just and Christian policy. Notwithstanding the deplorable war waged between the Indian tribes in the United States territories and the Government of that country during the previous year, no difficulty had arisen with the Canadian tribes living in the immediate vicinity of the scene of hostilities.

One of the first subjects debated in Parliament raised the issue between Protection and Free Trade. During the recess there had been a good deal of discussion on trade, which was then in a state of depression. Further protection had been advocated, but this was contrary to the policy of the Ministry, and as time went on the opposition grew. Mr. Cartwright the Finance Minister had been compelled each Session to admit a decreasing revenue, but he submitted no remedial plan. The dispute culminated in a motion brought forward by Sir John Macdonald on March 2nd, in favour of readjusting the tariff so as to benefit and foster the agricultural mining and manufacturing interests of the Dominion. This was, however, defeated by a majority of forty-nine. The rest of a not very fruitful and rather disappoint-



ing Session was taken up with (1) a movement, eventually successful, for granting an amnesty to W. D. O'Donoghue, one of the ringleaders in the North-West troubles; and (2) a discussion on the Pacific Railway, the effect of which was to do nothing to alleviate the discontent under which British Columbia was labouring. On April 28th, Lord Dufferin prorogued Parliament.

Towards the end of July their Excellencies made arrangements for a visit to the distant Province of Manitoba, travelling by way of Detroit, Chicago and St. Paul. Now-a-days, of course, Winnipeg, the Capital of Manitoba, would be reached by the Canadian Pacific Railway, but at that time the western provinces were practically only accessible from the East by a devious and circuitous route through the territory of another Power. This in itself, if one reflects, is a striking proof of how anomalous and ill-developed the conditions of the Dominion were, and what a paramount necessity there was for the closer and direct union of those extensive regions, that spread themselves over sixty degrees of longitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Descending the Red River the Viceregal party arrived at Winnipeg, on August 6th, where they spent a very pleasant week. Receptions, inspections of institutions, levees, addresses and similar functions ensued, after which visits were paid to places of interest in the neighbourhood. One of the most noteworthy was the inspection of the



The Mennonites

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Mennonite Settlement on the Rat River. The Mennonites are a religious sect now found in Switzerland, Germany, France, and Russia, who derive their belief from the teachings of Simons Menno, a Dutchman, who although he was probably the foremost champion of the sect, was not their original founder. The persecutions to which they were at various times subjected led them to emigrate to various countries, amongst others, to the United States in 1683, and recently to Canada.

In the latter region the Mennonites made excellent settlers. They brought into the province half a million dollars in cash, in addition to which the Canadian Government set apart large tracts of land for their exclusive colonisation and lent them a hundred thousand dollars at six per cent. for eight years, to assist them in building houses and cultivating the soil. There were about six thousand five hundred in all, at the time, settled in two localities. A delegation of the officials, headed by the emigration agent, came forward to meet Lord Dufferin, who made a very practical and friendly speech to them. His Excellency bade them welcome to Canadian soil, and gave very pointed references to their peculiar religious convictions as to the unlawfulness of warfare. They were indeed called on to engage in a great struggle, and contend with foes whom it required their best energies to encounter. But "the war to which we invite you as recruits and comrades, is a war waged against the brute forces of nature; these



forces, however, will welcome our domination, and reward our attack by placing their treasures at our disposal." He concluded his eloquent and most touching address by inviting his hearers to assist the people of Canada in choosing the members of Parliament, in shaping the laws, and in moulding the future destinies of the country.

At Gimli, on the west coast of Lake Winnipeg, a visit was paid to another foreign reservation, consisting of Icelanders who had emigrated to Canada in 1875, and settling in Victoria County, Ontario, had become dissatisfied with the character of the soil. The whole body, upwards of two hundred and fifty souls, were transported at the country's expense to the North-West, and further efforts were made in Iceland to induce immigration into Canada. To this invitation nearly twelve hundred persons eventually responded. At the time of Lord Dufferin's visit the reserve covered an area of four hundred and twenty-seven square miles, Gimli being the chief village of the settlement.

His Excellency's reply to the address of the Icelanders made reference to his visit to their pristine home twenty years before. He complimented them on their well-built and commodious homesteads, certainly far superior to the farmhouses he remembered in Iceland, and was gratified at finding a library in nearly every hut. But he warned them of the disadvantages and evils of a stove-heated hut, as compared with the healthiness and exhilaration attaching to the open fire-place.



"A constitution nursed upon the oxygen of our bright winter atmosphere makes its owner feel as though he could toss about the pine trees in his glee ; whereas, to the sluggard shivering over his stove-pipe, it is a horror and a nameless hardship to put his nose outside the door." Some encouraging remarks were addressed to the Icelanders founded on the inspiring records and traditions of their forefathers, with which his Excellency showed himself well acquainted ; and in conclusion he assured his hearers, in terms which made them proud indeed, that a more valuable accession to the intelligence, patriotism, loyalty, industry and strength of the country, had never been introduced into the Dominion.

