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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

ON

THE CANADIANIZATION OF WESTERN CANADA

By the

REV. GEORGE BRYCE, D.D., LL.D.

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

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APPENDIX A

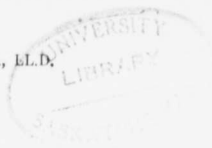
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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Canadianization of Western Canada

Canadian national life may be said to have begun with the Confederation of 1867. Before that time our country, with its *disjuncta membra*, gave occasion, in its six divided provinces and vast unorganized territory, for a Brito-Canadian writer—who has never done us justice—to call it: “A mere fringe along the north of the American Republic.”

But the fiat went forth: Let the dry bones live; and bone was fitted to its bone; and muscle joined with muscle to make the union strong; and the winds of kindly Heaven blew upon it, and there stood on the first “Dominion Day” a great army of stalwart northern men, ready for exploits, waiting to subdue the wilderness and make the desert a beautiful garden.

Our poets are the singing birds of the Confederation Era of “Union and Progress,” and they sang of the rise of the new nation.

Because it was British born, one said:

“This Canada shall be
“The worthy heir of British power and British liberty.”
(*Machar*).

and again the sweet poetess sang:

“We are put for the right to keep
Unbroken still the cherished filial tie
That binds us to the distant sea-girt isle.”
(*Machar*).

and because we are free-born Britons came the boast of another:

“Come of right good stock to start with,
Best of the world’s blood in each vein;
Lords of ourselves and slave to no one,
For us or from us, you’ll find we’re MEN.”
(*Robert Reid*).

Moreover the bards did not forget that we are a vast Composite,
to be more firmly knit together:

"Where Celt and Saxon hand in hand
Hold sway from sea to sea."

(*Edgar*).

and another added:

"The Saxon force, the Celtic fire;
These are thy manhood's heritage."

(*Roberts*).

Then a prayer:

"Father of Unity! Make this people one!
Weld; interfuse them in the patriot's flame!"

(*Roberts*).

All have a strong hopefulness:

"Voices are calling, where silence has been;
Look to thy future, thou Mother of men."

(*McManus*).

The true Canadian note rings out from a Fellow of this Society:

"From Breton to Vancouver strand
The great refrain: 'A native Land.'"

(*Lighthall*).

Who can fail to catch the impulse of confidence in this glowing
sunrise of our nation:

"How on thy breast and on thy brow
Bursts the uprising Sun!"

Forty-three years of Confederation life have fully justified these
hopes, anticipations and prayers.

The especial subject, however, of to-night's address is:

"The aggressive and patriotic spirit of Canada in occupying
and developing that part of the Canadian west lying between
Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, with some reference
to the Province and Territory on the Pacific Coast."

In other words:

THE CANADIANIZATION OF WESTERN CANADA.

The writer has, however, to ask the indulgence of this distinguished
audience, in making the personal allusion that, as a native-born Cana-

dian, he is dealing with the subject largely at first hand, as having entered this western Canada in 1871, the year of the first Queen's Message there, and the year when the first resounding of cannon was heard, west of Lake Superior, by a body of elected British freemen.

THE FALL OF MONOPOLY.

The high wall of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly had held fast Rupert's Land and the Indian Territories for two centuries. But in the middle of the Nineteenth Century assaults were beginning to be made from the outside, and these were responded to from within. The discovery of the Northern Magnetic Pole by Commander James Ross, led to the sending of Capt. Lefroy to make a Magnetic, but really a Topographical, Survey, of the vast possessions of the Fur Traders in 1842. Five years later a dispute, as to the rights of natives to trade, convulsed the Red River community, now grown to number several thousand souls. The distinguished Isbister, one of themselves who had risen to note in England, became the defender of his countrymen and succeeded in carrying their complaint to the foot of the throne. A petition of nearly one thousand Metis, of French origin, with their requests expressed in classic French, came to Her Majesty, and lest these appeals should fail, more than half-a-thousand English speaking whites and natives of Red River Settlement approached Canada for relief. In 1849 the Sayer outbreak took place and Governor, Judge and Council of Assiniboia took fright.

The British House of Commons Committee of 1857, led by Roebuck and Gladstone, held a searching examination and from this time onward it was clear that the monopoly of two centuries' duration was doomed. At the sessions of this great Committee Canada was represented by Chief Justice Draper. Coincident with the sittings of the Committee, two great expeditions, one British, the other Canadian, the former that of Palliser and Hector, the latter that of Hind and Dawson, had gone forth to view the resources of this hitherto hermit country. They were soon followed by the independent expedition of Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle. In the year following the Confederation, the Honourable William McDougall and Honourable George Cartier, representing the two sections of Canada, crossed the ocean, and found that the country might become Canadian were the Hudson's Bay Company to receive compensation. The fates were with Canada, and so monopoly at length fell down and a new community arose. These are the commonplaces of history, but they bespeak the rise of a new entity—the CANADIAN WEST.

CANADA SEEKS A NEW HOME FOR HER CHILDREN.

