CANADIAN ORATORS
& ORATORY

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION.

That the future of Canada is assured only by her adoption of a more independent national policy, has become more and more the common opinion of those who unblinded by selfish and pessimistic sentiment, see a not far distant era, when Canada shall hold no small place among the nations of the world. Not through annexation, not through Imperialism but through Nationalism, must she pierce the clouds of hesitancy, of indecision, and of despair, in which too much dependence and lack of confidence have enveloped her. Only when the shadows of the ghostly shapes have been dispersed, may the light of a brighter day illumine her pathway, and lead her to the fullest realization of her most glorious dreams. Then and only then, shall a day dawn for this Dominion which shall dim the fairest ~~visie~~ visions of her undaunted pioneers, who have left the most noble traditions for an heritage.

Furthermore it is in the realization, by her people, of the greatness of those traditions upon which Canada is founded that a greater self-dependence ,and consequently a greater development will be achieved. Pride in our traditions must be the first step toward a unified and prosperous Canadian people. Then why import our traditions? Why try to patch them up with those of another nation with which we have so little in common, which has no tradition so noble and ~~exha~~ exalted as that upon which our Dominion is founded? It is a most gross insult to our past, to the men and women who toiled amidst ~~the~~ privations and suffering, in the lonely outposts of our country, to build up those prosperous homes throughout the land, and who have given to Canada that strong virile type

of citizen, who has gained the world's admiration and respect by his conduct in the face of a world crisis. Moreover it is the height of ingratitude to the statesmen by whose vision and foresight her constitution was moulded, and her ability to govern herself was shown.

It is partly with a view to emphasizing and proclaiming the distinct national greatness of Canada, which is based on her traditions, that I have undertaken this dissertation on Canadian orators; for, I contend that Canada has been left no richer heritage than that flood of eloquence which flowed from the lips of her statesmen during the nineteenth century. One of those meritorious traditions of which her people are too little aware. It is my belief that if a new interest can be awakened throughout our country today in this art, in which our forefathers excelled, that the national life of Canada will prosper as a result.

There is a great deal of talk in circulation at the present time, that oratory is a lost art, and further that this is a good thing that it is lost, in so far as it has no place in the present stage of the world's history. Fortunately this is not a commonly expressed view, though it is held by many who see only the practical and business side of life.

A review of our times shows that the tendency of the social mind is to seek the practical in every phase of life; and ~~in~~ this dangerous mental tendency is no doubt ~~of~~ the cause of the popular demand for the rational presentation of all thought in cold, direct, business-like language. The presence of anything of a different style, in the emotional, the ornamental or imaginative, is regarded with suspicion, as being an appeal to the feelings and emotions which should not be tolerated; and furthermore it is looked upon as superfluous and vain. This unnatural pride in our rational and practical life is nothing but the most absurd,

sentimental affectedness, which must shortly run its course and disappear.

As a result of this affected mental state, which is more or less universal, oratory is in Canada at a very low ebb. It is not that those abilities requisite for the art, which the Greeks regarded as divine are lacking in the Canadian people, but the public are not demanding and calling it forth. It is not that the public speakers of today are incapable of eloquence, but they are led to believe and are partly justified in such belief, that eloquence and vivid passionate expression is neither necessary nor wanted. Until a time when such ridiculous theories are exploded, the art of oratory can make but very little progress in this country, and their very inconsistency with the fundamental laws of human nature makes denial simple.

It does not seem reasonable to the close observer of human tendencies, that the appreciation of what is eloquent and imaginative in our language no longer exists. Such an opinion is in direct opposition to our essential natures; it is a contradiction of the existence in us of what we regard as one of our finest qualities, that of aesthetic appreciation; it is a denial of our emotions and finer sensibilities, of those qualities which are embedded deep within this human frame, and which proclaim us men. These delusions as to our nature must be overcome, and with them our false impressions of eloquence will vanish.

There is still a great place for studied and noble utterance in our public life today, despite the assumed practicality of the time and despite the demand for brevity, clarity, and directness. Nor are these very qualities lacking in oratory; on the other hand, they will be found to be most conspicuous in the greatest orators. The

tendency today is to look upon oratory as mere prettiness of expression, as affected and flowery language. There is too much of such clap-trap in the mouths of our modern demagogues. But, when eloquence is something more than a trick of art, or a juggle of words; when it has a higher aim than to tickle the ear or to charm the imagination as the sparkling eye of the snake enchants its prey; when it has a higher inspiration than that which produces mere fine speaking; when the thought is powerful and filled with noble feeling; when sympathy has been established, and the orator sends thrills of emotion and sentiment into the hearts of his hearers; when a vast crowd is turned into one man, giving them similar thoughts and similar feelings to the speaker; then the value and power of true oratory becomes recognized as a vital force in the life of a nation. Its influence purges and invigorates every department in its structure, displacing blind pessimism, hopelessness and despair, and charging the whole with a new life and ideal.

It was through the fiery eloquence of Canadian statesmen during the middle of the nineteenth century that the foundation of a great nation was laid. Men whose hearts were fired with a devotion and love for their country, whose vigorous words awakened the widely separated North American colonies into a realization of their weakness as separate units, and the strength which would be theirs as a united country. This period is remarkable in Canadian history both from the standpoint of statesmanship, and of oratory, as a bright and glorious age upon which we may look back with just pride, and from which we may obtain inspiration and wisdom for the guidance of Canada's destiny.

Since that time the study and practice of oratory has

seriously declined to [illegible] the indifference and neglect with which it is treated today. The situation in the past presented no greater call for eloquence than does the present. Every phase of our life is just as grave and even more serious. The present vehemently calls for a political, moral, and spiritual awakening, to a greater degree than even the past. The challenge to the young men of today is equally great, and the reward of eloquence is immediate. Yet it requires study; it means self-denial and labourious effort through long years, before the coveted goal is reached.

The very fact of this decline, in a needy present, should be an incentive to a renewed interest in the art. Is there not a hope that the finer senses of feeling, and imagination and emotion which once were so prominent, but which through inaction and lethargy have suffered a deadening, might be aroused by high-wrought and eloquent language? This can only be realized by a return, of those who would express their thoughts in a more effective manner, to the study and use of purer and more elegant language, in the presentation of a subject before the people.

To bring about such a renewed interest in better public and parliamentary speech, by a critical study of certain outstanding orators of the nineteenth century, is the purpose of this treatise. It is believed that a study of the oratorical merits of these patriots will be a further incentive to an effort, on the part of Canadians, for perfection in this art. The following chapters have, therefore, been made with that end in view. In them I have considered the life of each man, as well as the political situation in which each was placed; for both factors have necessarily influenced the type of their oratory. Furthermore, I have made no attempt to set down a system by means of which the art of oratory can be practised

successfully. Many teachers, of the art of rhetoric and public speaking, have already expressed in the clearest form the standards of correct speaking; and any further attempt, which Imight make at such a treatise, is unnecessary, and is outside of the scope of this present undertaking. Of course, consideration of the technique of each orator must be made, but this with a view to showing the characteristic qualities of the speech and the means by which the orator affected his hearers. In which, I have implied the much greater force of oratory over common, lucid speech. Consequently I have made the study more of an appreciative than that of a purely critical one; and as a result I think that it will be of more general interest and value.

Recognizing the inadequacy and futility of any criticism without actual quotations, I have amply illustrated my remarks by setting down portions of speeches from which the reader may become more fully aware of the merits of each speaker.

The choice of these six outstanding orators, Howe, Macdonald, Tupper, Brown, McGee and Laurier, may be regarded as injudicious; yet from a close survey of all the public speakers of the nineteenth century, I feel justified in regarding these men as the most representative orators of the time. I have limited myself to the English speaking orators among whom Laurier has been included, in as much as the English tongue was as native to him as was the French. And, furthermore, it must borne in mind that the following study does not pretend to be exhaustive of Canadian eloquence, but it is merely to reveal the height to which the art was carried during a short period which is the most brilliant in Canadian history.

CHAPTER 11.

The Father of Canadian Oratory.

According to historical evidence, oratory sprang into place as one of the outstanding arts in the life of nations, when great situations created a necessity for some moving vital force. Great men arose at the call of the time, possessed with fire and fervour, insight and power of persuasion, whose service to the state in the use of their oratorical abilities distinguished them as the fathers of their art, which from that time on flourished, in their respective countries. Succeeding generations have looked upon Pericles as the Father of Greek oratory, and the main source of the art which has continued throughout the world since his time. What Pericles was in Athens, Cicero was in Rome. Combining the great qualities of Greek oratory with his own keen sense of the art as it applied to the Roman mind, Cicero may well be regarded as the Father not only of Roman oratory, but of all Western oratory. And in much the same way, every country has in its own national life some great figure who clearly stands out as the progenitor of the succeeding ef men who distinguished themselves in the practice of oratory based on the principles which characterized the style of their predecessor, whom they recognized as a master in his art.

Of all the arts this is true; whether it be poetry, music, painting, or dramatizing, there is one particular person who gives to the art a definite turn, to which the efforts of those who would attain success, conform, in an attempt to reproduce a somewhat similar effect. Conformance in every detail is impossible and unadvisable; there is the personal

touch which is peculiar to the master's own individual genius, which cannot be transmitted or copied; but much of the form and spirit of the art may be acquired, by the contemporary student as well as those of generations to follow, through study.

Now with reference to Canadian oratory, many people are not only skeptical of the existence of the art in this country, but they will also entertain the gravest doubts as to there being a Father of Canadian oratory; and they will further question the grounds for the choice of such a person. Yet despite such adverse opinions, there does exist, beyond a doubt, one outstanding figure who has well merited the enviable position of "Father of Canadian Oratory": Joseph Howe, that well known political and social reformer, who was one of the most prominent statesmen in the affairs of British North America during the 19th, century. Of him it has been justly said: "None could touch him in eloquence, logic of argument, force of invective, or brilliancy of rhetoric." Joseph Howe is the first and greatest orator, both from the point of view of time, and that of power and eloquence of expression. It is true Canada was not destitute of orators previous to this time; she had such men as Papineau and Mackenzie, who possessed extraordinary persuasive ability, but whose influence was local, and with whom the practice did not become an art, in the sense in which oratory is commonly known. On the other hand Joseph Howe did represent a new epoch of eloquence, which began with the insistent demand of the colonies for a Responsible Government. His undaunted courage, as the first to take a definite stand in opposing an institution which was detrimental to the interests of Nova Scotia, made of him the inspirational force, throughout the colonies, towards calling into being a group of enthusiastic reform agitators, who represented

a body of orators, prominent in bringing about the sweeping constitutional changes which took place in Canada during the 19th, century.

Of course it is not to be inferred that Howe directly influenced the reform movement in the two Canadas; he was, however, the first successful agitator, and indirectly the spirit and ardour with which he sought to do away with weak and unsatisfactory institutions in Nova Scotia, was caught up by some of the more moderate reformers such as Brown and Baldwin in Upper Canada. Reports of the vigorous and fiery denunciations with which Howe assailed the governors of Nova Scotia, who opposed the granting of Responsible Government, together with the eulogies which were showered upon him in England as a result of his brilliant appeals made there, quickly spread to the other colonies. The power and influence of eloquence began to be more clearly recognized, and everywhere throughout the colonies there was evident, at the time, a new interest in studied and forceful speech.

In order to grasp the real significance of Howe's influence upon his time, and that the supreme qualities of his oratory may be fully appreciated, it is necessary to understand something of the man himself, and of the political situation in which he was placed. Both of which have largely determined the character and excellence of his oratory.

Joseph Howe was born in the year 1804, in a little cottage on the "North West Arm" of the Atlantic, over which adjoining acres the city of Halifax now stands. ~~Pen~~ Those who are familiar with this locality will at once recall the wild natural beauty in which Howe lived as a boy; the surrounding rugged country, the beautiful arm of the Atlantic stretching inland, lying peaceful as a solitary lake; over its calm surface

the eye languidly wanders until in the distance one perceives the rough Atlantic billows breaking in upon that calm. Out upon the angry waves the sail-boats rise and fall, and disappear over the horizon; while within, all is secluded and silent.

Amid such surroundings Howe spent the first thirteen years of his life, and it seems but natural to infer that this majestic power and hidden force, which was revealed in everything that he daily saw about him, made a deep impression upon his nature. It helped to build up that nobility and loftiness of character, that profound depth of feeling and richness of imagination, which were later revealed in the orator. Here was nurtured the robust constitution that so long seemed to defy the mental and physical fatigue of his strenuous political career.

This splendid physique and fine personal appearance largely accounted for the success which he achieved as an orator. It was such as to command attention, and to impress his hearers with awe and admiration. In his kindly rugged face there was something which inspired trust and even love for this man who had shown himself to be not only a physical, but also a mental giant; one who showed such sympathy and understanding of the needs of the people that they readily placed all confidence in him, proclaiming Howe the champion of their rights.

His extraordinary faculty for emotional and passionate appeals, for beauty of thought and language, for accuracy of natural description and its details, was to a great degree due to the creation of a rich poetic nature by the circumstances of his early life. Placed amidst natural beauty, in intimate contact with what was wonderful, strange and inspiring, it was inevitable that the soul of Joseph Howe would be benefited. Then, too, his life threw him into association with the strong, simple living pioneers

of his country. He got an insight into their manly hearts, and learned a ready sympathy and understanding of their joys and sorrows, which came to them in their struggle for a livelihood. The humbleness with which this great man afterwards referred to himself as "Joe Howe" reveals the true nobility of his nature. He never forgot that he was a man among other men, not even at the pinnacle of his fame, a time when smaller men are overcome by their own importance; but Howe, who was honoured by scores of immenent men throughout Great Britain and America, was still "Joe Howe" to countless humble people in his native land. His contact with these people, his intimacy with the objects of nature, his innate genius, combined in giving him the most superior gift of eloquence.

J.S.Mill says: "Poetry and eloquence are both alike the expression or utterance of feeling." In this sense Howe was a poet, not that he has written some verse worthy to rank him as such; but because the feelings which he had were the same as those of the poet; because the insight which he had into human nature, and into the meaning of life was similar to the poet's. As the genius of William Wordsworth lay in genuineness of poetic feeling, so Howe's genius — probably to a somewhat less degree, due to the fact that it had not been developed to the same extent in him- lay in poetic feeling. But in the form in which this feeling was expressed, one becomes the antithesis of the other. Poetry is subjective; whereas eloquence is objective. Poetry is feeling confessing itself to itself in moments of solitude; eloquence is feeling pouring itself out to other minds. The powerful feelings of Joseph Howe were poured into the minds of the people of Nova Scotia, courting their sympathy, endeavouring to influence their beliefs, and moving them to passion and to action. Eloquence was the form which they took; not because they could not have been embodied in poetic verse, but because the situation in the

country called for oratory and not for verse.

Though Howe's genius was singularly enhanced by the influence of nature and early experience, he received very little regular education owing to the distance which he lived from school. However, he had his father, a man of considerable literary ability, who was responsible for much of his son's education. He also had recourse to a moderate sized library; the proof of his wide reading is clearly manifested in his numerous speeches of depth and breadth of vision, with his frequent reference to various writers, both ancient and modern.

At the age of thirteen Howe had entered the printing business; and ten years later he became joint owner of "The Weekly Chronicle". It was with his appearance as a journalist, first as editor of "The Chronicle" and later as owner and editor of "The Nova Scotian", that Joseph Howe became known to the public. In a still shorter time his name became familiar to every Nova Scotian, as the chief advocate of popular rights. Through his editorials on political questions of the day he was drawn into politics, and began to attack existing conditions and to seek the establishing of better in their place.

Government in Nova Scotia, at this time, was carried on by a Governor General, who was appointed by the Colonial office in Great Britain, to which he was responsible. The real power of government lay in the hands of a council appointed by the Governor General, who invariably chose those persons that were most likely to carry out a policy favourable to himself. This body so over-shadowed the Assembly of Representatives that they deprived them of any control of legislating in the interests of the people. Nova Scotia then claimed some two hundred thousand of a population; many of

whom were United Empire Loyalists, and people who cherished British liberty and democracy; they were naturally hostile to conditions which deprived them of such rights as they had been accustomed to exercise. Being intensely loyal they were desirous of showing that loyalty by having a greater freedom in the management of their own affairs. What they needed was a leader, one who would be a sincere champion of their cause; such a leader they found in Joseph Howe.

Fortune surely smiled upon the people of Nova Scotia, at that time, in giving to them an emancipator with such exceptional and widely recognized abilities: a man intensely loyal and sincere, dominated by the noblest impulses and possessed of a rare intellectual capacity. Intolerance, narrowness and selfishness, were entirely foreign to Howe's nature; the absence of which are the characteristic features in all his actions. It was this rational and unbiased attitude towards the problems of reform, which made him the first real anti-radical reformer in British North America, during the fight which was going on in each of the colonies for Responsible Government. Bitterly opposed to the use of the force, his condemnation of the rebellion, in 1839, was very severe; he was firmly convinced that it was not by a resort to arms, but by persuasion and a clear strong presentment of the situation that a change could be effected. Howe would go to any limit of denunciation; but he would never resort to force, even though baffled.