The Manitoban tour was brought to a fitting close with a grand *déjeuner* at the City Hall, Winnipeg. In returning thanks for toast of his health the Governor-General made one of his best speeches. He referred to Manitoba as the keystone of that mighty arch of sister provinces, which spans the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and then went on, in a very original strain, to try to convey a better geographical notion of its size and importance, by enumerating the rivers flowing through it, because, as Lord Dufferin neatly put it, as a poor man cannot afford to live in a big house, so a small country cannot support a big river. The passage is too long to quote, but the almost endless catalogue of lakes and streams, several over a thousand miles in length, is not



more surprising than the variety, picturesqueness and humour imparted by the speaker to his description of the fancied route of travellers, who might adopt this fluvial mode of exploring the whole region. Part of the speech was devoted also to Indian matters, and it is curious at this day to note the prophetic warning uttered by Lord Dufferin regarding the possible extinction of that grand beast, the buffalo, on which so many of the Indian tribes were at that time dependent. Now-a-days, as one travels through Manitoba, people tell you that the beast is indeed virtually extinct, though I observe that Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, in his account of the present Prince of Wales' recent tour ("The Web of Empire"), speaks hopefully of a small herd at Banff, that charming health resort in the Rockies. The herd there has doubled itself in three years, and may possibly re-create the breed.¹ The present President of the United States, too, mentions some isolated herds in more or less inaccessible places; but certainly Lord Dufferin's unheeded warning has been within an ace of fulfilment. Appreciative and kindly reference was made in the same speech to the Icelandic and Mennonite settlers, and a jocular allusion to the United States, whose publicists were every now and then predicting the inevitable union of the two countries, found uproarious

¹ When I was travelling in Canada in 1898 I was told by an old resident that he remembered seeing a few buffaloes years before deliberately charge a passing train, while endeavouring to cross the line, with but small hurt to themselves!



approval. Canada was likened by the speaker to a growing maiden, "heart-whole and stately": the States to "a big, boisterous, hobbledehoy of a cousin, fresh from school and elate with animal spirits and good nature."

She knows he is stronger and more muscular than herself; has lots of pocket-money (laughter), can smoke cigars and loaf around in public places in an ostentatious manner forbidden to the decorum of her own situation (roars of laughter). She admires him for his bigness, strength, and prosperity. She likes to hear of his punching the heads of other boys (laughter). She anticipates and will be proud of his future success in life, and both likes him and laughs at him for his affectionate, loyal, though somewhat patronising friendship for herself. But of no nearer connection does she dream, nor does his bulky image for a moment disturb her virginal meditations (laughter). In a world apart, secluded from all extraneous influences, nestling at the feet of her majestic mother, Canada dreams her dream and forebodes her destiny—a dream of ever-broadening harvests, multiplying towns and villages, and expanding pastures; of constitutional self-government and a confederated Empire; of a perpetuation for all time upon this continent of that temperate and well-balanced system of government, which combines in one mighty whole, as the eternal possession of all Englishmen, the brilliant history and traditions of the past, with the freest and most untrammelled liberty of action in the future (tremendous cheering).

The speech subsequently made by the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Morris, also excited much enthusiasm, for his Honour was just finishing his term of office, and had earned the respect of everybody.



He confessed to having had "Manitoba on the brain," and had been privileged to witness a vast improvement, not only in the material enrichment of the province, but also in the relations between the red and white children of the Queen. In his kind treatment of the half-breeds and Indians, he was ably seconded by his wife and daughters, who were widely popular.

Mr. Leggo, in his history of Lord Dufferin's Canadian administration, devotes an interesting and eloquent passage to noting the effect of the Winnipeg speech. The previous delivery at Victoria had opened the eyes of the Dominion and the world to the resources of British Columbia; the Winnipeg speech had produced an even wider impression. It elevated Canada in the eyes of Canadians, who had so long heard the States eulogised, and their own country depreciated, that they were beginning to believe the tale. His welcome and kindly recognition of the Mennonites found a grateful echo in many thousands of German and Russian homes, while his reference to the loyalty of the French half-breeds evoked similar gratitude in other quarters. If at home any coldness lingered in the feelings entertained by some schools of politicians towards the Canadians, this was largely dispelled by Lord Dufferin's utterances. These are Mr. Leggo's views, to which most people will subscribe. The Viceroy was a genuine supporter of what we should term Imperial ideas now-a-days, and to him may be



truly ascribed, not only a leading share in the inception of this great policy, but also a final quietus imparted to the "Canadian annexation" dreams of some Americans across the border.