It was a momentous year for Canada when the Wolseley Expedition of British and Canadian troops forced its way in 1870 through the trackless rockland of thirteen hundred miles to the flowery prairies of the west. Before the force started it was known that there would be no blood shed, for the Riel rising, brought on by misunderstanding and governmental maladministration had largely subsided, but the expedition meant the occupation of a good land by a determined people. It gave confidence to a young nation on the outlook for homes for its children. Their land had been too strait for the growing Canadian families. By tens, if not hundreds, of thousands they had been drifting to the open lands of the Western United States. Now, many of the young Canadian soldiers, on receiving their discharge, remained in the country and laid the foundations of Winnipeg. They brought kindred spirits after them, they were followed by wives, sisters and daughters and made strong settlements of intelligent, energetic and moral people. Winnipeg was for many years a distributing point for the new settlements. The new communities were loyal. On their journey westward they had passed in thousands through the United States—a foreign country—had resisted all blandishments and inducements to remain by the way, had journeyed keeping their eye on the North Star. Thus grew Manitoba. The people, like the colonizing party of the old patriarch of Ur of the Chaldees, took with them to their western homes their traditions, their courage and their faith. The weak, the half-hearted and the extremely poor could not go, for the journey was long and expensive, the stories of the dangers of the new lands, its cold, its wolves, its plagues of locusts, and its unfriendliness were alarming. It was four hundred miles from a railway, and an impassable barrier of Laurentian rocks prevented, it was declared, its ever being connected directly with Canada. It is said that an eloquent Canadian orator spoke then of Manitoba as "A Hyperborean Land, fit neither for man nor beast." But Hudson's Bay Company vaticinations, United States hostility, the long and wearisome journey, the spectre of ice and snow, and the fear of ostracism and banishment proved insufficient to restrain the movement to what was a good land, a land of sunlight, a land of good health, a land of fertility, a land of wonderful resources, and a land of great opportunities.

Enough of time has now elapsed to show it to be a land of stalwart young men, of comely daughters, of sturdy boys and girls—a land to produce the farmer, the athlete and the soldier—a land of cheerful homes, of churches and of schools.

BRITISH PATERNALISM.

But the Canadian sentiment of western Canada has been from the first of a decidedly British flavour. And this is not surprising.

The Hudson's Bay Company, whatever may be said of it as a governing body, for a century and a half, since it carried its trade into the interior of North America, has been a steadfast British influence. At every fort the Indian was taught to reverence the British ensign, with the cabalistic H.B.C. upon it. The Indian of the far west gloried in his great silver medal with King George's head upon it, and spoke of the Britisher as a "Kingshautshman," *i.e.*, a King George man. The officers and men of the Hudson's Bay Company were chiefly British. They for many years traded exclusively with British goods brought in by way of Hudson Bay, and many of the Chief Factors and Traders and other officers retired to Britain to spend their last days.

When the writer went to Manitoba in 1871, the post office in Winnipeg was still Fort Garry. There was no bank except the Hudson's Bay Company. Accounts were still kept in sterling pounds, shillings and pence, and the writer remembers well Lord Strathcona, then Donald A. Smith, in heading a subscription, saying "Always put it in pounds; you know it does not look so big as in dollars." Hudson's Bay blankets, *i.e.*, pound and even shilling notes, were still in circulation. Everything was British, except a troublesome little knot of Americans in Winnipeg, and even they, by obverse, emphasized everything British as good.

The tradition and recollection of the superior and reliable men of the Company still live. Winnipeg has to-day more real British sentiment than the good City of Toronto.

This British aroma of western Canadianism was strengthened by the great interest taken in the west by British explorers, hunters, and writers. Franklin, Back, Richardson, Thomas Simpson, Lefroy, Palliser, Hector, Milton, Cheadle, Butler, Southesk and many others were filled with the glamour of the vast prairies and kept us in touch with the Mother Country.

One author—Ballantyne—by his books of travel, so universally read, has made fur-hunting, trapping and sledging known to all British boys and created a vision for them of that British land from Fort Garry to ice-bound Ungava.

British capitalists for the last generation have paid great attention to western Canada, and have bound the west with golden chains to the motherland.

But perhaps more than any other British influence, apart from the large influx of British settlers, has been the paternal care shown to western Canada by the splendid men who have filled the office of Gov-

ernor General of Canada. We can never forget the inspiration of the visit of Lord Dufferin, with his eloquent Irish tongue and grace of manner—the first Governor General to visit Manitoba and the man who did much to reconcile British Columbia to Confederation. His progress through Manitoba was unique, and Lady Dufferin in Belfast three years ago, expressed to the writer her memory of the visit to Manitoba as being one of the brightest of her life.

Nor was less good done by the notable visit of the Marquis of Lorne in his famous drive for a thousand miles through the prairies of the Rocky Mountains. The Marquis of Lorne represents to the Canadians the modification of the Downing street policy toward Canada, and it was fitting that he should so thoroughly visit the wide west, when the railroad era had but come in. The great leader of the House of Lords to-day—Lord Lansdowne—with his genial, high-spirited and marked judicial attitude, left the best of recollections in the prairies of western Canada. So with Lord Stanley. The frequent visits of Lord and Lady Aberdeen belong to a period when the great engine of civilization—the railway—had conquered distance; and their interest in all things Canadian cannot be forgotten, nor can the memory of the service and advice on the Northwest battlefields of the soldier Governor—Lord Minto.