We are now in a position to consider that excellence of eloquence which was the instrument by which Howe was to acheive more for his country than the force of arms could ever hope to accomplish. It is doubtful whether Howe himself fully realized, before 1834, the art which he had unconsciously acquired. No doubt he had spoken before public gatherings before this time; but his address to the Mechanics Institute, was the first time the public caught a glimpse

of the remarkable power of Howe as an orator. This first speech reveals most clearly the typical qualities which were to be so characteristic of the orator.

In the following passage of this address, given when but thirty years of age, Howe said in picturing the future of Nova Scotia:

"Let me not be misunderstood I am neither seeing visions nor dreaming dreams, but reasoning upon facts, sanctioned by the experience of ages. I wish to build up agriculture, commerce and manufactures upon the surest of all foundations-the mental and moral cultivation of the peo-le. If knowledge is power let us get power, let us get knowledge. If our position presents difficulties let us study to overcome them; and if we can only surpass others by a higher measure of patriotism, sagacity, and endurance than they possess, let us never cease to hope and labour until tne standard is attained. A German economist in treating of the elements of national wealth beautifully characterizes that general intelligence to which I refer as the "capital of mind", that capital without which a country, richly blessed by nature may be poor indeed; but which is capable of raising up even a little province like this, until its population is swelled to millions, until its canvass whitens every sea and even its rocky hills are covered with fruitfulness, and its wildest glens are made to blossom as the rose."

In this brief passage of expressed hope for the future of the country, we get a revelation of the orator himself; he was speaking with a depth of sincerest feeling, he was imparting to his hearers the inward state of emotion that he himself was conscious of; stirring within them the same spirit which animated his own speech; awakening in them similar thoughts and similar aspirations. The language though simple and unadorned, is very expressive and

and charged with a depth of feeling and force, which aroused in his hearers the sesired enthusiasm; simple yet beautiful, kindling emotion and at the same time calling upon the imagination with such felicitous use of metaphor.

His appeal was made to emotions which he knew dominated their strongest impulses; but he first of all appealed to their rational nature, which absolved him from the charge of visionariness, and placed his argument on a logical foundation. Then he touched upon their patriotism, their moral and intellectual sensitiveness; so they were brought into sympathy with his point of view. Thus by a clever fusion of passion and logical argument Howe incited to action.

Before passing on to a consideration of Howe's political speeches, it is necessary for a full appreciation of his oratory to observe his power as a forensic speaker. It was by his magnificent defence which he made against the charge of libel, that proclaimed his unquestioned oratorical ability.

Howe, as editor of "The Nova Scotian," had published an article accusing the Halifax magistrates of neglect, mismanagement, and corruption, in the fulfilling of their public duties. A charge of libel being brought against him, he himself undertook the defense. It is difficult to form any just estimate of this speech which lasted over six hours, without considering it as a whole; but in the following two extracts, something of its spirit may be seen.

"The first question which occurs to a rational mind- the first that an impartial juror will ask himself, is this- what motive could the accused have had in attacking a body, in the ranks of which were some of his own relatives and personal friends; and which embraced some of the leading men of the principal families in the place, whose support and countenance might be of essential service- whose enmity

it would be highly impolitic to provoke? What interested or malicious motive could I have had? Gentlemen, I had none. With nearly all the individuals assailed I had been on friendly terms for years; to some of them I was bound by nearer ties; with no one of whom I ever had altercation or dispute. I had for those who are really estimable among them, and in spite of this persecution I still have the most unbounded respect. But this only extended to their private characters. As magistrates, having the guardianship of morals and public peace; as the legislators of the country; the trustees of its property; the auditors of its accounts, I knew them as you know them- as almost every man in the community knows them- to be the most negligent and imbecile if not the most reprehensible body that ever mismanaged a peoples affairs. Had I not believed this to be the fact- had not the concurrent testimony of thousands impressed it strongly on my mind- had not the just complaints of those who were injured by the gross neglect of duty on the part of some and the still grosser malversations of others, continually resounded in my ears- had not my own experience and observation, and the reasoning and calculations on much shrewder minds furnished abundant proofs, had not grand jury after grand jury arraigned the system which they upheld- nay had not my own labours as a grand juror abundantly convinced me that these charges were true, I should not have been standing here today to speak in my own defense, for I would not have dared to publish the letter in which their conduct was censured and exposed. And can they be so blind and weak as to suppose, that by punishing a printer, even if that were possible in such a case, the public, for whose benefit their doings were unveiled can be hoodwinked and deceived? Can their characters like the religion of Mohamet be propagated by persecution? They may expect much from the result of this trial; but before I have

done with them, I hope to convince them that they, and not I, are the real criminals here; and I shall be mistaken if it does not prove the downfall of their imbecility- the grave of their corruption."

Do we not get, in this passage, something of that fierce, rapid resounding flow of invective which was so characteristic of Cicero, especially in his oration against Cataline. Though the language of Howe was less violent in declamation and not of such a personal type, yet there was much of the same fire and rapidity of expression. The words were uttered with a forceful conviction which the jury could not mistake; they were unconsciously swept into the mood of the speaker and began to see as he saw; and to feel the same powerful emotion which he was conscious of within himself.

But Howe did not rely upon any artifice of brow beating to enlist this sympathy; he did not place himself upon any pinnacle above the jury and try to convince them of something which they themselves had not been capable of perceiving; he had too keen an insight into men's nature to adopt any such method; but rather than underestimating the abilities of the jury, he appealed to their own intelligence, placing himself on their level he argued that what was evident to his own mind was only too plain to theirs. By thus establishing a feeling of equality and friendliness, Howe was able to state his facts clearly and directly without fear of misunderstanding or indifference; and at once the jury began to think as he thought, and being persuaded began to act as he pointed out they would act if responding to their own impulses.

Before dismissing the study of this speech, which is indeed one of Howe's greatest, it is deemed well worth while to quote one more passage, the greatness of which cannot be mistaken. Here, Howe resorts to his full force of eloquence which is irresistible. In a few powerful sentences he sums up his whole defense; it is an

appeal, the fervour and tenderness of which strikes home to the heart, leaving no shadow of a doubt in their minds concerning the justice of his act in exposing the corruption of the magistrates.

"Will you my countrymen, the descendents of these men, warmed by their blood, inheriting their language, and having the principles for which they struggled confided to your care, allow them to be violated in your hands? Will you permit the sacred fire of liberty, brought by your fathers from the venerable temples of Britain, to be quenched and trodden out on the simple altars they have raised? Your verdict will be the most important in its consequences ever delivered before this tribunal; and I conjure you to judge me by the principles of English law, and to leave an unshackled press as a legacy to your children. You remember the press in your hours of conviviality and mirth- Oh! do not desert it in this its day of trial."

The brilliance of this defense ranked Howe among the leading orators of his province and indeed among those of the world. His striking eloquence was soon called into a larger sphere of service in the interests of his country. In 1836, he began his long political career, becoming a member of the Reform party in the Assembly. At once he entered into the fight for Responsible Government. With this vexed question Howe struggled unceasingly for twelve years; though encountering obstacles and discouragements which would have caused most men to give up in despair, Howe refused to be baffled, and his untiring zeal and unconquerable spirit was at last rewarded, when, in 1848, Responsible Government was fully achieved for Nova Scotia.

Howe's popularity after this great achievement was immense; he had long been regarded by the people as their greatest friend,and now he was enthroned as the idol of Nova Scotia. There

was no one so welcome a guest as,"Joe Howe"; riding up and down the country where every mans house was a home to him; his visits were looked forward to by old and young alike; and his overflowing humour and ready sympathy helped to cheer the and brighten the loneliness o of many a rude pioneer home. He was always in great demand as a speaker on festive occasions; great crowds assembled for miles around the country, eager to catch a glimpse of Howe's jovial face and to hear the voice which never failed to charm by its eloquence. At these meetings he would often refer, at the beginning of his remarks to familiar faces which were absent. This suggested bereavements. Then Howe would dwell upon the excellencies of these men in the most touching tones; even the strongest hearts were moved, and with tears streaming down their faces they would leave their seats and advance towards the speaker. In those days "Joe Howe" was the best of all men and those who opposed him the most wicked.

Howe's repute among the people and his opposition at one time to Confederation, was largely the cause of the general hostility of Nova Scotia to entering the federation of colonies. Though opposed it must not be considered a short-sighted policy on Howe's part; for he clearly foresaw those disadvantages which have accrued since that time. It was a long time before Howe finally became reconciled to the proposed union, and this only after promises of fair treatment of the Maritime had been exacted from the other provinces; yet the promises, as Howe feared were soon forgotten and thus the clamour which has arisen in our own time. In the determined fight which he carried on during the time of his antagonism to Confederation, Howe thundered out the doom which would inevitably overtake Nova Scotia if she entered the union. The majority were inclined to believe Howe, but the question was not brought to the

country, and Nova Scotia entered the union.

In repudiating the claims to the advantages which would accrue through a federation of colonies, Howe resorts to his most brilliant and effective method of speech, that of sarcasm. When skillfully used is one of the most powerful forms to which language is adaptable. Howe was one of the few who excell in its use. His mastery of the art of subtle sarcasm was one of his greatest accomplishments in public speaking. His whole career, we have noted was a struggle against strong opposing factions; his possession of this oratorical weapon was thus highly advantageous.

In the following passage from a speech in Yarmouth, he resorts to sarcasm in his most humorous vein.

"But listen you have another great privilege, What do you think it is? You are allowed 'to borrow money. But will anybody lend it? Most people find that they can borrow money easiest when they do not want it, but where is it to be got. The general government which can tax you by any and every mode, and override your legislation as they please, have also power to borrow. If I know anything of the men who now rule the roost in Canada they will screw every dollar out of you that you are able to pay and borrow while there is a pound to be raised at home or abroad. Thus fleeced and with the ~~capital~~ credit of the Dominion thus exhausted, who will lend you a sixpence should you happen to want it? Nobody who is not a fool. There is not a delegate who would lend you a £100 upon such security."

"But you have other great privileges. Listen again. You are generously permitted to maintain 'the poor' and to provide for your 'hospitals, prisons and lunatic asylums'. We have it on divine authority that the poor 'will be always with us,' and come what may we must provide for them. What I fear is that, under

Confederation, the number will be increased, and when the country is taxed and drained of its circulation the rich will be poorer and the industrial classes severely straitened. The lunatic asylum of course we must keep up because Archibald may want it later to put Tupper and Henry into at the close of the election.

"Keep cool, my friends. This precious instrument confers upon you other high powers and privileges. You are permitted to establish local courts and 'to fine and imprison' each other. And this brings me to the key of this whole mystery of iniquity. Local courts you may establish. The Supreme Court is to be transferred to the general government which is to appoint the judges and to fix the salaries. Our judges now receive $700 or $800 currency per annum. The judges in Canada get $1000 or $1250 currency. The delegation which represented Nova Scotia in Canada was composed of five lawyers and a doctor. What the doctor may get we will see by and by, but the five lawyers expect to be judges. John A. Macdonald knew this very well and when he opened his confederation mouse trap, he did not bate it with toasted cheese. Judgeships with high salaries was the bate he dangled before their noses. They were caught and though they hated each other and had spoken a great deal of severe truth of each other before they went to Quebec the bate produced a marvellous effect upon them, and, like a happy family, they have lived in brotherly love ever since, wagging their tails just whenever Mr. MacDonald told them."

So often ridicule after this manner is carried to such an excess that it assumes a prejudicial and intolerant tone, which has the effect of antagonizing rather than convincing. Howe revealed a skilful propriety in his handling of sarcasm; it was strong, yet at the same time it did not offend by its vigour of denunciation; it verged on the humourous yet avoided the ridiculous; it gave

pleasure, yet did not weaken the conviction that it would convey. It was a mingling of sarcasm, humour and invective, which Howe had his own singular method of combining into the most subtle discourse, that seldom failed to incite the audience.

But Howe's eloquence was not confined to the sarcasm and invective in which he excelled. So far our consideration of his oratory has been of this determinative type, in which the object was to incite to immediate action. In this branch of oratory Howe has distinguished himself particularly. However, Joseph Howe was capable of eloquence which was not purposive of immediate action or any defined end except that of arousing noble and honourable sentiment, and picturing an ideal to be attained. This, which is commonly described as the demonstrative type of oratory, is beautifully portrayed in a speech delivered in Detroit, in which he shows the friendly relations which should exist between the two nations, sprung from a common ancestry.

"We are here to determine how best we can draw together in the bonds of peace, friendship, and commercial prosperity, the three great branches of the British family. In the presence of this great theme all petty interests should stand rebuked. We are not dealing with the concerns of a city, province, or state, but with the future of our race in all time to come.

"Why should not these three great branches of the family flourish under different systems of government it may be, but forming one grand whole, proud of their common origin and their advanced civilization? The clover lifts its trefoil leaves to the evening dew, yet they draw their nourishment from a single stem. Thus distinct and yet united, let us live and flourish. Why should we not? For nearly two thousand years we were one family. Our fathers fought side by side at Hastings and heard the Curfew toll. They

fought in the same ranks for the spulchre of our Saviour. In the early and later civil wars we can wear our red and white roses without a blush and glory in the principles these conflicts established. Our common ~~conflicts~~ ancestors won the great Charter and the Bill of Rights; established free parliaments, the Habeas Corpus and Trial by jury. Our juisprudence comes down from Coke and Mansfield to Marshall and Story, rich in knowledge and experience which no man can divide. From Chaucer to Shakespere our literature is a common inheritance. Tennyson and Longfellow write in one language, which is enriched by the genius developed on either side of the Atlantic. In the great navigators from Corteal to Hudson and in all their 'moving accidents by flood and field' we have a common interest.

"On this side of the sea we have been largely reinforced both by the Germans and French; there is strength in both elements. The Germans gave us the sovereigns who established our freedom and they give to you industry, intelligence and thrift, and the French who have distinguished themselves in the arts and arms, now strengthen the provinces which the Providence of war decided they could not control.

"But it may be said we have been divided by two wars. What then? The noble St.Lawrence is split in two places- by Goat Island and Anticosti- but it comes down to us from the same spring and the same mountain sides, its waters sweep together past the pictured rocks of Lake Superior, And encircle in their loving embrace the shores of Huron and Michigan. They are divided at Niagara Falls as we were at the Revolutionary War, but they come together again on the peaceful bosom of Ontario. Again they are divided on their passage to the sea; but who thinks of divisions when they lift the keels of commerce or when drawn up to heaven, they form the rainbow

or the cloud?... I see around the door the flags of two countries united as they are there, I would have them draped together, fold within fold, and let,

"Their varying tints unite,
And form in Heaven's light,
One arch of peace!"

It is difficult to find anywhere in the English language a more felicitous description of the essential unity and purpose of the Anglo-Saxon race, or such a happy choice of metaphorical language than we get here. There is a smoothness and nobility of expression which only the master of oratory can command. Thought, argument, language and references, are all on the same high plane, exhibiting a loftiness of tone and a unity throughout. There is nothing commonplace, nothing pedantic, nothing which would stimulate anything but friendliness and goodwill in an audience of a neighboring nation, whom the orator would inspire with the ideal which he himself had.

By this address Howe appears to favour an imperial policy; yet it is clearly evident, from this and other remarks of his later in life, that he also looked forward to the separate existence of each Dominion as a national unity apart from the mother country, and independent, though recognizing their common origin in her. This view of a greater independence for Canada gradually becomes more distinct in Howe's later speeches and writing. With his reconcilement to Confederation he began to see something of the greatness which Canada as a whole might attain in the future, through the devotion and industry of her people. In one of his last speeches, one which he gave before the Y.M.C.A. at Ottawa, while mentioning the relations existing between Canada and the mother country, he expressed his conviction that even though Canada were deserted by Great Britain, yet in the strong character of her people lay a

glowing future.

After Confederation Howe was invited by the Macdonald government to take a seat in the Privy Council. Later he became Minister of Interior. But he was no longer possessed with the energy which marked his early career. He was then an old man worn out with a life of constant and unwavering devotion to his country. In 1873, he had the supreme honour of appointment as governor of his own province, but his noble career was drawing to a close; and within a few weeks there had passed out of the public life of this Dominion one of her most illustrious sons; yet the name of Joseph Howe will live long in the annals of this country as a liberator, a firm patriot, an eminent statesman, and a matchless orator.

It is difficult to estimate the influence which Howe's eloquence had on the contemporary and succeeding orators of Canada. Many of his later speeches were published in the Montreal and Toronto papers at the time; and were read with the greatest pleasure and profit by all interested in public affairs, and who set a great premium upon Howe's opinion on the questions of the day. Besides this, many citizens throughout the provinces were privileged to hear him deliver his stirring addresses which must have moved many in pursuit of that matchless power with which he swayed an audience. Then there is this to be noted in the history of Canadian orators that Howe marks the beginning of a conspicuous effort in the attainment of eloquence, which was being made by the later nineteenth century politicians and social reformers. Previous to Howe oratory was practically unknown in any of the provinces. Clearly a new movement is noticeable with the appearance of Howe, witness, Macdonald, Brown, Davin, McGee and Laurier, all of whom have won distinction as orators. To say, they modelled their

speeches after Howe's,or attempted to imitate is unreasonable; but we are not far astray in contending that his eloquence both directly and indirectly provided a stimulus to the oratory of the day. The politician's became more interested in the fine expression of their thoughts. The times were such as to demand and call forth orators, and Joseph Howe is undoubtedly the leader in that movement, which brought out so much ~~eloquence~~ excellence of eloquence.