On November 23rd, 1877, the Halifax Fishery Commission presented its Report. This Commission had originated out of Article XXII. of the Treaty of Washington of 1871, which had empowered the Americans to fish for twelve years in the British grounds, and the British to fish in American waters north of 39° N. lat. As, however, the Canadian rights were alleged to be far more valuable than the American rights—an allegation, however, not admitted by the United States' Government—it was agreed by Article XXII. that the difference, if any, should be ascertained by a Commission. The latter consisted of Sir Alexander Galt, representing the Imperial Government, the Hon. Judge Kellogg, representing the Government of the United States, and Mr. Maurice Delfosse. On November 23rd, an award was made in favour of Great Britain for five and a half million dollars. It was signed by Sir A. Galt and Mr. Delfosse; but the American Commissioner declined to be a party, and protested against it, a course which provoked a good deal of unfavourable comment, even in the States.

Towards the end of January, 1878, Lord Dufferin left Ottawa for New York, in response to an invitation from the American Geographical Society, which had convened a meeting for the discussion



of Captain Howgate's plan for the establishment of a small colony of hardy and enterprising men in the far North, with the object of exploring the Arctic regions. The meeting took place at Chickering Hall on January 31st, and in the absence of Captain Howgate, an abstract of his paper was read by Lieutenant Greely, after short addresses by Mr. Bryant and Mr. Bayard Taylor, in which his Excellency was proposed as honorary member of the American Geographical Society. The election was unanimous, and in recognition Lord Dufferin made one of his usual humorous speeches. Regarding his claims to be considered as an Arctic traveller he confessed :

It is true I once sailed towards the North, and got as near the Pole as Washington is to Ottawa, but the voyage was as fruitless as that of the Peri to the gate of Paradise, and possessed but one feature in common with the expeditions of more serious explorers, namely, that I had to turn back again (great laughter).

In the same speech Lord Dufferin brought in some very felicitous allusions to Columbus, comparing himself to the Indian chief, whom the discoverer of the New World had brought home in chains. The chains his Excellency was wearing were "those which had been forged around his heart by the courtesy, kindness, and consideration he had received at the hands of the people of the United States, and such fetters even the imperial mandate of his hearers would be powerless to loose" (great applause).



Lord Dufferin had many warm personal friends among distinguished American *littérateurs* and politicians, and had long taken a strong interest in the public affairs of the States. And in the very first speech after his appointment to the Canadian Governor-Generalship, one of its most impressive passages was that in which he dwelt on the community of aims, ideas, and interests of both Canada and the States, and the paramount importance of a thoroughly friendly understanding between the two countries. Certainly the fruit of this feeling was perceptible in the very kind reception extended to the Earl and Countess every time they crossed the frontier. On the occasion of his previous visit to New York in October 1874, Lord Dufferin naturally declined a public banquet, but he was most hospitably entertained at dinner at Delmonico's by twenty or thirty of the very foremost citizens. At Chicago he was cordially welcomed by the Corporation and citizens as well as by the Board of Trade, and to each of these he made suitable replies and addresses which quite won the hearts of his hearers.

The fifth Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion was opened by Lord Dufferin on January 7th, 1878. Reference was made in the Speech to the Viceregal visit to Manitoba and the North-West. The five and a half million dollars Fishery award was pronounced to be much under the amount claimed by the Canadian Government



as the value of the fisheries, but his Excellency added a remark, by-the-bye, in striking contrast with the course taken by Mr. Kellogg. "Having assented to the creation of the tribunal for the determination of their value, we are bound loyally to assent to the decision given." The Governor-General congratulated the country on the success of Canada at the Sydney Exhibition, and on the prospect thus opened up of a new market for Canadian goods. As to the Pacific Railway, the surveys had been pressed to completion, and the question of route was believed to be now within feasibility of decision.

A visit on the part of their Excellencies to Montreal gave opportunity for a grand reception as well as a ball, at the Windsor Hotel, a fine building now familiar to tourists, then newly erected. Next day the McGill College was visited, and the Chancellor read an address in Greek, to which Lord Dufferin replied in the same language. The *New England Journal of Education* remarked of this that the address fully bore out the encomiums bestowed on it by classical scholars at the time, and that its neat, terse style, and pure Attic composition showed that the speaker—as is the case with so many of the public men of England—had kept up his classical reading.¹ The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was also conferred on his Excellency.

During the Parliamentary Session several

¹ He had also learned to read Greek colloquially. See p. 370



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endeavours were made to pass resolutions of a protective character in favour of duties on imported cereals, flour, coal, etc., but in each case the proposals were rejected by substantial majorities. The same fate attended a motion which gave rise to a lengthy debate, spread over twenty-seven hours, on the dismissal of the De Boucherville Ministry by the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec. There was considerable want of sympathy between Mr. Letellier and his Ministers, mainly owing to their diametrically opposed political views, the former being a strong Liberal, and, at the time of his appointment, a member of Mr. Mackenzie's Government, while his Ministers were Conservatives.