But no representative of Queen Victoria or King Edward has shown so intelligent, sympathetic and penetrating an interest in all things western as the present Governor General. Lord Grey and his hospitable family have visited every part of the wide Dominion, and held a modified Canadian Court in all our principal cities. Thus we have been taught to be thoroughly Imperialistic Colonials or Colonial Imperialists. We sincerely regret his departure from us, but we shall not forget how thoroughly he has identified himself with everything national, social, and religious in our Canadian life. We know that when he again climbs the white cliffs of old England he will receive from His Majesty, King George, the hearty commendation of being the most successful Canadian Governor.

No young nation of the Empire could have had viceroys more suited mentally, socially, or politically to draw closer this eldest daughter of the Empire to the Motherland. There can be no doubt that the paternal interest of the Governors sent us, let us say from "Home," especially in Western Canada, has done a vast deal to strengthen our attachment to the Empire and at the same time allow a self-respecting Canadianism.

THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT.

But it needed also rulers who knew the inner life of our people, who sympathized with our difficulties, and who would not crush our aspirations—a governing body which would remember that we had to subjugate the earth, meet its wildness and make a living for ourselves. On the whole we have had a kind and wise nursing mother in our Canadian Parliament. It is just forty years since the Canadian Parliament began to legislate for western Canada. The Manitoba Act was passed under conditions of great stress, and a large amount of legislation since that day has had to do with Manitoba and its sister western provinces. Taken altogether the Dominion Houses have done this with caution, and yet in a progressive spirit, and the legislation of the local governing bodies has been based very largely on Canadian models.

Questions of land tenure and sale, forestry, agriculture, seed advances, care of the Indians, native rights, immigration, education, banks and finance, customs, railways, provincial subsidies, post offices, lawlessness and insurrection, police and military, have supplied a fertile field for differences of opinion, and at times of angry remonstrance, for we are made up of many mixed races and varied interests.

It is quite true that according to the jurists, "Government is founded on the rights of men." According to the evolutionary philosophy, when races and communities are brought together, they must work out their struggle in the survival of the fittest. Fortunately that is not a complete philosophy. Benjamin Kidd has shown in his "Social Evolution," and the late Professor Drummond in his "Ascent of Man," that there are other principles deeply imbedded in human nature, such as religious feeling, humanity and affection, which modify the struggle which the stern bed of Procrustes would demand.

Canada with its nine or ten communities, different races, different languages, different religious conceptions and different habits and environments can only be successfully governed under this wider philosophy, by sympathetic dealing and patient forbearance, rather than by a hard and fast logic.

The task of gathering the scattered units of Canada and welding them together in these forty years has been done chiefly by two great leaders, though they have been aided most ably by other men of the highest ability.

These two men of different shades of politics agreed especially in one thing: *they both believed in Western Canada.*

To deal with two insurrections in the west, to unite hostile and diverse elements, to allay discontent on railway questions, and to grapple with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the Atlantic

Ocean to the Pacific, was the task of the late Sir John A. Macdonald, a Canadian man of the hardy British race that leads the world. He could deal with men, suggest plans of co-operation for those of opposite views, grapple successfully with bitter prejudices and if not able always to settle questions, at least could propose and carry out a *modus vivendi*. To accomplish all this, preserve a balance between east and west, and yet develop the west, was a mighty achievement.

Sir John was leader under Confederation for some nineteen years. The other leader, likewise a Canadian, who caught the "vision splendid" of a great west, belonged to the other renowned race of Europe that of "La belle France," celebrated earlier than Britain in Art, Science, Literature and War—and which has made in Canada the thrifty, peaceful and religious French Canadian element of our country—we refer to the Premier of to-day—distinguished and beloved in Britain as well as in his native Canadian land—Sir Wilfrid Laurier. His principle, like that of his great predecessor, is "*Conciliation*"—not a conciliation of apathy and Lethan repose, but *Conciliation with Progress*.

He, too, will have a great Transcontinental railway to his credit and the formation of two great Canadian provinces—Saskatchewan and Alberta—each of them as large as an European Kingdom; and these, with the love of a great young nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will be to him a Crown of Honor. Canadian harmony must be the cardinal principle of any great leader who will rule Canada successfully. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has been our national leader for fourteen years, and is with us still.

LAW AND ORDER.

One true test of government is its firm administration of law and success in preserving order. The Hudson's Bay Company had an unexceptional record for the high character of its officers and men, and for a noble desire to deal fairly and justly with all classes. But they did not rest on the will of the people. They were autocrats; although they had not the necessary weapons of the successful autocrat—a force to carry out the autocratic will and a police organization to maintain order. The last twenty years of the Company's administration of justice in Assiniboia was a miserable succession of tumults, illegal imprisonments, forced jail delivery, and a consequent distrust of authority among all the people.

With this state of things western Canada had to deal immediately in 1870.

In the lawlessness of the period of the gold fever in British Columbia in 1858 Judge Begbie had bravely grappled with disorder. He was a terror to evil-doers and he won the day.

Similarly the presence of a Canadian military force in Winnipeg in 1870, the organization of regular courts and the firm administration of justice had their due effect.

Once in an Indian scare in western Manitoba a detachment of troops was sent by the Governor to Gladstone. Again to protect a company of peaceful Mennonites from unruly natives a military force hurried west from Winnipeg to Baie St. Paul, thirty or forty miles from Winnipeg. The emphatic and almost despotic action of Chief Justice Wood stamped out for all time in Manitoba the senseless contempt for law.