CHAPTER 111.

Sir John A. Macdonald.

Among Canadian orators of this period Sir John A.Macdonald stands out with particular distinction. Born in Glasgow, Scotland, in the eventful year of 1815, his whole life was to prove almost as eventful as were the times in which he was born. When Sir John was but five years old his father who never had proved very successful moved to Canada, settling in the Bay of Quinte vicinity. But the change brought none of the success which had been hoped for. The result was that the straitened circumstances under which the family were forced to live made the early life of Macdonald a stern struggle, which greatly helped in preparing him for the political conflicts of his later life.

From a very early age he was compelled to contribute to the support of his family. This made necessary the neglect of his education which was comprised of five years at a grammar school. Though lacking an academic training, a handicap which he overcame to an astonishing degree through intense study in later life, he received a thorough training in the much more "rigorous school of experience" from which he derived many of those splendid qualities of perseverance, vigour, and indomnitableness of will, which were so characteristic of the statesman. Like Joseph Howe he early came into contact with the simple forms of human nature, which he knew so well. He also, spent his first years in a Loyalist settlement associating with men who had given the very strongest testimony of their loyalty, in remaining true to their king in spite of the personal loss that it involved; thus it is not surprising that he

embibed, early in life, those principles of devotion to the crown and British institutions which regulated every stage of his subsequent career.

In 1830, Macdonald entered a law school, and five years later he opened up an office on his own account. His advancement in the legal profession was not more rapid than the average, and it seems that at first he was very unfortunate with his criminal cases, several of his clients being hanged. Indeed the extraordinary success which he achieved in later life was not due to any special genius bestowed upon him by Providence; but it is truer to say that the eminent position which he attained, was largely the result of his own effort. It was by sheer force of will and determination that the limitations and handicaps which surrounded him in youth were overcome; it was likewise by such means that he surmounted political difficulties and accomplished for Canada what no other man did accomplish or probably ever shall.

Besides this self-mastery, there was one faculty which Macdonald did possess to a greater degree than most men and that was an extraordinary keen memory. This combined with an insatiable desire for knowledge and a "vaulting ambition" were chiefly responsible for his rapid rise from a position of obscurity to the highest place in the government of his country. From these qualities he developed that fluent and powerful command of language which was so remarkable during his long period of office as premier of the Dominion. This was no mere natural gift. There was nothing remarkable about his first attempts at public speaking, any more than that he was extremely excitable and ~~defiable,~~ defiant, and on one occasion when he plead a case for his client, the dispute grew so fierce that Macdonald engaged in a fist battle with his opponent. This fiery spirit was manifest in most of his speeches; but his

wonderful persuasive power, which he later showed, may be accredited to concentrated application on his part. He was never content with mediocrity, but threw his whole heart into the work of preparing ~~th~~ himself for the time when he could realize something of his ambition.

Much of Macdonald's early life is very obscure, but there can be this much gathered from what record there is of it; that every opportunity for the development of his mind was seized; that he familiarized himself not only with legal authorities, which was his particular study, but he read along every line of study which he thought would be of value to him, especially acquainting himself with history and English literature. Hence his speeches contain a mass of knowledge on different subjects, which reveal the extensive degree to which he carried on his educational endeavours. Nor did he ever during his whole life time cease from his studious habits, but when not attending a session, he would be found pouring over some volume in the parliamentary library.

Together with a well-trained intellect Macdonald possessed a singular power over men; a personal magnetism which is a rare quality ~~which-i~~ even among the greatest orators. Among his followers and friends, he inspired the profoundest devotion and respect; there was nothing they would not do and endure for him; and this devotion extended through all ranks, and was strong even among those who had never seen him. This strong personality was, in a great measure, responsible for his marvellous success and influence as a speaker; men would travel for miles over almost impassable roads in order to hear him, and every word was treasured as though it had fallen from the lips of a saint. It was not so much what Macdonald said, nor the way in which he said it, which affected his hearers; but it was the fact that the man Macdonald himself had said it.

This then was the secret of his dominance as an orator and it gave to him his marked ascendancy over the other speakers in the House, bending their will to his and making his will the will of the majority.

On entering the Assembly in 1844, as a member of the Conservative party, his abilities were quickly recognized, and scarcely three years later his opinions were so valued that he was appointed to a place in the Cabinet. To Sir John's efforts, the federation of the provinces was largely due. It was a long and difficult task, since the bulk of the work of reconciliation of all parties concerned, fell upon him. He proved himself equal to the occasion, and was rewarded in 1867, by the confederation of the colonies into the Dominion of Canada, of which he had the unique honour of becoming the first Premier.

Now that sufficient has been said of Macdonald's life, character and abilities, to furnish an adequate background for the study and appreciation of his speeches, a consideration of his merits as an orator is therefore begun.

It may be considered as one of Sir John's defects as an orator that he seldom gave much time to the preparation of his speeches. However, this cannot be attributed to any over confidence, on his part, in his ability; for it must be borne in mind that throughout his long political career he was an extremely busy man. So many were the important changes which took place in the development of the country, both in its internal and external ralations that he was constantly being called upon to assist in their satisfactory settlement. There was the reconciling of provincial and federal power after Confederation. Out of which innumerable disputes were continually rising, as to the specific powers of control which

each province might exercise. Then there was the settling of fishery rights with the United States, which represented the enormous task that Macdonald was obliged to cope with, at the conference which established the Treaty of Washington. He was, also, the guiding genius which directed and made possible the enormous project of connecting the provinces and cementing them into a closer union through the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The United Canada, of which we are so proud today, is largely the fruit of his labours. Is it therefore any wonder, then, that so many of his parliamentary speeches show a lack of preparation? Surrounded as he was by so many outside demands on his time, it is truly remarkable the powerful and effective qualities that are revealed in many of these extempore speeches. Though they show a slight weakness in structure and argument, they also show a skilful and thorough handling of the subject. The clear and convincing ~~argumen~~ arguments are alive with Macdonald's own forceful personality, which gives to them a ring and whip-like, compelling quality, peculiar to but few orators of a very superior rank. It was when in the midst of heated debate that we see these flashes of genius which made him so feared by his opponents on the floor of the House. At times, when he had become so wrapped up in the subject, when his perceptive and resourceful mind was called into action, dominated by his fiery temperament, there burst upon his hearers ears a spontaniety of expression, direct, compressed, rapid, and filled with an appealing emotion, which confounded and bewildered his opponents and produced an overwhelming conviction in their minds.

The persuasive power of Macdonald was not of a studied ~~ty~~ type. Its spontaniety forbad its being such. There is a complete lack of anything like affectation or premeditated feeling. It rose

like the thunder cloud in the west, continued for a brief ~~space~~ time, and vanished leaving a clam and peaceful moment in which everything seemed to have changed its former appearance. And, again, like the storm so with his eloquence, it was not so much the power exerted which brought about the apparent change; the invisible force of the storm is but as a symbol of the unmanifested puissance of the elements; in like manner behind the visible weight of his words the audience felt that there was some far greater force within the man, and it was this unrevealed power which wrought the impression. This state of awe and wonder which he cast over an audience by his mere presence together with his ability to suddenly call up the most powerful feeling, were the distinguishing features of his oratory. Even in his old age his dominance over men's minds had not ceased; but whenever "the old man", as he was known to his colleagues, rose to speak, he was sure of an eager group crowding in to hear his words which seemed to fall like magic strains upon the ~~ears~~ attentive ears of his auditory.

As we have noticed, many of these impromptu speeches of Macdonald have all the qualities of great orations; yet the greatness of his other addresses makes it necessary to pass hurriedly over them, glancing for a short time at the charm of some of his stump speeches, most of which were extempore. These speeches have lost much of their value to the reader; yet if we keep in mind the dominating personality of the orator as he delivered the speeches, we may still catch something of their eloquence. No apology need, therefore, be offered for regarding these impromptus as oratory, because if we judge ~~him~~ them by their effect upon the audience- and that is really the final proof of any great oration- then they merit our attention and admiration; for there is no greater proof of the effect

which they did have than the enthusiastic testimony of those who were privileged to hear the speeches, and that testimony is most convincing of their greatness and worthiness of being called orations.

It is often the case that many very fine speakers are at a decided disadvantage when called upon for an impromptu speech, and some even find it impossible to address an informal gathering in an effective manner; however, Macdonald was equally at ease whether it was on the floor of the House that he spoke or whether making a stump speech in some little community hall. He had the rare ability of adapting thelanguage and the whole tenor of his speech to his audience. He could size up an audience very rapidly and adopt both the content and the manner suitable to the occasion. As an exemplification of this extreme versatility, a few quotations will be given from an address to an audience, composed almost entirely of farmers and their wives, at a picnic in Norfolk county. Much after the manner of Joseph Howe he was at home with all classes of people, though he did not show conviviality to such a degree as Howe did, since he had a more reserved nature; yet he was capable of meeting the commonest people on their own level and speaking to them as though he were one of them. His speeches on these occasions were always of the simplest type of which this is a fine example. He begins by winning their favour and their approval of his conduct during his former term of office. The friendly earnestness of his words dispels all their doubts and fears; and soon they have the greatest sympathy, goodwill and admiration for the speaker.

"If I have been for thirty years in public life; if I have been for nearly twenty years in the government; and if during the greater part of that period, I have been the most reviled, calumniated and abused man in Canada I have my compensation here; I have my reward,

my exceeding great reward, when I find that such an assembly as this, in the glorious old county of Norfolk, comes here to do honour to myself. It is a reward of which any statesman should be proud. It is a testimony which I feel at the very bottom of my heart and I would indeed be insensible to your kindness if I did not ~~accept~~ accept it, not only as a reward for my long services and for all the toil and trouble which has fallen upon me for many years, but as a verdict of acquittal at your hands from all the charges against me for wilful wrong doing. No man is more conscious than I am of my faults. Looking back at my history and at the history of Canada, I freely admit that guided by the light of experience, there are many things in my political career that I now could wish had been otherwise. There are acts of omission and commission that I regret; but your testimony and the testimony of my own conscience alike show that as you believe, and as I know whether I was right or wrong in any political act at the time, I was acting according to the best of my judgment for the interest of our common country. I want no more impartial jury than you. I want no other verdict than from your hands and from men like you in this dominion and especially in this province of Ontario- my own province.... "

Having won their admiration and approval, he goes on to deal very shrewdly with the different political questions of the day. In the following passage is shown the outspoken and direct way in which he compares the discontent under the Mackenzie administration, with the prosperity which preceded it.

" When we were forced to go out of office we left this country in a happy and contented state. In November, 1873, the credit of this country was greater than it ever was before. We left you a country in which there was peace and prosperity, where the people

were sstisfied with the state of affairs, where there was confidence in business, a pride in the future of the country, and a feeling of certainty that we were going forward, and as we had arisen from being four provinces to be one great Dominion, so we felt that we had a great future before us in its development. There was universal confidence and satisfaction throughout Canada, and there was peace and contentment. What do you find now? Is there peace and contentment now? Is there confidence?- Is there confidence in any branch of public affairs? Is there confidence in any branch of the industries of this county? Are not our manufacturers suffering all over the Dominion in consequence of the injudicious action of the government in meddling and muddling with our tariff? Have they not shaken our credit? Are not our manufactures closing or working at half-time? Are not our mechanics working at half wages and is there any prospect that things will be better? There is universal discontent, universal dissatisfaction, and a well-grounded belief that the present men in power no matter how patriotic their intentions may be, do not possess the capacity to govern this country wisely and well."

These stump speeches were usually of a very entertaining nature. Sir John realized how these people enjoyed good wholseome humour. They wanted that type of speech; and it was only in the occasional political speech that they could expect it, in those days. And the old party leader never failed to gratify them, either by a story or more often by the laughter provoking manner in which he referred to his opponents or to himself. It is interesting to observe this characteristic humour in the same speech, where he is convincing them of the futility of seeking protection when the government is opposed to it.

" No, no, you must get the Government out, and put in a Government that will carry it. Mr. MacKenzie is trying to frighten his own discontented friends by asserting that if they go out Sir John Macdonald and his bad men will come in. Now that does not at allfollow. This is a free country and the people will choose for themselves; the elector can by calm and deliberate action elect men pledged to carry out this great policy intelligently and who will only give their confidence to a government worthy of it. There are many good men in public life besides Mr. Mackenzie and myself; if Mr. Mackenzie died- what a loss that would be to the country- and if I died I have no doubt that the country would flourish as it does now, only better, if not under the present Government. All this cry is a bugaboo to keep themselves in. No, put them out if they are unfit, and put other and better men in their places."

Macdonald's oratorical powers were not, however, confined to his impromptu discourses of which he was a master. He was capable of a much greater effort, capable of the height of eloquence. When occasion demanded it, Sir John could, by thoughtful preparation transcend his usual form of speaking and rise to the heights of sublime oratory. It is on such times when he chose to excell that we see him at his best, and recognize his extraordinary capacity for solid and ordered thought, clothed in the loftiest and finest sentiment. His skill is this respect is amply exemplified in an address before the house after his return to Ottawa from the Washington conference.

The treaty of Washington concluded in 1871, was the greatest diplomatic event in Macdonald's career. By it, were settled the questions of the fisheries and various other subjects of acrimonious debate between the United States and Canada. At this conference

Sir John had to fight his way not only against the Washington diplomats but also against his British colleagues, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he obtained a treaty at all. On his return to Canada he was received as one who had betrayed his country. Men called him a Judas Iscariot, and years passed before he received the credit he had well earned by his judicious and patriotic efforts.

The following extract from the peroration of his speech with respect to the treaty, is a fine example of what MacDonald was capable of doing when he chose to speak his best.

"I shall now move the first reading of this bill and I shall simply sum up my remarks by saying, that with respect to this treaty I consider that every portion is unobjectionable to the country unless the ~~United~~ articles connected with the fisheries may be considered objectionable. With respect to those articles I ask this House to fully and calmly consider the circumstances and I believe if they fully consider the situation that they will say it is for the good of Canada, that those articles should be ratified. Reject the treaty and you do not get Reciprocity; reject the treaty and you leave the fishermen of the Maritime provinces at the mercy of the Americans; reject the treaty and you will leave the merchants engaged in that trade off from the American market; reject the treaty and you will have a large annual expenditure in keeping up a marine police force to protect those fisheries, amounting to about $84,000 per annum; reject the treaty and you will have to call upon England to send her fleet to give you both moral and physical support, although you will not adopt her policy; reject the treaty and you will find that the bad feeling which formerly and until lately existed in the United States

against England will be transferred to Canada; that the United States will say and say justly 'here where two great nations like England and the United States have settled all their quarrels upon a perpetual basis these happy results are to be frustrated and endangered by the Canadian people because they have not got the value of their fish for ten years.' .....

"... I believe that this treaty is an epoch in the history of civilization; that it will set an example to the wide world that must be followed; and with the growth of the great Anglo-Saxon family, and with the development of that mighty nation to the south of us, I believe that the principle of arbitration will be advocated and adopted as the sole principle of the settlement of differences between English speaking peoples and that it will have a moral influence upon the world."

After the settlement of the fisheries dispute the Dominion began to look with renewed interest upon the acquisition of British Columbia and the North West Territories. In order to secure this territory which lay at such a distance from the central government a transcontinental railway was necesssary. The building of this railway was for years the important subject which confronted parliament; until in 1888, a contract was entered into with Sir Hugh Allen, the president of the new company, for the construction of a railway to the Pacific coast within ten years.

Shortly after the arrangement of the contract the Opposition raised a cry that the Macdonald government ~~were~~ was guilty of corruption in regard to the agreement with Sir Hugh Allen. The weight of this scandal fell upon Macdonald, since he had been the chief negotiator for the building of the railway.

Faced by charges of such a grave and serious nature,

with the most convincing evidence against him, with his opponents and bitterest enemies ready to swoop upon him, the victor of so many successes in political life, was compelled to give an explanation of to fall condemned before this threatening storm of accusations. So dire were the results involved that a stand had to be taken, or that whole life of service to his country would have been shattered and the peak of fame and honour, to which he had toiled, would have come tumbling down; his reputation, his name and his honour besmirched and lost; all perish in ignominy. But undaunted by the gravity of the situation Sir John, in his own indomnitable manner, rose to defend himself. The lion was aroused and facing his foes, he hurled defiance.

The speech was over five hours in length and but a short quotation will suffice in revealing its unsurpassed eloquence.