Lord Dufferin's Governor-Generalship of Canada was now verging towards its close, and on February 27th, a Farewell Ball was held at Government House. Later on, in April, two theatrical performances—the last of a merry series which had at intervals diversified the round of social functions at Rideau Hall—were given, the plays being "New Men and Old Acres," and "Sweethearts," in both of which Lady Dufferin took the leading part. The feature of the entertainment, however, was a very touching epilogue, in which I think one can detect the poetic and literary fancy of his Excellency. It is so good that I am more than tempted to give it at length.



EPILOGUE

KIND friends! for such indeed you've proved to us,
Kinder than just, I fear—and is it thus
That we must quit you? Shall the curtain fall
O'er this bright pageant like a funeral pall,
And blot for ever from your friendly sight
The well-known forms and faces that to-night
For the last time have used their mimic arts
To tempt your laughter and to touch your hearts,
Without one word of thanks to let you know
How irredeemable's the debt we owe
For that warm welcome which, year after year,
Has waited on our poor attempts to cheer,
With the gay humour of these trivial plays,
Some few hours stolen from your busy days?
Despite ourselves the grateful words *will* come,
For love could teach a language to the dumb.
'Tis just one lustre since—a tyro band,
On paltry farce we tried our 'prentice hand,
Treading at first a less pretentious stage,
E'en that the goatherds of the Thespian age;
Without a curtain;—for each slip, a screen;—
While bedroom candles light the meagre scene.
But, soon emboldened by our Public's smile,
Our Muse attempts a more ambitious style,
"The Dowager" parades her stately grace,—
"Our Wife" declares two husbands out of place,—
To "School" we send you, and—a sight too rare—
Show you for once a really "Happy Pair."
Then having warned your daughters not "To Lend"
Their only "Lover" to a lady friend—
We next the fatal "Scrap of Paper" burn,
And follow with "One Hour"—"Jacques" in turn,



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"Semiramis,"—a Debutante's "First Night,"—
Winging at each essay a loftier flight,
Until at last a bumper house we drew
With the melodious "Mayor of St. Brieux"!
These our achievements—but we gladly own
The praise, if praise be due, is half your own.
'Twas your encouragement that nerved our wits,
Conjured hysterics, sulks, tears, fainting-fits;
You taught our "Ingénues" those airs serene,
Those blushing sirs to drop their bashful mien,—
Wherefore commissioned am I to come to-day
Our hearts and laurels at your feet to lay,
And yet my task is only half fulfilled.

To the Actors.

Brothers and sisters of Thalia's guild,
Who've faced with me the critic's glittering eye
And dared the terrors of yon gallery,
Who've lightened all my labours with your love,
And made each effort a new pleasure prove,—
If words could thank you for your generous aid,
These lips should bankrupt be to see you paid.
And, oh! believe, as long as life endures,
The best affections of my heart are yours.

To the Audience.

And now one last farewell—a few months more,
And we depart your loved Canadian shore,
Never again to hear your plaudits rise,
Nor watch the ready laughter in your eyes
Gleam out responsive to our Author's wit,
However poorly we interpret it;
Nor see with Artist's pride your tears o'erflow
In homage to our simulated woe.



Yet scenes like these can never wholly fade
Into oblivion's melancholy shade,
And oft at home, when Christmas fire-logs burn,
Our pensive thoughts instinctively will turn
To this fair City with her crown of Towers,
And all the joys and friends that once were ours;
And oft shall yearning fancy fondly fill
This hall with guests, and conjure up at will
Each dear familiar face, each kindly word
Of praise that e'er our player souls have stirred,
Till 'neath the melting spell of memory,
Our love flows back toward you like the sea;—
For know—whatever way our fortunes turn—
Upon the altar of our hearts shall burn
Those votive fires no fuel need renew—
Our prayers for blessings on your land and you.

The same month witnessed a more important function. On April 16th a joint Address of both Houses of Parliament was presented to Lord and Lady Dufferin in the Senate Chamber. Deep regret was expressed at their approaching departure; his Excellency's zealous devotion to the public interests, his special patronage of literature, art, and industrial pursuits, and the beneficial results of his visits and tours throughout the provinces were gratefully acknowledged.

In the Viceroy's reply there were one or two striking passages. He remarked:

I found you a loyal people, and I leave you the truest-hearted subjects of her Majesty's Dominions. I found you proud of your descent, and anxious to maintain your connection with the Mother Country; I leave you



Queen's Birthday at Montreal

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more convinced than ever of the solicitude of Great Britain to reciprocate your affection, of her dependence on your fidelity in every emergency.¹ I found you men of various nationalities—of English, French, Irish, Scotch, and German descent—working out the problems of Constitutional Government with admirable success. I leave you with even a deeper conviction in your minds that the due application of the principles is capable of controlling the gravest ministerial crises, to the satisfaction of the people at large, and of their leaders and representatives of every shade of opinion.

