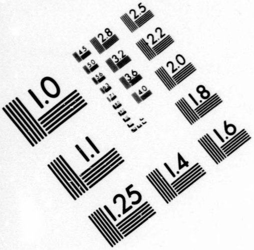

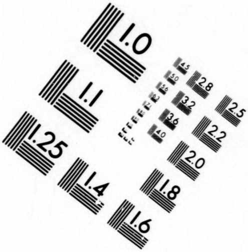

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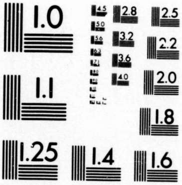

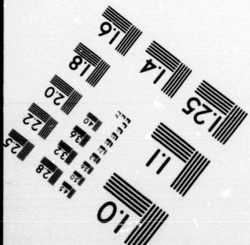

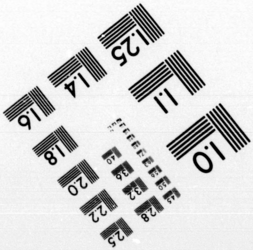

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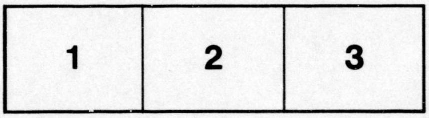

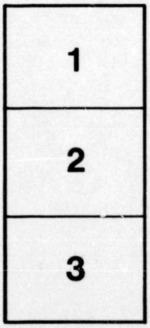

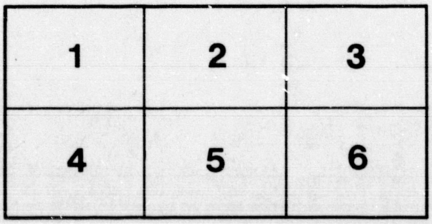

CANADA

DURING

THE VICTORIAN ERA

A HISTORICAL REVIEW

ILLUSTRATED

BY J. G. BOURINOT, C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., LIT.D. (LAVAL)

Author of "The Story of Canada" (Nations' Series), "How Canada is Governed,"
"Parliamentary Procedure and Government in Canada," etc., and other
books on the History and Constitution of the Dominion

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I.—*Canada during the Victorian Era: A Historical Review. Illustrated.*

By J. G. BOURINOT, C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., Lit.D. (Laval).

(Read June 23rd, 1897.)

I.

The reigns of three English Sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anne and Queen Victoria—especially that of Her Most Gracious Majesty, whose diamond jubilee is arousing so joyous an acclaim throughout the Empire—will be always memorable for some of the most famous events in the history of maritime enterprise and colonial expansion. It was in "the golden days of good Queen Bess" that Englishmen made those ventures on the seas, which, in later times, led to such remarkable results and placed England in a foremost position among nations. Sixty years before her accession to the throne, an English ship was the first to touch the coasts of the North American continent, and give to England a claim to American territory which the colonizing spirit of her sons made good in the seventeenth century. After the discoveries by John Cabot in 1497 and 1498, the parsimonious, though discreet, King Henry VII., who then ruled England, took no official measures to occupy and colonize the "new-founde-lands" which were then opened up to English enterprise. No such glamour was thrown around the shores of Cabot's Prima Vista as was then seen about the rich lands of the South, from which the Spaniards were yearly gathering so rich a product of gold and silver. However, a few brave fishermen from the west country of England ventured from very early times in the sixteenth century upon the waters of the new lands of Cabot, and brought home valuable cargoes of codfish which previously they had sought in the Icelandic fisheries. But, soon after Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, Englishmen competed successfully in large numbers with French, Portuguese and Spanish fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland, which was now known to be an island on the confines of a continental region beyond which, it was believed, lay somewhere a northwestern passage to the rich countries of Asia. Frobisher, who is considered to be "among the famousest men of his age for counsel and glory gotten at sea," sailed into Arctic waters and brought home some glittering sand which, he believed, contained particles of gold. Forty years before the daring, though ruinous, voyages of the brave sailor of Yorkshire, Jacques Cartier, of the Breton seaport of St. Malo, had discovered the valley of the St. Lawrence, and thought he had found in the translucent quartz rocks of Cape Diamond specimens of gold which would reward him and his companions for all the toil and difficulty they had met in their efforts to win a colonial empire for France. While religious and civil strife prevented France from making an effort to derive some advantage from Cartier's discoveries during the latter half of the sixteenth century, England, under the influence of that new spirit of maritime enterprise which developed itself in the reign of Elizabeth, sent Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland and Sir Richard Grenville to Albemarle Sound in North Carolina—then a part of Virginia—to spread the dominion of the Queen and make the beginning of colonial settlement. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition had no other results than a barren ceremony of sovereignty on a hill overlooking St. John's harbour, while Ralegh's little colony, which was placed on Roanoke Island, disappeared in some mysterious way from human ken.

In the same reign the great Armada was scattered by the storms of heaven, and by the indomitable pluck and superior seamanship of the men who manned the little fleet, which won for itself so high a place in English historic annals and was the beginning of that noble navy which, in later centuries, made England Mistress of the Seas. Drake not only robbed Spaniards on the Spanish Main and brought back rich treasures in which even "Good Queen Bess" shared without a blush, but was the first Englishman to sail around the globe by Magellan's route and give to England a claim to possessions on the Pacific coast of North America, which received the name of New Albion on maps of the day.

It is true that Ralegh failed in his scheme of establishing colonies in the beautiful land of Virginia, of which glowing accounts were brought home by English adventurers, and it was in the reigns of James the first and Charles, his son, that the English actually founded permanent settlements on the Atlantic shore of North America. But the germs of Virginia and New England were planted by Ralegh, and the colonial and maritime enterprise of England was stimulated by such successes as were won by Howard, Grenville, Hawkins and Drake wherever they met the Spaniards who, until their day, were considered invincible at sea and allowed to have a monopoly of the land discovered by Columbus and his successors. Englishmen at last commenced to recognize the fact that their mission was on the ocean and that they could advantageously enter the field of colonial enterprise in the new world, which offered such enormous possibilities to courageous pioneers and explorers.

Nor must we forget to record among the memorable events of the same reign the formation of a famous Company which entered into competition for the rich trade of the East Indies, where, in later times, one of its servants, Robert Clive, won an Empire for England, and gave the right to Queen Victoria to be crowned its Empress.

In the seventeenth century English colonists took possession of a fringe of territory on the Atlantic coast, France occupied the shores of

Acadie and the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the Spaniards confined themselves to the Antilles, Florida, Mexico, Peru and other rich lands of the tropics. By the beginning of the eighteenth century France had twenty thousand people on the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributary rivers, and her adventurous explorers had passed from the basin of the great lakes into the valley of the Mississippi and had given to France a right to a vast region which extended to the Gulf of Mexico. The English colonies were then hemmed in between the Atlantic coast and the Appalachian ridges, beyond which none of their most daring pioneers had passed when La Salle linked his name to all time with the mighty river near which he met a melancholy death at the hands of treacherous companions. France had now established a valid claim to dominions whose possibilities of greatness were never understood by the King and his Ministers, engrossed in the affairs of Europe. The end of the war of the Spanish succession which brought such humiliation to Louis Quatorze, and won so much fame for Marlborough, had very significant results for France and England in North America. These results have been most intelligently stated by an English writer who has reviewed the various phases of English colonial expansion from the voyages of the Cabots until the reign of Queen Victoria, who is Queen of an Empire which would never have been born had not a spirit of maritime enterprise and colonization been stimulated in the days of the Virgin Queen. One hundred and ten years after the death of Elizabeth, when another woman sat on the throne, France suffered a serious blow in America, by the treaty of peace which Louis was forced to accept as a result of the famous victories of Blenheim, Ramillies, Malplaquet and Oudenarde. "At the time of the Armada," says Professor Seeley, "we " saw England entering the race for the first time; at Utrecht, England " wins the race. . . . Her positive gains were Acadie or Nova Scotia " and Newfoundland, surrendered by France and the Assiento compact " granted by France. In other words the first step was taken towards " the destruction of greater France by depriving her of one of her three " settlements of Acadie, Canada and Louisiana in North America. . . . " The decisive event of it is the Seven Years' War, and the new position " given to England by the treaty of Paris in 1763."[1]

The remarkable expansion of the colonial dependencies of England during the Victorian era may be then fairly considered as an evolution of a series of events in the history of the empire. From the days of Ralegh and other worthies of Elizabeth's day down to Pitt, Wolfe and Clive, there is a steady succession of events which eventually placed England in the van of colonial enterprise and maritime endeavour, but it was not until three-quarters of a century had passed after the treaty of Paris—

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[1] **"Expansion of England," p. 132.**

aptly stated by Professor Seeley to be "the culminating point of English "power in the eighteenth century"—and the present Queen ascended the throne, that Canada and other dependencies of the Crown may be said to have made the beginnings of that remarkable development, which is one of the most interesting and important features of the century and of the Queen's reign and has been, in a measure, some compensation for the loss of the old Thirteen Colonies through the fatuity of English statesmen in the second half of the eighteenth century.

II.

I purpose to give in the present paper a brief historic retrospect of the position Canada occupied at the time when Her Majesty ascended the Throne and to compare it with that the Dominion now holds as a federation of seven provinces and organized territories extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. No one will gainsay Canada's pre-eminence among the dependencies when we consider how much she has done in sixty years, despite the enormous difficulties that have stood in the way of her progress on account of the rivalry of a great republican Power on her borders for three thousand miles, which has drawn away from her the wealth and population of Europe, and also a large number of Canadians from year to year up to a very recent period. In this review it is necessary to refer briefly to some leading features of Canadian history. In these days, when Englishmen have learned at last to take an interest in colonial questions—to recognize the fact that lessons may be learned from even colonial history and colonial statesmanship, we feel no apology need be made even to my English readers[1] if I ask them to give their attention for a few minutes to a short account of the political evolution of the Canadian federation, which has already passed beyond the first quarter of a century of its existence. In this record we shall see what elements of stability this federation possesses, even when compared with that great Power to the south, whose remarkable development has been among the most interesting features of the century now so near its close.

Both England and France entered about the same time on a career of colonization in North America. Champlain was already encamped with his little band of settlers on the picturesque heights of Quebec[2] when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the rock-bound coast of New England. Then, for a century and a half, the colonies of England and France struggled for mastery. The sturdy independence of the English colonists, accustomed to think and act for themselves, left as a rule to

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[1] This special reference to "English readers" originates from the fact that a part of this monograph first appeared as a leading article in the *Edinburgh Review*, and I have allowed it to remain, though the text has been revised and enlarged.

[2] Champlain arrived at Quebec (Stadacona) on July 3rd, 1608, and laid the foundations of the picturesque town.

govern themselves in accordance with the free instincts of Englishmen, was in decided contrast with the subserviency of the French colonists, kept constantly in trammels by the King and his ministers who were always opposed to the merest semblance of local self-government. Under the influence of the freedom they enjoyed, and of the energy and enterprise peculiar to a commercial and maritime people, the English colonists, who inhabited a relatively narrow strip of territory from Maine to Carolina, soon outnumbered the population of the struggling community on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

In the history of the French Canadian there is much to interest us. His patient endurance, his fidelity to his country, his adventurous life in the wilderness of the West affords scenes for poetry, history, and romance. The struggles of Champlain, the adventures of La Salle in the valley of the Mississippi, the exploits of the *coureurs de bois* and gentlemen-adventurers on the rivers and among the forests, the efforts of Frontenac and other French governors to found a New France on the continent, have already found in Francis Parkman an eloquent and faithful historian. France dreamed once of founding a mighty empire which should stretch from the Island of Cape Breton or Ile Royale through the valleys of the St. Lawrence, the Ohio, and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico and of eventually having the supremacy in North America; but the genius of Pitt relieved the English colonists of the fears they entertained with reason when they saw a cordon of forts stretching from Louisbourg to the heights of Quebec, Lake Champlain, Niagara and the forks of the Ohio. With the fall of Quebec and Montreal in 1759-60, France left the New World to England, and of all her former possessions she now retains only some insignificant islands off the southern coast of Newfoundland, where her fishermen continue to prosecute the fisheries as they did centuries ago before a European had founded a settlement in Canada. The conflict with France had done much to restrain the spirit of self-assertion among the English colonists, and to keep them dependent upon England; but at the same time it had shown them their power and taught them to have much more confidence in their own resources as a people. The capture of the formidable fortress of Louisbourg, one of the triumphs of Vauban's engineering skill, by the New England volunteers under Pepperrell and the fleet under Warren, was the principal incident in their history, which showed the people their strength and nerved them to enter into what must have seemed to many a hopeless struggle with England. The fall of Quebec may be considered the first step in the direction of the independence of the old English colonists.

