

THE MANIFEST DESTINY OF CANADA!

An Able and Timely Paper by Prof. J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University.

(From the Forum.)

Listening to the recent tariff debate in the Senate, I heard Senator Edmonds say: "Our best market is the market of the United States, which fifty years hence will be the continent of North America." The Democrats opposed nearly everything brought forward by the Republicans in that discussion; but this prediction passed unchallenged. Senator Sherman had already introduced a resolution looking to "political intercourse" between Canada and the United States, and Mr. Butterworth had offered a bill of similar import in the House of Representatives. In the *Forum*, Senator Morrill, though writing with great circumspection, observes that while public opinion in the United States "is in no hurry," it "has its index finger forever pointing to a union of all that lies north of us, as our manifest destiny."

That is no doubt the latent belief and expectation of all Americans. As the original United States which lay between the Mississippi and the Atlantic were in the nineteenth century expanded to Behring Strait, the Pacific, and Florida Strait, by the successive acquisitions of Louisiana and the great Northwest from France in 1803, of Florida from Spain in 1819, of Texas and the Southwest from Mexico in 1845-53, and of Alaska from Russia in 1858, so the present United States are to receive their next and culminating expansion in the twentieth century, and rather in the earlier than the later decades, by the acquisition from Great Britain of the remaining half of the continent. Thus the swiftly changing map of North America will have been definitely settled in the realization of the republic's ancient dream of a single continental empire between the Gulf of Mexico and the Arctic Ocean. Such is the decree of "manifest destiny!" Yet the case of Canada is different, infinitely different, from that of all the territories ceded during the nineteenth century. There you annexed unpeopled lands, by purchase or conquest. Here, on the contrary, you have to do with five million human wills, to be followed in the next generation by twice that number. The destiny of Canada will be settled by the people of Canada. For them there is no manifest destiny but what they themselves decree. The question is, What is this likely to be?

In politics, as in other sciences, prediction rests upon observation of the past and present. And if a practical statesman, a Lincoln, say, was to approach this Canadian question, he would demand as an essential preliminary a survey of the forces now actually at work in the settlement of the destiny of Canada. Its future course, he would say, must be the resultant of these forces, and before it can be determined, you must fix their directions and measure their momenta.

TERRITORY.

The territory of a community is at once the scene and the indispensable condition of the national life, and a determining factor in its development. The location, extent, configuration, and character of a people's territory all leave their record on that people's history. The isolation of ancient Greece, with its deeply indented coast-line, its rivers, its spurs of hills and mountains, fostered at least, if it did not originate, that separatist spirit which covered the face of the country with petty sovereign states as numerous as the cities. The later Greeks dreamt of a federation. But it was not until the progress of science and invention had overcome the obstacles to human intercourse that a solid federation became possible, and with it the great political event of the modern world—the union of the thirteen Colonies into the United States. But neither has the American nation escaped the influence of its physical abode and environment. The cotton fields, the prairies, the mines, have shaped not only the industrial and financial, but equally the political and moral history of the people, inditing beyond all doubt its most terrible and pathetic chapters. And, what is especially deserving of notice, the vastness of the domain, along with the wealth and variety of its resources, has engendered a spirit of enterprise and adventure; and in the train of success have come manly independence, self confidence, and unquenchable optimism. All the world finds a home in the United States; but the American is loth to quit his country, and seldom changes his allegiance.

Now, the territorial characteristics of Canada are, broadly speaking, not unlike those of the United States. Americans miss this resemblance because they are apt to identify the Dominion with that narrow strip of land between Lake Superior and the Atlantic which formed the total area of the old British North American Provinces. But with the exception of Newfoundland and Alaska, Canada to-day comprises the half continent with the adjacent islands lying north of the United States, whose area it exceeds by 500,000 square miles. From the boundary—the 49th parallel west of the great lakes and the 45th east of them—the one country extends twenty degrees to the south, and the other, excluding the hyperborean islands, twenty degrees to the north. Look at a map and you will see that within the latitude of Canada are included, in the old world, Norway and Sweden, European and Asiatic Russia (excepting only the most southerly projection), Denmark, Prussia, Holland, Belgium, the northern section of France, and the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. From these countries came the races that succeeded Rome in bearing, as they still largely bear, the civilization of the world. And analogy suggests that under the bracing climate of Canada, in centuries yet to be, civilization may in the new world find its sturdiest supporters. It is true that in

America the heat is greater in summer and the cold in winter than in Europe at corresponding latitudes. But Canada has an advantage over the States in its lower altitude, and altitude has almost as much to do with temperature as latitude. And apart from this, the January isothermals in Canada are more favorable for the maintenance of an energetic white race than the July isothermals in the southern States. The dry, bracing atmosphere of Manitoba and Assiniboia is by many preferred to the moister though more temperate climate of the Atlantic coast. As Sir Daniel Wilson has said, "the severity of the winter, as tested by the thermometer leads to a very exaggerated impression of Canadian experiences."

