

STANLEY AND HIS SON.

A SKETCH OF CANADIAN POLITICAL HISTORY.

By Mr. George E. Fenety—Lord Stanley, the New Governor General, to Administer Principles in Canada which were Opposed by His Father.

There comes to us in a very short time a new governor general, in the person of Lord Stanley, a son of the late Earl of Derby, who in his day, as colonial secretary, and in all other political respects, was one of the first and greatest Tories that England has yet produced; and so strange are the mutations of time that within a period of 50 years the principles of colonial self-government so stoutly opposed by the father, are to-day not only in the ascendant; but the son is coming out to administer and find in them the real essentials of Canadian political success, and thus to bear witness to the mistaken forecast of his illustrious father and the dimness of his prophetic vision.

After a long struggle for responsible government, which finally crystallized under the administration of Mr. Paulet Thompson (afterwards Lord Sydenham), and took form and substance under Lord Durham, whose famous report to the English government overcame all scruples at the colonial office as to the compatibility of a colony governing itself, and, at the same time, being governed by the imperial authorities, there still lingered the old Tory hostility among the fossilized lords, and the government then in office against the concession, and so it could only be.

Strangle the Bantling in Its Cradle, all would yet be well and the "family compact," as it was called, would go on rejoicing for a decade or two longer. Accordingly Lord Stanley, who was colonial secretary in 1841, appointed to the office of governor general, in succession to Sir Charles Bagot, in 1842, Sir Charles Metcalf; and it was said at the time that in doing so his design was to nip responsible government in the bud, and Metcalf would prove to be the fitting instrument.

And so it proved as far as the disposition went—for like master like man; the new principles ere long were to be put upon their trial, and it not subverted be placed in jeopardy, through the seeming impossibility of making them workable in a colony, and, therefore, prejudiced in the opinions of the English people and government. This statement will be sustained a little later on. Let us for a few moments look at Lord Stanley's instrument; but before doing so take a closer view of Lord Stanley himself. When a member of the house of commons this gentleman was a very hot-spur in debate—able, fiery, witty, formidable. No member wielded a sharper or more weighty battle-axe. The great O'Connell had in him a champion worthy of his steel. While the one was contending for the liberation of his country, the other was as resistant as

Balfour is at the Present Day.

but far more sarcastic and exasperating towards the friends of Ireland. His match, in his style of warfare, was only to be found in the lord chancellor, Brougham; but as each sat in different houses they never came in conflict or chanced to have a mental gladiatorial wrestle. On the death of his father, however, Lord Stanley succeeded to the peerage and became the Earl of Derby. Thus for the first time Brougham and Stanley were brought face to face within the great imperial arena, to the great delight of the Tories—for had not Brougham everything his own way, the terror of the house of lords, as Stanley was in the commons, lashing all who differed from him with thoughts of a scorpion? The day of retribution, thought they, had at length arrived, and the great and fiery Stanley was to come forth unopposed as their deliverer, or to stand in future as their shield and buckler. Not so! Stanley down stairs and Derby up stairs were two different beings. His fire had gone out below—it may have been from exhaustion, want of the right materials to work upon, a better insight and speculation as to probabilities, the necessity for more prudence and caution as to the danger of hearding the great lion up stairs in his den, one with whom he could not play, much less exasperate—but from whatever cause, the terror of the commons

Became Mild and Placid in the Lords.

and Brougham still held sway as before.

Sir Charles Metcalf was born at Calcutta. His time from boyhood upward was spent in the service of the East India company. His inspiration of government was obtained from dark surroundings, among what we might call semi-barbarians, as far as the liberty of the subject was concerned, having no will, but submissive to that of those who ruled them—not a very fitting school for a young man to gain liberal ideas to be carried out in after life among a people struggling for freedom and equality with their fellow subjects in England. And yet Sir Charles Metcalf was a very able man—of strong will and determination—a good imperial officer but unfitted by nature for a constitutional administrator. He afterwards became governor general of Jamaica and was a success in his administration. But then Jamaica at that time was simply a crown colony, and the governor absolute—not required to take the advice of anybody. In pleasing himself, therefore, in what he considered to be right he pleased his superiors at the colonial office. To appoint a man to the office of governor general of Canada with such ingrained tendencies and natural disposition, was like transplanting an exotic

Note.—The writer, in penning this article, is not moved by any political considerations in reference to the present day. The issues and the actors have long since passed off the stage; and although the writer performed an active part 40 years ago as a journalist in bringing about responsible government, which British North America now enjoys in its amplest extent, he belongs today to no party or set of men. Old political lines no longer exist; they have since consideration been drawn in new directions, so that the writer feels happy in his retirement from party conflict. The words "Tory" and "family compact" are used in their original and proper sense, not of the present.

into a soil and climate so foreign to its habits as to

Render It Incapable of Bearing Fruit, unless it be of an immature perishable nature.