III.

When the war of independence was over Canada was only a sparsely settled country in which the French Canadians were very largely in the majority. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island there was a small English population, chiefly composed of United Empire Loyalists.[1] A considerable number of the same class came over from the United States and settled in the eastern townships of French or Lower Canada—now Quebec—and in the province of Upper or Western Canada, now Ontario. Few facts of modern times have had a greater influence on the destinies of a country than this immigration of sturdy, resolute and intelligent men, united by high principles and the most unselfish motives. They laid the foundations of the provinces now known as New Brunswick and Ontario, and settled a considerable portion of Nova Scotia. From the day of their settlement on the banks of the St. John, Niagara and St. Lawrence rivers, and in the vicinity of Lakes Ontario and Erie, they have exercised by themselves and their descendants a powerful influence on the institutions of Canada, not unlike that exercised by the descendants of the New England pioneers throughout the American Union; and it is to them we owe much of that spirit and devotion to England which has always distinguished the Canadian people and aided to keep them, even in critical periods of their history, within the empire.

During the war of independence the leading French Canadians resisted all attempts that were made to induce them to unite their fortunes with the revolted colonists. The British Government and Parliament had seen the necessity of conciliating the conquered people, and had passed in 1774 what is known as the Quebec Act,[2] which gave additional guarantees to that nationality for the security of their property and the preservation of their language, religion and institutions. Owing in a great measure to this conciliatory policy, and to the efforts of the priests, who have always been firm friends of British rule, the French people of Lower Canada were kept faithful to the King of England, and the history of those times records the death of General Montgomery and the defeat of his troops, who invaded Canada and besieged Quebec under the delusion that the province would be an easy conquest as soon as the invaders set foot within its limits.

With the settlement of Upper Canada by the Loyalists and the English population that subsequently flowed into the country, it was

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[1] In 1784 there were in Canada 10,000 United Empire Loyalists; in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick upwards of 30,000. In 1790 the population of old Canada was 161,311, of whom 120,000 were French.

[2] Imperial Statute, 14 George III., c. 83.

thought advisable to establish two provinces in which the French and English elements would be kept separate and distinct.[1]

With the light that experience has given us in these later times, it was a great mistake, in the opinion of many statesmen, to have isolated the races, and by hedging in the French at the very commencement of their history, to have prevented the gradual absorption of all nationalities into one great English-speaking people. Parliament formed a legislature for each province, and wished the people of Canada "God speed" in the new experiment of government on which they were entering. No doubt can exist as to the sincerity and good wishes of the English statesmen of those days, but it cannot be said that they always built with wisdom. In the first place they erected a structure of provincial government which was defective at its very foundation. There was an entire absence of institutions of local government in French Canada—of that system which from the earliest period in the history of the old English colonies, enabled them to manage their local affairs. May it not be said with truth that England herself has received no more valuable heritage than that system of local self-government which, cumbrous and defective as it may have become in the course of centuries, can be traced back to those free institutions in which lay the germs of English liberty and parliamentary government?

But in Canada there was no semblance of township or parish government as in New England or even in Virginia. The people of Canada were called upon to manage the affairs of a State before they had learned those elements of government which necessarily exist in the local affairs of every community, whether it be town, township or village. It was, indeed, surprising that a people like the French Canadians, unaccustomed to parliamentary institutions or local self-government in its most elementary form, should in the early stages of their legislative history have shown so much discretion. As a matter of fact they discharged their functions for a while with prudence and set to work to understand the principles on which their system of government rested. For some years the machinery of government worked fairly enough, and the public men of both provinces passed much useful legislation. The war of 1812–15, in which Canada performed her part with credit, in a measure prevented any outbreak of political conflict, since all classes of people recognized the necessity of uniting, at such a crisis, to defend their homes and country. But when peace was proclaimed and the legislatures were relieved from the pressure that the war had brought upon them, the politicians again got the upper hand. The machinery of government became clogged, and political strife convulsed the country from one end to the other. An "irrepressible conflict" arose between

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[1] Constitutional Act, 1791, or 31 Geo. III., c. 31.

the government and the governed classes, especially in Lower Canada. The people, who in the days of the French regime were without influence and power, had learned under their new system, defective as it was in essential respects, to get an insight into the operation of representative government, as understood in England.

They found they were governed, not by men responsible to the legislature and the people, but by governors and officials who controlled both the executive and the legislative councils. If there had always been wise and patient governors at the head of affairs, or if the Imperial authorities could always have been made aware of the importance of the grievances laid before them, or had understood their exact character, the difference between the government and the majority of the people's representatives might have been arranged satisfactorily. But unhappily military governors like Sir James Craig only aggravated the dangers of the situation, and gave demagogues new opportunities for exciting the people. The Imperial authorities, as a rule, were sincerely desirous of meeting the wishes of the people in a reasonable and fair spirit, but, unfortunately for the country, they were too often ill-advised and ill-informed in those days of slow communication, and public discontent was allowed to seethe until it burst forth in a dangerous form.

In all the provinces, but especially in Lower Canada, the people saw their representatives practically ignored by the governing body, their money expended without the authority of the legislature, and the country governed by irresponsible officials. A system which gave little or no weight to public opinion, as represented in the House elected by the people, was necessarily imperfect and unstable; and the natural result was a deadlock between the Legislative Council, controlled by the official and governing class, and the House elected by the people. The governors necessarily took the side of the men whom they had themselves appointed, and with whom they were acting. In the maritime provinces, in the course of time, the governors made an attempt to conciliate the popular element by bringing in men who had influence in the Assembly, but this was a matter entirely within their own discretion. This system of government was generally worked in direct contravention to the principle of responsibility to the majority in the popular House. Political agitators had abundant opportunities for exciting popular passion. In Lower Canada, Papineau—an eloquent but impulsive man, having rather the qualities of an agitator than those of a statesman—led the majority of his compatriots. For years he contended for a legislative council elected by the people, for it is curious to note that none of the men who were at the head of the popular party in Lower Canada ever recognized the fact, as did their contemporaries in Upper Canada, that the difficulty would be best solved, not by electing an Upper House, but by obtaining an executive which would only hold office while supported by a majority of the representatives in the people's House. In Upper Canada the Radical section of the Liberal party was led by Mr. W. Lyon Mackenzie, who fought vigorously against what was generally known as the "Family Compact", which occupied all the public offices and controlled the government.

In the two provinces these two men at last precipitated a rebellion, in which blood was shed and much property was destroyed, but which never reached any very extensive proportions. In the maritime provinces, however, where the public grievances were of less magnitude, the people showed no sympathy with the rebellious elements of the upper provinces. The agitation for responsible government in those colonies was led by Mr. Joseph Howe, who in the course of his public life was always animated by truly loyal British feelings, and was never influenced by passion to step beyond the limits of legitimate constitutional agitation.

IV.

Such was the political situation in Canada when Queen Victoria ascended the throne on June 20, 1837. If we survey the general condition of things in those troublous times, the prospect was not encouraging. The total population of the provinces did not exceed 1,350,000 souls, of whom nearly one-half were French Canadians. Trade and commerce were quite paralyzed by the political discontent which had existed for years, and had already broken out into rebellion. The value of the whole trade of British North America—that is of the imports and exports in the aggregate—was about $25,000,000. The principal trade was in fish and lumber for the export of which a considerable number of vessels were yearly built in the maritime provinces. Not more than four or five banks existed, and none of them had a large capital except the old bank of Montreal, which has always been the most important monetary institution of this continent.

The total revenue at this time did not exceed $7,000,000, and in more than one province the revenue was insufficient to meet the legitimate expenses required for public works and other necessary improvements. In Upper Canada the situation was extremely serious. In consequence of the construction of public works, commenced in the infancy of the colony, a debt of $5,000,000 had been accumulated when the whole revenue did not reach $300,000, and was inadequate to pay the interest. A financial crisis in the United States had led the banks to suspend specie payments, and aggravated the difficulties of the commercial situation in Canada. The banks of Lower Canada found it necessary to follow the example of similar institutions in the American republic; though those in the upper province, to their credit, successfully tided over the crisis, and materially lessened the weight of financial embarrassment. The total production of wheat was not beyond 5,000,000 bushels, of which nearly four-fifths, at that time, was raised in French Canada. The French *habitants* carried on their agricultural operations with little energy or skill, and from their ignorance of the system of the rotation of crops and of the true principles of farming were rapidly impoverishing the soil, so that in the course of a few years their wheat crop diminished and its quality became more inferior. Their farms were on the banks of the St. Lawrence, deep, narrow strips, and their houses were crowded as near the river as possible, as affording the most satisfactory means of communication in early times between the settlements. The most noteworthy buildings were those belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, which then, as now, dominated the province. The system of land tenure in French Canada was one not calculated to stimulate industry and develop the country. In early days the seigniorial tenure, established by Richelieu with the idea of founding a Canadian *noblesse* and encouraging settlement, had had some advantages. It was a feudal system modified to suit the circumstances of a new country. It made the *seigneur* and the *habitant*, or *censitaire*, equally interested in the cultivation of the soil. The dues and obligations under which the *censitaire* held his land were in early times by no means onerous. The *seigneur* was obliged to cultivate and settle certain portions of his land at the risk of losing it within a fixed period ; a penalty frequently enacted under the French regime. He was expected to erect a mill for the grinding of grain raised in the district, but only in very rare cases was he able to afford the expense of what must have been a great convenience to the early settlers.

But the system grew to be burdensome as the country became more populous. The seigniorial exactions were found troublesome, and the difficulties that arose in connection with the disposal of lands in the numerous seigniories gradually retarded settlement and enterprise in the province. In fact, the system under which lands were granted throughout Canada was not adapted to the encouragement of settlement. With the view, probably, of establishing a state church, the Imperial Government had by the Act of 1791 granted large reserves, which were in the hands of the Church of England, and much discontent had consequently arisen among other Protestant denominations. Large tracts had also been set apart for loyalists and military men in different parts of the province. The natural consequence of this extravagance was that some of the most valuable districts of Upper Canada were kept idle and profitless for many years. The little island of Prince Edward had been nearly all granted away by ballot to a few landlords in a single day, and until very recent times its progress was retarded by a land question which always created much discontent and prevented settlement. The means of communication in each province were very inferior, in the absence of any liberal system of municipal institutions, and in consequence of the large districts owned by absentee proprietors or by the church. If a road or bridge was required in Lower Canada it was necessary to apply to the legislature. Things were a little better in Upper Canada, where there was a system of local taxation which, imperfect as it was, enabled the people in a county to make minor improvements. Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, St. John, and Toronto were the only towns of importance, and the population of the first—then, as now, the commercial metropolis of British North America—did not exceed 40,000; while their aggregate population was 120,000 souls. The streets of all of them were either ill-lighted or left in darkness, and without pavements. The public buildings, as a rule, had no architectural pretensions. A few colleges and grammar schools had been established where the sons of the well-to-do classes could obtain an excellent classical and English education for those times. The religious communities of Lower Canada at an early period in the history of the country had established institutions where the youth of both sexes could receive certain educational and religious advantages. But the State had not in any degree intervened successfully in the establishment of a system of popular education.