The physical configuration of the country resembles that of the United States. The larger lakes and mountains they share in common, but the smaller lakes and the vast inland bay, are peculiar to Canada. The St Lawrence and Saskatchewan rank with the Mississippi and the Colorado. On both oceans Canada has noble harbors open all the year round, with coal in immediate proximity, and offers the shortest routes to the great marts of Europe and Asia respectively.

RESOURCES.

Canadians themselves are just beginning to learn something of the inexhaustible resources of their country. Everywhere they are discovering that the soil, the mines, the forests, and the waters teem with wealth. Both in Nova Scotia and in British Columbia coal and iron abound almost side by side. Ontario has no coal, but it is rich in iron, copper, silver, and other ores. And along the base of the Rocky Mountains there is a belt 100 miles broad of the best lignite coal in the world, extending some 500 miles north from the American boundary.

Of North American fish Canada enjoys almost an exclusive monopoly. The richness of the supply in the Maritime Provinces and in British Columbia is already well-known to Americans. But they have not yet generally discovered that while their own West and Northwest are altogether without fish, there is in the corresponding sections of Canada, exclusive of the vast Athabasca, Great Slave, and Great Bear Lakes, a lacustrine district of 20,000 square miles, which has an inexhaustible stock of trout, white-fish, yellow pike, dore, sturgeon, jack-fish, tullibee, and other varieties. Lakes Manitoba, Winnipeg, and Winnipegosis, which are regular sources of supply, are within easy reach of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The rest, like the Lake of the Woods, Lake Nepigon, Rainy Lake, Lake St. Joseph, and Lake Seul, are but little more remote.

We know as yet only the outermost fringe of our magnificent forests. Though they scarcely feel the axe of the lumberman, which has already ravished Michigan and Wisconsin, our export of their products aggregate from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 annually. Senator Sherman truly says they are "far greater than any now known."

But the agricultural wealth of Canada is the largest of all. Not to speak of barley, of which, in spite of the tariff, we send you \$7,000,000 worth annually, consider only the wheat-growing capacity of the Northwest. The prairie lands, with their unusually rich vegetable mold, take the shape of a parabola, having a base of 1000 miles on the American boundary and a vertical of half that distance northward. Here the best wheat in the world is now grown, and at the least cost. But the limit of land producing wheat is considerably beyond the 60th parallel; and the limit of land producing barley, rye, and vegetables, after skirting Hudson Bay on the southwest, extends far towards the Arctic regions. This district is becoming one of the granaries of the world. And it is to the rich luxuriance of these prairies that the hope of Europe must turn when, after a succession of crops, the northwestern States of the Union, with their inferior soil, are confronted with the inevitable condition of diminishing returns and increasing outlay. These new provinces will in a very few years be the regal home of prosperous millions. Nature has said it. Canadians need not be anxious about the money spent in opening up their Northwest. Nature is their bondman. They have only to stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.

Now, of this vast country, so richly dowered with the principal sources of human wealth, by far the larger portion was unknown and inaccessible until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the autumn of 1885. Here, then, is an absolutely new and potent circumstance in the development of Canadian nationality. Once a thin line of straggling provinces, Canada has now entered upon its destiny as a semi-continental inter-oceanic empire. How much this means for national sentiment the history of the United States demonstrates. Historians recognize that their imperial destiny hung upon the acquisition of Louisiana and the Northwest. And to this period they refer the rise of American nationality. In the same way it may be inferred with the utmost certainty that the recent sudden and enormous expansion of their borders will evoke in Canadians an answering spirit—pride in their heritage, confidence and a new sense of independence in themselves, and a firm resolution to enter in and possess the land. Yet in predicting the destiny of Canada, the prophets altogether ignore the inevitable consequences of this recent vast enlargement of its area and consequent multiplication of its resources. It would be well if annexationists, and even some federationists who lack faith in the possibilities of unaided Canada, would remember the wise words of Senator Sherman:

"In one hundred years our country has been increased fifteen fold in population and twenty fold in wealth. We may expect for Canada the same proportionate growth in population and wealth."