When I resign the temporary Viceroyalty, with which I have been invested, into the hands of my Sovereign, I shall be able to assure her that not a leaf has fallen from her maple chaplet, that the lustre of no jewel in her transatlantic diadem has been dimmed.

The Queen's birthday was celebrated in Montreal by a grand military display concluding with a sham fight. A body of American volunteers from St. Albans, Vermont, took part with the Canadian forces, and this called forth a graceful acknowledgment from the Viceroy. "A greater compliment," he truly observed, "could hardly be paid by one country to another than that which you have been good enough to confer upon us, by thus joining with our fellow-citizens and soldiers in celebrating the birthday of our Queen" (loud cheers). At

¹ How truly the trend of events was here gauged! Great Britain did not rely in vain on the Dominion, as the events of 1900-01 showed. And the assistance then given was something more than a matter of numbers. "The over-sea Colonials," said General Delarey, "know our methods and meet our tactics. Their resourcefulness dismayed the Boer Leaders."



the evening banquet Lord Dufferin dwelt more on military topics, making especial reference to the "Celtic effervescence along the southern frontier," which he minimised and laughed at. He took the opportunity to speak highly of the hundreds and hundreds of loyal Irishmen whom he had met in various parts of the country, labouring in the field, the forest, the riverside, and in the mine, and wound up by saying that on a day of peril, if in the Canadian line of battle he could find a regiment more essentially Irish in its composition than the rest, it would be to the keeping of that regiment he would entrust the standard of the Queen and the flag of the Dominion.

Shortly afterwards Lord Dufferin returned to the capital, and on April 7th the last farewell was spoken, and their Excellencies steamed off for Montreal, to receive fresh proofs, at that city, at Quebec, and other places, of the deep personal regret shared by all at their departure. As Mr. Leggo says, the Dufferins "had so wound themselves around the hearts of the people, that the scene did not bear the impress of officials moving to another sphere of action, it was more like that of dear and warm personal friends parting for ever."

In June his Excellency attended the Commencement Exercises at Harvard University, when the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him. Only thirteen distinguished foreigners had received the LL.D., viz.:



Visit to Harvard University

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Sir Charles Lyell	1844
Sir Henry Holland	1847
Henry Hallam	1848
The Earl of Elgin	1853
The Earl of Ellesmere	1853
Sir Francis Napier, Bart.	1858
Lord Lyons	1860
John Stuart Mill	1862
Edward Labordaye	1864
The Marquess of Ripon	1871
James Martineau	1872
Thomas Carlyle	1875
The Earl of Dufferin	1878

The latest *alumnus* expressed his thanks in just the learned and courteous language befitting the occasion, and the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, who played the part of host, made happy reference to the common language of both countries, in which his distinguished guest had returned thanks.

We have been privileged to hear him in that dear mother tongue of New England as well as of Old England, which is fast becoming the common speech of both hemispheres (applause); which has just achieved a new triumph in being employed by Bismarck as well as Beaconsfield at the Berlin Congress, and which, though it may not quite yet have reached the dignity of being the court language of the world, must always be the language for those who would study, in the original, the great principles of liberty and law, and the glorious history of free institutions and free men; the language of Washington and Franklin and Webster, as well as of Chatham and Burke and Fox and Sheridan (applause).



God grant that it may ever be a bond of love, and a pledge of peace between the nations which are privileged to call it their own !

A joint address of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec gave opportunity for a fresh reply, in which Lord Dufferin availed himself of the opportunity to dwell on the peculiar racial characteristics of the province. He remarked that ethnological homogeneity was, in his opinion, not an unmixed benefit, and that the inter-action of national idiosyncrasies imparted freshness, variety, and colour. He always aspired to see its French inhabitants executing for Canada the functions which France had so admirably performed for Europe. A tour through the " Eastern Townships," a beautiful district of the Province of Quebec, furnished an opportunity for commending agricultural pursuits to his hearers, rather than the occupation of a small shopkeeper. The number of replies his Excellency had to make, often under circumstances of haste and want of preparation, was indeed remarkable, and the more so when one considers how invariably he managed to say the right thing in the right way.