The whole public expenditure for common and district schools in Upper Canada was a little above $40,000 a year, and these schools were very inferior in every respect. The masters in many cases in this province, to which I refer especially, since now it stands unsurpassed in the character of its educational progress, were ill-paid, ill-educated men who, having failed in other pursuits, resorted to teaching as their last hope; many of them were illiterate citizens of the United States, who brought anti-British ideas into the country, and taught their pupils out of American text-books, in which, of course, prominence was given to American history and institutions. In 1838–39 there were in all the public and private schools of British North America only some 92,000 young people out of a total population of 1,440,000 souls, or about one in fifteen. The administration of justice in all the provinces except in Lower Canada was, on the whole, satisfactory for a new country, where the highest judicial talent was not always available. In the French section there was a lamentable want of efficiency in the courts, and an absence of confidence in the mode in which the law was administered. At times there was a decided failure of justice in criminal cases, owing to the complexion of the juries. In certain cases, where political or national feeling was aroused, a jury was not likely to convict even in the face of the clearest evidence of crime. English and French Canadians divided in the jury box according to their nationalities. While the judges of the highest courts were generally distinguished for learning and fairness, the justices of peace were chosen without any regard to their character or ability to try the ordinary petty causes which fell within their jurisdiction. In all the cities and towns the police arrangements were notoriously defective. Immigration was rapidly falling off owing principally to the distracted state of the country, but also to the mode of transportation. Those were days when the vessels that made voyages to Canada were literally laden with disease and misery. In the over-crowded, ill-ventilated, and ill-equipped vessels that annually sailed up the St. Lawrence death was ever stalking among the half-starved, unhappy people who had left their wretched homes in the Old World to incur the horrors of the holds of the pest-ship, from which for many years had been ascending to heaven the cries of the martyred emigrant.

No feature of the aspect of things in Canada gave greater reason for anxiety than the attitude of the French and English peoples towards each other. The very children in the streets were formed into French and English parties. As in the courts of law and in the legislature, so it was in social and every-day life—the French Canadian in direct antagonism to the English Canadian. Many persons among the official and governing class, composed almost exclusively of English, were still too ready to consider French Canadians as inferior beings, and not entitled to the same rights and privileges in the government of the country. It was a time of passion and declamation, when men of fervent eloquence, like Papineau, could have aroused the French like one man, if they had had a little more patience and judgment and had not been ultimately thwarted, mainly by the efforts of the priests who, in all national crises, have intervened on the side of reason and moderation, and in the interests of British connection, which they have always felt has been favourable to the continuance and security of their religious institutions. Lord Durham, in his memorable report on the condition of Canada, has summed up very expressively the nature of the conflict in the French province. "I expected," he said, "to find a contest between a government and a people; I found "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state; I found a struggle, "not of principles, but of races."

Amid the gloom that overhung Canada in those times there was one gleam of sunshine for England. Although discontent and dissatisfaction generally prevailed among the people on account of the manner in which the government was administered and of the attempts of the minority to engross all power and influence, yet there was still a sentiment in favour of British connection, and the annexationists were relatively few in number. Even Sir Francis Bond Head—in no respect a man of sagacity—understood this well when he depended on the militia to crush the outbreak in the upper province, and Joseph Howe, the eminent leader of the popular party, uniformly asserted that the people of Nova Scotia were determined to preserve the integrity of the Empire at all hazards. As a matter of fact, the majority of the leading men, outside of the minority led by Papineau, Nelson and Mackenzie, had a conviction that

England was animated by a desire to act considerately with the province, and that little good would come from precipitating a conflict, which would only add to the public misfortunes, and that the true remedy was to be found in constitutional methods of redress for the political grievances which undoubtedly existed throughout British North America.

V.

I have endeavoured to summarize above as briefly as possible the actual state of affairs in the first years of the Queen's reign. It was a most critical time in the career of the Canadian provinces. Had the British Government been prepared to act with haste or temper, the consequences would have been fatal to the provinces; but they acted throughout on the whole with much discretion and recognized the fact at the outset that mistakes had been made in the past, and that it was quite clear that the people of Canada would not be satisfied with a mere semblance of a representative government. The mission of Lord Durham, who came to Canada as governor-general in 1838, was a turning-point in the political and social development of the British North American colonies. Whatever may be the opinion held as to the legality of the course he pursued with respect to the rebels—a number of whom he banished from the country without even a form of trial—there can be no doubt as to the discretion and wisdom embodied in his Report, of which Mr. Charles Buller, his able secretary, is generally considered to have been the writer. The statesmen of all parties in England, but especially Lord John Russell, aided in moulding a new policy towards the Canadas. This new policy of which the reunion of the two provinces under one government was the foundation, was in the direction of entrusting a larger measure of self-government to the people—of giving them as complete control of their internal affairs as was compatible with the security and integrity of the empire.

The union of the Canadas in 1841, when the French and English sections were equally represented in one legislature, was the first important step in the movement that has been steadily going on for many years in the direction of the unity and security as well as of the social and political development of the provinces of British North America. Then followed between 1841 and 1849 the concession of responsible government in the fullest sense of the term, and the handing over to Canada of the control of her public revenues and taxes, to be expended in accordance with the wishes of the majority in the popular House. At the same time came the repeal of the navigation laws which had fettered colonial trade since the days of Cromwell. The post office was given to the Canadian government, and in fact all matters that could be considered to appertain to their provincial and local interests were placed under their immediate legislative jurisdiction. The Canadian legislature, under the new impulse of a relatively unfettered action, went vigorously to work to lay the foundations of a municipal system as indispensable to the operations of local self-government. The troublesome land question, involved in the seigniorial tenure, was settled, after much agitation, on terms favourable to vested interests, while the clergy reserves were also arranged so as no longer to favour one church at the expense of others, or to impede the progress of settlement and cultivation. The union of the Canadas lasted until 1867, when it had outgrown its usefulness, and the provinces found it necessary to enter into a federation, which had been foreshadowed by Lord Durham and advocated by many eminent men even before his time.

VI.

Of all the conspicuous figures of those memorable times of political struggles, which already seem so far away from Canadians, who now possess so many political rights, there are three which stand out more prominently than all others and represent the two distinct types of politicians who influenced the public mind during the first part of this century. These are Papineau, Baldwin, and Howe. Around the figure of the first there has always been a sort of glamour which has helped to conceal his vanity, his rashness, and his want of political sagacity, which would have, under any circumstances, prevented his success as a safe statesman, capable of guiding a people through a trying ordeal. His eloquence was fervid and had much influence over his impulsive countrymen, his sincerity was undoubted, and in all likelihood his very indiscretions made more palpable the defects of the political system against which he so persistently and so often justly declaimed. He lived to see his countrymen enjoy power and influence under the very union which they resented, and find himself no longer a leader among men, but isolated from a great majority of his own people, and representing a past whose methods were antagonistic to the new regime that had grown up since 1838. It would have been well for his reputation had he remained in obscurity on return from exile, and never stood on the floor of a united parliament, since he could only prove in those later times that he had never understood the true working of responsible government. The days of reckless agitation had passed, and the time for astute and calm statesmanship had come. Lafontaine and Morin were now safer political guides for his countrymen. He soon disappeared entirely from public view, and in the solitude of his picturesque château amid the groves that overhang the Ottawa River, only visited from time to time by a few

staunch friends, or by curious tourists who found their way to that quiet spot, he passed the remainder of his days with a tranquillity in wondrous contrast to the stormy and eventful drama of his life. The writer of this paper has often seen his noble, dignified figure—even erect in age—passing unnoticed on the streets of Ottawa, when perhaps at the same time there were strangers walking through the lobbies of the parliament house and asking to see his portrait.

One of the most admirable figures in the political history of the Dominion was undoubtedly Robert Baldwin. Compared with other popular leaders of his generation, he was calm in counsel, unselfish in motive, and moderate in opinion. If there is some significance in the political phrase, "Liberal-Conservative," it could be applied with justice to him. The "great ministry" of which he and Louis Hyppolite Lafontaine—afterwards a baronet and chief justice—were the leaders, left behind it many monuments of broad statesmanship, and made a deep impress on the institutions of the country. Mr. Baldwin, too, lived for years after his retirement from political life, almost forgotten by the people for whom he worked so fearlessly and sincerely.

Joseph Howe, too, died about the same time as Papineau—after the establishment of the federal union; but unlike the majority of his compeers who struggled for popular rights, he was a prominent figure in public life until the very close of his career. All his days—even when his spirit was sorely tried by the obstinacy and indifference of some English ministers, he loved England, for he knew, after all, it was in her institutions his country could best find prosperity and happiness, and it is an interesting fact, that among the many able essays and addresses which the question of Imperial Federation has drawn forth, none in its eloquence, breadth, and fervour can equal his great speech on the Consolidation of the Empire. The printer, poet and politician died at last at Halifax the lieutenant-governor of his native province in the famous old government house, admittance to which had been denied him in the stormy times of Lord Falkland. A logical ending assuredly to the life of a statesman who, with eloquent pen and voice, in the days when the opinions he held were unpopular in the homes of governors and social leaders, ever urged the claims of his countrymen to exercise that direct control over the government of their country which should be theirs by birth, interest and merit.

In New Brunswick the triumph of responsible government must always be associated with the name of Lemuel A. Wilmot, the descendant of a famous U. E. Loyalist stock, afterwards a judge and a lieutenant-governor of his native province. He was in some respects the most notable figure, after Joseph Howe and J. W. Johnston, the leaders of the Liberal and Conservative parties in Nova Scotia, in that famous body of public men, who so long brightened the political life of the maritime provinces. But neither those two leaders nor their distinguished compeers, James Boyle Uniacke, William Young, John Hamilton Gray and Charles Fisher—all names familiar to students of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick history—surpassed Mr. Wilmot in that magnetic eloquence which carries an audience off its feet, in versatility of knowledge, in humorous sarcasm, and in conversational gifts which made him a most interesting personality in social life. He impressed his strong individuality upon his countrymen until the latest hour of his useful career.

> "A life in civic action warm;
> A soul on highest mission sent;
> A potent voice in parliament;
> A pillar steadfast in the storm."

VII.

The results of the development of Canada since 1841 may be divided, for the purposes of this review, into the following phases:

Territorial Expansion.
Increase of Population and Wealth.
Political Development.
Social and Intellectual Progress.
National Unity.

VIII.

From 1841 to 1867 the provinces of British North America remained isolated from each other as distinct political entities, only united by the tie of a common allegiance to one Sovereign. Their political organization was confined to the country extending from the head of Lake Superior to the countries watered by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean. Of these provinces Ontario was the most populous and the richest in agricultural wealth, although it has not as great an area as the province of Quebec, where a more rigorous climate and large mountainous tracts—the hills of the Laurentides—have rendered the country less favourable for extensive and productive farming operations. A very considerable portion of Ontario, even in those days, was a wilderness, and the principal cultivated tracts extended for a few miles from the St. Lawrence, and the most populous settlements lay between Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron. The confederation of 1867 brought four provinces into one territorial organization for general or Dominion purposes: Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—and it was not until 1873 that little Prince Edward Island, the garden of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, united its political fortunes with those of the young confederation. Efforts were made to bring in Newfoundland, but purely selfish local considerations prevailed in that island over the national sentiment; though the unwisdom of the course pursued by the island politicians has become evident according as the fishery question with the United States comes up from time to time, and it is now quite clear that this large colony, which has been placed as a sentinel at the portals of Canada, must, ere long, fall into line with its sister colonies in North America. One of the most important results of confederation in its early days was the annexation by the Dominion of that vast tract of country which, up to that time, had been almost exclusively in the possession of the Indians and the traders of the Hudson Bay Company—that region well described by General Butler as "the lone land," over whose trackless wastes French adventurers had been the first to pass—a region of prairies, watered by great rivers and lakes, above whose western limits tower the lofty picturesque ranges of the Rockies. Next came into confederation the province of British Columbia, which extends from the Rockies to the waters of the Pacific Ocean—a country with a genial climate, with rapid rivers teeming with fish, with treasures of coal and gold, with sublime scenery only rivalled by California. A new province was formed in the Northwest, watered by the Red and the Assiniboine Rivers and territorial districts, as large as European states, arranged for purposes of government out of the vast region that now, with the sanction of the Imperial authorities, has been brought under the jurisdiction of the government of Canada. Within a period of thirty years Canada has stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the territory now under her control is very little inferior in extent to that of the great Republic to the south, and contains within itself all the elements of a prosperous future. It is, unhappily, true that this result was not achieved until blood had been shed and much money expended in crushing the rebellious half-breeds led by the reckless Riel; but, apart from this sad feature of Canadian history, this important acquisition of territory, the first step in the formation of an empire in the west, has been attained under circumstances highly advantageous to the Dominion. Canada now possesses an immense territory of varied resources—the maritime provinces with their coal, fish and shipping, together with a valuable, if limited, agricultural area, not yet fully developed; the large province of Quebec, with ranges of mountains on whose slopes, when denuded of their rich timber, may graze thousands of cattle and sheep, with valuable tracts of meadow lands, capable of raising the best cereals, and already supporting some of the finest cattle of the continent; the rich province of Ontario, which continues to be the chief agricultural section of the Dominion, and whose cities and towns are full of busy industries; the vast Northwest region still in the very infancy of its development, destined to give the confederation several provinces outside of Manitoba, as large and productive as Minnesota, and to be the principal wheat-growing district of Canada; and, finally, the gold-producing province of British Columbia, whose mountains are rich with undeveloped treasures, and whose mild climate invites a considerable industrious population to cultivate its slopes and plateaus, and collect the riches of its river and deep-sea fisheries. Even that inhospitable Arctic region of the far northwest of Canada through which the Yukon and its tributaries flow appears to be rich with untold treasures of gold and other minerals, and promises to be a source of wealth to a country which is still in the infancy of its material development.[1]

IX.