GROWTH OF POPULATION.

Much has been said by Mr. Goldwin Smith of the heterogeneity, and by Sir Richard Cartwright of the slow growth, of the population of Canada. It is largely because the English have failed to assimilate the French that Mr. Smith is anxious for political union between Canada and the States. Now, in spite of Mr. Smith's great knowledge and experience of the new world, and his sympathy with democracy, this is surely the voice of the insular Englishman, with his prejudices against the Celt, and his inability to understand that government in modern times, or at least since the successful application of the federal principle, does not require an assimilation of provincial laws, races, religions, or languages. Of course the French-speaking population of Canada live under federal laws and institutions which are essentially English. And if the province of Quebec is governed in accordance with local laws and customs, it is no concern, as it is no disadvantage, to the rest of the Dominion. There is no conflict of races in Canada. For that in its most hopeless aspect too, you must go to the southern States, of which Mr. Smith, to deliver Canada from a healthful rivalry of kindred stock, would make her a political partner.

Considering the duration of the occupancy of Canada by the French, their numbers are not really large. According to census of 1881, Quebec had 1,359,027 souls, out of 4,324,810 souls for the whole of Canada. And judging from characteristics of the races, it seems certain that the Northwest will be filled up by an English speaking population. In this way Ontario has grown up to a population of over 2,000,000. It was not settled until after the American revolution, whereas, in 1759, when Canada passed under English rule, the French population already numbered 65,000. Including the 40,000 American loyalists, it is estimated that in all the British North American Provinces there were in 1790 about 200,000 souls. In the course of the next half century, that is, by 1840, the population had increased to 1,500,000. And on the completion of the century, in 1890, Canada will have at least 5,000,000 souls. Now, the first census of the United States was taken in the year 1790, and showed a population of 4,000,000. It had reached 17,000,000 in 1840, and for 1890 it is estimated at 65,000,000. Or, for the century from 1790 to 1890, the rate of increase of population in Canada has been one and a half times as great as in the United States. Our population at the beginning of that period was 1-20 of yours, at the middle more than 1-11, and it is now, in spite of your enormous gains by immigration since 1847, about 1-13.

I am often told good-naturedly that Canada is a hundred years behind the States. If, then, we go back to that period of American history in the last century which corresponds to Canadian history in this, the figures are equally favorable to Canada. Mr. Bancroft estimates that in 1750 there were 1,000,000 whites in the Colonies—a calculation little differing from Franklin's. In 1775 Burke placed the number at 2,000,000. The population has doubled in a quarter of a century. But in Canada from 1840 to 1885 it mounted from 1,500,000 to 3,400,000. When it is said, therefore, that the growth of population in Canada has been slow, the sufficient answer is that it has been faster than in the United States, whether compared for the same century or for the same stage of progress. Yet the American rate of increase was considered marvelous. The surprise it created is expressed not only in the noble eloquence of Burke, but in the forcible comment of a great anti-Whig critic. "They multiply," said Dr. Johnson, "with the fecundity of their own rattlesnakes."

During the last quarter of a century, however, the rate of increase in Canada has not kept pace with that of the United States. For this there are several reasons. In the first place, the tide of emigration, which could scarcely reach Canada before the opening of the Northwest in 1885, has been flowing steadily into the United States since the middle of the century. The first great influx was between 1847 and 1854, and brought more than two and a quarter million immigrants. Not to specify similar movements, it will suffice to say that of your population of 50,000,000 souls in 1880, 15,000,000 were either born abroad or were the children of foreign-born parents. As the best American lands are already taken up, and ours, which are also richer, are still unoccupied, it is manifest destiny that Canada is now to become the home of foreign settlers on this continent. A second reason for the falling off is that the Canada of the old provinces could not offer the same advantages to its more enterprising sons and daughters as the continental republic, which was then rapidly filling up and developing. Consequently large numbers went to the United States, where, according to the estimate of Sir R. Cartwright, there are to-day a million of them. And I have no doubt that the Canadian blood which thus circles so freely over the 49th parallel is an influence making for its obliteration. Without its own children, Canada is but a geographical expression. Already, however, there are clear signs of a change. The enterprise of Canadians now seeks scope in the great country opened up by the Canadian Pacific Railway. If Canada, as a thin line of provinces, or what I shall call "provincial" Canada, could not hold her own against the United States, nature has decreed that "imperial" Canada, with its semi-continental, inter-oceanic possessions, shall henceforth exercise a victorious and a growing attraction upon population, native and foreign alike.

THE CONSTITUTION.