Canada was just in the throes of partition, after a long struggle, one party against another, and had gained the acknowledgement by British statesmen that she was entitled to self-government and equal political rights for all her inhabitants, when the Metcalf hand grenade was thrown into the ranks of contending politicians; and this not long after his excellency's accession to power. He came out with all the notions that as governor he was absolute in Canada, as he had been in India or Jamaica, and that his councillors were of secondary importance. Nor did it take him long to discover his hand in his advisers, consisting of the first liberal government ever formed in Canada, comprising such men as Cameron, Lafontaine, Baldwin, Aylwin, Small, Dunn, Hincks, Daly, Morin. All true as steel—men to whom these colonies are largely indebted for the freedom of government which we this day enjoy. With this council, and the party represented by them, the governor had no sympathy, and so he frequently manifested himself. A disruption was at length precipitated (1843) by his excellency undertaking to make appointments to office without consulting his council, and when remonstrated with for so doing, he insisted that the prerogative of the crown gave him that right and that he intended to exercise it as he thought best, notwithstanding his advisers were responsible to the house and the people for every act of the administration. Here then was an evidence of the governor's proclivities, and of the temporary success of his master, Lord Stanley, in appointing him for the purpose of frustrating

The Friends of Responsible Government

in their efforts to consolidate and make it a working reality. Of course the government tendered their resignations, and the whole of the North American colonies were thrown into political convulsions, much to the annoyance of the Liberals, but to the great glorification of the Tories, or "family compact." Meetings were held everywhere by the latter party, not only in Canada but in the maritime provinces, and resolutions passed commending the noble stand taken by Sir Charles Metcalf. At the present day such meetings, for a similar cause, could not possibly be held. Responsible government is now as firmly fixed, in 1888, as Toryism was in 1843. Although the upper provinces were then emerging out of the darkness which their agitators had nearly dispelled, these lower provinces were still bound hard and fast in the old Tory meshes—and therefore there was not sufficient organization to call meetings in opposition to the governor's action, while on the other hand the friends of Sir Charles and their blind followers had everything as they wished; seeing their political power about to wane in the early future, the opportunity now furnished

Was a Sort of God-send to Them

to take up arms on the one side by commending the governor, and thus by so doing strike heavily at the Liberals if not extinguish them forever, and so prove the impracticability of their principles. St. John and York called meetings and forwarded congratulatory addresses to Sir Charles, the reading of which at the present day is highly amusing. The legislature of this province was even more obsequious; and if the reader will just make a mark here and hold the passage for the purpose of comparing it with what will be presently revealed he will notice with some interest the value of the stock in which politicians sometimes traffic. The burden and substance of the addresses forwarded to Sir Charles Metcalf may be summed up in a few words, as follows: "Your excellency was right in holding on to the prerogative and exercising it as you have done. Our people are loyal to the crown and will never submit to be governed by the majority, according to what is foolishly called responsible government, unless with the permission of your excellency"—and more to the same effect which, 40 or 50 years ago, found expression on all political occasions, fanned and kept alive by irresponsible interested parties, who fattened and fattened upon

The Labors of the Toiling Multitude.

and denounced as traitors the comparatively few arrayed on the side of the opposition. Now mark what follows, as a fitting sequel to the action of our legislature in committing itself to the Metcalf eretibet.

The year following this loyal outburst, Mr. Odell, the provincial secretary, died (Christmas day, 1844) at Fredericton, and soon afterwards the lieutenant-governor, Sir William Colebrooke, appointed to the vacancy his son-in-law, Alfred Reed, Esq., which step was strictly in accordance with the action of the governor of Canada, and which was endorsed by his council and the legislature of this province, as just now shown. What was good constitutional doctrine for the upper province ought certainly to have been good for this. But not exactly. Last year it was firing at the radicals at long range, and thus alarming them by the concussion nearer home; but now came the recoil—the reaction—the humiliation. Our council was composed of such men as Hous, Hugh Johnston, E. B. Chandler, R. L. Hazen, Charles Simonds, L. A. Wilnot—all good men, bearing their politics. These gentlemen, except Mr. Simonds, tendered their resignations, and gave their reasons at length in writing to his excellency, so that the governor was now put to a nonplus—but such reasons! Read in the light of the present day one wonders that there ever could have been such perversity of intellect and obliquity of political foresight, in men of marked intelligence in other respects, who once held the reins of government in this province. But to those living now who were contemporary with the ways of the old school, the marvel ceases to be such. All the public offices and the patronage belonged to this party exclusively, so that in

Although in the government this gentleman had always been a stout opponent of the "compact," and he gave his own reasons why he could not support the government, which were based on strictly constitutional grounds, not personal grounds.—G. E. F.

their judgment Sir William Colebrooke had no right whatever

To Use the Queen's Prerogative

without consulting his council, notwithstanding what they said the year before to Sir Charles Metcalf in their address, viz: "You, the governor, are the sole custodian in such matters and hold the prerogative sacred." The appointment was cancelled, and Mr. Reed was once more relegated to his old office, that of private secretary. Thus, in 1845, the principles of responsible government were far from being established, when the executive council could act as they did and be backed up in their tortious course by both branches of the legislature. The Hon. Mr. Saunders was finally appointed to the office of provincial secretary.