The population, which owns this vast territory, is confined chiefly at present to the countries by the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean. A considerable number of people has within a few years flowed into the Northwest, where the province of Manitoba is exhibiting all the signs of a prosperous agricultural country, and its capital, Winnipeg, has grown up in the course of sixteen years into a city of nearly 30,000 souls. The population of the whole Dominion may now be estimated at about 5,200,000 souls, and has increased four times since 1837. Of this population more than a million and a quarter are the descendants of 70,000 or 65,000 people who were probably living in the French province at the time of the conquest (1759–60). The remainder of the population is made up of English, Scotch, and Irish. The immigration of late years has been insignificant compared with that which has come into the United States, and consequently at present the natural born population amounts to about 85·09 per cent of the whole. The people of Canada have already won for themselves a large amount of wealth from the riches of the land, forest, and seas. The total value of the imports is now about $110,000,000 and of exports at least $120,000,000, or an aggregate of $230,000,000 a year, an increase of $175,000,000 within half a century. Of this large export trade at least $50,000,000 represent the products of the farms. The province of Ontario now raises over 28,000,000 bushels of wheat alone, or an increase of over 19,000,000 since 1837. The Northwest and Manitoba raise upwards of 50,000,000 bushels, or an increase of 20,000,000 in ten years. The people have now deposited in government savings-banks, leaving out of the calculation the ordinary monetary institutions of the country, about $60,000,000,

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[1] As I read the proof of the text the world of enterprise and adventure is startled by the reports of the wealth of the region of the Thron-Diuck (corrupted to Klondike), one of the tributaries of the Yukon in Canadian territory.

made up of about 176,000 depositors, mechanics, farmers, and people of limited means. For years the only industries of importance were the building of ships, the cutting of timber, and a few ill-supported manufactures of iron and various hard and soft wares. Now there is upwards of $360,000,000 invested in manufactures, chiefly cotton and woollen goods, of which the coarser fabrics compete successfully with English goods in the Canadian market, even crowding out certain classes entirely. Some fourteen lines of ocean steamers call at the port of Montreal, which has now a population of over 350,000. Toronto comes next in population, about 194,000, whilst the other cities, like Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Ottawa, Brantford, Guelph, St. Catharines, Fredericton, Hamilton, London, range from 60,000 to 8,000. The aggregate of the population of the cities and towns with over 10,000 population amounts to some 1,000,000 souls, or the total population of Canada in 1837. The urban population of Canada increased in 1891 to 1,390,910, compared with 912,934 in 1881, or an increase of 28·77 per cent in ten years, illustrating that there has been going on the same movement that has prevailed in the United States. The total revenue of the Dominion, apart from the local and provincial revenues, is about $37,000,000 a year, raised mainly from customs and excise duties, which are high, owing to a largely protective policy, although much lower than those on similar goods in the United States. If the expenditures of Canada of late years have been very large, they have been mainly caused by the development of the country, and by the necessity of providing rapid means of intercommunication for trade and population in a country extending between two oceans. Canals, lighthouses, railways, the acquisition and opening up of the Northwest, and government buildings, have absorbed at least $200,000,000 since 1867, and it is not remarkable, under these circumstances, that a gross debt has been accumulated within half a century of over $325,000,000, against which must be set valuable assets in the shape of buildings and public works necessary to the progress of a new country. The public buildings, churches, and universities display within a quarter of a century a great improvement in architectural beauty, whilst the homes of the people show, both in the interior and exterior, decided evidences of comfort, convenience and culture. Instead of the fourteen miles of railway which existed in 1837, there are now over 16,000 miles in actual operation, affording facilities for trade and commerce not exceeded by any country in the world. One of these railways, the Canadian Pacific, which reaches from Quebec to Vancouver, on the Pacific Ocean, is the most remarkable illustration of railway enterprise ever shown by any country ; certainly without a parallel for rapidity of construction, even in the United States, with all its wealth, population, and commercial energy. These railways represent an investment of nearly $1,000,000,000 in the shape of capital stock, municipal and government bonuses. The interprovincial trade—a direct result of the federation—is at least $120,000,000 a year. These are some of the most remarkable evidences of material development which Canada has exhibited within fifty years. All those who wish to pursue the subject further need only refer to the official publications[1] of the government to see that the fisheries, the timber trade, and the agricultural products of Canada have all increased in the same ratio, notwithstanding commercial crises, bad harvests, and depression produced in certain branches of industry by the policy pursued by the United States for some years towards the Canadian Dominion. When we consider that the United States has received the great bulk of immigration for half a century, and that it is only quite recently that a deep interest has been taken in the development of the Dominion by the people of Europe, it is remarkable that in every branch of trade and industry so steady a progress has been made during the reign.

X.

In a new country like Canada one cannot look for the high culture and intellectual standard of the old communities of Europe. But there is even now in Canada an intellectual activity which, if it has not yet produced a distinct literature, has assumed a practical and useful form, and must, sooner or later, with the increase of wealth and leisure, take a higher range, and display more of the beauty and grace of literary productions of world-wide interest and fame. The mental outfit of the people compares favourably with that of older countries. The universities of Canada—McGill, in Montreal, Laval, in Quebec, Queen's, in Kingston, Dalhousie, in Halifax, and Trinity and Toronto Universities in Toronto—stand deservedly high in the opinion of men of learning in the Old World and the United States, whilst the grammar and common school system in the English-speaking provinces is creditable to the keen sagacity and public spirit of the people, who are not behind their cousins of New England in this particular. We have already seen the low condition of education sixty years ago—only one in fifteen at school; but now there are almost a million of pupils in the educational institutions of the country, or one in five, at a cost to the people of upwards of $10,000,000, contributed for the most part by the taxpayers of the different municipalities in connection with which the educational system is worked out. In Ontario the class of schoolhouses is exceptionally good, and the apparatus excellent, and the extent to which the people tax themselves may be ascertained from the fact that the government only contributes annually some $1,512,000 out of a total expenditure of about $4,200,000.

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[1] Especially *The Statistical Year Book*, ably compiled by Mr. Johnson, the Dominion statistician.

In French Canada there is an essentially literary activity, which has produced poets and historians whose works have naturally attracted attention in France, where the people are still deeply interested in the material and intellectual development of their old colony. The names of Garneau, Ferland, Fréchette and Casgrain, especially, are recognized in France, though they will be unfamiliar to most Englishmen, and even to the majority of Americans, who are yet quite ignorant of the high attainments of French Canadians, of whom Lord Durham wrote, in 1839, "They are a people without a history, and without a literature," a statement well disproved in these later times by the works of Parkman, and the triumphs of French Canadians in Paris itself. The intellectual work of the English-speaking people has been chiefly in the direction of scientific, constitutional and historical literature, in which departments they have shown an amount of knowledge and research which has won for many of them laurels outside of their own country. In the infancy of the United States, works like "The Federalist," with its wealth of constitutional and historical lore, naturally emanated from the brains of publicists and statesmen. In laying the foundation of a great nation the learning and wisdom of the best intellects were evoked, and it has been so in a measure in Canada, where the working out of a system of government adapted to the necessities of countries with distinct interests and nationalities has developed a class of statesmen and writers with broad national views and a large breadth of knowledge. On all occasions when men have arisen beyond the passion and narrowness of party, the debates of the legislature have been distinguished by a keenness of argument and by a grace of oratory—especially in the case of some French Canadians like Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the present premier, and Sir Adolphe Chapleau, lieutenant-governor of Quebec—which would be creditable to the United States in its palmy days. Any one who reviews the fourteen volumes already published by the Royal Society of Canada—one of the most useful results of Lord Lorne's administration—will see how much scholarship and ability the writers of Canada bring to the study of scientific, antiquarian, and historical subjects. In science, the names of Sir William Dawson, of his equally gifted son, Dr. G. M. Dawson, as well as of many others are well known in the parent state and wherever science has its votaries. In poetry we have the names of Frederick G. Scott, Pauline Johnson, Roberts, Bliss Carman, Archbishop O'Brien, Speaker Edgar, Ethelwyn Wetherald, Lampman and Wilfred Campbell, who merit a high place among their famous contemporaries. The historical novels of Major Richardson, William Kirby, Gilbert Parker,—notably "The Seats of the Mighty" and other works of the latter,—show the rich materials our past annals offer for romance. "Sam Slick the Clockmaker" and other books by Judge Haliburton, a Nova Scotian by birth and education, are still the only noteworthy evidences we have of the existence of humour among a practical people, and his "Wise Saws" and "Sayings" were uttered fully half a century ago. In art we have L. R. O'Brien, George Reid, Bell Smyth, Robert Harris, J. W. L. Forster, W. Brymner, and Miss Bell, who have done much meritorious work. Yet, on the whole, if great works are wanting nowadays, the intellectual movement is in the right direction, and according as the intellectual soil of Canada becomes enriched with the progress of culture we may eventually look for a more generous fruition. The example of the United States, which has produced Poe, Longfellow, Irving, Hawthorne, Howells, Parkman, Lowell, Holmes, and many others, famous as poets, historians, and novelists the world over, should encourage Canadians to hope that in the later stages of its development the Canadian people, composed of two distinct nationalities, will prove that they inherit those literary instincts which naturally belong to the races from which they have sprung.

XI.

The political system under which the provinces are now governed is eminently adapted to the circumstances of the whole country.

In the working out of responsible government, won for Canada during the Queen's beneficent reign, there stand out, clear and well-defined, certain facts and principles which are at once a guarantee of efficient home government and of a harmonious coöperation between the dependency and the central authority of the empire.

1. The misunderstandings that so constantly occurred when the Queen ascended the throne, between the legislative bodies and the imperial authorities, and caused so much discontent throughout the provinces on account of the constant interference of the latter in matters which should have been left exclusively to the control of the people directly interested, have been entirely removed in conformity with the wise policy of making Canada a self-governed country in the full sense of the phrase. These provinces are, as a consequence, no longer a source of irritation and danger to the parent state, but, possessing full independence in all matters of local concern, are now among the chief glories of England and sources of her pride and greatness.