" I put it to your own minds. There were thirteen gentlemen- Sir Hugh Allen and others- incorporated by that charter. That charter- study it, take it home with you. Is there any single power, privilege or advantage given to Sir Hugh Allen with that contract that has not been given equally to the other twelve? It is not pretended that any other of the other twelve paid money for their positions. It is not contended that the gentlemen gave anything further, than their own personal feelings might dictate. You cannot name a man of these thirteen who has got any advantage over the others, except that Sir Hugh Allen has his name down first on the paper. Can anyone believe that the government is guilty of the charges made against them? I call upon anyone who does to read that charter. Is there anything in that contract? If there is a word in that charter which derogates from the interests of Canada; if there is any undue privilege or rights or preponderance

given to anyone of these thirteen directors, I say, Mr. Speaker, I am condemned, but Sir, I commit myself, the government commits itself to the hands of this House; and far beyond this House it commits itself to the country at large. We have faithfully done our duty;. We have fought the battle of Confederation. We have fought the battle of union....I have been the victim of that conduct to a great extent; butnI have fought the battle of Confederation, the battle of Union, the battle of the Dominion of Canada; I throw myself upon this house; I throw myself upon this country; I throw myself upon posterity and I know that notwithstanding the many failings of my life I shall have the voice of this country and this House rallying around me. And, Sir, if I am mistaken in that I can confidently appeal to a higher court- to the court of my own conscience and to the court of posterity. I leave it with this House with every confidence. I am equal to either fortune...."

With what defiance does he make his denial, proving, convincing and appealing. He is fighting the greatest battle of his life and he hurls himself into the conflict body and soul. No time is given for doubt; his questions are thundered upon the listening audience with resounding vehemence. His denials flash forth bringing awe and consternation into their ranks. Then it falls away into the most earnest and touching appeal; yet it is not the appeal of a broken spirit; it is the strong and dignified and unconquerable heart which has been wounded by ingratitude. He never descends, but maintains his position; never weakens or shows the slightest trace of an existing doubt in his mind. There is nothing which would betray the faintest degree of insincerity. Thus Macdonald, who a short time before was regarded with the gravest suspicions, as a traitor and guilty of criminal practices, [redacted]

rapidly disarmed his opponents of their accusations, and declared his innocence to the world.

Sir John had triumphed and freed himself from an extremely precarious position; but it was not without the exertion of all the skill in eloquence which he possessed. And for years there were many who refused to regard him as innocent; yet with the majority he has cleared himself for all time.

Sir John MacDonald has been surpassed as an orator, but for the supreme of governing men he was gifted as few men in any land or in any age are gifted. The fact that he could congregate men of such diverse natures and interests as were the men from the different provinces who made up his party, and blend them into such a compact party of which he was the leader, and to the end of his life keep them under his hand is most remarkable. The fact that during all his years of public life he maintained almost unimpaired the confidence and devotion of a large percentage of Canada, is evidence that besides these high qualities of statesmanship which he manifested throughout his career, he was also endowed with that inner subtle, undefinable characteristic of soul which Goette regarded as the essential qualities of the genius.

As one of his contempories has stated " the life of Sir John MacDonald from the date when he entered parliament is the history of Canada." Indeed that life will be remembered not only for its excellence of statesmanship, but because of the power which lay in his words to awaken conviction in men's hearts, because of that profound depth of insight into human life, which enabled him to touch the right chord at the right time, and so produce the desired effect. This was what proclaimed Macdonald an orator and the greatest Canadian statesman.

CHAPTER 1V.

George Brown.

Like many other prominent Canadian statesmen, George Brown was born in Scotland. When twenty years of age he came with his father to America where they engaged in journalism in the city of New York. The Browns were intensely loyal and were bitterly opposed to that part of the New York public whom they regarded as representing the slave trading power, and therefore hostile to Great Britain, the citadel of freedom. It was not long after that George Brown paid a visit to Canada in order to ascertain the possibility of starting a paper in Toronto.

A very interesting pen picture of Brown as he appeared on his first arrival in Canada is given by Samuel Thompson, editor of "The Colonist."

"It was, I think, somewhere about the month of May 1843, that there walked into my office on Nelson street a young man of twenty-five years, tall, broad-shouldered, somewhat lantern-jawed and emphatically Scotch, who introduced himself to me as a travelling agent of the "New York British Chronicle", published by his father. This was George Brown afterwards editor and owner of the Globe newspaper. He was a very pleasant-mannered, courteous, gentlemanly young fellow and impressed me favourably."

The removal of the Browns to Toronto, shortly after this marks the entrance of one of the strongest and most influential newspapers in Canada today. "The Toronto Globe", which George Brown began to publish in 1844, soon became the chief organ of the reform party in Upper Canada. Through its columns Brown began a strong

agitation for Responsible Government, religious equality, and non-sectarian education. These were the great social and political questions of the day; and in a short time Brown was actively engaged in politics, becoming one of the leading reform members in the Canadian Legislature.

In many respects Brown bore a similar relation to Upper Canada as Howe did to Nova Scotia. He travelled it from end to end and pierced the back settlements by horse and carriage long before the railways had laid their ~~net work~~ network of steel. To the early settlers in Western Ontario, he was among the first to bring some of the political arguments which gave them something to talk about over the stump fence. One still finds in that part of the country some of the old pioneers who delight in recalling the days when George Brown used to visit their homes and hold his political meetings. Like Howe, he chatted with the farmers about their stock and their crops , and about the proposed improvements in their community life. The whole country side eagerly flocked to the meeting places, to hear his speeches, though they often lasted until midnight. Many of his meetings were held in halls above a driving shed attached to a tavern, and the near presence of a bar did not lessen the enthusiasm of the occasion. The only means of lighting these places was a few tallow candles, which flickered in a gloomy ~~mal-odorous~~ malodorous atmosphere. But it was in the midst of such difficulties that Brown won his popularity and support which carried him through so many conflicts.

Such heavy campaigning combined with his editorial duties would overtax most men. But George ~~we~~ Brown was no weakling in any sense. He had been described by a friend as "a steam engine in trousers" and certainly the amount of work which he could accomplish

was extraordinary. Living before the time of typewriters and before dictation became the custom he labouriously wrote our his editorials and speeches by hand. It was thus by hard work and constant application of his time and energy to his various duties that he rose to a place among our greatest statesmen and orators.

Behind this solid industry lay a character, remarkable for its scrupulous and genuine honesty. Though often opposed to the leading reformers of his day- even going so far as to cause the break-up of the reform party through his attacks upon certain members- and though arousing the bitterest feeling against him because of this attitude, still Brown remained true to his principles. This strict adherence to his code of political morality, though it gave him a great influence and power over the masses, it also checked his rise in the political world. He was assailed on all sides and his path as a reformer was often crossed by time-servers, who were willing to compromise principles or postpone action thereon, for the sake of office. These attacks by his unscrupulous contemporaries only made Brown the more determined to follow the policy which his judgment deemed just and right. Had he shown no scruples about his course of action, or had he received the honour which he clearly merited, beyond a doubt, he would have held a higher position in the Canadian Legislature. But as it was his endeavours were not altogether unrequited, though his term of leadership was short, the fine constitution, which we have in Canada at the present time, is due inpart to the honest, pure policy which Brown so vehemently advocated. George Brown was the type of statesman that unfortunately is far too rare throughout the governments of the world. He is the kind of statesman whom Canadians may look back upon with pride; one who courageously sought to enrich Canadian life, and to purify

her politics from partisanship and dishonesty.

To understand the character of George Brown is to comprehend and appreciate the strength and quality of his oratory. For, it is the expression of a deep, strong, manly nature in which the most sincere passions being stirred up, burst forth in a torrent of commanding eloquence. Brown was nothing if not sincere. Free from any affectation, his words were the utterance of a high-wrought soul breaking forth in the most vehement language. Each sentence bore with it the stamp of frankness and candour; it was the opening up of the speaker's mind and soul without reserve. The revelation of all he himself felt and believed.

To a certain extent it was this extremely out spoken tendency of Brown's speeches which spoiled his effect. He was inclined to be too blunt, and spoke with too little reserve. Thus he brought down upon himself many abusive epithets from his opponents, because of his apparent absolutism; and there was a certain degree of truth in their criticisms. Brown was inclined to be over-domineering and positive in many of his public statements; therefore the merciless attacks of his political enemies were not altogether unjustified. However, his skill in debate, his rapid utterance and enthusiastic spirit, proclaimed him one of the ablest speakers of his day. His opponents though very able men were often dumfounded and overwhelmed by his fiery utterance, by his forceful and commanding personality.

Sir George W. Ross on a certain occasion describes Brown in these words, "I remember well his tall form and intense earnestness as he faced the platform, emphasizing with his long and swinging gestures the torrent of his invective. His manner was so intense because of its flaming earnestness as to over-shadow

the cogency and force of his arguments. Every sentence had the ring of the trip hammer, every climax smelt of volcanic fire, sulphurous, scorching, startling- and the response was equally torrent."

George Brown was seldom equalled in debate. His information on public questions of the day and upon the historical facts bearing upon them, combined with an adept skill in repartee, made him the most feared opponent in the house. When slightly angered by the interruptions from members of opposite views to his own, the full force of his withering invective would be turned upon the unfortunate offender, who would be silenced as at a blow. His ridicule was often extremely blunt, and he showed very little mercy to any who crossed his path. His giant figure and flashing eye appalled and terrorized whenever his voice failed to convince. Thus there were ~~is was~~ but few who dared interrupt Brown while speaking. Those who were bold enough did so merely to see the e lion ruffled, just as the great orations of Burke were often howled down to anger him. But Brown refused to be baffled, and a few scathing remarks usually made him supreme again. The lion did not roar in vain and the lamb escaped being devoured by remaining quiet.

This characteristic of Brown is quite clearly shown in a speech given before the House in 1865, on the vexed question of the union of the provinces. Brown plead for the adoption of Confederation without an appeal to the people, whom he claimed had previously expressed their sympathy with the measure on various occasions,,a fact which made any further appeal to them unnecessary. Speaking of certain resolutions which had been drawn up in connection withm Confederation at a previous convention Brown said:

" Here we have the very essence of the measure before us for adoption- deliberately approved of by the largest body of ~~represent-~~

representative men ever assembled in Upper Canada for a political purpose; and yet we are to be told that our people do not understand the question and we must go to them and explain it letter by letter at an immense cost to the country and at the risk of losing the whole scheme. But let us see what followed. A general election was followed in 1861- there was a fierce contest at the polls- and the main questions at every hustings was the demand for constitutional changes. The result of that contest was the overthrow of the Cartier-Macdonald ministry and the formation of the Macdonald-Sicotte administration in its place. But so bitter had been the struggle both for and against constitutional changes, and so clearly defined were party lines upon it, that it was found impossible to construct that government without a distince pledge that it would resist every motion made on the subject-

Hon. Mr. Holton: "Did you recognize the propriety of that course.

"No, indeed, I did not. I but cite the fact to show how thoroughly the whole question has been agitated and how perfectly its bearings have for past years been understood. Well mark what followed. One short year had not passed over the head of the Macdonald-Sicotte ministry before they tottered to their fall and so repugnant to the House and to the country was their conduct on the constitutional question they dared not appeal to the country until they had changed their avowed policy upon it, and replaced the men who had forced upon them the narrow policy of the year ~~befr~~ before by gentlemen understood to be more in favour of constitutional changes. The government so reconstructed went to the country in 1863 , but in the year following it too fell in turn, simply because it did not deal boldly with the question ~~then~~

Hon. Mr. Dorion: "We had the support of all who were in favour of the question.

Hon. Mr.Brown: "Indeed you had not."

A voice: "Oh oh!

Hon. Mr. Brown: " My honourable friend cries oh oh, and I am perfectly amazed at his doing so. I am about to offer my honourable friend the most complete proof of the correctness of my statement- proof so conclusive that if he does not accpt of it as such, I do not know how he can be convinced of anything. In one single day the Tache-MacDonald administration by taking up the constitutional question boldly turned their minority of two into a majority of seventy. Could anything prove more unanswerably than this the deep hold this question had on the public mind, and the assured confidence of the members of this House that their constituents understood its whole merits when in one day such a startling political revolution was brought about?.... Never I venture, to assert was any great measure so thoroughly understood and so cordially endorsed by the people of Canada. The British government approves of it, the legislative council approves of it, this House almost unanimously approves of it; the press of all parties approves of it...."

Brown's interest in reform was not confined merely to politics, he was also interested in social betterment; and much was done by him through the columns of the globe, and from the platform to shape popular opinion on certain grave social issues of the time. From very early in his life he had been opposed to slavery and thus the slave trade become one of his chief objects of attack. Many slave owners had resorted to following fugitive slaves into Canada and bringing them back to southern plantations. This practice bitterly incensed Brown against all slave-owners; he

became the avowed enemy of slave-holders, and the accomplice and friend of the fugitive slave. Thus during the struggle for the emancipation of slaves in the United States there was no more sympathetic and powerful an influence than that of George Brown. And its final abolishment was a triumph for him, because of the enthusiasm with which he worked to remedy the slave's condition.

The problem of slavery proved a great stimulus to Brown's oratory. It aroused in him the sincerest compassion for his fellow creatures who must suffer without complaint or resistance at the hands of cruel masters. His intensely sympathetic nature was easily stirred up by thought upon their condition; so that some of his most eloquent appeals were made on behalf of the American slave. In a speech delivered before the Anti-slave League of Canada, Brown defended the attitude which President Lincoln had taken in refusing to permit the south to withdraw from the union. Brown claimed that though Lincoln's position was both misunderstood and opposed by a great many people in Canada and the United States, who were in favour of the slave's emancipation, yet he did the only thing which could be done if slavery was to be stamped out of existence. In maintaining the wisdom of Lincoln's policy he said:

"Why not let them go? No honest anti-slavery man can hesitate in answering because it would have been wrong to do so, because it would have built up a great slave republic which no moral influence could have reached. Had the slaves ~~in the~~ states been allowed to secede without a blow, there is every reason to believe that all the border states would have gone with them, and a large portion of the unadmitted territory of the union would have been added to the slave domain. Such a confederacy would have over awed the free Northern States; the slave trade would have at onee been thrown open and no

foreign government would have dared to interfere. It has been said that if that were attempted France and England would enforce by arms a treaty against the inhuman traffic. I do not believe anything of the kind. If England could have been induced to go to war about the slave trade she would have gone to war with Spain long ago. She paid money to Spain to give up the shameless practice, and yet Spain carries it on to this day, and England has not gone to war to compel her to desist. No if this confederacy had been formed with slavery and the slave trade as its beautiful corner stones, no European government would have interfered; and we should have on this continent under the protection of a regular organized government the most monstrous outrage of humanity that disgraced the present age. Had Mr. Lincoln passively permitted allthis to be done- had he permitted the Southern States to go, and such a government to be formed without a blow he would have brought enduring contempt upon his name, and the people of England would have been the first to have risen up and reproached him for his imbeeility. 'Why' they would have demanded, 'did you allow the whole of that vast country to pass under the rule of slavery without one effort to prevent it? How came it that you did not strike a single blow to avert such a frightful evil? Had you only stood firm, the attempt would have been broken down,and even if it had not you might have fearlessly looked to us for sympathy, and at once we would have aidedd you.' "

It is difficult to get a true estimate of Brown as an orator. Many different descriptions of his oratory are given, from which it is almost impossible to judge the most representative. Tradition of a more or less biased nature pictures a man, stormy, impulsive, and imperious, bearing down all opposition to his will

by sheer force. We read the report of a speech by a certain writer, of his time, who describes the speech being delivered with flashing eye and with gestures which almost seemed to threaten physical violence. But this last cited quotation which is quite representative of a large part of Brown's addresses has absolutely nothing of this boisterous, illogical, repulsive quality, which some would ascribe to him. There is no undue impetuosity, nor is there any ground for assuming that he lacked control of himself, or failed to retain suffieient decorum while speaking. If we judge him by his character and his recorded speeches which are the only reliable source of judgment, then we cannot fail to see the merit of his oratory in its true light. For, in those discourses there is a definite coherence, a closeness of reasoning, and a systematic marshalling of facts, figures, and arguments, displaying the finest ability in technique. One might say of his speeches as has been said of a certain English authors sentences, "they were built like a stone wall." It is true that all through his life he showed a wonderful amount of energy; and thus it is to be expected that the employment of considerable force should be characteristic of his delivery. However, this tremendous energy was not of a spasmodic and sensational type, but was backed by depth of thought and the sincerest feeling.

Nevertheless, Brown had his defects and probably his greatest was the tendency to preach too much. No doubt this was due in part to a somewhat overbearing disposition, and also to the absolute way in which he expressed his opinions. At times, he gave the impression of pedantry; although it is quite possible that he himself was wholly unconscious of it, for he was a very modest and unaffected man. He was inclined, however, to state everything in too dogmatic a manner, a fault which was very unpopular with many

people. Often, in his most unispired moments his speeches were lowered to mere forms of advice, which he passed on to his hearers in"Polonian fashion". Yet the passages of this nature are few and limited almost completely to his later life, when many years of active public life were beginning to tell upon him. Brown displayed none of the flights of imagination that were so characteristic of Howe and McGee, He never tried to charm and please his hearers with splendour of diction or sublime imagery. To him, pathos was almost unknown. Humour, he seldom ever indulged in. There were none of the witticisms which one sees in some of the great English orators of the nineteenth century. There seems to be very few of those qualities which proclaim a great orator; and many people today will seriously object to recognizing him as such. Yet, in proof of his position, we need but refer to the undisputed position which he held for so many years in the Legislature of this country as one of its foremost speakers. That Brown's oratory had a tremendous influence on his time is undeniable. And the position which he attained is largely due, as we have already noticed to his own resolute character, to the confidence and assurance with which he faced each problem. Together with that, his speeches were carefully prepared; the subject matter was carefully thought out and logically arranged. His wide knowledge of history, of literature, of science and of politics, was skilfully brought to his aid and light was thrown on the subject, by the use of material which others never dreamt of introducing. His constant reference to parallel situations and events always helped to heighten the brightness and freshness of his remarks. The House was at all times assured that no matter how opposite Brown's views were, still he would have something of interest to say. Unlike so many

speeches which we hear today in the Legislature and on the public platform, a mere retelling of what has already been said in an equally dry and listless manner, Brown had a new contribution to make and he said it with a conviction and earnestness which showed that it was of vital interest to all.