In a year after this event a political break-up occurred in Nova Scotia—another result of the Metcalf example and of the cringing sycophancy of a large majority of the people of the day. But the sister province was led by a man of qualities too superior and formidable for governors and compact councils to dominate beyond a certain season. An entrance had been made into the executive council chamber of Nova Scotia through sheer political force. A coalition government was formed by the direction of Mr. Paulet Thompson, then governor general, and for the first time in the history of the province

There was a Liberal Infusion

in the persons of Joseph Howe, James B. Uniacke and James McNab. All went well for a season, but it was considered by the prophetic politicians at the time that the ingredients could not possibly assimilate any more than oil and water—for both parties belonged to opposite political schools, and the remembrance of old encounters rankled in the hearts of each. At length responsible government was to receive another blow from a similar quarter, and in a similar way, and, as in the Metcalf case, by the exercise of the prerogative. Without consulting his council, or rather the Liberal portion of it, Lord Falkland, the governor, appointed Mr. M. B. Almon to a seat in the legislative council, doing exactly as did Sir Charles Metcalf and Sir William Colebrooke; although no doubt Lord Falkland consulted with the Tories of his coalition, if the appointment was not advised by them. This was their method of driving out the Liberals—and they succeeded, and to their own future downfall, for the Liberals immediately resigned. But this was the best thing that could possibly have happened; as

It Brought About a Crisis.

No more coalitions after this—party government became the shibboleth—and Howe was the champion. The people were addressed in all parts of the province, and the elections of 1847 brought forth for the first time a large majority of Liberals; and from that day to this responsible government has been worked in accordance with the British system. The old council at the first meeting of the legislature retired, and the Howe party were installed in their places, Mr. Howe as provincial secretary. If, therefore, Earl Derby and Sir Charles Metcalf were in the flesh today, they would discover a totally different state of things in Canada to that which they both calculated upon when they sought to strangle responsible government at its birth.

GEORGE E. FENETY.

AMONG THE ARTISTS.

A fine crayon portrait of the late Mr. John Thompson has attracted much attention to Messrs. H. C. Martin & Co.'s window, this week.

A Montreal despatch announces the death of Allan Edson, one of the best known of Canadian artists, and a contributor to the Academy and Salon.

A head of Christ, painted by Albert Durer, is the central work of a mediæval exhibition just opened by Messrs. Noyes, Cobb & Co., of Boston. The Durer is of undoubted authenticity; and there is also a head that is undoubtedly Raphael, besides many paintings of classic value.

It is not always possible for a critic to speak in appreciative terms of the work of a body of students, but it is not possible to do otherwise with regard to the pictures shown at the recent exhibition of the Academy of Art. The evenness of the exhibit was quite remarkable, and the originality that inspired the various canvasses was hardly less so. Mr. Miles may well feel proud of the progress his pupils have made in the last year. It is understood that it is his intention eventually to establish another exhibition of original work, to be contributed to by students who take a three years' course and by others who aim to make art their profession. The idea is a good one, and it should be put into effect as soon as may be.

Monday was varnishing day at the Paris Salon. A New York Herald cable says that of the French names one may say that Francois Flameng and Carl Guthe hold the decorative side of the vestibule. Bonnat sends a portrait of Jules Ferry, while closely by is a flaming General Boulanger, by J. B. Blin. Bouguereau sends "Adam and Eve Waiting for Abel," while Jules Breon has painted a very poetical group of generals going to join a religious procession. There are very few of the flighty or pruriently sensational subjects of last year and studio caricatures are creditably absent. The salon this year is certainly far above the average. It has more dignity, more evidence of exalted taste. There are not quite as many portraits as usual either, and they are better than they have been. The champion horror is a nude girl just murdered by a negro slave in a harem, by Maurice Bompard, but there is little of slaughter house art. The battle pictures and vivid and realistic landscapes are rather thin. The sculpture, although a goodly show, evidences very little transcendental talent and seems too much like work done to order. America is well represented. Out of 2,586 paintings no less than 170 are sent by American artists. All the time-honored names now acclimated in the world of French art are well represented, and many new recruits are added.