2. The governor-general, instead of being constantly brought into conflict with the political parties of the country and made immediately responsible for the continuance of public grievances, has gained in dignity and influence since he has been removed from the arena of public controversy. He now occupies a position in harmony with the principles that have given additional strength and prestige to the throne itself. As the legally accredited representative of the sovereign, as the recognized head of society, he represents what Bagehot has aptly styled the dignified

part of our constitution, which has much value in a country like ours, where we fortunately retain the permanent form of monarchy in harmony with the democratic machinery of our government. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the governor-general is a mere *roi fainéant*, a merely ornamental portion of our political system, to be set to work and kept in motion by the premier and his council. His influence, however, as Lord Elgin has shown, is wholly moral, an influence of suasion, sympathy, and moderation, which softens the temper while it elevates the aims of local politics. If the governor-general is a man of parliamentary experience and constitutional knowledge, possessing tact and judgment, and imbued with the true spirit of his high vocation—and these functionaries have been notably so since the commencement of confederation—they can sensibly influence the course of administration and benefit the country at critical periods of its history. Standing above all party, having the unity of the empire at heart, a governor-general at times can soothe the public mind and give additional confidence to the country when it is threatened with some national calamity or there is distrust abroad as to the future. As an imperial officer he has large responsibilities, of which the general public have naturally no very clear idea, and if it were possible to obtain access to the confidential and secret despatches which seldom see the light except in the colonial office, it would be seen how much for a quarter of a century past the colonial department has gained by having had in the Dominion men, no longer acting under the influence of personal feeling through being made personally responsible for the conduct of public affairs, but actuated simply by a desire to benefit the country over which they preside and to bring Canadian interests into unison with those of the empire itself.

Self-government now exists in the full sense of the term. At the base of the political structure lie those municipal institutions which, for completeness, are not excelled in any other country. It is in the enterprising province of Ontario that the system has attained its greatest development. Every village, township, town, city, and county has its council composed of reeves or mayors and councillors or aldermen elected by the people, and having jurisdiction over all matters of local taxation and local improvement, in accordance with statutory enactments. Under the operation of these little local parliaments—the modern form taken by the folkmote of old English times—every community, regularly organized under the law, is able to build its roads and bridges, light the streets, effect sanitary arrangements, and even initiate bonuses for the encouragement of lines of railway.

The machinery of these municipalities is made to assist in raising the taxes necessary for the support of public schools. Free libraries are provided for in every municipality whenever the people choose—as in the cities of Toronto, Hamilton, Guelph, and other places—to tax themselves for the support of these necessary institutions. In the other provinces the system is less symmetrical than in Ontario, but even in the French section, and in the maritime provinces, where these institutions have been more recently adopted the people have within their power to manage all these minor local affairs which are necessary for the comfort, security, and convenience of the local divisions into which each province is divided for such purposes. Then we go up higher to the provincial organizations governed by a lieutenant-governor, nominated and removable by the government of the Dominion, and advised by a council responsible to the people's representatives, with a legislature composed, in only two of the provinces of two houses—a council appointed by the Crown and an elective assembly; in all the other provinces there is simply an assembly chosen by the people either by universal suffrage or on a very liberal franchise. The fundamental law known as the British North America Act, which was passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1867, gives jurisdiction to the provincial governments over education, provincial works, hospitals, asylums, and jails, administration of justice (except in criminal matters), municipal and all other purely local affairs. In the Territories not yet constituted into provinces there is provided an efficient machinery, in the shape of a lieutenant-governor, appointed by the Dominion government; of an advisory council to assist the lieutenant-governor; and of a small legislative body of one house elected by the people, which has the power of passing, within certain defined limits, such ordinances as are necessary for the good government and security of the sparsely settled countries under its jurisdiction. These Territories are now represented in the two Houses of the Dominion Parliament. These representatives have all the rights and privileges of members of the organized provinces, and are not the mere territorial delegates of the United States Congress. The central or general government of the Dominion is administered by a Governor-General, with the assistance of a ministry responsible to a Parliament, composed of a Senate appointed by the Crown, and a House of Commons elected under an electoral franchise practically on the very threshold of universal suffrage. This Government has jurisdiction over trade and commerce, post-office, militia and defence, navigation and shipping, fisheries, and railways and public works, of a Dominion character and all other matters of general or national import. The appointment of a Governor-General by the Crown, the power of disallowing bills which may interfere with Imperial statutes and treaty obligations, and the right which Canadians still enjoy of appealing to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council from the subordinate courts of the provinces, including the Supreme Court of Canada; the obligation which rests upon England to assist the colony in the time of danger by all the power of her army and fleet, together with the fact that all treaties with foreign powers must necessarily be negotiated through the Imperial authorities, will be considered as the most patent evidences of Canada being still a dependency of the empire. Even the restraint imposed upon Canada with respect to any matters involving negotiations with foreign powers has been modified to a great degree by the fact that England has acknowledged for over thirty years that Canada should be not only consulted in every particular, but actually represented in all negotiations that may be carried on with foreign powers affecting her commercial or territorial interests.

Another illustration of the growing importance of Canada in the Councils of the Empire is the fact that quite recently, in this jubilee year, a Canadian judge has been placed on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Supreme Court of Great Britain and Ireland, India, and all the dependencies of the Crown.

XII.

From this brief historical summary of the leading features of the political organization of Canada it will be seen how remarkable has been the expansion of the liberties of the people since 1837, when they exercised no control over the executive, when England imposed restrictions on their trade, and officials of Downing Street were practically the governing powers.

In the formation of their constitution the Canadians have naturally borrowed the best features of the federal system of their American neighbours, and of the governmental institutions of the parent state, though not without improvement. The following brief summary shows some of the advantages which Canada possesses over the institutions of the United States as far as an experience of many years goes to prove :

1. That the powers of the provincial and federal governments are enumerated, while the residuum of power is left, in express words, to the central authority of the Dominion ; the very reverse of the constitution of the United States, which gives to the national government only certain express, or necessarily implied, powers, and leaves to the several states all those powers of local or state sovereignty not so expressly taken away.

2. In adhering strictly, in the Dominion and every Province, to the principles of parliamentary government which makes the ministry or advisers of the executive responsible to the legislature for every act of administration : a flexible system which works admirably compared with the too rigid constitutional rules of the federal and state governments, which separate the executive from the legislative authority and do not permit the advisers of a president or a governor of a state to sit in the legislature and direct its legislation.

3. The latent powers of a dissolution of parliament, which may be used at any time by the Crown, under the advice of responsible ministers, with the view of obtaining the opinion and judgment of the people at a political crisis—a safety valve wanting in the rigid system of the United States, which constantly and necessarily creates friction between the executive and legislative authorities.

4. A permanent Civil Service in the Dominion and provincial governments—a system which lies at the very foundation of all stable government, but only partially adopted of very recent years by the national government of the United States, and now urged in almost all the old States of the Union.

5. The appointment of all judges and public officials by the Crown, on the advice of ministers responsible to parliament for every such executive act, in contradistinction to the elective system of the United States of the federal republic, where judges are, in most cases, elected by the people—the federal judges being the exception.

6. The independence of the judiciary of all party and political pressure, when once appointed, since they can be removed only by the Crown, as a consequence of a successful impeachment by the Dominion Parliament, while in the several states their tenure is limited to a certain number of years—ten on the average.

7. The infrequency of political elections and the practical separation of national, provincial and municipal politics at such elections—a separation now advocated in many states and adopted by the revised New York constitution, in the case of municipal elections, especially in the cities, where the running of municipal officers on a federal or state ticket has led to gross corruption and abuse by the political machine and its professional politicians.

8. The trial by judges of all cases of bribery and corruption in municipal as well as legislative elections, a system not yet adopted by the States, and necessarily of doubtful application in a country where so many judges are elective.

No doubt there are difficulties constantly occurring in the working of the Canadian federal constitution, arising from conflicts of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Provinces, despite the careful enumeration of powers in the fundamental law, or British North America Act of 1867; but these doubts are gradually being removed by the wise practice which places the interpretation of all written legal instruments in the courts.

Here also the wisdom and learning of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England and of the Canadian judiciary are to a large extent nullifying the contentions of politicians and bringing about a solution of difficulties which, in a country divided between distinct nationalities, might cause serious complications if not settled on sound principles of law which all can accept.

XIII.

One of the most encouraging results of this political system has been not merely the material development of the country but the creation of that national sentiment which must lie at the basis of any political structure, if it is to withstand the storm of passion and faction which from time to time will beat against its walls. The government of an immense country like Canada is surrounded by many difficulties which an Englishman or an American not thoroughly conversant with its history and conditions can hardly realize. The great extent of territory and the diverse interests of the populations that inhabit it from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores require that there should be much wisdom and patience used in the exercise of the large responsibility which these circumstances throw upon the government. If we look at the map, we see lying on the Atlantic seaboard three provinces whose industries are chiefly maritime, and whose propinquity to the United States naturally gives great importance to the commercial arrangements which may exist with that country. These provinces are separated by many hundreds of miles from the populous, prolific province of Ontario, and all commercial intercourse must be by means of railroads, or by the long and expensive navigation of the St. Lawrence. To encourage interprovincial trade under these circumstances, and make the people see that their true interests should not lie in dependence upon the United States, or on any single country, but on opening up new avenues of commerce wherever practicable, has been the natural policy of the governments since 1867. The result has been on the whole moderately successful, considering that the fight has not been merely against geographical obstacles but also against the antagonism exhibited by American politicians, ever since the repeal of the reciprocity treaty of 1854. The firmness with which the government has adhered to the rights it possesses in the fisheries, and the liberality with which it has promoted maritime interests by the construction of railways and other public works necessary to the material development of the country, have succeeded in restraining the clamour that was raised for some years in the maritime provinces against the operation of the union.

The situation has still its difficulties; but there is every reason to believe that the national sentiment is largely predominant, and that the mass of the people clearly see that by strengthening the confederation they are assuring their true happiness and prosperity in the end, and that to weaken or destroy it by the withdrawal of any single province would mean the destruction of British interests on the continent and the annexation of Canada eventually to the United States. Then, leaving that branch of the subject, if we look at the distinct national elements that exist throughout Canada we have further evidence of the difficulties with which a government has to contend in striving to achieve the unity and security of this widely extended confederation. When the Canadian provinces were united, in 1840, the French Canadians were restive and uncertain of their future. The Act of Union was considered by many of them as an attempt to make them subservient to British influences. The elimination of their language from legislative records was to them a great grievance, because it was in their opinion, a clear evidence of the spirit which lay at the basis of the union. As a matter of fact, however, the Union Act was a measure which, from the very outset, gave to Lower Canada a political superiority in the government of the whole country. The representation of the two provinces was equal in the Assembly, but the greater unity that distinguished the French Canadians in all matters that might affect their political power, or their provincial interests, naturally enabled them to dominate the English parties, divided among themselves on so many political issues. The French language was soon restored to its old place and step by step all the principles that the popular party of Lower Canada had been fighting for previous to 1840 were granted—even an elective legislative council—under the new regime. The consequence was that French Canada eventually recognized its power, and its people forgot their old grievances and were ready to sustain the Union into which they had entered with doubt and apprehension. It was the English speaking people of the West that now raised the clamour against French domination, when the representation granted in 1840 did not do justice to the increase of population in Upper Canada, where, since that year, the progress had been more rapid than in the French section. The consequence was that the two provinces, united in law, were practically divided on the floor of parliament and government, at last, became almost impossible from the division of parties and the controlling influence of French Canada, always determined to yield nothing to the cry from the upper province that would destroy the equality of representation. The solution of the difficulties, arising, it will be seen, from national antagonism, was found in a federal union, under which Lower Canada obtained a supreme control over the provincial matters in which she has an immediate interest and at the same time has been able to exercise great influence in national affairs by means of her large representation in the Dominion parliament. The results of the political changes, which have occurred since the days of Lord Durham, have been very different from what he hoped would be the case when he wrote his famous report, throughout which there is a strong desire to diminish French Canadian influence and gradually absorb the French Canadian nationality in an English speaking people. In Lord Durham's opinion, "the first and steady purpose of the British Government should " be to establish an English population, with English laws and language, "in this province, and to trust its government to none but a decidedly "English legislature." As a matter of fact, Lord Durham entirely underrated the national instincts of the French Canadian population and the tenacity with which they cling to their national life. *Le Canadien*, a newspaper established in French Canadian interests, in the early days of this century, struck the key note of French Canadian aspiration, when it adopted as its motto, "Notre langue, notre foi, et nos institutions." Under the favourable conditions of the federal system Quebec has become essentially a French Canadian province in which the English are actually in a very small minority though it is one distinguished always by its great intelligence and superior enterprise. In the province of Ontario, the French race has recently controlled the election of more than one county which heretofore has been English in its representation. At the same rate of progress, and under an equally favourable condition of things, five millions of French-speaking people will inhabit the Dominion in four or five decades. In the nature of things they must always exercise a powerful influence on the future destiny of the young confederation. It is therefore all-important to understand their actual sentiment with respect to the Union. At times, when they believe their nationality is in danger or an injustice has been done to one of their race, they become aggressive, but, happily for the peace and unity of the country, the conservative instincts of the leading classes ultimately prevail over the passion and impulsiveness of the masses.