Lady Dufferin left Canada on August 31st, to the regret of all, a dense crowd gathering together to give her a hearty, though necessarily sad, " send-off " as the SS. *Sardinian* left the docks at Quebec. Lord Dufferin remained behind, for his reign had not yet reached its official close. A few days later, on September 5th, an interesting



The New Viceroy

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deputation, consisting of a number of the Municipalities of Ontario, travelled a considerable distance to Quebec—the ancient capital—to present an address to the Viceroy on his approaching departure. Headed by three Highland pipers the municipal delegation proceeded to the Terrace when the address was read by Mr. McMillan, who had been chiefly instrumental in organising the affair. Lord Dufferin in his reply naturally touched on the personal merits of the Marquess of Lorne and H.R.H. the Princess Louise, who were to succeed to the Viceregal dignities, speaking with the most friendly appreciation of the one and with the most respectful admiration of the Princess. And yet, alas! there were spots on the sun; so there was a congenital defect attaching to the appointment of Lord Lorne.

He is not an Irishman! (great laughter). It is not his fault—he did the best he could for himself—(renewed laughter)—he came as near the right thing as possible by being born a Celtic Highlander! (continued laughter). There is no doubt the world is best administered by Irishmen. Things never went better with us either at home or abroad than when Lord Palmerston ruled Great Britain, Lord Mayo governed India, Lord Monck directed the destinies of Canada, etc. Have not even the French at last made the same discovery in the person of Marshal MacMahon? (laughter and applause). But still we must be generous, and it is right Scotchmen should have a turn. Nay, I will go a step further—I would even let the poor Englishman take an occasional try at the helm—(great laughter)—if for no other reason than to make him aware how much better we manage the business.



The Parliamentary Election resulted in an estimated majority against the Ministry of Mr. Mackenzie of over eighty. On October 9th his resignation was placed in the hands of the Governor-General. In the meantime the round of farewell addresses and replies was necessarily going on, one of the most prominent of these being in connection with the Toronto Exhibition, which was formally opened by his Excellency on September 24th. A luncheon given by the Ontario Society of Artists furnished an opportunity to Lord Dufferin to moot a proposal he had already discussed with the Governor of New York State, that the two Governments should co-operate in establishing round the Niagara Falls an international park, and so extinguish the objectionable squatting interests which had established themselves there and levied a sort of blackmail on all visitors.

On October 17th and 19th, the members of Sir John Macdonald's new Ministry were sworn in by his Excellency at Montreal and Quebec respectively. At the latter city the corner-stone of the now famous Dufferin Terrace was laid, and a few days later, the 25th instant, Lord Dufferin left in the Allan steamer *Polynesian* escorted by H.M.S. *Sirius* and *Argus* and a number of steamers loaded with citizens who desired to pay their last adieux to his Excellency.

Compared with the administrations of former rulers, Lord Dufferin's reign was quiet, but it

discuss or
debate

hushhush



Retrospect of Canadian Viceroyalty 161

marked a great advance in strengthening and extending the principles of Constitutional Government, while it distinctly elevated Canada in the estimation of the world. The resources of her enormous territory were unfolded for the first time in picturesque and eloquent, but at the same time not exaggerated language. The delicate position of the French Canadians in regard to the bulk of the population was at all times handled by Lord Dufferin with the most conspicuous tact and respect, and the same consideration, relieved by genial touches of humour, was observable whenever he had to dwell on the aspirations and relations of Canada and the United States. In his systematic advocacy of the need for strengthening the ties between the Colonies and the Mother Country Lord Dufferin was undoubtedly the pioneer of the great movement which Mr. Chamberlain has since so energetically developed; while his recognition of the common interests of England and America, and his anticipation of closer co-operation and understanding between the two greatest members of the English-speaking family, is another marked proof of a political insight, which we now-a-days can appreciate even better than his hearers did at the time. Lord Granville's testimony, at a grand banquet at the Reform Club on Lord Dufferin's return home, that he had actually "created" the Dominion of Canada is perhaps the most authoritative verdict on that chapter of his career.



CHAPTER VIII

PRESIDENT, ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—AMBASSADOR AT ST. PETERSBURG—TURKISH AFFAIRS—WAR WITH TURKOMANS—NIHILISM—ASSASSINATION OF CZAR—TRANSFERRED TO CONSTANTINOPLE—RECEPTION BY SULTAN—THE *LADY HERMIONE* YACHT—LIFE AT THERAPIA

ON his return home Lord Dufferin accepted the Presidentship of the Royal Geographical Society, in May 1878, and took the chair for the first time on December 9th in that year. The subject of the evening's paper was the favourite one of Arctic exploration. But when the time came for opening the discussion, Lord Dufferin modestly disclaimed being an authority on such a momentous topic, especially in the august company in which he found himself. The official record of his speech goes on:

Were this a literary society: were this a medical or an antiquarian audience, I should perhaps be tempted, on the strength of my own Arctic experiences, to address you as an authority; but in the presence of geographers it would lay any one open to the charge of presumption, who, having merely taken a summer cruise of pleasure in the direction of the North Pole, should venture to express an opinion on the grave questions raised by the papers. It would be as unreasonable as if a gentleman inheriting the patronymic of "Bishop" were to proceed to ordain



clergymen. I therefore prefer to call on the gentlemen of Arctic experience present to express their opinions.