NEWS OF THE CHURCHES.

Presbyterian.

Rev. Mr. Wylie, of Sackville, has gone to Londonderry, N. S.

Rev. Joseph Hogg, of Moncton, is to be given a call to St. Andrew's Presbyterian church, Winnipeg.

During the church year, just closed, the Presbyterians of the United States contributed \$785,527 to home missions—\$130,000 more than ever before.

The One Hundredth General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States will meet May 17, and will be opened with a sermon by the moderator, Rev. Joseph T. Smith, D. D.

The will of the late Samuel Bowman, of Montreal, gives property valued at \$25,000 to Knox college, and property of the same value to Erskine church.

The Presbytery of St. John met Tuesday in this city, and made grants as follows: Sussex, \$250; Chipman, \$260; Shemogue, \$200; Glassville, \$200; South Richmond, \$250; Greenfield, \$200; Hampton, \$200; St. George, \$250; St. James \$200. The delayed grants were: Nashwaak, \$250; Bocabee, \$300; Woodstock, \$180; Buetouche, \$250; Riverside, \$250; Shediac, \$250. With the delayed grants the total amount was \$3,430. Those churches which reported showed a total of 4,520 communicants, 3,552 members of Sunday schools and \$48,754 raised for all purposes during the year 1887. St. John church, Moncton, leads in number of communicants, 476, and in members of Sunday school, 503. St. David's church, St. John, leads in amount of money raised, \$6,483.

Baptist.

The Southern Baptist association will hold its next session in June, with the church at St. Martins. The Union Baptist seminary buildings will be about completed by that time.

There are 31,891 Baptist churches, 20,477 ministers and 2,917,315 members in the United States, and the net gain in membership last year was 184,745. The Sabbath-school statistics show 116,453 officers and 1,126,405 pupils.

More than 40 members have been added to the Fredericton church during the winter. As a result of the special union services held by Baptists and Free Baptists on the Gibson side of the river, a dozen persons have been baptized and the outlook for a new church is hopeful.

Episcopal.

The Protestant Episcopal church of America reports 437,785 communicants for 1887, being an increase of 19,215. There is an increase of 90 clergymen, the total being 3,835.

His lordship Bishop Courtney, of Nova Scotia, preached his first sermon in St. Paul's, Halifax, to over 2,000 people. Revs. Dr. Hole, S. W. Jones and Mr. Poole assisted.

Dr. John Wesley Brown, rector of St. Paul's cathedral, Buffalo, is one of the most popular preachers in the Episcopal church in the United States. Boston wants him to succeed Dr. Courtney at St. Paul's, and it is said that a New York church is laying plans to capture him. Dr. Brown is a handsome man, between 40 and 50 years of age, though his smooth-shaven face and bright, benevolent expression make him look even younger.

Methodist.

Rev. James Crisp, of Salisbury, has been invited to take charge of the Point de Bute circuit.

Rev. Douglas Chapman has accepted the invitation of the Baie Verte quarterly board and will succeed Rev. S. T. Teed.

The indications are now that the Methodist denomination will raise \$1,200,000 for missions this present year.

Congregational.

The Rev. J. B. Sacer, pastor of the Congregational church, St. John, is now on a visit to England. He arrived at Liverpool on the 16th ult. Mr. Sacer was announced to address the Somersetshire Union of Congregational churches, Rev. W. H. Daniels, from the United States, is supplying the Union Street church in the pastor's absence.

Fifty-four new members were received into the Congregational church, Ottawa, on Easter Sunday. The old church edifice has since been demolished, in preparation for the erection of a new and handsome edifice, to be erected on the same site.

The Congregational union of England and Wales will celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Revolution of 1688. This celebration is not intended to be held in any narrow spirit, but in memory of the great event which ended the struggle for church uniformity, and paved the way for advancement in the principles of civil and religious liberty.

The Congregational union of Australia will celebrate the jubilee of the Congregational union in October next.

The Congregational Methodists in Alabama, Florida, Arkansas and Georgia, numbering about 300 churches, are considering the propriety of giving up their distinctive organization, and uniting with the regular Congregational denomination, which is as yet weak at the south, as it was not permitted an existence in the days of slavery. The churches in Georgia have taken the lead; and 41 Congregational Methodist churches, seven Free Protestant Methodist and four orthodox Congregational churches have united in one organization, entitled the Congregational association of Georgia.

Catholic.

The estate of the late John McSweeney has presented the fine farm on the Loch Lomond road, about four miles from St. John, to His Lordship the Bishop for the orphans. The property includes 150 acres of land, a good house, barns, etc.

In General.

The eleventh triennial conference of the Young Men's Christian associations of all lands is to be held at Stockholm, Sweden, August 15-19. It promises to be an important meeting.

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