While reason and common sense have the mastery in French Canada, all classes can hardly fail to see that the institutions which they value so highly can only be preserved by such a system of government as they now possess under the protecting influence of the Imperial State, and were they, to-morrow, to find themselves in the ranks of the federal republic, their position would, in all probability, become eventually, like that of their compatriots in Louisiana, interesting from the point of view of the antiquary and the student of human life, but insignificant from a political or national aspect. No French Canadian writer or politician of weight in the country now urges so impossible or suicidal a scheme as the foundation of an independent French nationality on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, now the brilliant leader of the government in parliament, only voiced the sentiments of his compatriots, conservative as well as liberal, when he said, some months ago, in the presence of a large English audience in the city of Toronto :—

"If there are any amongst my fellow-countrymen who have ever "dreamed of closing themselves into a small community of Frenchmen "on the banks of the St. Lawrence, I am not one of them. It would be "an act of black ingratitude if, after we have sought from England the "privileges and rights of British subjects, we were now to reject the res-

"ponsibilities of such subjects; if having sought the protection of Britain "to grow strong, we were, when strong enough, to attempt to stab the "friendly hand, and refuse to cast in our lot with those who are fellow-"countrymen of ours, and whose birthright we claim as our inheritance. "When confederation was established it was not intended that it should "be based upon the humiliation of any one race; that any one should "give up its characteristics; but it was expected that though every "nationality might retain its individuality, yet that all would be actuated "by one aspiration and would endeavour to form one nation."

At times when the French Canadians press their national prejudices to extremes, a spirit of antagonism is at once evoked between them and the English classes, but the unfortunate state of things that existed before 1837 no longer shows itself with its original intensity, and whatever jealousies or rivalries break out now and then above the surface are sooner or later carried away by the current of sound public opinion, anxious for the harmony of all classes and creeds and only solicitous for the safe working of the Union. A certain rivalry will always exist between the two nationalities, but as long as moderate and conciliatory counsels prevail, it will be, let us hope, the rivalry of peoples animated by the same patriotic impulses and engaged in the same great work of building up a new nation on this continent. At all events a great deal has been gained since 1837 in the direction of creating a friendly and harmonious feeling between distinct races who, at one time in their history, seemed on the point of engaging in an internecine conflict like that which convulsed the North and South for years.

XIV.

Every one who is at all conversant with Canadian political history for the past sixty years will recognize the fact that Canada owes much to men like Sir Louis Lafontaine, who successfully inaugurated responsible government after the Union of 1841, and did a great deal to allay sectional jealousies and antagonisms. It was Sir George Cartier, a French Canadian statesman, who carried the province of Quebec with little or no friction into the federal union. In Mr. Pope's biography of Sir John Macdonald, which appeared some time ago, justice is done to the broad statesmanship and imperial conceptions of that great Canadian Premier, whose name must be always associated with the political development of Canada since 1844; but, while we may commend the natural effort of a devoted private secretary to eulogise and emphasise the services of his chief, it is apparent that he has been too forgetful of the claims of Sir George Cartier, and of his followers from French Canada to recognition. Canadians, at all events, know full well that, without the aid of his faithful friend and colleague, Sir John Macdonald would have been helpless time and again, and could never have carried out his national schemes.

With the names of Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, who did so much by their broad statesmanship to settle sectional difficulties, and lay the foundations of Confederation, must be also intimately associated that of Mr. George Brown, for many years a prominent journalist in Upper Canada, and the leader of the Radical section of the Liberal party. The pertinacity with which he pressed the claims of the upper province to larger representation in the Canadian legislature; and the violence with which his newspaper *The Globe* attacked the institutions of French Canada, more than once excited sectional passion to a high pitch, and rendered government almost impossible. But by his readiness at last to coöperate with Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier in the bringing about of Confederation, Mr. Brown showed he had statesmanlike conceptions of his duty at a national crisis, and placed his name in the front rank of the eminent public men who have done so much for Canada in the Victorian Era.

Happily for the present Dominion, there were also at the head of affairs in the maritime provinces men of large national ideas and signal ability; and while mistakes were undoubtedly made in the case of Nova Scotia, where the majority of the people for a time resented the haste with which their province was forced into the Union of 1867, yet one may now hesitate to dwell on the errors of judgment of those exciting times, thirty-two years ago, and may well urge that it might have been a far greater mistake had the Unionists of Nova Scotia delayed in seizing the opportunity of consolidating the provinces and preventing the perils to which they were exposed by remaining isolated from each other, at a time when they were subject to Fenian raids and the unfriendliness of the dominant party in the United States.

Of the distinguished men who brought about Confederation at so critical a period in Canadian affairs, nearly all have joined the ranks of the Great Majority. Sir Charles Tupper, who has filled many important positions in the councils of his country, and was premier of Nova Scotia from 1864 to 1867, and Sir Oliver Mowat, so long the discreet Premier of Ontario, still remain in active political life. Sir Hector Langevin, Senators Dickey and A. A. Macdonald, Hon. Peter Mitchell, and Hon. William McDougall complete the list of the survivors of the Quebec Convention of 1864.[1] The encouraging success, which has so far attended

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[1] The following are the names of the statesmen who took part in the Quebec convention:

CANADA.—Hon. Sir Etienne Taché, M.L.C., Premier; Hon. John A. Macdonald, M.P.P., Attorney-General of Upper Canada; Hon. Geo. Etienne Cartier, M.P.P., Attorney-General of Lower Canada; Hon. Geo. Brown, M.P.P., President of Executhe operation of Confederation, entitles the actors of 1864–67 to a memorable place in the annals of the reign.

XV.

In this review it has been my object to refer only to those salient features of the development of Canada, and to point out how much reason Canadians have for congratulating themselves on the events of the last sixty years—a period contemporaneous with the reign of the present Queen—in which they have laid the foundations of their happiness and prosperity as one of the great communities which make up the empire. It is not within the scope of this paper to point out the shadows that may obscure the panorama as it unfolds itself before us. It would be strange if, in the government of a country like Canada, many mistakes had not been made, or if there were not many difficulties in store for the youthful confederation. Dr. Goldwin Smith, from time to time, has been disposed to perform the part of the Greek Chorus to the gloomy predictions of the enemies and lukewarm friends of the confederation, but Canadians will hardly allow themselves to be influenced by purely pessimistic utterances in the face of the difficulties that they have hitherto so successfully encountered, and of the courage and hopes that animate them for the future. For a century and a half the French Canadians fought and bled for their country; they had to face famine and savages, war with the British, and, what was worse, the neglect and indifference of the parent state at the most critical period of their history; but since the conquest they have built up a large community by the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, and even the superior energy and enter-

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tive Council; Hon. Alex. T. Galt, M.P.P., Finance Minister; Hon. Alexander Campbell, M.L.C., Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. Jean C. Chapais, M.L.C., Commissioner of Public Works; Hon. Thos. D'Arcy McGee, M.P.P., Minister of Agriculture; Hon. Hector L. Langevin, Solicitor-General for Lower Canada; Hon. W. McDougall, M.P.P., Provincial Secretary; Hon. Jas. Cockburn, M.P.P., Solicitor-General for Upper Canada; Hon. Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Hon. Chas. Tupper, M.P.P., Provincial Secretary and Premier; Hon. Wm. A. Henry, M.P.P., Attorney-General; Hon. Robert B. Dickey, M.L.C.; Hon. Adams G. Archibald, M.P.P., Hon. Jonathan McCully, M.L.C.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—Hon. Samuel L. Tilley, M.P.P., Provincial Secretary and Premier; Hon. Peter Mitchell, M.L.C.; Hon. Chas. Fisher, M.P.P.; Hon. W. H. Steeves, M.L.C.; Hon. John Hamilton Gray, M.P.P,; Hon. Edward B. Chandler, M.L.C.; Hon. John M. Johnson, M.P.P., Attorney-General.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—Hon. John Hamilton Gray, M.P.P., Premier; Hon. George Coles, M.P.P.; Hon. Thomas Heath Haviland, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward Palmer, M.P.P., Attorney-General; Hon. Andrew Archibald Macdonald, M.L.C.; Hon. Edward Whelan, M.L.C.; Hon. H. Pope, M.P.P., Provincial Secretary.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Hon. Frederick B. T. Carter, M.P.P., Speaker of the House of Assembly; Hon. Ambrose Shea, M.P.P.

prise of the English Canadians have not prevented them from creating a province which is essentially French Canadian, and affords many evidences of prosperity due to the hardihood of the race that inhabits it. A century and more has passed since the English-speaking people sought their fortunes in the West or on the shores of the Atlantic. For years many of these hardy pioneers led toilsome lives—lives of solitude, among the great forests that overshadowed the whole country; but year by year the darkness of the woods was brightened by bursts of sunlight, as the axe opened up new centres of settlement and echoed the progress of the advanced guards of civilization. Years of hardship and struggle ensued and political difficulties followed to add to individual trials, but the people were courageous and industrious and soon surmounted the obstacles of early times. The material development went hand in hand with the political progress of the country. The magnificent heritage which the people of Canada now own is the result of unremitting toil and never-failing patience and, summing up the achievements of the past, they may well look forward with hopefulness to the future, for of them it may be truly said,

> " Men the workers ever reaping something new ;
> That which they have done but earnest of the things that they will do."

What is to be the next great step in the political career of Canada is a question which frequently occurs to imperial as well as colonial statesmen. One thing is quite certain that the movement is towards the placing of the relations between the parent state and its great dependency on a basis which will strengthen the empire and at the same time give Canada even a higher position in the councils of the imperial state.

The federation of the empire in the full sense of the term may be considered by some practical politicians as a mere political phantasm, never likely to come out in a tangible form from the clouds where it is now concealed ; and yet who can doubt that out of the grand conception, which first originated in the brain of Franklin and Otis, statesmen may yet evolve some scheme that will render the empire secure from the dangers which arise from continual isolation, and from the growth of peculiar and distinct interests, that naturally result from the geographical situation of communities so widely separated from each other throughout the world ?

At the Ottawa Conference of 1894, when delegates from Australasia and South Africa discussed with Canadian representatives questions affecting the Empire at large, not a word was said on the subject of Imperial federation. Imperial defence was not even considered ; but, despite this studied neglect of a scheme which, more than once, had been eloquently urged by several representatives—especially by Mr. Foster, then Finance Minister of Canada—it is probable that this convention would never have met were it not for the efforts of enthusiastic supporters of the movement for some years back to create a deeper interest in colonial affairs and Imperial connection. At the Conference commercial questions absorbed the attention of the delegates, and perhaps some historical students may recall the fact that considerations of trade and finance led to the famous convention that created "a more "perfect union" in 1787 for the American States previously bound together by a loose confederation.