In summing up Brown's oratory one can scarcely call him brilliant; nevertheless our study of his eloquence has revealed his undeniable greatness. There are many passages in his addresses which compare very favourably with the great masters of eloquence. Such heights of eloquence as were reached in his speech at the Quebec conference might well be kept in mind as an example of what Brown was capable of as an orator. In the peroration of this speech he said:

"One hundred years have passed away since the conquest of Quebec, but here we sit, the children of the victor and the vanquished, all avowing hearty attachment to the British Crown, all earnestly deliberating how we shall best extend the blessings of British institutions; how a great people may be established on this continent, in close and hearty connection with Great Britain. Where Sir, in the page of history shall we find a parallel to this? Will it not stand as an imperishable monument to British rule? And it is not in Canada alone that this scene has been witnessed, Four other colonies are at this moment occupied as we are- declaring their hearty love for the parent state, and deliberating with us how they may best discharge the great duty entrusted to their hands and give their hearty aid in developing the teeming resources of these vast possessions.

"And well Mr. Speaker, may the work we have unitedly proposed rouse the ambition and energy of every true man in British

America. Look, Sir, at the map of the continent of America. Newfoundland, commanding the mouth of the noble river which almost cuts our continent in twain, is equal i n extent to the Kingdom of Portugal. Cross the straits to the mainland and you touch the hospitable shores of Nova Scotia, a country as large as the Kingdom of Greece. Then mark the sister province of New Brunswick- equal to Denmark and Switzerland combined. Pass up the St.Lawrence to Lower Canada- a country as large as France. Pass on to Upper Canada- twenty thousand square miles larger than Great Britain and Ireland put together. Cross over the continent to the shores of the Pacific and you are in British Columbia, the land of golden promise- equal in extent to the Austrian Empire. I speak not now of the vast Indian teritories which lie between, greater in extent than the whole soil of Russia; and that will ere long I trust be opened up to civilization under the auspices of the British American ~~Confed~~ Confederation. Well, Sir, the bold scheme in your hands is nothing less than to gather all these countries into one; to organize them under one government, with the protection of the British flag, and in the heartiest sympathy and affection with our fellow-subjects in the land that gave us birth. ~~Are~~ Our scheme is to establish a government which will seek to turn the tide of emigration into this northern half of the American continent; that will strive to develop its great natural resources, and that will endeavour to maintain liberty and justice, and Christianity throughout the land."

CHAPTER V.

Sir Charles Tupper.

About the time Joseph Howe was making his first appearance in the Assembly, Charles Tupper, another young Nova Scotian, who was later to be Howe's political rival, was entering upon the study of medicine at Horton Academy. His main ambition at the time was to graduate as a medical doctor; and after a preliminary course in Nova Scotia he went to study at Edinburgh University, from which institution he took his medical degree in 1843.

His early studies had been carried on under the guidance of his father Rev. Dr. Tupper, who possessed a remarkable aptitude for language. Together with an inherited linguistic ability, young Tupper received a thorough training in the correct use of words both in his home and in the academy which he attended. Thus his natural gift of facility of speech was most opportunely cultivated for his brilliant political career.

Immediately after finishing his professional course he returned to Nova Scotia and began the practice of medicine in his native county of Cumberland. Here, his superior talent, dominating personality, and effieiency in his profession, soon won for him the respect and confidence of the public.

The greater part of his medical practice lay in the rural districts of the county. This involved the greatest of physical hardships, especially in the winter time, when obliged to drive for miles in the coldest weather, through almost impassable roads to visit a patient. His cheerful disposition knew no discouragement, and these difficulties which he encountered during his twelve years practice had moulded a

naturally indomnitable spirit into a statesman, honest, courageous, and intensely sensitive to the needs of the people. As he had won the love of the people while ministering to their physical ills, so in ministering to the social ills of his country, he was equally successful in winning the love of thousands of followers.

At the time of Tupper's entry into the political arena the Reform party were in power under the leadership of Joseph Howe. So strong was this Liberal government that the Conservative party which formed the opposition was completely overshadowed. They had some very able men in their ranks such as Mr.Johnstone, the leader, but they were so much in the minority that they had little or no say in the policy adopted for the colony. Howe proved far too strong for them to contend against him. There was a great need for a strengthening of the old party, for the fusion of new life into it, and the gaining of the confidence of the people once more.

In 1851, a peculiar situation arose in the Legislature, which necessitated the re-election of candidates to the House. Mr. T. A. DeWolfe was one of the Conservative candidates. Now for the first time, Tupper became identified with a party. His first political speech was made in introducing Mr. DeWolfe to an assembly gathered in a small country school house. Such an impression did he make by this first attempt at public speaking that it was the desire of DeWolfe that Tupper should be the nominator on the following day.

Howe and Tupper met on the platform for the first time at these nominations. So vehement was the young doctor's criticism of Howe's policy that it became clear to the veteran

politician that here was to be his most formidable rival in the future.

The Conservatives began to discern in Tupper an excellent candidate for their next election, And in the intervening years he was afforded ample opportunity by his extensive practice, for discussing the politics of the day with the people. Thus he was assured of an overwhelming majority long before the election took place.

The contest of 1855, proclaimed Tupper the victor over Howe; and soon the whole province had heard of the new champion. Although Tupper had triumphed the Conservative party were badly defeated at the polls and the slight advantage gained by the defeat of Howe was offset by the loss sustained in other districts of the country.

Mr. Johnstone was desirous of retiring from the leadership in favour of Dr.Tupper; but neither the party nor Tupper sould consent to his withdrawal, and finally it was agreed that Mr. Johnstone was to remain the nominal leader, yet Tupper was to assume the real labour involved in the leadership of the Conservative party.

It would appear from the descriptions of Tupper at the time and also the fearlessness with which he uttered his convictions in his speeches, that the Conservatives had chosen a man whose courage and ability were to prove a veritable tower of strength in their weakened party. One writer of the day, dwelling upon the merits of the new leader says:

"Accumulations of the knowledge of provincial politics were packed away in his capacious memory, ever ready to serve him both in private and public. In his mind the law of suggestion

was sensitive, alert, and vigorous. In action he belonged to the present throbbing days of steam and electricity. As he first appeared in the streets of Halifax, his erect, symmetrical person and rapid motion attracted public attention. No words were wasted in his business transactions, and there was with him a marked economy of time."

From Tupper's first appearance in the Legislature a new life and a renewed enthusiasm was awakened in the Opposition party. Promptitude, swiftness, energy and directness of action were called into being by a most discreet choice of language, which flowed from a well stored and active mind. His speech was rapid and charged with the most vivid diction. Naturally gifted with a beautiful voice his positive and emphatic utterance carried to all ears. Each syllable was pronounced and every ~~syllable~~ word distinctly heard. Thus there was not only a revived interest aroused by his enthusiastic words among the members of his own party, but the government was disturbed from its lethargy of over-confidence, and driven to greater activity.

Sir Charles Tupper's style of speech represents something new in the history of Canadian oratory. Literature, jesting, anecdotes and a profound appeal to the emotions were principally characteristic of Howe and MacDonald; it was such a type of speaking that they commonly resorted to, in their campaign addresses and debates in the House. Although Tupper possessed a fine sense of humour, he never could have hoped to equal either Howe or Macdonald in an emotional and humorous handling of ~~the~~ a subject. He rarely made a humorous speech, but what he lost by ~~ad~~ omitting the humour common to the oratory of his day, he gained in having a style, strikingly

different from the others, and well-fitted to his own abilities and personality. His speeches represent the utmost plainness of diction and fearlessness of setting forth his opinions, He addressed the intellect rather than the emotions; and convinced by the simplest and most logical arguments. There were no flights of imagination, no evident straining after beauty of expression, or ornamental effects; yet the very fact that he had the most perfect command of the English language made it possible for him to attain beauty through the felicity of his expression. He was a master of rhetoric, in that he had the exceptional faculty of being able to find the right word when he wanted it, and of using it in the right place. Therein lay his singular strength as an orator; and therein was that which differentiates his style from that of his contemporaries.

It may be wondered, how Tupper, with a mere simple correctness of language, void of any emotional appeal, was able to persuade an audience. Yet it cannot be denied but that the influence and effects of his eloquence was most remarkable, whereven he spoke. There was something in his oratory which gripped men as no emotional appeal can hope to do. Sir Charles Tupper was a genuinely honest man, this was the secret of his success. Moreover, he was a patriot, whose patriotic principles were not assumed to serve an interested purpose, to be laid aside when he had succeeded in his purpose, and resumed when he sought to accomplish another object. On the other hand, his affection for his country and his devotion to the common good were deep seated in his heart; and thus his utterance was sincere and relied on honest conviction within himself. A noble and pure character, then, was the vital quality lying behind his

words, giving them their force and persuasiveness, which moved men to action as readily as the most impassioned, ornamental eloquence, a type that is so often mere clap-trap, mistaken for oratory.

From the very first of his public career, Tupper took a definite stand on all questions, from which policy he refused to be diverted. A quotation from one of his first speeches shows the honesty of purpose, which was so characteristic of all his addresses.

" I did not come here to play the game of follow my leader. I did not come here the representative of any party, bound to vote contrary to my convictions, but to perform honestly and fearlessly to the best of my ability my duty to my country. In the past, I have seen measures which lie at the root of all our prosperity burked because they emanated from the leader of the Opposition, nor have the measures of the Government always received a dispassionate hearing from the Opposition. Whenever the measures of the Government commend themselves to my judgment, I shall not hesitate to support them; if a different course is pursued by the honourable gentleman opposite, they may find that some of the independent supporters of the government will feel it necessary to withdraw from them their support, and at all events, that in acts of tyranny and oppression the Government,strong as they may be on general questions will find that they will not be sustained."

Tupper stuck to his principles as probably no other man of his day did. He was never guilty of wavering and indecision. He quickly reviewed a situation and was prompt and unhesitant in giving his views on the matter. Moreover his interests were wide and varied; and if he were not the

leader in a movement for social betterment, he was always an active worker. In the agitation for an improvement in the educational system in Nova Scotia, Sir Charles was one of the chief advocates. Then, he was intimately associated with all the railway schemes; and later he became the main influence in bringing about the federation of the Maritimes with the Canadas. For some time the Maritimes, under the dominance of Howe remained hostile to union; and it was chiefly through Tupper's effort that they became reconciled to entering it.. In all these affairs Tupper remained constant to the moral principles which guided every phase of his life.

Sir Charles had very early grasped the vast importance of a uniting of the provinces under one central government. He realized that the sooner it was effected the better it would be for all concerned. So from the first he took the grounds that it was a sound constitutional policy to have the matter of confederation settled by the respective colonial legislatures, and not by the people at the polls. Both Canadas acted upon this principle as did also the British government. The following passage is taken from a speech of Tupper in reply to those who opposed the measure, and who claimed that the British government did not have sufficient information and therefore their verdict could not be accepted as just. In refuting this claim Tupper said:

"It was stated that if the British government had had only proper information on this question, if that dark cloud which prevented them from seeing the real facts of the case was only blown away, they would sustain the views of the gentlemen opposite....but let me ask when the gentlemen were advocating

responsible government, in this country, what did they tell us they were going to give us? The institutions of Republican America? No. They say they intended to give us responsible government, so that the peoplein this country might be governed in the same manner that the people in the British Isles are governed.. Who are the interpreters of the British system? When gentlemen raise an issue on constitutional practice they should sustain their course by reference to the authority from the country from which we take our system. The whole question was put before the statesmen and the people of England by a gentleman, second to none in ability to none in this country, who is one of those who can almost make the worse appear the better reason, who can put his views before the public in the most conclusive manner that it is possible to place them. Now, when this gentleman, Mr. Howe, has exhausted months in enunciating his views before the statesmen of the Mother country, what did Lord Carnavon say after a full consideration of the question?...

"I have given you"continued Mr. Tupper, "the authority of the leading of this country, of the Colonial Minister, of the British Ministry, and in addition you have the authority of the House of Peers, and the Commons of Great Britain. Let detraction assail that parliament, if it may; the honourable member may try to throw odium upon it, but there is not a free man in the length and breadth of the British Empire who can fail to admire and respect the body, which among the convulsions which have shaken nations from the centre to the circumference, has maintained the proud pre-eminence of England. It does not become a public man, at a time when the parliament of Great Britain is attracting the admiration

of the civilized world, when it is the great object of other nations to assimilate their institutions as nearly as possible to our Mother country, to attempt to cast obloguy....."

For such convincing argument, as was used in this address, Tupper was seldom surpassed. He did not try to brow-beat or bewilder. He dealt with the points of the case, which were common knowledge to all; his arguments were so skilfully arranged that everything relevant to the matter was woven in, and everything appeared self-evident. In such a lucid manner did he lay his proof before his hearers, that there was neither occasion for misunderstanding, nor was there left any gounds to the Opposition for denial.

Tupper was considered one of the strongest debaters, if not the strongest, with the exception of Sir. John Macdonald in the House of Commons. Of this exceptional skill the above quotation is exemplary. But he was equally good in attacking as well as defending a position. In a moment he could gauge the strength and weakness of an adversary, and quickly grasp a complete mental picture of the form of his reply. Even in the midst of heated controversy his judgment was cool; he seldom made a rash or unguarded statement. His facts, arguments, and illustrations were always at his call, and always under his command; and so there was that strong effective expression which seldom failed to carry his point. His whole manner of speaking was a striking contrast to that of Howe's, whose language was adorned with beautiful rhetorical devices, and sparkled with humouous incidents. And, just as Howe's eloquence was so effective because it was suited to his nature, so Tupper persuaded because his words were the expression

of his own magnanimous personality.

Tupper's speeches afford us one of the finest examples, among Canadian orators, of a uniformity of excellence. It is a common observation that the greatest orators reach the highest point of perfection on one occasion, and on another they fall far below their finest effort. Of course, this is true of almost any art which is practised. Men have their inspired moments, when a masterpiece of literature, painting, or music, is created; then again in the uninspired moment, at a time when their highest genius is limited by some outward circumstance, or some inward condition of mind, they descend to mediocrity. The same can scarcely be said of Tupper's orations, in so far as he seldom ever made a poor speech, and rarely descended to mediocrity. He was too industrious and energetic a man to allow himself to be called upon for a speech without a full grasp of his subject. His speeches all have the stamp of profound consideration and thought. Unlike so many speeches delivered in the house which show lack of information on the subject, lack of previous thought, and an illogical arrangement of material, a mere aggregation of words for the sake of saying something, or of expressing some weak sentiment; Tupper, on the other hand, had a clear mastery of the situation; he knew his subject because he was deeply interested in all questions affecting the welfare of the country, and when he spoke some light was thrown upon the matter discussed. His words bore weight because they were uttered with conviction. By their knowledge of the speaker himself, and by his aggressive and engaging manner, the House was made aware from the first that they might set great value upon his words at all times.

His speeches were all reflective of his industrious and enthusiastic nature; the product of a keen and discerning intelligence, showing an accurate knowledge of the political situation of the time. Thus it is that there was such a uniformity of merit in his speeches, and that they were all great since none were weak, but constantly showed the characteristic assiduousness of his nature.

A speech which he delivered in the House of Commons in 1887, upon the question of the protection of Canadian fisheries, which was at that time was a matter of controversy between United States and Canada, is quoted from, as a fair example of his finest efforts. After introducing the subject and showing how the proposal for settlement was rejected he continued:

"Under these circumstances, I think we had a right to expect from the Congress of the United States a different course from that which they pursued. When the President of the United States sent this appeal to the Congress for an international commission, what did the people interested in the fisheries say? Theysaid, 'we do not want to have anything to do with Canadian wa ters; we want no international commission. The fish have all turned south; they are coming into our waters; we do not require to go into Canadian waters at all; we want no commission, no international arrangement, but simply to keep ourselves to ourselves, and let the Canadians do the same.' I think that is very much to be regretted. I think that the interests of that great country and the interests of Canada alike require close commericial relations, and extended reciprocal relations. I have no hesitation in saying so. It would, in my judgment, be a great misfortune if anything were

to prevent reciprocal trade relations, with the United States which would be, as they were when they existed before, alike beneficial to both countries. We know we were satisfied with reciprocity, but we do not conceal from ourselves, because the statistics of our own country prove it beyond question that, advantageous ~~that~~ as was the Reciprocity Treaty from 1854, for twelve years, to the people of Canada, it was infinitely more advantageous to the United States. But as I say we were met with the proposal to arm the President with the power of declaring non-intercourse. I do not beleive that he will put that power into force, and I am strengthened in this belief by the letter which the President of the United States addressed to the parties who communicated with him on the subject, and which showed that that gentleman armed with this tremendous power fully recognized the enormous interest which had grown up under that peaceful intercourse between Canada and United States, and that he was fully alive to that mmmentous responsibility if he put it in operation....