At the conclusion of the discussion the President had to add a few words, and these showed that he had closely followed the trend of the various reasons assigned in favour of renewed Arctic exploration. There had, he remarked, been one omission in the arguments adduced in favour of England prosecuting further researches in the direction of the North Pole. Next to Russia, England was the greatest Arctic Power in the world. Though from the happy absence of crime in that region, the Canadian Government had not had occasion to establish judges and prisons there, it should not be forgotten that the Queen's Writ ran to the Pole, and the least that a country could do was to examine its territorial boundaries. I was present at this meeting and can recall the mutual congratulations of several distinguished F.R.G.S.'s, at their having secured so witty and delightful a President.

Unfortunately, Lord Dufferin's tenure of this office was very short lived. In February 1879, he was appointed H.M.'s Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in succession to Lord Augustus Loftus, and on the 10th of that month, at the evening meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, he found himself compelled to relinquish the Presidentship, and bid farewell to the Fellows. In doing so he expressed the sensation of a melancholy satisfaction of knowing that, when at length he



might return to find a seat upon those benches, there would be few of the Society's explorers who would have had a larger experience of the characteristics of an Arctic climate than himself.

The diplomatic relations between England and Russia were at that time far from placid. The hard struggle with Turkey had ended in a treaty, that of San Stefano, concluded between the two late combatants, but the reception of this treaty throughout Europe, and especially in England, made it clear to Russia that the former treaties of 1856 and 1871 could not be thus abrogated without the consent of the other parties thereto. The modifications effected by the Treaty of Berlin, four months later, had naturally done little to smoothen the Russian *amour propre*, which considered that Europe with England at its head had in a measure robbed the Czar's people of the legitimate fruits of their victorious campaign.

At the beginning of the year, though six months had elapsed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, peace had not been signed between Russia and Turkey and it was not till February 8th that this took place. The indemnity to be paid by the latter was £32,100,000, the mode of payment being reserved for future arrangement, a matter in which much trouble was eventually generated.

In Asia, in particular, events were momentous and critical. England was engaged in hostilities with Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan, consequent on his secret negotiations with General Kaufmann,

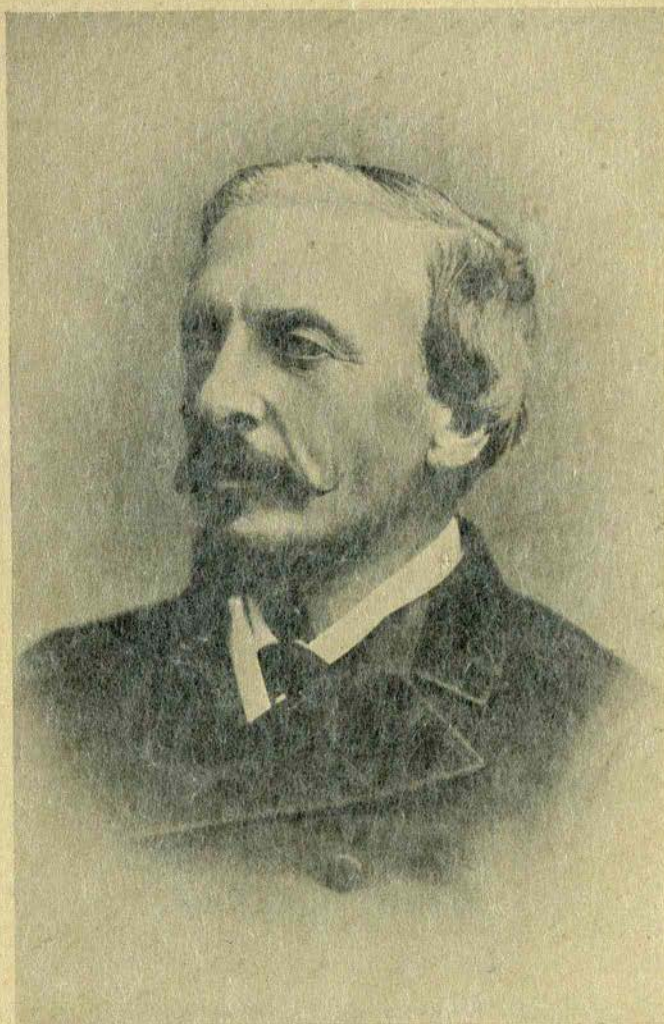


Photo by]

[Elliott & Fry.

LORD DUFFERIN.

[To face p. 164.



Russia's representative in Turkestan, and his hostile repulse of our friendly mission. On the Perso-Turkoman frontier, too, things had not shaped happily for Russia.