In the first decade of Canadian rule in western Canada rose the grave question of preserving order in the Territories and of dealing with 68,000 Indians east of the Rocky Mountains. This included the management of several bands of Sioux refugees—some of them desperadoes who had taken part in the bloody Minnesota massacre of 1862. These had come within the bounds of Manitoba, and were a menace to the white settlers. In what is now southern Saskatchewan and Alberta were thousands of prairie Indians who lived on the buffalo, who were dashing horsemen and were used to firearms. Along the American border these tribes were in touch with a reckless and desperate band of whiskey traders, who frequented their camps and incited them to vice and bloodshed. Travellers of to-day can have no conception of what elements of danger there were in the tribal feuds, drunken revels and ignorant superstitions of these wild tribes. Few things are more unlikely in these piping times of peace than to meet, as the writer once did, a band of Sioux going on the war path against the Sauteaux, and this at a time when the Sioux war and Custer massacre were taking place in the United States. It took all the courage and resourcefulness of Canada to deal successfully with these conditions. But it was done.

Treaties at 1. Stone Fort; 2. Manitoba Post; 3. Northwest Angle; 4. Qu'Appelle; 5. Winnipeg; 6. Carlton and Pitt (a large treaty) including large parts of Manitoba, Keewatin and Saskatchewan, and especially that with the Great Nations of the Blackfoot, Blood, Saree and Piegan Indians, were notable. While in the former treaties the Hon. Alexander Morris was prominent, in these it is the Hon. David Laird, first resident Governor of the Northwest Territories, known by the Indians as "the man whose tongue is never forked;" *i.e.*, Indian for the man who keeps his word. But treaties though written on parchment are not always fulfilled. It is to the Royal Mounted Police and its officers, as a strong executive, that highest credit belongs.

The Provisional Northwest Council suggested the establishment of a mounted police force, and this was carried out by the Dominion Government in 1874. This was one of the greatest achievements of the first

decade of western government. It was a great experiment, in striking contrast to the policy of the United States in dealing with its Territories. A thousand men—each with the drill and uniform of a soldier, and yet merely a civil officer, the mounted policeman is the startling figure who meets the new immigrant from Montana or Idaho and convinces him that Brito-Canadian law is a reality.

A recent writer, Miss Agnes Deans Cameron, gives her hearty tribute to the efficiency of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, seen to the very mouth of the Mackenzie river and, we may add, found as a protecting force in the turbulent Yukon and among the scattered Muskegons of Hudson Bay. Captain, afterwards General Butler, a British officer and Canadian Commissioner, author of the "Great Lone Land" and "Wild North Land," wrote in 1871 "Law and order are wholly unknown in the region of the Saskatchewan." Five years afterwards an intelligent Indian trader—himself an Indian—said "Before the Queen's government came we were never safe," and now, he continued, "I can sleep in my tent anywhere, and have no fear. I can go to the Blackfoot and Cree camps and they trust me as a friend."

And the men of western Canada have iron in their blood still, and will support the law and do any needful work for King and country. Western Canada was born amid the throes of military conflict. In the first year of its history it rose to throw back the Indian intruder; when the Empire needed them it sent its voyageurs to ascend the Nile at Lord Wolseley's request; in the Saskatchewan Valley, without distinction of class or creed, it rose to crush the rebellion; to South Africa it sent the Strathcona Horse, and its sons sleep under the veldt of the Transvaal. Its regiments, whether dressed in the garb of old Gaul, as English Grenadiers, or as mounted scouts or cavalry, are ready whenever Canada herself or the Motherland may call.

THE NATIONAL HIGHWAY.

Another important element in the western development is our National Highway. The writer first saw the rocky shores of Lake Superior in the special steamer "Algoma," which took a Press Excursion in 1868 to Fort William and Port Arthur—or, as the latter was first called, Prince Arthur's Landing. There was then a small canal on the American side of Sault Ste. Marie, connecting Lake Superior with Georgian Bay. Fort William was about four hundred and fifty miles from Fort Garry and between them was a constant succession of forest, muskeg, rock and rapid. The loneliness, the difficult transit and the complete stoppage of communication in winter filled a Canadian with the sense of hopelessness of ever being able to transport men or material

from Montreal to Fort Garry. Perhaps a summer route by water, with railway from Fort William to Fort Garry might be maintained, but there were probably not six people in Canada who thought a through route a possibility. But first, after a terrific struggle with nature, the section of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Lake Superior to Red River was secured, and this was looked upon as a doubtful experiment, merely an engineering triumph accomplished by the explosives—dynamite and nitro-glycerine. The attempt to build a railway along the rugged shore of Lake Superior was plainly an afterthought. But Canadian pride and patriotism were rising; the journey to Manitoba by way of the western States was slow and tedious; the delays and drawbacks were annoying. Thus the American route became intolerable.

A brave coterie of Canadians in Montreal came to the assistance of Sir John A. Macdonald and his cabinet, and undertook to build, not only the railway from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, beginning at both ends, but also to complete it through the Laurentian tunnels of the North Shore, along the rocky cliffs and over bottomless muskogs to Montreal.