"That is the solitary cloud upon the horizon, but it not without its silver-lining. Non-intercourse would not be an unmixed evil. I would deeply deplore it. Every member of the House and every intelligent Canadian would deeply deplore any interruption of the commerical relations which exist between this country and the United States; but I cannot forget that if this policy of non-intercourse were adopted, it would lead to the development of the channels of communication between ourselves, and that the commerce of Canada which is today building up New York, Boston and Portland would be carried exclusively through Canadian ports, and would build up Montreal, Quebec,

St.John and Halifax with a rapidity with which this country can scarcely understand. So looking at this question in all its bearings, while I most earnestly hope that no such policy will be adopted, while I have not the slightest idea that it will; I say that should it be adopted, great as is the American Republic, enormous as ~~it~~ their population, they will find that Canada feels that she has as great and as valuable a portion of the North American continent under her management and control, and to be developed, as ~~they~~ that lying to the south of us; and they will find the people of this country a united land of patriots, who sinking every other consideration, will say they owe it to their country, they owe it to themselves to show that there will be no faltering in maintaining to the utmost the undaunted and admitted rights that belong to the people of Canada....."

Sir Charles Tupper will be chiefly remembered by posterity for his noble and far-sighted statesmanship. His diplomatic services to the Dominion of Canada will remain as an undying memorial in the eyes of succeeding generations. But there is also associated with his name the quality of sublime eloquence, most worthy of profound study, and by which the leading vices of oratory, as it is practised in ~~erate~~ Canada to-day, may to a considerable extent be remedied. If by reading those speeches and thinking of the looks, tones, and actions which accompanied their delivery, and if by a close analysis of their excellences, the young Canadian is not benefited and ~~s~~ inspired to a greater effort in the development of the power of expression, then oratory in this country is indeed a lost art; but this ~~a~~ is a condition which we can

scarcely conceive, at the present time. Again, Tupper's oratory is most applicable to the mood of the day. It does not rise to the white heat which is characteristic of some of our past orators; it does not make its appeal to the emotions, nor is the diction imaginative and ornamental, qualities which the modern conventional mind seems to shrink from, assuming that anything which savours of such qualities is irrational and unnatural. On the other hand his is an appeal which was principally directed to the mind, and for that reason it may find a greater appreciation among people today than any other type of oratory. It is therefore quite probable that the fruits, which the Canadian public may gather from the contemplation of Tupper's speeches, may be of greater value than a similar consideration of any other single orator's work.

CHAPTER VI.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee

Canada is a nation of assimilated races. Not the assimilation of the small minority of one race with a large majority of another, but that of a number of races, differing in many aspects into one race or at least into one distinct nationality. Not only is it a uniting of men from different lands into one, but also the uniting of scattered self-governing colonies into a whole. This union of races and of political interests, which proclaims Canada a nation among nations today, was the result of the devotion of a group of her leading citizens to an ideal which was to a great extent realized at the confederation of the provinces in 1867. It was the work of men who traced their ancestry back, either to England, Scotland, Ireland, or to France. All were fired by the same ideal; the same dominating spirit of devotion and patriotism made possible the consumation of the union.

Already our study has included the impassioned eloquence with which many of these men advocated federation. In the face of a vital national situation, when men felt the enormity of the issue, there burst forth such a flood of oratory that has never been paralleled in the history of British North America. English, Scotch, Irish and French hearts swelled with a profound emotion, which was poured forth from the most eloquent lips, convincing, persuading, and moving to action their fellow men. Each race contributed its voice to that volume of stirring utterance which rang in the ears of our forefathers, and the echoes of which we would recall again to Canada's sons, that the vibrant sound

might reanimate our national life, and that there might be rekindled the smouldering flame of Canadian eloquence.

Nor was the eloquence which has been so characteristic of the Irish been any less conspicuous than that of ther others in this great cause. Such brilliant Irishmen as Nicholas Flood Divan and Thomas D'arcy McGee rank high among Canadian orators. Indeed a study of their lives and speeches may be undertaken with the greatest profit by Canadians today. As an orator, McGee was clearly the greater, although it must be said of Divan that he was both a scholar and an orator, the like of whom Canada has not had since his time. McGee had that gift of stirring speech which captivates and enthralls even the reader of his addresses. In view of this extraordinary faculty and because a large number of McGee's speeches were made in favor of Confederation, it is deemed that a consideration of his life and art of oratory will be of the greatest interest and importance.

D'Arcy McGee represents a singular type among the Fathers of Confederation. One writer has described him as "young Ireland incarnate". He brought into Canadian politics the characteristic Irish temperament, with a mind capable of the most sublime imagery, and with ideas, at one time radically revolutionary, but which had undergone a mellowing influence without loss of enthusiasm. His contribution to Canadian oratory was distinctively unique, which fact will become clearer when we have considered his life, and estimated his oratorical abilities.

The story of D'Arcy McGee's life is one of the most interesting in the annals of Canadian biography. The beginning so novel and romantic, the end so tragic, that one feels the

inadequacy of the space afforded by this dissertation to present a comprehensive view of the orator and his oratory.

McGee was born in a small Irish town, in a community which held the bitterest hatred of England, every member of which was nourished from childhood to resent and loathe the very name of the tyrant England. McGee was no exception, having a quick and imaginative mind, easily incensed with tales of past wrongs, his extremely sensitive nature was early goaded on to the most revolutionary spirit. To redress and avenge the afflictions of his native land, became his dominant ambition in life; and a more dangerous enemy England never had than the young Irish agitator. His school education was limited but his ardent imagination and keen apprehension soon made him an intelligent if not a deeply educated man. At the age of seventeen he joined the ~~fell~~ flood of Irish flowing into America. He soon began to give vent to his smouldering passions in the freer atmosphere of the United States. Attention was first attracted to him by his fourth of July oration in which his youthful ardour hurled the most violent abuse and scathing invective upon the object of his hatred. Attracted into journalism, his writings soon began to receive considerable notice in both America and the old country. Even O'Connell's attention was turned to the young Irish exile, and an offer was made to McGee to assume the editorship of "The Freeman's Journal"; but McGee looked upon O'Connell's as too conservative; tolerance, he laughed at; nothing but wholesale revolution would appease his unguided passion for revenge.

His associations with the leaders in the uprisings of 1848, and his strong anti-British statements made his arrest

certain. He fled to Ireland, from which, after many narrow escapes from the apprehension by the authorities, he returned to America and renewed his attacks on British institutions through the columns of the "American Celt".

But soon after this he began to see the utter futility of his denunciations. His mind gradually underwent a marked change; and he began to assume a more tolerant and sane attitude toward social and political problems. This broadening of intellect, and liberation from the narrow sentiment of his youth, developed in him a warmer feeling for the country which he had so long denounced. His hitherto warped and distorted genius ~~begainte~~ began to readjust itself and fulfil the noble purpose to which it was amply fitted. The great gift of a powerful mind and wealth of imagination were turned from useless destruction and retrograde movements into a nobler channel of service, to construction and progression. It was the unfolding of a beautiful life early diverted from its proper course. A tender plant whose growth was so hindered by environmental obstacles, by the weeds with which it was sorrounded that its identity was lost for a time; until its own high nature had caused it to overtop its fellows and assume its proper place. Once McGee had outgrown his early limitations and appeared in the full bloom of his original temperament, what a fragrant influence was cast by his life.

It was the good fortune of Canada that he at this time became one of her citizens, and one of the most patriotic and devoted of all her leaders in the great struggle into which she was entering. For D'Arcy McGee, whether it is acknowledged or not, did more for the cause of Confederation, with the exception

~~of MacFor~~

of Macdonald, than any other man. It was his outstanding characteristic that when he went into a thing, he threw his whole being into it. The enthusiasm which marked his early career of anti-British opinion became, as in the case of the apostle Paul, an equal ardour in the opposite direction. Upon his election to the ~~Canadian~~ Canadian parliament, shortly after his arrival in Canada, he began to urge a union of the North American colonies; addressing hundreds of meetings, ranging over all the provinces. And everywhere the brilliant Irish orator was welcomed and his message received with great applause.

In approaching the study of McGee's oratory, it is necessary, in order that we may fully appreciate the qualities in which it excelled, that we bear in mind the unique figure which he presented as a reformed revolutionist. A man who had spent three quarters of his life absorbing and breathing hatred of the motherland, whose first mission to America had been to ~~America~~ fan to a still brighter hue the anger flames ever blazing among the Irishmen who had left Ireland to seek home beyond the sea. A man whose mind had undergone such a revolution as to make him the champion of British ideals; whose eloquence, once so destructive of British institutions was to become even more eloquent in proclaiming measures for British progress. The fiery, red-hot revolutionist had become the noble passionate patriot, who had atoned for the past and was giving the remainder of his life to the service of his adopted country.

The sincerity of his purpose is clearly brought out in a passage from one of his first Canadian speeches; he said:

"I look to the future of my adopted country with hope, but not without anxiety. I see in the not remote distance one great

nationality bound like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean. I see it quartered in many communities disposing of its internal affairs but all bound together by free institutions, free intercourse and free commerce. I see within the round of that shield the peaks of the Western mountains, and the peaks-e crests of the Eastern waves, the winding Assinaboine, the five-foldlakes, the St.Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Saguenay, the St.John, snd the basin of the Minas. By all these flowing waters, in the valleys they fertilize, in all the cities they visit in their courses, I see a generation of industrious, contented, moral men, free in name and in fact- men capable of maintaining in peace and in war a constitution worthy of such a country."

Such was the poetic fervour with which McGee charmed his audience. A style which reflected the very nature of the man himself. His vivid Hibernian imagination, glowed with such pictures, which transform his addresses into the sphere of master pieces of English eloquence. How wonderfully suggestive is his choice use of the figure, so original in its application and so delicately fitting. How deftly that picture is portrayed to the mind; the contrast of the mountain peaks and wave crests with the peaceful plains and valleys through which the stream winds its way. The whole scene is brought before the mind in its entirety. The light and shade is clearly evident; and nothing is wanting when the master painter brings into it busy and contented labouring beings. The artist has charmed not merely by presenting a mental picture of unsurpassed beauty, but he has also doubly effected his charm by the musical rhythm of his words, the rise and fall of poetic eloquence.

This was, however, the work of a trained orator, for

McGee had reached the prime of life on coming to Canada. Many years of journalistic work had fitted him to interpret the public mind and to present his message to them in the most intelligible and the most effective manner. He had familiarized himself with world conditions. And had been taught by bitter experience to look out upon the entire world of men and to relate the parts to the whole; not seeing only but one narrow section of it. Therefore in later life he was able to avoid jumping at narrow conclusions. Instead of being a narrow provincial type McGee was a citizen of the world, and with such a mind he approached the problems of Canada. In addition to his journalistic experience he was a popular lecturer in the states, coming in contact with different types of audiences. He thus took his part in Canadian life as a highly trained speaker, with the ability to exercise all the art of rhetoric and oratory.

In many of Canada's public speakers, there is evident a certain degree of oratorical expression, but there speeches lack finish. Their arguments are poorly arranged, and show a lack of clear thought on what they have said, and still less do appear to have any clear idea of what they should say next. McGee, however, knew the order which his arguments should take, and besides that, their relative strength was always kept clearly in his mind. His sentences flow on with a smooth rapidity, rising to the heights of fervid eloquence and falling again to quiet, persuasive tones suited to his thought. The reader of McGee's speeches is constantly coming upon passages that demonstrate the most perfectly constructed sentences, and which reveal the most felicitous diction. Though his speeches are generally long they are full of interest. There is a freshness and vigour about his thoughts; a skillful avoidance of wearisome prosiness

which produces disinterest and ennui. Everything shows the touch of a master hand, which was not excelled by any of his contemporaries.

This remarkable skill, which McGee had in the use of language, becomes clearer to us when we read his speech given at Quebec to the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society. After speaking of their common interests as Protestants and Catholics, and of the spirit of tolerance which should be cultivated in Canada he said:

"That shot fired at Fort Sumter, on the twelfth of April 1861, had a message for the North as well as for the South, and here in Quebec if anywhere, by the light which history lends us, we should find those who can rightly read that eventful message. Here, from this rock, for which the immortals have contended, here from this rock, over which Richelieu's wisdon and Chatham's genius, and the memory of heroic men, the glory of three great nations has hung its halo, we should look forth upon a continent convulsed and ask of a ruler, 'Watchman, what of the night?' That shot fired at Fort Sumter was the signal gun of a new epoch for North America, which told the people of Canada, more plainly than human speech can ever express it, to sleep no more, except on their arms,-unless in their sleep they desire to be overtaken and subjugated..... Dear, most justly dear to every land beneath the sun are the children born in her bosom, and nursed upon her breast; but when the man of another country, wherever born speaking whatever speech, holding whatever creed, seeks out a country to serve and honour and cleave to, in weal or woe,- when he heaves up the anchor of his heart from its old moorings, and lays at the feet of the mistress of his choice his new country all the hopes of his ripe manhood, he establishes by

such devotion a claim to consideration, not second even to that of the childran of the soil. He is their brother delivered by a new birth from the dark womb of the Atlantic ship that ushers him into existence into the new world,- he stands by his own election among the children of the household, and narrow and most unwise is that species of public spirit, which, in the perverted name of patriotism would refuse him all he asks- 'a fair field and no favour'."

The style here may be said to be one of bold, strong simplicity, if the terms do not appear too contradictory of each other; it is to a degree elaborated, but there is not the slightest appearance of affectation. It abounds in the choicest use of mataphor, and McGee's vivid imagination is at work throughout. His imaginative powers, however, did not lead him to heights in which he became oblivious of his audience, or they became disunited from his thought; but he constantly restrained and checked himself, always retaining his poise and calmness. As in the case of Tupper's speeches he left with his audience the feeling of the deepest sincerity in his words. They were made to feel from the first that he himself felt deeply everything he uttered. In the quietest and most assuring manner he introduced his theme; then he launched forth into the central thought of the subject in language which was always plain, yet very noble. He had the poetic gift of embellishing the plainest and most ordinary thoughts and sentiments, by a judicious choice of simple language, into dignified and beautiful forms of expression, which had a profound affect even upon the most illiterate people.

So far in our study of McGee's oratory no mention has been made of the place of humour, which is commonly associated with those of Irish descent. D'Arcy McGee rarely reverted to

humour. He was the most grave type when speaking upon a question of import; indeed his realization of the seriousness of the situation which he presented, combined with a native enthusiasm of mind made levity impossible with him. But from this it must not be inferred that his speeches were morose, or that he had no appreciation for the lighter side of life; for, on occasions he could be as witty and humourous as any Irishman; however, those occasions he did not think were in political speeches or when dealing with vital social problems. Probably this may be accounted for by the harsh circumstances of his boyhood days. Life, to McGee had been a very stern reality: having witnessed the sufferings and privations which surrounded him, life was regarded as a grim battle from man's incoming to his outgoing. He was keenly aware of the inequalities in society: how some faced more of the hardships, and bore more of the heartaches than others; and he openly expressed his sympathy and compassion for his downtrodden fellow creatures. There were many he felt who could deal with the lighter side of life, so he chose to approach the weightier problems from the serious side. Therefore, earnestness and sincerity are most conspicuous in his speeches; yet his humour when he did resort to it was of the highest order.

A very fine example of McGee's wit, as well as his capacity for a humourous treatment of a subject is shown in a speech upon Canadian defences, in which he said that the need of the country was, "war's two main hinges- iron and gold". One member asked him whose the saying was. McGee replied: "The phrase is Milton's who had it from Michiavelli, who may have had it as it was popularly supposed from 'Old Nick'." Then he proceeded to point out

the ridiculous position of Canada as a borrower:

"One of the two hinges,at least, of all defense , we must derive from England, and that will depend on the exhibit our 'sturdy beggar'-the phrase is his own and not mine,- I mean the Minister of Finance, may make in England. Now we will imagine the Hon. Minister safely arrived at London, in search of his four million loan, and, though lost in the crowd for a moment we will imagine him emerging into the very sanctuary of British credit. He will find before him merchants who know how to unite the large knowledge of statesmen with the keenest attention to their own interests, and men not altogether ignorant of what is past and is passing, in Canada. Imagine the Hon. gentleman indicating to such men the grounds for future loans to Canada by saying, 'Our government went to the country last June and we estimated our expected majority at twenty of twenty-five, but unfortunately, we found, when the House met, that we had two ties the first week. However, we did our best to strengthen ourselves by seating in the House a private person (Mr.Rankin) as member for Essex. In this, unfortunately we failed. A week later we underwent the ordeal of a want of confidence motion, and ~~narrowly~~ narrowly escaped by a majority of three in a full House. Immediately, seeing that something should be done, we took the mover of that motion, a distinguished member of the House, and made a Judge of him. The ungrateful people of his constituency,however, not seeing their duty in that light sent us in his stead a determined oppositionist,(Mr.Raymond). So we made nothing by giving the Judgeship; still we thinkthe ingenuity displayed entitles our Government to a great consideration in England- pray, lend us four millions!'"