Some strong reasons may be urged by not a few persons, from an Imperial point of view, for giving Imperial assistance to such practical propositions as a fast Atlantic and Pacific steam service between Canada, Australasia, and Great Britain—soon to be realized between Canada and the parent State—and the laying of a cable, "free from all foreign con-"trol" between the Dominion and Australasia. One can see in the resolutions of the Conference advocating larger and freer commercial relations between the colonial dependencies, as well as the removal of any restraints that may be imposed by Imperial treaties on the right of Canada and other colonies to regulate their tariffs as they deem most expedient, some important evidence of the growing desire among colonial statesmen to give greater unity to the colonial empire. The Conference also urged on English statesmen the necessity of reconsidering the position they have assumed since the days of Cobden and Peel, and adopting a policy which would give a preference to colonial products in the markets of Great Britain, and create an Imperial Zollverein; but while no practical step has been taken in this direction by the Imperial Ministry or Parliament since the passing of the resolution yet one sees in the speeches of prominent British public men as well as in the strong desire evinced by Mr. Laurier and his Ministerial colleagues to draw closer to the imperial state, the most encouraging sign for the unity and integrity of the empire at large.

Indeed it is obvious that while Canadians may differ as to methods of action, neither government nor opposition have any doubts as to the advisability of strengthening the connection between the Dominion and the Mother Country. This is the paramount question of the day among all classes—among people and statesmen—and practical results of great significance must be evolved ere long.[1]

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[1] Since this paper was read before the Royal Society of Canada, the Diamond Jubilee, which showed so powerful sentiment of attachment to the Crown and Empire, has already brought forth a practical result by the "denunciation" of the imperial treaties with Germany and Belgium, which for some years past have evoked the hostility of the Canadian government and parliament as entirely at variance with the commercial freedom of the Dominion and her rights, expressed or implied by the British North America Act of Union, and as interposing serious obstacles to more intimate commercial relations with the parent state. This action on the part of the imperial government, in response to the bold and decisive tariff

XVI.

Only a few words in conclusion. Looking at the history of the Canadian dependency for sixty years, one can see in all the phases of its political development there has ever run "an increasing purpose." The statesmen of England and her colonies have, perhaps, builded better than they knew. The destiny that shapes our ends, "rough-hew them how we will," has been carrying the empire in a direction beyond the ken and conception of probably the most sanguine and practical minds. When we consider that the union of the two Canadas was followed in about a quarter of a century by the federation of all the provinces, and that this great measure has been also supplemented, after a lapse of thirty years, by a conference of delegates from the most distant colonial possessions, we may well believe that the thoughts of men are indeed widened throughout England and her dependencies "by the process of the suns," and that powerful current of human thought and progress which is everywhere making itself felt is carrying forward the Empire, not into an unknown sea of doubt and peril, where it may split into many fragments, but into a haven where it may rest in the tranquil waters of peace and security.

As long as the respective members of the Federation observe faithfully the principles on which it necessarily rests—perfect equality among all its sections, a due consideration for local rights, a deep Imperial as well as Canadian sentiment whenever the interests of the whole Federation is at stake—the people of this Dominion need not fear failure in their efforts to accomplish the great work in which they have been so long engaged. Full of that confidence that the history of the past should give them, and of that energy and courage which are their natural heritage, and which have already achieved the most satisfactory results in the face of difficulties which, sixty years ago, would have seemed insurmountable; stimulated by their close neighbourhood to a nation with whom they have always shown a desire to cultivate such relations as are compatible with their dignity, their security, and their self-interest as a separate and distinct community; adhering closely to those principles of government which are best calculated to give moral as well as political strength;

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policy of the present Canadian ministry, is not merely another step in that evolution of events which have placed Canada in the position of a semi-independent power in the course of thirty years; but, judged by the spirit that has animated both Canadian and English statesmen in bringing it about, it is a part of that movement which seems irresistibly forcing the parent state and her greatest dependency to a closer alliance, commercial and defensive, that will make the empire impregnable. It is a forerunner, many Canadians hope, of a scheme of imperial federation which not long since seemed chimerical to those who cannot look beyond the interests of mere sections of the empire. Mr. Chamberlain has certainly not disappointed his friends who have always believed that he would make his position of administrator of colonial affairs a position of value to the empire at large.

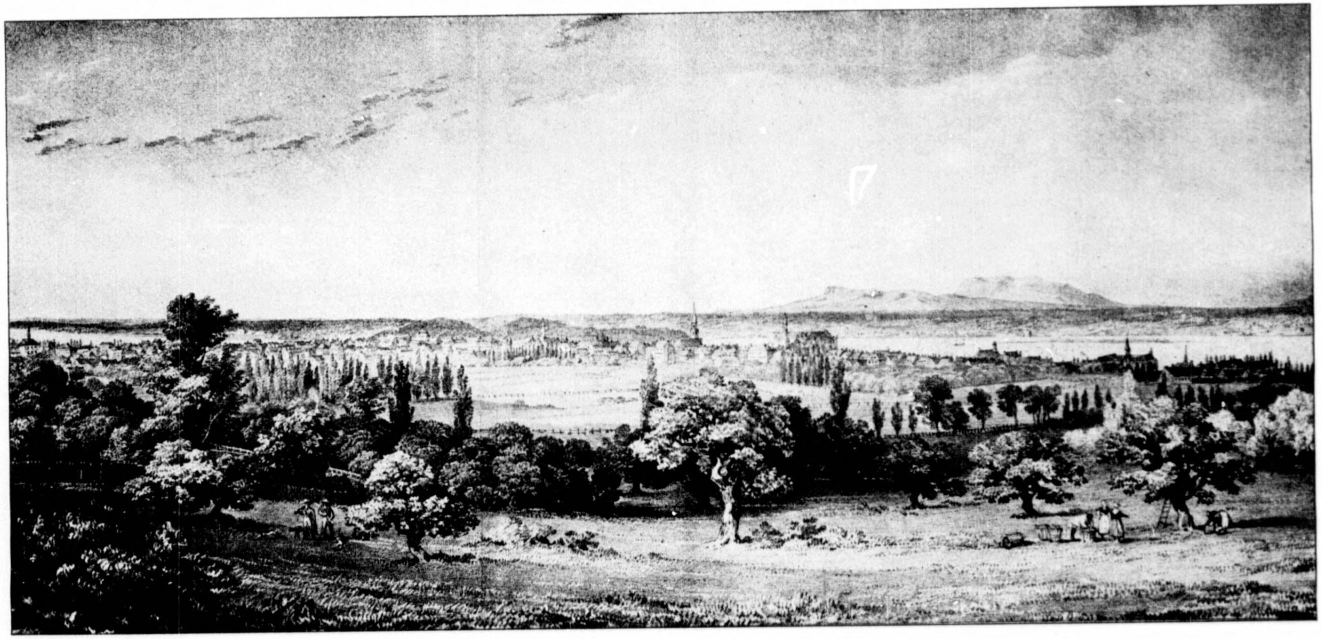
determined to put down corruption in whatever form it may show itself, and to cultivate a sound public opinion, Canadians may tranquilly, patiently, and determinedly face the problem of the future.

When Canadians review the trials and struggles of the past in the interesting story of their country, they may well gain from them lessons of confidence for the future, and cannot forget to pay a tribute to the men who laid the foundations of these communities, still on the threshold of their development, and on whom the great burden fell ; to the French Canadians who, amid toil and privation, amid war and famine, built up a province which they had made their own by their patience and industry, and who should, differ as we may from them, evoke our respect for their fidelity to the institutions of their origin, and for their appreciation of the advantages of English self-government, and for their coöperation in all great measures essential to the unity of the Federation ; to the Loyalists of last century who left their homes for the sake of "king and country" and laid the foundations of prosperous and loyal English communities by the sea and by the great lakes, and whose descendants have ever stood true to the principles of the institutions which have made England free and great; to the unknown body of Pioneers, some of whose names, perhaps, still linger on a headland or river, or on a neglected gravestone, who brought the sunlight year by year to the dense forests, and built up by their industry the large and thriving provinces of the Dominion ; to the Statesmen who laid deep and firm, beneath the political structure of this Federation, those principles of self-government which give harmony to the constitutional system and bring out the best qualities of an intelligent people. And above all, let Canadians of all classes and nationalities unite with heart and soul, in this remarkable month of this remarkable year, to pay a just tribute to the Great Queen, during whose beneficent reign Canadians have received such large political privileges, and whose virtues as a woman and sovereign have placed her in the estimation of her subjects in every part of the Empire, on an eminence of love and respect which none of her royal predecessors, not even "Good Queen Bess," have ever been able to reach in the brightest eras of English history.

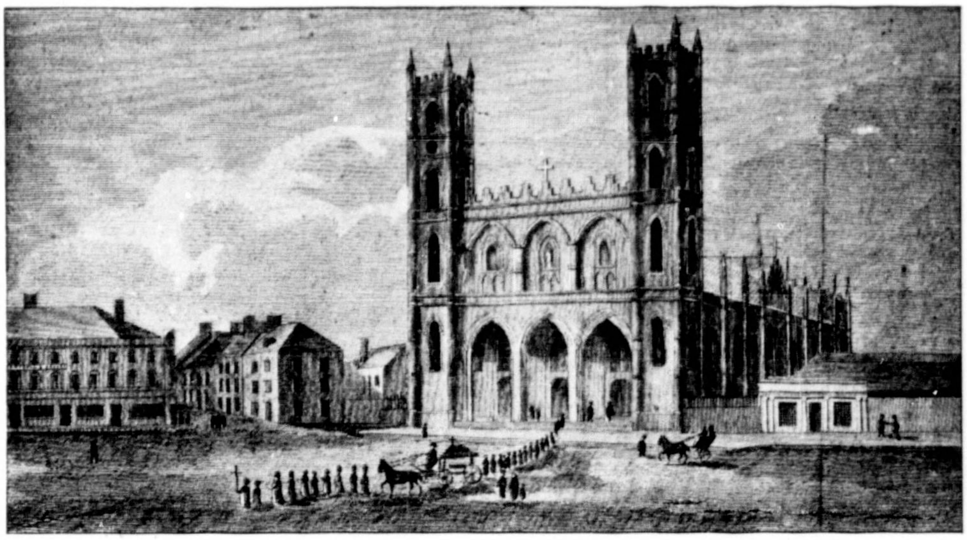
ILLUSTRATIONS AT END OF TEXT.