Several expeditions had been despatched against the Tekkehs with indifferent result, and in 1879 General Lomakin, the Military Governor of Transcaspia had suffered a serious defeat at their hands. Throughout Russia there was burning desire for revenge on a foe who had so long defied them, and General Skobelof was entrusted with the command of a powerful expedition which, after prolonged operations, finally captured Geok-Tepe, the stronghold of the Tekkehs, in January 1881. This broke the back of the Turkoman resistance, and a few years later, in 1884, the headman of the Merv Tribes made formal submission to the White Czar in General Komarof's drawing-room at Askabad. The way was thus made clear for the occupation of Old Sarakhs by Russia, and other movements which led to the Anglo-Russian demarcation of the Afghan frontier (see p. 217).

Lord Dufferin had a difficult ambassadorial part to play, in adopting an attitude at once dignified and conciliatory, but this was exactly the *rôle* for which he was best fitted, and though, of course, he now moved in the twilight of diplomacy, rather than in the full light of Viceregal administration, his success was as great in his new post as it had ever been in Canada.



In his peregrinations around St. Petersburg, Lord Dufferin had sometimes to submit to the necessity of "personal protection": a precautionary infliction from which the members of diverse British Governments, notably those of 1880-85, have not been exempt. An amusing incident was narrated to me apropos of one of these excursions. He had reached a Russian suburban village, where a fair was in full swing, with its concomitant delights of "roundabouts." Lord Dufferin contemplated the scene of enjoyment with obvious relish, till all of a sudden he could not stand it any longer and, to the scandalised horror of his two attendant detectives, sprang forward on to the back of one of the circum-ambient wooden steeds, and careered round and round gaily, to the inspiring tunes of the organ. Unfortunately, there was nobody present to commemorate this interesting diplomatic episode with the help of a snap-shot camera.

Another Russian incident I recall from an Italian writer, Signor Diego Angeli. Lord Dufferin was an excellent water-colour artist, as I myself have had reason to note from the pretty sketches he showed me at Clandeboye. I am perfectly certain, from his handiwork, that had his proclivities led him in the direction of art rather than the public services, his unquestioned ability and energy to excel in whatever he took up, would have easily gained for him the post of President of the Royal Academy. My readers may recall the delightfully ornate and eloquent speeches with which the late



Lord Leighton surprised the world after his promotion to the Presidency. There seems to me to have been a good deal in common between the styles of the two orators, and there may be a further idiosyncratic affinity between art and eloquence. Anyhow, Signor Angeli, a critic of no mean taste, was immensely struck with two water-colours shown to him. The first was a group of Russian ladies, bathing *au naturel*. Lord Dufferin, while out for a ride near the Russian capital, had unexpectedly descended on a secret bevy of feminine bathers, disporting themselves by the banks of a stream. Unlike Actæon he was fortunately concealed from the gaze of the nymphs, and was thus enabled to jot down in a sketch-book what Signor Angeli rather unkindly calls their crude proportions, and physiognomies, with uncompromising Anglo-Saxon realism. I am quite convinced, however, though I never saw it, that the sketch must have been of a far more artistic and refined character than the Italian writer in the *Nuova Antologia* would seem to hint. The second water-colour that excited his admiration was the original of the pathetic illustration in "Letters from High Latitudes," of a skeleton of an eighteenth-century Dutch whaler in a mouldering coffin, found by Lord Dufferin on the desolate shores of Spitzbergen.

The internal politics of Russia were as troubled and disquieting as her exterior relations. Nihilism had spread widely during the latter part of the



reign of Alexander II., in consequence of the refusal of the Government to grant reforms, and several attempts had been made on the Czar's life, gentle and tender-hearted though he was. In the cities through which his father, an acknowledged despot of far less tolerant views, had walked about unguarded by a single attendant, Alexander was menaced by the ever-present danger of assassination.

No fewer than six attempts, in all, were made upon his life ; the first in 1866, the second in Paris while on a visit to Napoleon III., and the remaining four while Lord Dufferin was Ambassador at St. Petersburg, the very last of these being fatal. Prince Krapotkin, Count Mezentsof, and Baron Heyking, had already fallen victims to the hands of the assassins, and on Lord Dufferin reaching his post, General Drenteln, the head of the Third Section, narrowly escaped a similar fate. A man on horseback rode past his carriage and fired into it, the bullet breaking both windows, but happily missing the General. The criminal escaped.

Notwithstanding these terrifying warnings, the Emperor continued his promenades unguarded and unattended, except by a single aide-de-camp. One forenoon Lord and Lady Dufferin were walking in the Winter Garden when, turning the corner of a solitary path, they suddenly came face to face with the Emperor, who was much amused at making the acquaintance of the new Ambassadors in this