We have previously noticed that McGee's contribution

to Canadian eloquence, had on it a stamp of originality, which differed very much from the others. This distinction, it may be deemed partly lay in his reformed radical temperament, but there are, also, other distinctions which indeed appear more plausible, and noteworthy. His chief aim was not to conduct his hearers through long trains of tedious argument, nor was he particularly emotional in his appeal. Any process of reasoning, which he used, was simple and readily grasped, and it was free from all didacticism and pedantry. Most unique was the manner in which he flashed upon their minds the vivid convictions of his own heart, with a passionate ardour, yet in language beautiful and striking in its simplicity. Its rhythmic forcefulness and precision charmed the ear and stimulated the mind, as no other speaker of the oratory of the time could do.

In such a fiery temperament as McGee early gave evidence of possessing, it is more or less natural to expect a speaker who revelled in declamations; but of this he had thoroughly purged himself. True, there was a blaze and a penetrative aspect common to his oratory, still it was far removed from that of the empty declaimer. There was a grandeur and fierce dignity in the storm of words which destroyed, yet rebuilt upon stronger foundations.

It is this stern passionate ardour, this beautiful imagery and exquisite diction that impresses the reader of his speeches more than any profound wisdom and knowledge which he possessed; and which ~~gave to him~~ makes him worthy of the attention and praise of every Canadian to-day.

Moreover, the limited sphere of McGee's popularity as an orator does not necessarily confine him merely to local fame; nor is he unworthy of rank amo ng some of the most famous orators

of his native land. From the troubled Emerald Isle, there have arisen at all times numerous men of eloquence; and the nineteenth century particularly saw the advent of a group of orators, whose voices rang in the Assembly of one of the greatest nations of the world; the echoes of those voices, ~~from~~ of O'Connell, and of Grattan, still lingers in the ears of all lovers of liberty throughout the world. And,indeed, there need be no hesitancy in placing D'Arcy McGee among the group to which Grattan and O'Connell belong. True, the names of these other great Irishmen are on the lips of every school boy. Fate had placed them in a wider sphere of activity. All the world had its eyes focused upon the little isle and particularly upon these two men,Grattan and O'Connell, the most brilliant champions of Irish freedom. They dealt with a question of universal interest, and a measure of world applause was meted out to them; and so they live on, in men's minds. Yet if we judge not merely by applause, but also, by effort and achievements, even in a small field of endeavour, such as was the scope of McGee's work in Canada, we cannot treat with disparagement the ranking of McGee with men like Grattan and O'Connell. They eclipse him, not through power of eloquence nor through earnestness and zeal; but rather, through ~~a~~ the presence of a larger,interested public. However, this very fact enhances rather than detracts from McGee's claim to eloquence. The fact that in an adopted and remote country, such sublime language could be called forth, unknown to the world, yet so profoundly felt by his chosen countrymen whom he so influenced in their attitude towards Confederation, is indeed the most convincing proof of his merit and worthiness to be ranked with Ireland's greatest orators.

We are far too prone to underrate and depreciate either

through ignorance or disinterest, the splendid efforts of those of our statesmen in dealing with problems of less wide interest, yet with equal brilliance, as was required in a larger sphere, which brought the eulogy of more people. Thus through unacquaintance with, or lack of confidence in our own judgment, we have failed to express our approbation of McGee's place among the orators of the world. Judging him by the fragmentary treasures of eloquence that have been preserved, and by the enthusiastic testimonies of some of his contemporary admirers, D'Arcy McGee ranks among the greatest of inspired speakers, and assuredly stands next to Joseph Howe among Canadian Orators.

The life of McGee from first to last was filled with the intensest pathos, and his premature death at the hands of a cowardly assassin, was most regrettable, considering his early hardships and his later zeal for Canada's welfare. His speech delivered on the death of Lincoln seemed a prophesy of his own similar end a few years later. With wha t faultless diction, what energy, yet with what infinite pathos, does he utter these words:

"The spirit of clemency, moderation, and of conciliation displayed by the late President were virtues uncommon, almost unexampled, in time of w civil war; they are virtues whose sew sweet savour must have ascended before him to the judgment-seat to which he was so suddenly summoned; they were virtues which entitled him to the beatitude pronounced upon a Judean Mountain and echoed all over heaven- 'blessed are the peace-makers'. Let me venture to express the hope that as the American people revere the memory, so they will follow, in this respect, the sublime example of their lamented President. To do otherwise- to lose their equilibrium, to forego their magnanimous purposes,

even under the terrible shock they have suffered- would be to allow the assassin's policy to triumph over the ~~triumph~~ policy of President Lincoln. Thank God, there is one compensating consequence attendant on even such a crime! Never yet did the assassin's knife reach the core of a cause or the heart of a principle. No wreath of harmodius hides, in history, the barren results of these booody short-cuts to forbidden ends. And as for the wretched criminals in this case- they cannot hope to escape their due punishment. They have conspired in what they have done against the whole civilized world, and the whole civilized world is concerned in bringing to justice the guilty; but in ~~that~~ the name of that humanity and civilization which mourned the fate of the murdered President, by the memory and example he left to his people, let the avenger's arms descend only on the guilty, and after due evidence of their guiltiness."

It is within these addresses that we gain a knowledge of the character of McGee. It is from such that our estimation must be derived, and not from his early career. The soul of McGee had been obscured by the dark clouds of narrowness, bigotry, and prejudice; but as the low hanging vapour is slowly cleared from a landscape, revealing new beauties of natural objects, so the true nature of D'Arcy McGee was revealed in his passing life. It revealed a man of the most stirling character, a man of the most noble, just and tolerant mind, who saw life clearly and saw it whole; and as such he must be looked upon at the present day.

It was in the spirit of broad tolerance that he revisited Ireland in 1865, and made the fateful speech at Wexford, which inflamed the Fenian element against him. Exhaling the spirit of his adopted country McGee said to his co-religionists: "There ought to be no separation of the kingdoms of Great Britain

and Ireland. Each country would suffer loss in the loss of the other, and even liberty in Europe would be exposed to the perils of shipwreck, if these islands were divided by a hostile sea." He was equally candid in his words to Englishmen whom he urged to try kindness and generosity in their legislation for Ireland.

No sooner had the news of the Wexford speech reached Montreal than the Fenians were ablaze with anger. But despite the opposition which had been thus raised against him he was returned to a seat in parliament the next session. In that session of 1868, his last words were an expression of tolerance and good-will concerning the agitation in Nova Scotia for a repeal of Union. "We need above everything else", he said, "the healing influence of time". Then he added: "Time will show us the constitution as much cherished in the hearts of ~~the~~ all provinces not excepting Nova Scotia, as is the British constitution itself." He concluded, "We will compel them to come in and accept this union, we will compel them by our fairness, our kindness, and our love to be one with us in this common and this great national work."

Such words of singular prophecy and solace came like a benediction to his life work. In a short time the deadly assassin's hand had cut him off in the prime of life. The voice which for a few years had charmed and electrified his hearers in the parliament and upon the public platform, was heard no more throughout the land. The pen, which had once expressed so beautifully the powerful feelings of a full and glowing mind and heart, was laid aside; but the memory of D'Arcy McGee still lingers in many fond hearts.

A few lines from his own verse are a fitting tribute

to his own high character, and love of freedom.

"Rob me of all the joys of sense,
Curse me with all but impotence,
Fling me upon an ocean bar,
Cast me upon a savage shore.
Slay me! But own above my bier,
'The man, now gone still held yet here
The jewel independence.' "

CHAPTER V11.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier

In speaking of one of our greatest French Canadian orators, we necessarily reflect upon these fiery orators of the French Revolution. We are reminded of such men as Danton and Mirabeau, the echo of whose thundering voices still ring in that afflicted Republic. Those men who made the French language the instrument by which the French nation was aroused and fired with a burning zeal and depth of passion that burst their chains of bondage and made them free.

Hence it might reasonably be assumed that the high-wrought emotional characteristics of French oratory would be particularly prominent in Laurier's eloquence, in so far as he is descended from French forefathers. But although by nature a Frenchman and exhibiting many qualities peculiar to the French nation in general, there is not the slightest ground for identifying the qualities wherein he excelled in oratory with those of the French tribunes of the 18th, century. Indeed it is the very antithesis of what are considered the common features of this art in France. For it is usual to regard French oratory as expression charged with intense feeling, and passionate, fiery emotion; whereas Laurier's greatest appeal was made to the intellect rather ~~to the~~ than to the emotions. In view of this one is much more justified in saying that Laurier's eloquence was much more closely allied to English standards, because it was colder and lacked in warmth and animation, and at the same time, was less declamatory than was the oratory of the Revolution. The English standard of

oratory is conceived of as a calm, smooth, logical type, with which Laurier is more clearly identified than with the French standard. But besides this distinct intellectualism there is a fine and polished language, seldom equalled by English orators. Whether this polished effect is the result of the fusion of the flexible French style with that of the English need not be discussed any further than to say that it is quite probable that such an accurate knowledge of the two languages ~~that~~ which Laurier possessed would produce the effect which is shown in Laurier's speeches. The fact that there was such a blending of the two tongues becomes more evident when the period of his early life, in which he learned the two languages is considered. For Laurier accomplished something which is uncommonly rare, in that he spoke both languages with equal eloquence. Few men can speak one language fluently; very few can converse freely in two; but to Wilfrid Laurier there was given the happy faculty of wielding either language in a manner unparalleled in Canadian history.

His early life was of such a nature as to emphasize both the French and English characteristics. He was born in the little French ~~s~~ village of St.Lin in the year 1841. Exactly two hundred years earlier, his first Canadian ancestors had left France to undertake the establishment of an outpost on the island of Montreal. Thus his ancestors were among the earliest pioneers in Canada, passing on to their illustrious successor a French tradition, french ~~bell~~ blood and a Canadian inheritance, in which English ideals, English manners, and many of the racial peculiarities, were soon assimilated by the keen mind of the precocious young man.

Laurier often reflected upon the days of his boyhood

in the little French village, where he attended the parish school and where the foundation of his character was first laid. Here, he was surrounded with a wonderful natural beauty, for which he always had a distinct appreciation. And living in the atmosphere of a most genial home, where his education was greatly encouraged by kind and sympathetic parents, he early acquired a fondness for study.

At the age of eleven he was sent to a school in New Glasgow, where he boarded with a family of Scotch Presbyterians. It was while attending here during two years that he became so familiar with the English language, which was spoken at home, at school and on the play-grounds. He unconsciously came to know and appreciate the way of looking at life of his English speaking countrymen, and particularly to understand that "many roads lead to heaven". Thus the tolerance and understanding which he showed later, when he became Canada's leading statesman. And it was largely as a result of these conditions in which he lived during this period of his boyhood that the two natures were so carefully blended in Laurier.

On leaving New Glasgow, Laurier entered L'Assumption College, one of the few secondary schools which provided training for entrance into professional study. Here he received an exceptionally fine mental disciplining. Great emphasis was placed upon latin in which Laurier became quite proficient; and even in after life the works of Horace and Cicero were read and reread by him with the greatest delight. French literature was given the next place in their studies; the literature of Bousset, Racine and Corneille. These classics doubtless greatly influenced Laurier's mastery of expression, and cultivated the distinctive style which marks all his orations. At the same

time his vocabulary was enlarged, and he developed an interest in the finer shades of meaning in words, and learned their correct usage. He eagerly entered into the literary activities of the college, and his first attempts at debating were exceptionally promising. A meeting of the Assize court, a political debate held on the street corner or at the church door after mass, usually found Laurier an enthusiastic listener. His thoughts naturally turned to law, the study of which he afterwards undertook at McGill University, becoming one of her most distinguished graduates.

Laurier was admitted to the Quebec bar in 1864. But his uncertain health soon made it necessary for him to abandon his practice in montreal and move to a quieter country place. He settled in the town of Arthabaska, where he combined the work of barrister with the editing of the leading Liberal paper in the Eastern townships. Although during his student days in Montreal he had been closely associated with the somewhat radical Rouge party, it was while living in this secluded spot that his political views began to take a definite form and broaden out. During days of quiet study he became thoroughly familiar with Canadian and English history; he was enabled to judge the policies of the respective parties; he saw the influence of each policy upon the progress of the country; and from the mistakes and triumphs of past Canadian and British legislators he strove to arrive at the most advantageous scheme of government for the Dominion. As a consequence his sympathies turned towards the Reform party; but his political views were greatly modified from those which he held while in Montreal as a member of the Rouge party

which advocated radical reform. And through his newspaper as well as from the public platform, he openly expressed his opinions on the political situation, which was in a rather complicated and critical state after the confederation of the provinces.

At this point in our study, it is well to recall the actual political situation of that transitional period in Canada; for it was into that seething mass of political and social differences that Laurier was thrust, upon his entrance into the Legislature. The vexed problems, which at the time clamoured for settlement, became the object of his most eloquent appeals.

After Confederation and indeed for some years previous a great split in the old parties had taken place. The radical Liberals, known as the Rouges, had united with the old Tory party in support of certain principles of a rather extreme type. However, they gradually adopted a more moderate policy under Lafontaine, the successor of Papineau. They had strongly protested against the interference of the church, in matters of legislation; and wished to place education in the hands of the Government instead of under the Church, as it had hitherto been in Lower Canada. This attitude brought them into disfavour with the Church, which exercised an enormous ever influence over the electors. Moreover, the religious controversy combined with the nationalistic aims of the new party, split up the previous solid Quebec block. With Confederation, Macdonald cleverly took the strong majority which stood with the Church into the Conservative government. Thus leaving the small minority of Quebec reformers in a very precarious position, which was by no means strengthened by the Upper Canada Liberals and Clear Grits, who for some time bore very strained relations

to ane another.

Laurier's position as a member of the Opposition was, therefore, for many years extremely weak, surrounded as he was by party differences. He at once set about to effect a reconcilement of interests, and the placing of the party on a stronger basis. In Confederation he saw the possibilities for solving the racial problem, which was the great "thorn in the flesh" of any attempt at a secure union. From the outset of his career two principles guided his conduct in the endeavour to achieve union and harmony for all Canada. The first was to adhere faithfully to the guarantees of the federation compact, to refrain from federal interference with provincial affairs. The second was, to develop a common Canadian nationality in which the older loyalities would be fused and blended, not compelling any man to forget the land of his fathers, but bringing every man to think first of the land of his sons.

It was with these views clearly outlined, as the guiding principles of his political program that he entered the Quebec Legislature in 1871. His first participation in parliamentary debate, marked him as one of the future leaders in his country. He was but thirty years of age when he made his maiden speech, which was received with great applause. It revealed a great breadth of thought and a keen insight into the situation which the country was faced with at the time. The House was astonished at the grace and persuasiveness with which it was delivered. Slowly that art of expression was to grow from quiet, graceful, deliberating, and conscious speech into the rapid flowing cadences of one of the most eloquent voices ever heard in a legislative Assembly.

Laurier had attracted attention not only by his eloquence, but added to that, there was the charm that a fine personal appearance has upon an audience; this was decidedly in his favour. As one of his contemporaries describes him: "He was tall and thin, with a pale, sickly face of the student, hair chestnut, thick and inclined to curl, countenace mild, serious and rendered sympathetic, by an air of melancholy; manners plain, delicate, reserved and respect-commanding; voice sweet and sonorous."

With his outstanding ability his rise in the political life of the Dominion was rapid. His first brilliant flash of oratory was followed by repeated successes; and within a few years he was enthroned as the idol of Lower Canada, their greatest and most influential statesman. Other speakers of the time may have had more brilliant eloquence, more captivating imagery; he had neither the gesture nor the fire of Brown or of contemporary French Canadian speakers; his temperament did not lend itself to those impetuous movements, and those inspirational emotions for which some men are noted. He was not gifted with the energy of Brown, the fire of MacDonald, or the flowery language of McGee; but more than these, he had the method and loftiness of idea, the correct reasoning, the purity of diction and the elegance of language, which constitute the parliamentary orator.

It was because of his logical, reasoned appeal to the intellect, rather than to the feelings and emotions of his audience that his chief merit lay in parliamentary debate. This excellence was not merely a natural gift with which he was born; he had early shown a more than average linguistic ability; but his success was due to a conscious effort, during

many years, to improve this faculty with which he felt himself endowed. It was years of constant study of the masters of English oratory, with Bright and Macaulay; it was a thorough acquaintance with English literature, with Shakespere and Burns, which cultivated and enriched his mind with the noblest and deepest thoughts, and from whom that exact and concise expression of those thoughts was derived. Thus developing a skillful method which went at once to the heart of the question, seized the main principles, and set them forth in the simplest and most direct manner, giving the impression that almost anyone would do the same. But to say, as a great many people do say, that this was a great natural gift, which he always had, is the height of absurdity. Such mastery of language which his speeches show does not come by chance; he like every other orator, who ever gained renown as a speaker, was obliged to master his art. The orators who are made by chance usually reach their greatest effort on the soapbox. Had Laurier been simply an haranguer, as so many of these so-called "born orators" always remain, he would never have been recognized as the greatest debater in the Canadian House during the last fifty years. A declamatory and highly emotional manner of speaking often makes a great appeal to the popular mind. It is a type of eloquence that is natural with some people, and requires very little cultivation, besides an attempt to modify and check, lest it verge on the ridiculous. A highly emotional temperament and a natural verbosity are the chief requisites. But when a vital problem of legislation is at stake, when insight and clear understanding of the question is necessary, there is a call for something more than mere fine speaking and clap-trap, something more than furor and sensational description; there is a

need for clear, calm, logical and persuasive eloquence which makes everyone feel a mastery of the situation. And such was the eloquence of Laurier, who had attained it only through years of determined application to the improvement of his art.