The leading spirit of that work of Hercules was a man upwards of sixty years of age—Donald A. Smith—a man of vision and confidence, of conciliating and attractive manner, but a man who held fast to his purpose with the tenacity of steel, and the man who drove the last spike to complete the through line in 1886, five years before the time bargained for in the contract had transpired. The future Lord Strathcona did this at the station of Craigellachie—fitting name borrowed from "Stand fast Craigellachie," the battle cry of his Highland kinsmen—the Grants.

The following words were written in that year in commendation of this example of Canadian pluck: "The explanation of this courage and determination of the Canadian people is that Confederation introduced a larger life; the continued rivalry of the United States awakened in Canadians the desire to 'hold their own;' the possession of wide territorial interests, the sense of their land bordering on three oceans, and the realization of the fact that nearly half of the continent is their heritage might well awaken dreams of national greatness in a people less emotional than Canadians."

No doubt Canada might have been deterred by the cry of the pessimist, "So loyal is too costly," but she was not.

The first through railway train passed Winnipeg on its way from Montreal to Vancouver on Dominion Day, 1886, and the west felt that this Canadian Pacific Railway was the iron band that joined the confederated provinces into one great Dominion.

CANADIAN UNITY.

All civilization, as has been said of legislation, must be a compromise. A compromise is not necessarily a disgraceful thing. Mind and body are of different composition, different qualities, different purposes, and yet in the one human being they are mysteriously inter-related and blended so that they act together, sympathize with one another, rejoice in the same good fortune or lament and suffer in the same misfortunes. So a country made up of different elements, composed of different local sections, even having different interests, can be skillfully bound together to make a substantial working unity.

And so, while our key-note of progress in Canada is unity, yet, as these parallels show, this does not require an absolute uniformity. A forced unity might destroy effort and check progress.

Unity with diversity is surely the true watchword for Canada.

(a) *Economic Conditions*.—Kipling may say "O, East is east, and west is west", but if Canada is to be a nationality, full-pulsed and dominant, there must be some "juste milieu," some fair average of business community—of trade interest—between east and west. We cannot all live by shop and factory; we cannot all live as town or city middlemen or capitalists; we cannot all live from the school, the university, the church; nor can we all live from the farm or ranch, which is the hope of western Canada.

But it is the duty of statesmen to help us all live by a comprehensive east-west or west-east policy, growing out of consideration of one interest for the other.

Time was when Manitoba was dissatisfied and rebellious toward the Dominion. "Manitoba First!" was the cry. "Appeal to the foot of the throne!" "Strike for an independent West!" These were heard in the western air.

But wisdom sent forth her voice, and thoughtful, patriotic men of the west said "No! The east will deal justly with us. Our motto is 'An United Canada.'" This was the answer of the wise.

Patriotism, persistence and patience won the day, and we have to-day a satisfied and hopeful western Canada. Unity of spirit grows from equality of opportunity. Class privilege and the tyranny of capital have had their day. Character and achievement should be the true basis of respect between man and man, and between province and province. "Sense and worth" must be the binding tie of east and west.

(b) *Political differences*.—Canadian unity, however, is quite compatible with political difference. Party government seems the best expedient yet devised for the combination of a strong executive with a critical opposition, to correct mistakes and suggest alternative lines

of action. A bitterness of party strife and a dissatisfaction with party subserviency have led a number of well-meaning people to advocate no-party government. "No-partyism" where tried has generally led to secret combinations of localities or cliques to obtain certain local and sectional advantages which might not be for the public good. The elevation of one important reform in contradistinction to another, such as is seen in the French and German parliamentary bodies, seems to throw legislative bodies at times into chaos. The good old dignified style of party government along the lines of general policy, which we have learned from the mother of parliaments at St. Stephen's, seems the best. However, even this may be abused. Policies, not men and not party watchwords or hereditary bias, should be our method. Western Canada has been of service to Canada in supplying new questions. New issues may disturb the partisan, but awaken the interest and supply field for the activity of the patriot. Western Canada, to use the picturesque western idiom, does not afford "an easy proposition" to the professional or "dyed in the wool" politician. The City of Winnipeg, which usually has voiced the mind of the west, has for forty years of its existence fairly divided its representation between Liberals, Conservatives and Laborites. The provincial representation of Manitoba had been "no-party" at first, and then was Liberal and Conservative in alternation. The Northwest Territories up to the time of the formation of the new provinces had a no-party government. In civic matters, Winnipeg and the other towns and cities of western Canada have given remarkable instances of a determination to subordinate class, political party, religious differences and even trade policy to the general city welfare.

It is a hopeful thing for a country when city, town and country can say to the political parties—Whig or Tory—whichever of you will present us the best policy, the best executive ability, the most progressive and most patriotic programme, will have our support. The people may at times make a mistake, but the writer is not yet prepared to give up the old maxim: *Vox populi, vox Dei*.

(c) *Language*.—What about the vexed question of language, as affecting Canadian unity?

One salient feature in the diversities of our Canadian life is the difference of the English and French languages among the original Canadian population which has prevailed for one hundred and fifty years since Canada or New France became English. The mere logician demands uniformity, and says that equality of treatment would require that German, Scandinavian and Galician should have, because they are spoken by large bodies of our western people, the same official recognition as French. But treaty rights, a century and a-half of usage, and a

large native-born section of more than two and a-half millions of French Canadians, place their claim upon a distinctly different plane from that of any others of our people of non-English nationality.

