

of masonry in the form of a tower, of the usual height of windmills, and was calculated to be used as a redoubt. It was, like all these latter structures, surrounded by a palisade. It cost fifty crowns. Millot abandoned it to the Seminary on the 2nd of September, 1673, as a responsibility beyond his means. The Seminary remunerated him for his outlay. What, if any, are the relations between Fort Rémy and the later structure, we are not informed. These windmills, once scattered over the Province, formed a pleasant link between the prosaic but prosperous present and the romantic but perilous past. They have now become rare features in the landscape.

## THE BRITANNIC EMPIRE.

DEVELOPMENT AND DESTINY OF THE VARIOUS STATES—CANADA.

### II.

The historical development of the Dominion of Canada is a unique exception to the manner in which other countries have mounted the slippery paths leading to national power and prosperity, or flashed athwart the pages of history, only to fall back in a brief space of time to the position of insignificance from which events for some short period may have lifted them.

Explored and colonized in part by brave, persevering and hardy Frenchmen; conquered from the Indians and redeemed to civilization in Quebec and Acadia by the sons of France; settled in Ontario by the patriotic United Empire Loyalist and British emigrant; colonized in Manitoba by the hardy Scotch pioneer, this Canada of ours has been in its early history the scene of constant struggle and turmoil.

We see the romantic figure of the Indian silently and hopelessly fighting against fate, and his gradual but complete conquest, and almost extinction, at the hands of the British and French settlers in this and the American colonies; the continuous and bloody struggles between the two great nations which so long battled for the possession of a continent, and the final defeat of the one and the British conquest of Canada. Then follows the pact of peace between the two nationalities, typified by the joint monument in the old city of Quebec, and proved by the battles of 1812.

Since then we can trace the slow but sure building of a nation, not by fusion, but by cordial agreement between two distinct races to work together for certain mutual aims and common interests. And here is the fact which makes our national development so peculiar: A large body of people, ceded as a result of war, by their Mother Country to a foreign and previously hostile nation, growing up side by side with settlers of that nationality and under the same flag; protected in their privileges and liberties by British law; fighting for the preservation of those rights and their allegiance to the flag of another race; and, finally, entering a federal union with English-speaking people and working with them in the advancement of the welfare of a common country.

Confederation was the seal of this agreement and the only possible outcome of a national development, which is still continuing. The progress of Canada in a material sense has, however, been as great as its development, from an historical point of view, has been peculiar. A few figures in this connection may be pardoned, introduced by way of contrast, with the following quotations from the famous Annexation Manifesto of 1849:

"Without available capital, unable to effect a loan with foreign states, or with the Mother Country; crippled and checked in the full career of private and public enterprise, this possession of the British Crown—our country—stands before the world in humiliating contrast with its immediate neighbours, exhibiting every symptom of a nation fast sinking to decay."

#### EXPORTS IN 1868 AND 1888 RESPECTIVELY.

Fisheries	\$ 3,357,510	\$ 7,793,183
Agricultural products	12,871,055	15,436,360
Mines	1,447,857	4,110,937
Forests	18,262,170	21,302,814
Animals and their products	6,893,167	24,719,297
Cattle (1874)	751,269	5,012,713
Cheese	617,354	8,925,242
Manufactures	1,572,546	4,161,282

The business of the country has developed in

the same proportions, as the few additional figures will show.

	1868.	1888.
Discounts, chartered Banks..	\$ 50,500,316	\$ 173,185,812
Bank notes in circulation....	8,307,079	30,444,645
Deposits in chartered Banks, Savings Banks and Loan Companies .....	38,127,847	182,974,007
Letters and postal cards.....	18,100,000	96,786,000
Miles of railway.....	2,522	12,292
Fire insurance.....	188,359,809	633,523,697

Many causes have combined to create this great development of internal prosperity—the increase of population, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the inauguration of the National Policy, the union of the provinces, and the growth of inter-provincial trade and a knowledge of the commercial requirements and abilities of the various parts of our Dominion, and of late years a continually increasing appreciation of our importance and resources both in the Mother Country and the United States.

This brings us to the all-important question of our national destiny. Some ten years ago an English member of Parliament, dealing with the political aspect of the problem, wrote as follows:

"They say that Canada is in the slack water between two great tides of life and having little part in either. The national life of America—youthful, tumultuous and energetic, brimming with hope and purpose—sweeps surgingly past her. The national life in England, mighty in heroic tradition and strengthened by the wisdom of ages, flows on its stately course, little heeding the smaller eddies that circle by its side."