If some of his early speeches are compared with those delivered at a maturer age, one can readily discern the improvement which he made by persistent effort. Probably by placing his first parliamentary speech, delivered in Quebec in 1868, alongside that great oration which Laurier gave in the Federal House in 1886, concerning the action of the Government in the Riel case, one becomes more fully aware of the great advance which Laurier made in his art during those eighteen years. It is natural of course to suppose that the delivery of the younger speaker was not so effective as that of the tried veteran of the platform. But the main distinction is to been seen in the diction, in the handling of the arguments, the arrangement of materials according to importance and with a view to giving strength and emphasis; it is this which shows the master over the novice. As has been said, for a complete appreciation of this difference the two speeches should be examined at once. The one is the partly skilled manouveres of the young novice with the foils, the other is the smooth, accurate, measured thrusts of the skilled fencer.

Since this brief treatment of the subject makes it impossible to quote at any length from both speeches, a small portion of the latter speech will suffice in revealing the master at his work. And, furthermore, if this speech that will be quoted later is compared with the earlier one, the

reader will be more fullya aware of the vast improvement which Laurier ~~made~~ had made in his art.

The Riel question placed Laurier in a difficult position. Riel was a fellow countryman of French origin and of Roman Catholic faith, and Laurier's follower's in quebec were indignant at his execution by the Government. Ontario which was partly Liberal, tended to support the action of the Government, though the majority of their representatives opposed it. Laurier was thus between two fires. If he favoured one side, he would loose the support of the other. And if he took no share whatever in the dispute, he would antagonize neither party. However, the honest convictions which he had on the question prompted him to take a stand for what he considered honourable and just. He therefore undertook an indictment against the Government, in a speech which is an abiding monument to his greatness.

The debate had been long and bitter and the hour was growing late. The speaker began to ask whether the question should be put when Laurier rose. As one writer describes the scene: "No sooner had Laurier risen than the House was quickly filled. For two hours it listened breathless; at more than one tense moment not a sound was heard, but the speakers ringing voice and the ticking of the clock."

Laurier at once accused the Government of judicial murder. The rebellion, he claimed, was the fault of miss-government in the North West, rather than the fault of the half-breeds. He continued:

"At last justice has been given to these people. For seven long years they had petitioned and petitioned in vain. On the 26th, of March, the Prime Minister, in his place in

this House, gave it as his policy that these men were not entitled to any special privileges, that they had no such rights as were given to their confrères in Manitoba, that they were to be treated not as half-breeds, not as a special class, but either as Indians or whites. At last justice was coming to them. At last what they had been petitioning so many years was coming to them. And what was the cause? In ten days, from the 26th, of march to the 6th, of April, the Government had altered their policy and had given what they had refused for years. What was the cause? The bullets at Duck Lake; the rebellion in the North West. The Government had been refusing for years and at last these men took their lives in their hands, and at last the Government came down and gave them what they were entitled to. I appeal now to any friend of liberty in this House; I appeal not only to the Liberals who sit beside me, but to any man who has a British heart in his breast, and I ask when subjects of Her Majesty have been petitioning for their rights, and those rights, have not only been ignored, but have been denied, and when these men take their lives in their hands and rebel, will anyone in this House say that these men, when they got their rights, should not have saved their heads as well, and that the criminals, if criminals there were, in this rebellion, are not those who fought and bled and died, but the men who sit on those Treasury benches? Sir, rebellion is always an evil, it is always an offense against the positive law of a nation, it is not always a moral crime. The Minister of Militia, in the week that preceded the execution of Riel, stated his sentiments in these words: 'I hate all rebels; I have no sympathy, good, bad or indifferent, with rebellion.' Sir, what is hateful- I use the word which the honourable

gentleman made use of- what is hateful is not rebellion, but is the despotism which induces rebellion; what is hateful are not rebels but the men who, having the enjoyment of power do not ~~eh~~ discharge the duties of power; the men who, having the ~~pe~~ power to redress wrongs, refuse to listen to the petitions that are sent to them; the men who, when ~~asked~~ they are asked for a loaf,give a stone...."

The House had never heard a more moving speech. Both friends and opponents joined in paying tribute to its excellence. Thomas White, Minister of Interior referred to it as: "a speech of which, though I differ from him altogether, I as a Canadian am justly proud, because I think that it is a matter of common pride to us all that any public man in Canada can make on the floor of parliament such a speech as we listened to last night." Mr. Blake, enthusiastically declared it: "the crowning proof of French domination. My honourable friend not contented with having for a long time in his own tongue borne away the palm of parliamentary eloquence, has invaded ours, and in that field, pronounced a speech which in my humble opinion merits this compliment, because it is the truth,that it was the finest parliamentary speech ever pronounced in parliament since Confederation."

Though the House of Commons has been the stage upon which Laurier has displayed his power of eloquence to the greatest advantage, yet much of his popularity is due to his success on the public platform, during election campaigns or when called upon to address various organizations. Many of the finest parliamentary speakers fail hopelessly when called upon to address an informal gathering. The qualities of rare humour and sensationalism, which are often the main features

of such popular addresses, were lacking in Laurier. He was too serious to resort to much humour; he was too profound and deep a thinker to make a sensational and light emotional appeal. He relied upon the simplest and most direct statements, which were spoken with the greatest sincerity; and the people always understood him and were convinced where other speakers would fail.

An interesting account of Laurier and Chapleau on the platform at Longueiul, is told by Mr. Rodolphe Lemieux: "Who does not recall the famous oratorical joust at Longueiul at the election of Mr. Prefontaine on the thirtieth of July, 1886. Mr. Laurier spoke before Mr. Chapleau, it is true, but he had the ability to destroy in advance all his adversary's arguments. It seems to me I still see him turning to the Secretary of State and hurling at him this stunning apostrophe: 'you will speak after me but I know what you will say, and I will therefore answer it at once. For a long time past I have known the circle which the ball chained to your feet permits you to travel.' It was by the cleverness of such remarks that he so often humiliated and overcame his opponent on the platform."

But it is probable that a great deal of Laurier's popularity may be traced to his kindly sympathetic disposition. The audience at once felt that here was a man who had an interest in their welfare, and was honest and worthy of their trust. He did not appear to be trying to force them to think a certain way; and unconsciously they began to think as he thought and to act as he would have them act. So many public speeches are of that compelling nature which antagonizes rather than moves those who hear them. Once confidence has been inspired, conviction comes as a natural process;

and thus Laurier aroused interest and held sway over every kind of audience.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing discussion of the general characteristics of Laurier's eloquence, that there was a complete lack of the imaginative and emotional elements in his orations. It is true these elements are not conspicuous. Laurier made no direct attempt to appeal to the emotions. He did not make a parade of figures of speech or resort to metaphor or simile., when he could express his thoughts as effectively without them. He did not strive for beautiful form; but he strove for results. Nevertheless, when occasion did arise, imagination and feeling were not absent. And again, even his most reasoned and intellectual addresses are not void of a highly emotional quality. True, they are addressed to the mind, yet in such a manner as to affect the heart and arouse the strongest and most genuine emotion.

Browning's poetry is directed to the mind in particular; yet does it not arouse the most intense feeling, and stir the most unemotional of us, to the depths of our souls? And thus it was that Laurier was able to command men of the most opposing views; his words were directed to the hearts as well as to the minds.

In much the same way in which Browning was accused of lacking in imagination, so Laurier may be thought to have been devoid of an imaginative faculty. Laurier was not above the average in imagination, but he could and did use what he had to great advantage at times. Even on such a subject as the tariff question a touch of his imagination produced a beautiful effect. In concluding his speech on the tariff he said:

"We are just now in the last days of a long and severe winter. Nature, which is now torpid and inert, will awaken in a few days under the penetrating influences of a warmer sun, and the great river at the foot of the cliff on which we stand, now imprisoned in the close embrace of frost, will throw off her shackles and roll unfettered and free toward the sea. So sure as this will happen I say that under the penetrating influence of discussion, of better feelings on both sides of the line, the hostility which now stains our long frontier will disappear, the barriers which now obstruct trade will be burst open and trade will pour in along ~~these~~ all the avenues from the north, free, untrammelled, and without fear of embarrassment or provocation."

Before concluding this review of Laurier's eloquence it is well to consider one other quality which is characteristic of all the greatest orators, and which he possessed to a remarkable degree; that wonderful depth of pathos and tenderness which he felt and expressed in a manner equal indeed to the greatest effort of Mirabeau. On the occasion of the death of Sir John A, Macdonald, Laurier rose in the House and with these stirring words, charged with the most intense feeling, he said:

"In his death, too, he seems to have been singularly happy. Twenty years ago I was told by one who at that time who was a close personal and political friend of Sir John Macdonald, that in the intimacy of his domestic circle he was fond of repeating that his end would be as the end of Lord Chatham- that he would be carried away from the floor of parliament to die. How true that vision into the future was we now know, for we saw him to the last with enfeebled health and declining strength,

struggling on the floor of Parliament until the hand of fate pinned him to his bed to die. And thus to die with his armour on was probably his ambition. Sir, death is the law, the supreme law. Although we see it every day in every form, although session after session we have seen it in this parliament we have seen it striking right and left without any discrimination as to age or station, yet the ever-recurring spectacle does not in any way remove the bitterness of the sting.. Death always carries with it an incredible sense of pain; but the one sad thing in death is that which is involved in the word separation-separation from all we love in life. This is what makes death so poignant when it strikes a man of intellect in middle age. But when death is the natural termination of a full life, in which he who disappears has given the full measure of his capacity, has performed everything required for him, and more, the sadness of death is not for him who goes, but for those who loved him and remain....."

In this treatise upon Laurier, only his English orations have been considered. As we have noticed his eloquence extended to his use of both French and English. Our study has, therefore, tried to bring out those characteristics which were common to Laurier when speaking in either language. We have seen in the eloquence of Laurier, the result of a singular blending of the French and English nature, the most remarkable uniting of the elements of emotion, imagination and pathos with an exceptionally high rational power into an appeal which stimulated the intellect and at the same time stirred the coldest heart with the sweet harmony of smooth flowing language. And this eloquence was the crowning consequence of his untiring zeal in the pursuit of perfection in the art of oratory.

Eloquence has often been compared to the raging storm, with its peals of thunder, and flashes of vivid lightening amidst the rush and roar of the hurricane. But Laurier's oratory is the very antithesis of the storm; it might very well be compared to the beautiful morning in June, when all is calm and joyous, with the spirit of nature, when all is filled with life and hope.

Canadian eloquence reached its highest point in the oratory of Laurier. Combining all those qualities requisite in the great orator, he attained the pinnacle as well as the climax of Canadian eloquence. The art which was begun by Howe saw its flowering stage in Laurier, who exercised a wider influence than any other Canadian orator. Nor was his fame as a speaker limited to Canada alone, but he has been acknowledged, throughout every English speaking country, as one of the most accomplished parliamentary debaters, the most polished after-dinner speaker that the 19th, century has seen.

CHAPTER V111.

A Plea for Oratory.

In accordance with the purpose which was stated at the beginning of this thesis, I have tried to show the height to which the practice of the art of oratory was carried in the past history of Canada. Far from running the gamut of eloquence in this country, I confined my treatment to its most glorious age; endeavouring to set forth the merits and demerits of the most representative and accomplished orators of the time. From the study of whom the art may be revitalized today. For it seems evident to me that the germ of our national life and the hope of our future prosperity is to be found in that period and chiefly among those orators. It is by an analysis and inspection of the roots from which Canadian life grew that there is revealed the energizing spirit which promoted the first rapid and flourishing growth. And, with the knowledge that oratory was one of the vital components in the life giving element, it is imperative that it should not disappear from the life of Canada today. It is hoped, then, that this thesis is some contribution to the effort which is being made to revive the spirit of Confederation Fathers in Canada.

In the preceding expositions we have noted the diverse types of oratory which these men displayed. Each had a characteristic style, and qualities peculiar to himself; yet all converged on certain general principles. We have observed the captivating imaginative language of Howe, the sweeping, fearless utterance of Macdonald, the fiery energy of Brown, the forceful sincerity of Tupper, the poetic flood

of passionage speech of McGee, and then the fervid intellectual expression of Laurier, I have endeavoured to draw attention to the fact that the distinctive features of each man's oratory were the consequence of temperament, environment, and studious application. All of which moulded and directed their art during its development into the definite form that it took. We have also noted that which they had in common, both in technique and subject matter. In the latter, clearly there was a marked association of interest, in so far as the greater portion of their eloquence, with the exception ~~with~~ of Laurier's, centred about the question of Confederation. Together with a similarity of objective and likeness of incentive, there was a common will and sincerity. A parallel case may be witnessed in the orators of the French and American revolutions. Now this common bond and sameness of incentive, I maintain, lay at the root of that splendid era of eloquence. And if I may escape the somewhat justified criticism of having adopted the indecorous mannerism of writing in a cause to effect style and indulging in tedious repetition, I will reiterate that which I have already expressed throughout this thesis: that the accomplishment of the ~~order~~ orators of the 19th, century was the result of high purpose, indomnitableness of will, and patient labour; furthermore it ~~upo~~ is upon these same principles that oratory today can and must revive and flourish.

Besides their personal ambitions and inevitable egotistic aspirations there dwelt in the heart of each, without exception, an unquenchable patriotism and a heroic resolution that transcended petty politics and human frailty, and accomplished thereby the foundation for a united and

prosperous people. It was not a mere "dreaming of dreams and seeing of visions", but the partial realization of their fondest and most cherished hopes. Nor were the clouds of pessimism and distrust, which hung upon the country at the time, less dark than at the present. Nor were the obstacles and difficulties more easy to surmount; on the contrary they were even greater, for weakened by factional strife and disunion, poverised by industrial infancy, undeveloped and uncertain of developments, the country hesitating and halting awaited the issue. Then strong minds, willing hearts, and eloquent voices, were called forth, breaking the spell and proclaiming the future of Canada.

Again we hesitate and shrink in the face of a situation which demands a definite adjustment of our relations to other countries, and the building up of Canadian industries. The would-be prophets of a national doom- who are but a small group of fanatics, and who neither represent the mind of the people nor have any understanding of it- decry a misdirected past and inevitable failure in further development along the lines pursued in the past, which policy advocated gradual independence for the Dominion; filling our ears with the cry of annexation, further dependence, anything to avoid the abyss. But the present situation is one which calls for judgment based on reason rather than on frenzied sentiment. And it is to that past which is being condemned that we must look; it is from those men who demonstrated Canada's ability to work out her own problems that the challenge comes to us today, What they achieved we in like manner may accomplish; and that, by reviving something of their eloquence.

Now I do not wish to be misunderstood, nor to give the impression, that by my continual harking back to the past, that I see no good in the present; for I have very little sympathy with those who in all ages have seen only good in the preceding age and evil in their own, who delight in eulogizing the golden era of their forefathers, and deploring the degeneracy of their present. But, on the other hand, my contention is that glorious as was the past, we would not revert to it; yet we may glean from it inspiration and wisdom apart from any imitation of, or reversion to it. My reference therefore, to the 19th, century orators, is not that we should take them as infallible authorities on legislation or on oratory, but merely as a source from which we may derive infinite aid.

At the same time I assume that the value and power of eloquence has been made sufficiently clear by the foregoing study. As was pointed out in the first chapter, one of the chief objects of this study was to show the much stronger appeal which eloquent speech has over the quiet, business-like style of exposition that oratory has taken on in modern times. This theory of oratory, or as it may be more accurately described, speech in the style of written prose, I endeavoured to disparage by reference to the essential qualities of human nature, of emotion and feeling which demanded something more than cold unimpassioned language in exposition. Now we may further enhance the value of studied and noble speech charged with intense feeling and glowing with imagery, by recalling the effect which this type of expression, as it was used by those orators, had upon their auditory. We have seen the influence

of their oratory upon the history of Canada, and that alone is the most convincing proof of the power of eloquence. Nor does our distance in years from that period justify any real change in human nature which would alter the value of oratory in our own time.

Consequently I would urge the revival of the art in Canada. In view of what it has done for our previous commonweal, is it not obvious that it will be as efficacious in the life of Canada today? And as their art was reached largely through study, in the same manner it may become ours. And as it was through pride in, and love for Canada, that those men were prompted to excel; so it is only by pride in our own national life and our own traditions that men today will arise and denounce the shallow sentimentalist and the obsequious pessimist; and with hopeful eloquence arouse in the hearts of Canadians a sense of our country's inherent greatness.