It was a great surprise to the writer—a western Canadian—on being at one time a resident of old Quebec, to hear the English-speaking Quebecker talk of the "Canadians," meaning the French Canadians, and however much it has now been widened, we must admit their priority of right to its use. French is one of the classical languages of the world; it has a worthy, a brilliant literature; it is the European language of treaties. Such difference of language does not interfere with our unity of action and is entirely compatible with our Canadian unity. What does history show? The small but brainy land of Scotland—which has worked out a good many world-questions—shows us that one hundred and fifty years ago there were hostile races, speaking different tongues. Culloiden was a Saxon victory over the Highlander, as the taking of Quebec was over the French Canadian. The linguistic difference was probably more marked in Scotland than it was in Quebec. The Highlander is intensely fond of his Gaelic tongue. There was largely a religious difference at that time as well. But in the battles of the empire, in the struggle for political liberty, and in the advance of education, the Highlander with a rocky and unresponsive soil, has made the nation as truly his own as has his Lowland fellow subject. The difference between the Gael and Sassenach still continues; but they both sing with equal intensity "Lochaber no more" or "Scots wha hae." There is a substantial unity.

A still older parallel is at hand. William the Conqueror captured England, and he and his nobles held it with a military grasp, severe almost beyond conception. The French language was used in the English parliament for three hundred years to the exclusion of English. Large numbers of Angevins occupied England; Mary of Guise brought many French people and French customs to Scotland. Thousands of French refugees carried their language and their industrial arts to England in the 17th century, but English and French were thus united in making the dominant race of the world. The descendants of the French colonists are still allowed their worship in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. Manitoba University is a union of interests which allows the use of French to its students in their examinations, and this Royal Society is a union of Literary and Scientific interests which shows the principle of a unity with diversity. Bound as we are to work for Canadian unity, we will not listen to the mere doctrinaire who forgets the old alliance, the old understanding, and the joint sacrifices in defending one's native land. The old custom has not lost its fragrance. There is room for it yet even in a busy, practical, non-poetic age.

(d) *Religious divisions.*—Nor is this national unity in any way inconsistent with religious differences, unless these be fierce, unreasonable and unchristian. Liberty of conscience, within the limits of national safety, is the right of every Canadian. The right to worship God, unmolested and uncontrolled, is our British heritage.

At the same time experience proves that, to be a strong people, religion must be an element of the national life. General Wallace in his Mexican story "The Fair God," shows how the discouraged Aztecs had no cohesion and no courage to face the Spanish invader Cortez, until religious fervor—though a false and bloody belief it was—was kindled to give inspiration. A nation of atheists cannot continue to be a great nation. True, some tell us that there may be different religious ideals adapted to different casts of mind. Whether this be so or not there must be protection by the state of religious rights.

It is generally recognized that the voluntary determination of the different religious bodies of eastern Canada to follow those of their own faith with the means of religious worship, in the Canadian west, has been one of the strongest bonds of union between east and west. In the rush of population westward in the United States the immigration exceeded the efforts of the churches to follow it, and anarchy, violence, and uncontrolled vice brought shame on that nation. It has not been so in western Canada. The great churches of Canada, on the best of terms with one another, have kept up with the foremost advance of settlement, even to the British Columbian valleys and the miners' camps of the Yukon. In western Canada the men of every church who are true to the spirit of their office, who are self-sacrificing and broad-minded, have the respect of the whole community and have co-operated in charities, education, public morals, and in national and patriotic movements—all tending to a Canadian unity.

(e) *Education.*—But the great national unifier is the Public School and the College. Here we are on debatable ground. It is perfectly easy for anyone to see the difference of ideal, according as we give greater importance to education by the church, the guardian of religion, or to the state, as requiring for its welfare an intelligent electorate. We are dealing at present, however, not with the system, but looking at education as the agency for building up an united and powerful state. All the provinces of western Canada have looked at education—and this includes provincially-provided or church-provided schools—as a most important agency in unifying our people. The one fact that the English language is taught in our schools of every class is a proof of this. A visit paid by His Excellency, Earl Grey, a few months ago, to the Winnipeg schools, which are famous for their efficiency, was a surprise to him. There are probably more than 4,000 children of foreigners,

speaking some twenty different languages in these schools. They are there by right. His Excellency described to the Canadian Club of Winnipeg the neatness, "set up," air of self-respect and sprightliness of these pupils. There was a Russian boy who had only been half-a-year in the country commanding with distinction one of the companies of the splendid body of 1,500 cadets of the Winnipeg schools. In these schools the children sing the patriotic songs of Britain and Canada, and over every public school in Manitoba the Union Jack is hoisted on every school day. The reading books in all of the provinces are full of patriotic selections. There is no honor more regarded by these young foreigners of Icelandic, Scandinavian, German or Ruthenian blood than to be called Canadians. These diverse nations are forming one nation. So in the higher educational institutions. The University of Manitoba, formed by a union of religious bodies, under the ægis of the state, which this year examined upwards of 1,200 candidates, finds some of its best students among these foreign immigrants. In 1909 the Rhodes scholar for Manitoba was Skuli Johnson, son of an Icelandic immigrant, and again in 1910 the Rhodes scholar is Joseph Thorson, who last year, in receiving a gold medal for public speaking from the hand of the writer, afterward objected to the reference to his Icelandic origin, maintaining that he was born and educated in Winnipeg and was therefore a Canadian.