There can be little doubt that Canada is rapidly reaching—if she has not already arrived at—the cross-roads of her national fate. Finger-posts are pointing in three different directions, and guides are to be found who are willing—nay, anxious—to lead her in one or the other of the directions pointed out—Annexation, Independence or Imperial Federation. A change is certainly imperative. No nation of the growing importance of this Dominion can long remain in leading-strings and retain either its own self-respect or that of others. A change of allegiance, however, is a very different matter, and the advocates of annexation of independence have to face the fact, that for good or ill the indifference which Great Britain so long manifested towards her colonies, has given way to an earnest and enthusiastic appreciation of their growing greatness and a visible determination to draw the union closer and maintain the connection. This being the case, separatists in Canada have to face the necessity of creating a cause, or reason, for hostile secession. The Mother Country will not give that cause as she did in the case of the United States, and, therefore, the terrible alternative meets them face to face of a rebellion against the Empire without adequate cause, excepting, perhaps, a desire to obtain certain fancied commercial advantages by union with a foreign state. And if, by the help of the American Republic, separation were ever to be brought about, or supposing it to be possible that annexation should be peaceably effected, what would be the position of this Dominion?

I venture to say that it would be summed up in the words "indelible disgrace." A nation which had forsworn its allegiance to sovereign, flag and constitution; which had repudiated its connection with the greatest empire in the world, and sought refuge from possible responsibilities and present difficulties as well as an increased market for horses and barley, by giving up its country to a great people to the south, and stepping down from its place amongst the rising nations of the world to be a laughing-stock in the eyes of all patriotic peoples. In the second place, the sought for commercial gain would be found a gigantic fallacy, and the hoped for financial results would be far from desirable.

The destruction of our national policy of protection would be extremely disastrous to the people at large—whether for good or ill. Manufactures have largely developed of recent years, towns have sprung up, cities have grown, many branches of American firms have been established in our midst, farmers have been given a home market for their

products, and capital has been encouraged to seek our shores. All that Canada needs in this connection is time.

It should never be forgotten that in years gone by the United States occupied the same position towards Great Britain as we now do with reference to the American Republic. The States had great undeveloped resources, hidden wealth, an agricultural people and vast tracts of unsettled land. Manufactures were few and the great bulk of industrial products came across the ocean. Protection was applied, and now we see innumerable mines and manufactures, an immense and continuous immigration, an unprecedented inflow of foreign capital, British manufacturers seeking the protected markets of the Republic by the removal of their plants, higher wages, lower cost of production by means of increased wealth, and a prosperous self-supplying, and, in many cases, largely exporting people. So it is in Canada. With a steady, determined policy of protection, and a continued "pushing" of our interests abroad, will come wealthy manufacturers, cheapened production, higher wages, larger industrial centres, and a better and safer market for our farmers.

Annexation would mar this hope, and more, it would render useless the many millions expended upon our national highway. Under free trade our commerce would naturally flow north and south, and the utility of our great lines of railway, now running east and west, as well as their value as a paying investment, would be practically destroyed. The adoption of such a policy would be followed by the destruction of Montreal as the great outlet of Canadian trade, and the establishment of New York as the industrial centre of what is now the Dominion. Ontario would be divided between Buffalo, Detroit and other cities, Toronto losing forever her present proud position. Our maritime trade, now the fifth largest in the world, would go the way of that once possessed by the United States, as no fleet of vessels could afford to long carry exports to Britain without bringing a return cargo.

Financially, our share of the government of the United States would be very nearly as great in amount as the cost of ruling ourselves, while the Canadian voice in American affairs would be comparatively small. I have dealt at some length with this question of annexation and American free trade, not because the former is in the slightest degree probable, but because the latter would so inevitably lead to such a result that it is impossible to consider one without the other.

Here it may be well to deal briefly with this question of Unrestricted Reciprocity, or whatever it may be styled, as being undoubtedly indicative of one of the under-currents in Canadian political thought. To a certain proportion of our population American trade, people, politics, and even institutions, have a peculiar charm. Contiguity to them is everything. Like Prof. Goldwin Smith, they are unable to appreciate sentiment; patriotism is to them an idle fancy; one country as good as another. To such people, therefore, the new Liberal doctrines appeal strongly.

It is useless to point out that as long as we accept British protection, insist on British help and support in our national difficulties with the States, and maintain Imperial connection, it would be gross dishonour to even ask permission to be allowed to discriminate against our own Empire. It is mere "sentiment," and if Britain refuses such a dishonourable and humiliating request, these people would be the first to cry out for separation. To such a class annexation would be welcome, and any commercial policy which might promise them individual prosperity would be acceptable.

The great heart of the Canadian people beats responsive, however, to a very different idea.

"True to her high traditions, to Britain's ancient glory,  
Of patient saint and martyr, alive in deathless story;  
Strong in their liberty and truth, to shed from shore to shore,

A light among the nations, till nations are no more."

A consideration of the problems connected with the questions of Independence and Imperial Federation will have to be deferred.

Toronto.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.