A nation is an organized community within a certain territory. We have already surveyed the Canadian people

and their abode, and it now falls to consider their political organization, as the third determining factor in their destiny.

The union of the Provinces under one government had been recommended as early as 1889 by Lord Durham in his famous report on Canadian affairs. And the two principal reasons he gave steadily predisposed the British government to favor the scheme. These were that it would (1) enable the Provinces to co-operate for defence, and (2) build up a British power to "counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American continent." The scheme was not realized till 1867, when it went into effect under the British North America Act. This act, the Constitution of Canada, was passed by the imperial parliament at the instance of the provincial governments. Adopting the British system of parliamentary government, the framers had constantly before them the Constitution of the United States. The executive is vested in the Queen, senators are appointed for life by the executive, and the legislative is not divorced from the executive, since the sovereign's representative is merely the voice of his cabinet, as the sovereign has become in Britain since the American Constitution was drafted. In the distribution of powers between the federal and local governments the spirit of centralization prevailed. The instrument was made at the close of the American civil war, which foreigners, ignoring the irrepressible conflict with slavery, attributed to the excessive residual rights guaranteed by the Constitution to the individual States. Like Alexander Hamilton, the statesman of Canada wanted a strong central government. And it is their boast that they have "avoided the defects which time and events have shown to exist in the American Constitution." In the first place, the federal government takes, in relation to the provinces, the position formerly occupied by the British government. Certain functions, very local and limited, are then assigned exclusively to the provincial legislatures. But by a reversal of the tenor of the tenth amendment to the American Constitution, the powers not thus expressly granted are reserved to the Federal Parliament. And as though the disruptive tendencies of the local legislatures could not be too carefully guarded against, the Canadians adopted, in substance, the plan which Randolph proposed in the convention of 1787, but urged in vain, though warmly supported by Madison and Pinckney. They gave the federal executive (not the parliament) the prerogative right of vetoing any provincial act. And since confederation, out of 8000 acts, 46 have been thus disallowed absolutely, while a much larger number have been modified.

The Canadian Constitution is something of a manufactured article. It was not a growth, but as Mr. Gladstone falsely described its American model, a "work struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of its authors." All the important features, on the contrary, of the American Constitution, including the federal idea, were with the exception of the mode of electing the President and Vice-President, the strict result of the antecedent history and practice of the thirteen governments, either as Colonies or as States. What had been tried and tested has worked well; what the convention, for want of a precedent, was obliged to devise for itself, has worked ill, and has in part been evaded. The Canadian Constitution, lacking the prior sanction of history and experience, will in the future probably require alterations and amendments. But the machinery for this purpose is easily set in motion. Canada may be trusted to make the instrument as good as possible. And it admits, in theory at least, of a perfection not attainable by any other. For though a written constitution, it is not, like the American, rigid, but retains, in proper degree, the flexibility of their common English original. It blends happily the essential features of both. It combines with the federal principle the system of parliamentary and responsible government, the lack of which in the legislature of the United States, eminent critics, American and British, have deplored as a calamity. It is with good reason, therefore, that Canadians prefer their own political institutions to those of their neighbors.

FINANCES.

It has been said, however, that the condition of their finances will ultimately annul their choice. Let us, therefore, consider the pecuniary constituent of their destiny. The net debt of Canada in 1887 was \$227,000,000. The larger part has been incurred in opening up the country, the remainder by the assumption of the debts of the various provinces of the confederacy. But the period of government initiative is now coming to a close, and the debt which has trebled in twenty years, is not likely to increase much, if at all, in the future. Here the history of the United States presents an instructive analogy. The revolutionary war cost, according to Jefferson, 140 millions of dollars, from which the new government in 1790 had a debt of 75 millions. The next war with England carried the debt up to 127 millions in 1816. This is more than half the Canadian debt, without any of those material equivalents in the way of public works to which the latter is so largely due. After the introduction of the railway, in 1880-82, the revenue from the sale of the United States lands, which had been under \$2,000,000 in the earlier years, rose to \$5,000,000 in 1834, to \$15,000,000 in 1835, and to \$25,000,000 in 1836. By 1835 the public debt was extinguished, and for the first time in the history of the world a government was embarrassed by a surplus. Nature, man, and time had done their work. And in the same way the sale of Canadian lands will in future years provide for the payment of the public debt of Canada without cost to any of its citizens. And if the few professional pessimists of Canada would consider the natural resources of their own country, and study the history of the United States, they would discover that their vocation is at best a temporary one, and their attitude