PROBLEMS.

In this discussion of Canadian unity there are, however, two problems which cannot be avoided. The first of these is :

(f) *The Foreigners.*—Canadian legislation very distinctly provides for excluding unsuitable immigrants. But this must be done with reason, for it will be remembered that the chief reason of the South African war was to compel the Transvaal to be just to the Uitlanders.

Will the foreigners make intelligent and useful Canadians? With the Mennonites and Icelanders, who came a third of a century ago and have answered this question satisfactorily, we need not deal.

The two bodies of foreigners from the Continent of Europe—the Doukhobors and Ruthenians—are those about whom the controversy rages.

Of the Doukhobors, a sect similar to the Quakers who came from the Russian Caucasus, and number from eight to ten thousand, it may be said that they are a stalwart race, are communists, vegetarians, live normally in villages, and are as a rule a moral and religious people. Under the persuasion of the Government one-third of them have given up the village system and are settled on their homesteads. A portion of them have removed from Saskatchewan, where they were all settled, to the

fruit lands of British Columbia. They are successful farmers, have means, take large railway contracts, and are very reliable. The writer a few months ago, coming through Saskatchewan on the Canadian Northern Railway where the train crossed the North Saskatchewan River, was conversing with the western Superintendent of the railway. He remarked, "This division of the railway is entirely manned by Doukhobors, and it is the best managed division on the line." True, a group of these people, of one or two hundred, are enthusiasts, believe in going back to nature in dress, went on a pilgrimage eastward to convert the Canadian people, and are troublesome to the Government and the police. But the vagaries of this band should not condemn seventy or eighty times their number who are industrious, law-abiding and well-to-do people.

The other and largest body of foreigners who have been settling in the three prairie provinces, for the past ten or fifteen years, are the Ruthenians, including the Galicians, Bukovinians and other relatives of the Poles. It is claimed that there are 100,000 of these in western Canada. They are scattered on many reserves and in almost every city and town where labor is required. They are Slavonian in race, are active, quick-tempered and industrious people. They are exceedingly economical and thrifty. They are largely of the Greek Church in religion, though some of them are Roman Catholics. They are excellent linguists, many of them speaking several languages. They far excel the English-speaking people in this faculty. They learn English very rapidly and are anxious to do so.

The chief question with us is, Will they obey our laws, accept our customs and our political system? The vast majority of them are peaceful and industrious. They are essential to the development of the country. They dig the sewers, build the streets, labor on the railways, do the heavy work in the towns and cities. Their young women go by thousands through the whole country as domestics and carry back to their homes ideas of the dress, manners, and views of the Canadian farmers whom they serve. The women are invaluable household workers in the cities and towns where domestics are scarce. Without doubt, judging from their desire to learn Canadian ways, and if they have schools, they will form a useful element in our nation-building. The same might be said of Hungarians, Scandinavians, and other European peoples.

Take a historical parallel from our own Canadian life. Is Ontario the worse because hundreds and thousands of the Hessian and Swiss foreigners from central Europe settled in Prince Edward county and the Bay of Quinte district? Would we not have been poorer in different ways if the larger settlements of Germans, Mennonites and Tunkers

which are north of Toronto had not been? Had we not in Ontario whole townships of Highland and Irish fisher-folk, who were unskilled in agriculture, who became, at any rate in their children, farmers and business men of the best type? What shall we say of companies of immigrants of four and five hundred families coming at one time, who in early Ontario had rations issued to them for eighteen months, and contrast this with the immigrant of to-day who must have money in his pocket? What can Nova Scotia and Ontario say, when the former had hundreds and hundreds of Maroons, brought from Jamaica, reaching 7,000, and when the latter had in its western peninsula 12,000 Africans just brought from the grasp of slavery to be assimilated?

Those who come to us are our fellow men. If they obey our laws and our customs they have a right to come. We are only entitled to possess what we can use. The great vacant prairies we have are God's land, and they are for his poorer children of whatever race. Let us not be wiser than our fathers. They were made up of swarthy Iberians, and ruddy Piets, and stalwart Britons, of masterful Dalriads and staid Angles, Jutes and Saxons, of blue-eyed Norsemen, of enterprising Danes, of Norsemen and Angevin conquerors, of French refugees, Jewish merchants—a great strong composite.

Can we do better than they have done?

(g) The second problem is that of the great influx of Americans into western Canada. It is well to be watchful; but before we can judge of this it is essential that we should know the character and motives of those who are coming in so great numbers to Canada from the United States. Late statistics by men in authority state something like the following figures as to the origin of the American immigrants coming to us:

English speaking	{ Germans, &c. 15% { Scandinavians 25%
Returned Canadians or their children.	
Native born Americans	20%

These figures are intended to include the three western Canadian prairie provinces. In Manitoba alone, lying as it does alongside of North Dakota, which for thirty miles along the boundary was settled entirely by Canadians, the proportion of Canadians coming to us would probably reach forty or fifty per cent. In Manitoba almost all who come purchase farms, as homesteads are not available.

Manitoba.—It may be well to give details of a few settlements as illustrations. These are all within forty miles of Winnipeg:

- A. Numbers of American families making up one-half of one church were returned Canadians and their children from

Dakota, who originally came from Huron, Peterboro and Glen-garry. One of these families gave four children University education, one daughter taking the classical medal and traveling scholarship for two years.

- B. Leading farmer born in England. Came from Missouri. Thorough Britisher.
- C. Forty families of English-speaking Scandinavians from Minnesota; Lutherans. Merchants in town; and farmers. Well-to-do.
- D. Seventeen families; two from Kentucky, English-speaking. Remainder English-speaking Norwegians, chiefly Lutherans. Farmers—each farms from 600 to 2,000 acres. Six steam ploughs in settlement.
- E. Several families, all returned Canadians.

Almost every settlement within sixty miles of Winnipeg has American families—well-to-do; law-abiding; mixed in religious denominations. In all these settlements there are good schools.

Saskatchewan.—(All within sixty miles of Moose Jaw).

- A. Large settlement—forty families. Several Canadian merchants in the town—come as repatriated settlers chiefly from Iowa. Follow dry farming. All satisfied. Half of them were returned Canadians. A large connection originally from Richmond, Quebec. Fine schools erected; eleven denominations united in erecting a church costing \$6,000, virtually paid for.
- B. Considerable town. Families from Dakota, Nebraska, &c. Large Nova Scotia element. Returned Canadian from Dakota—a Councillor; another of the same—notary public and capitalist.
- C. New town on Outlook branch. Large settlement, chiefly Canadians from Minnesota; eleven cars took the party from Park River, Minnesota—half way between Winnipeg and St. Paul. Had been thirteen years on poor soil, sandy. Informant had not been able to visit home in Stormont, while in the United States, in thirteen years. Has been four years in Saskatchewan and will visit home next year. Have schools, religious services and progressive settlement.

Alberta.—A. Mormon town—1,500 people, chiefly Americans. Large beet sugar refinery. For four or five miles around town a continuous beet field. Only eighty Gentiles altogether in the town. These are Canadians: Irrigation Company Manager, Doctor, Editor, Minister. Good schools; four school

teachers. Town and fields irrigated with water brought in a canal forty miles. Large Mormon church in which writer, at their request, lectured on "Mound Builders."

- B. Town between Calgary and Edmonton. Majority Americans. Several years ago, at public gathering on 4th July, trouble about raising stars and stripes above British building. Never attempted since. Good schools and churches.
- C. Many Germans. Americans numerous. Best school building between Calgary and Edmonton.

SALIENT POINTS.

1. American settlers without exception declare their preference for Canadian laws. They declare that there is a plenty of laws in the United States, but they are not enforced.
In each town a mounted policeman (in Saskatchewan and Alberta) is found. The Americans all express satisfaction at this protection unknown to them in their own country.
2. Sunday laws are lax in the United States.
Case after case is given of these settlers beginning work on Sundays in Manitoba having been stopped—only warning is necessary.
3. All want schools. They say our Canadian schools are more thorough than their own were.
4. They declare that Canada gives greater advantages to the farmer; Taxes less; land cheaper; railways better controlled.
5. Merchants are more reliable.
6. Church attendance is better in Canada.
7. Almost all become British subjects and become voters.
8. Coming from the far western states they have taught Canadians many things about dry farming, &c.

An induction from facts such as these shows that the American is a most valuable, peace-loving, law-abiding immigrant.

CONCLUSION.

In closing take a historical parallel. The following are quotations from standard works:—

"After the year 1800 all parts of Ontario open to settlers became the favorite hunting ground for homes."

It is interesting to note that the Loyalists were displeased with Governor Simcoe for encouraging Americans to come. "The counties

of Haldimand, Norfolk, Wentworth, and Welland were largely settled by Americans from New York State, New Jersey and Pennsylvania."

"The influx of immigrants," says a writer, "took place across the Niagara River even up to the London District." It is declared that "the Quakers, Mennonites and Tunkers and such settlers from the United States, while a pacific and desirable element, yet held principles entirely at variance with those of the Loyalists."

"The Pennsylvania Dutch opened up Waterloo district and were joined by Mennonites."

"The eastern townships in the Province of Quebec were occupied by an industrious and intelligent class of Americans."

Even later, a much less desirable class of Americans came to Ontario. These were squatters, frequenters of the wayside taverns, with children unclad, and their parents utterly illiterate. They were profane, dishonest and irreligious. They are strongly spoken of by Talbot, McTaggart, Bennycastle, Mrs. Moodie and other writers: and yet from such materials, by the aid of the school and the church, were some parts of the Dominion built up.

We rely in western Canada on the same intensity of conviction on the part of loyal Canadians as there was in the days of yore. We have advantages of education and religion that the early Canadians had not. We have now an immensely stronger Canadianism than ever existed before. The foreigners are attracted now as never before by the strong Canadian sentiment in all parts of the country and want to be with us.

If Ontario with much greater early disadvantages has become so loyal, and so true, shall not we as a nation lift up our banners and stand as steadfast British Canadians from Sydney to Victoria? Hear the words of our late Laureate, and we may read into them any kind of Imperialism we wish:—

"Shall not we through good or ill
Cleave to one another still?
Britain's myriad voices call.
'Sons, be welded, each and all,
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain, heart and soul!
One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne.'"