ILLUSTRATIONS

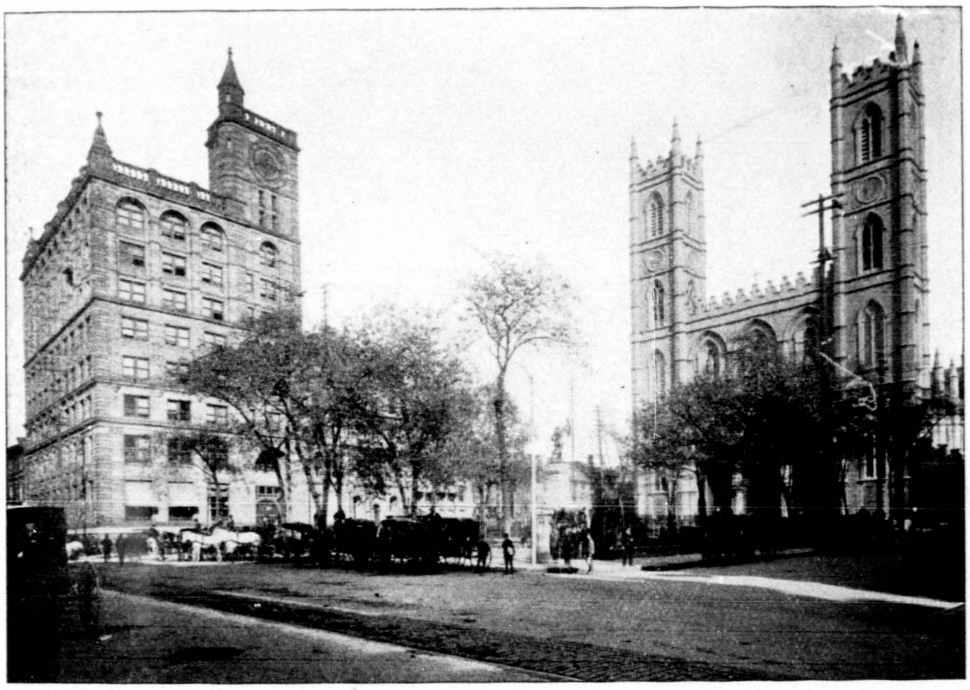
CANADA, 1837-1897



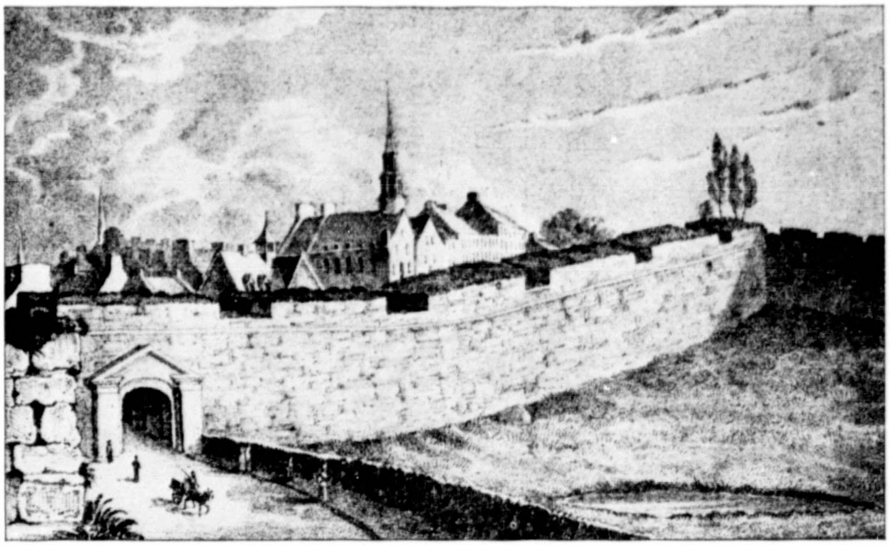
1. MONTREAL IN 1832.—*From Bouchette's Canada.*



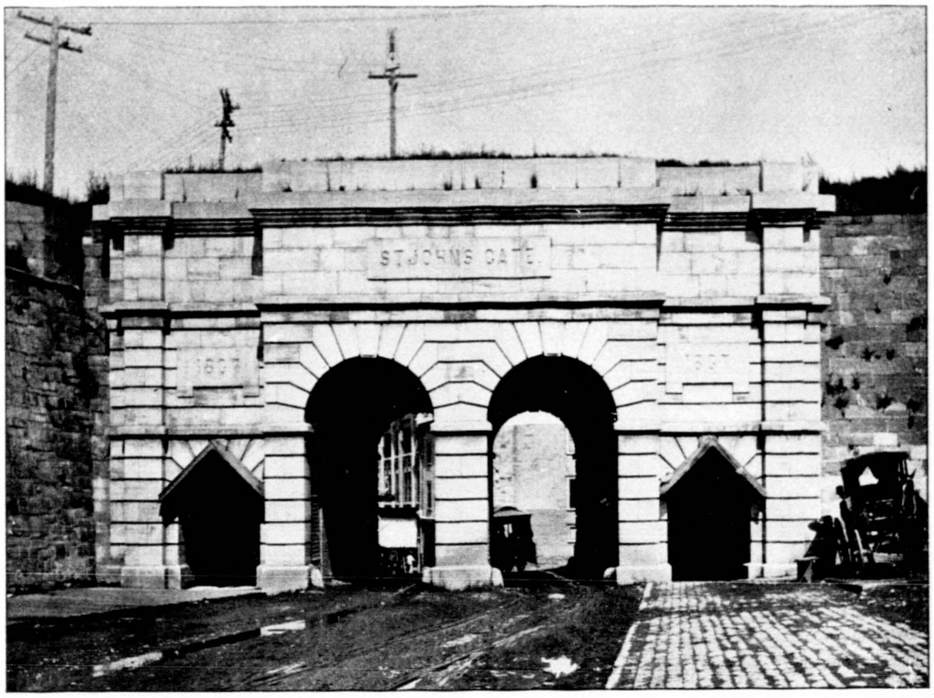
2. PLACE D'ARMES AND NOTRE DAME CHURCH, MONTREAL, 1837.
From Bosworth's Hochelaga Depicta.



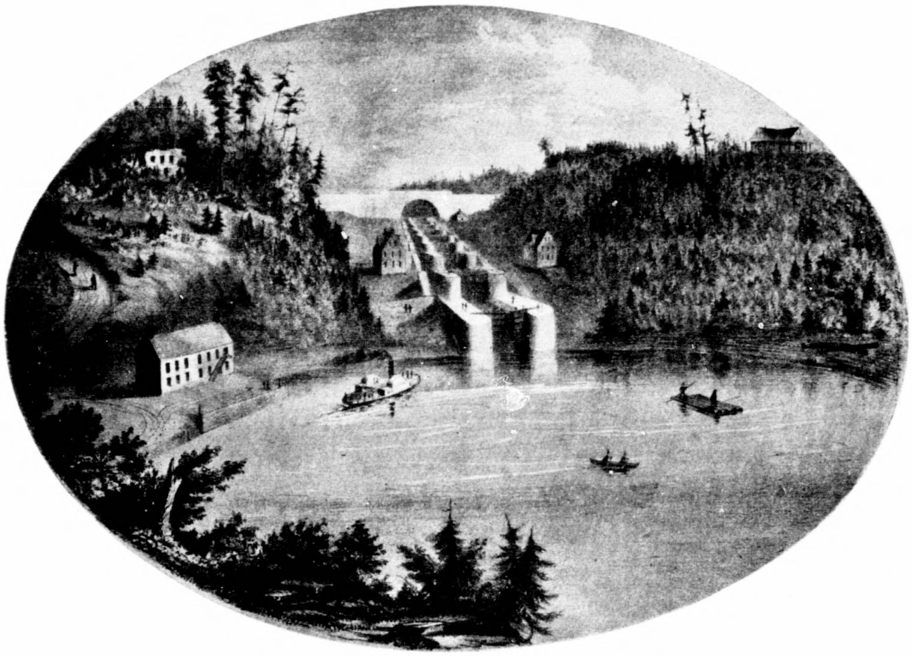
3. PLACE D'ARMES, MONTREAL, 1897.



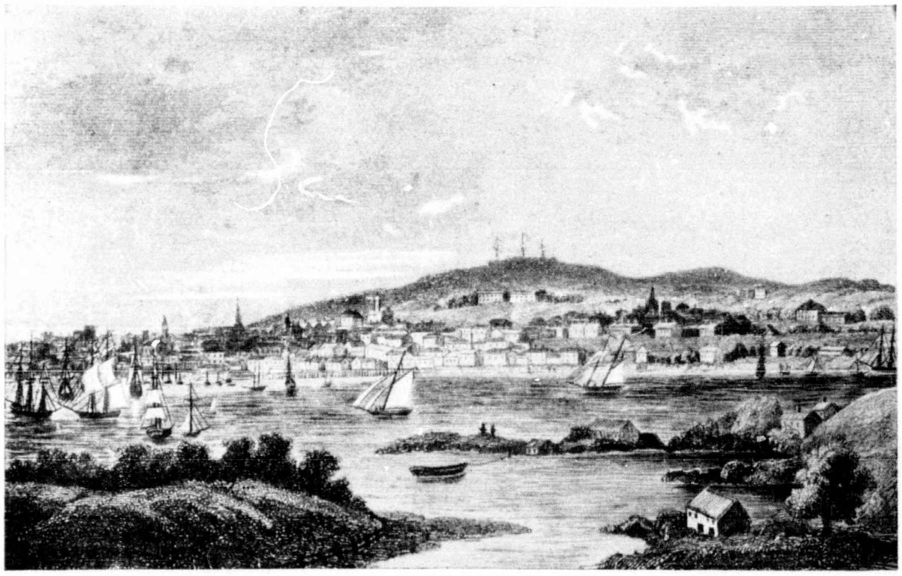
4. OLD ST. JOHN'S GATE.—*From Hawkins's Pictures of Quebec*, 1834.



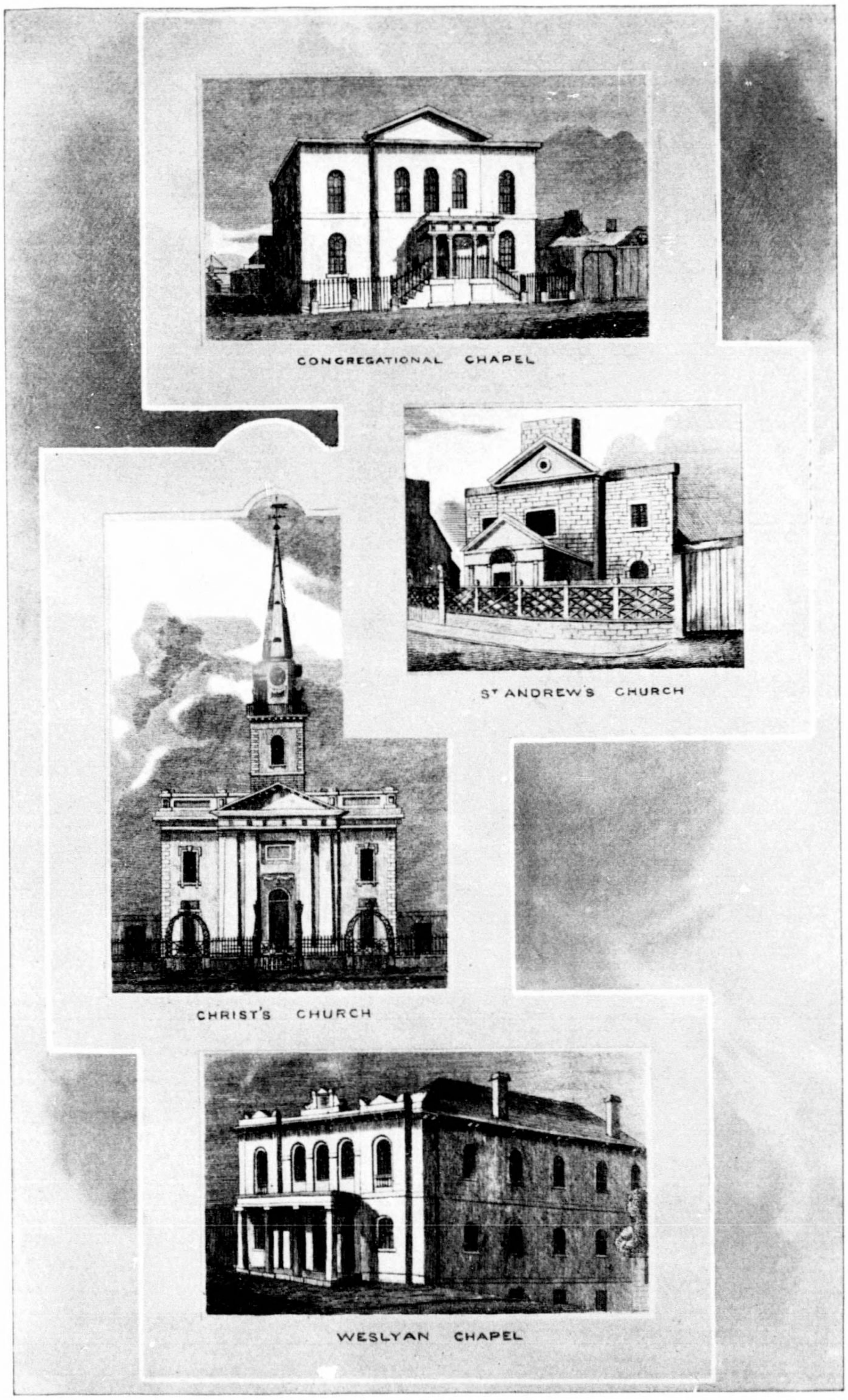
5. ST. JOHN'S GATE, QUEBEC, 1897.



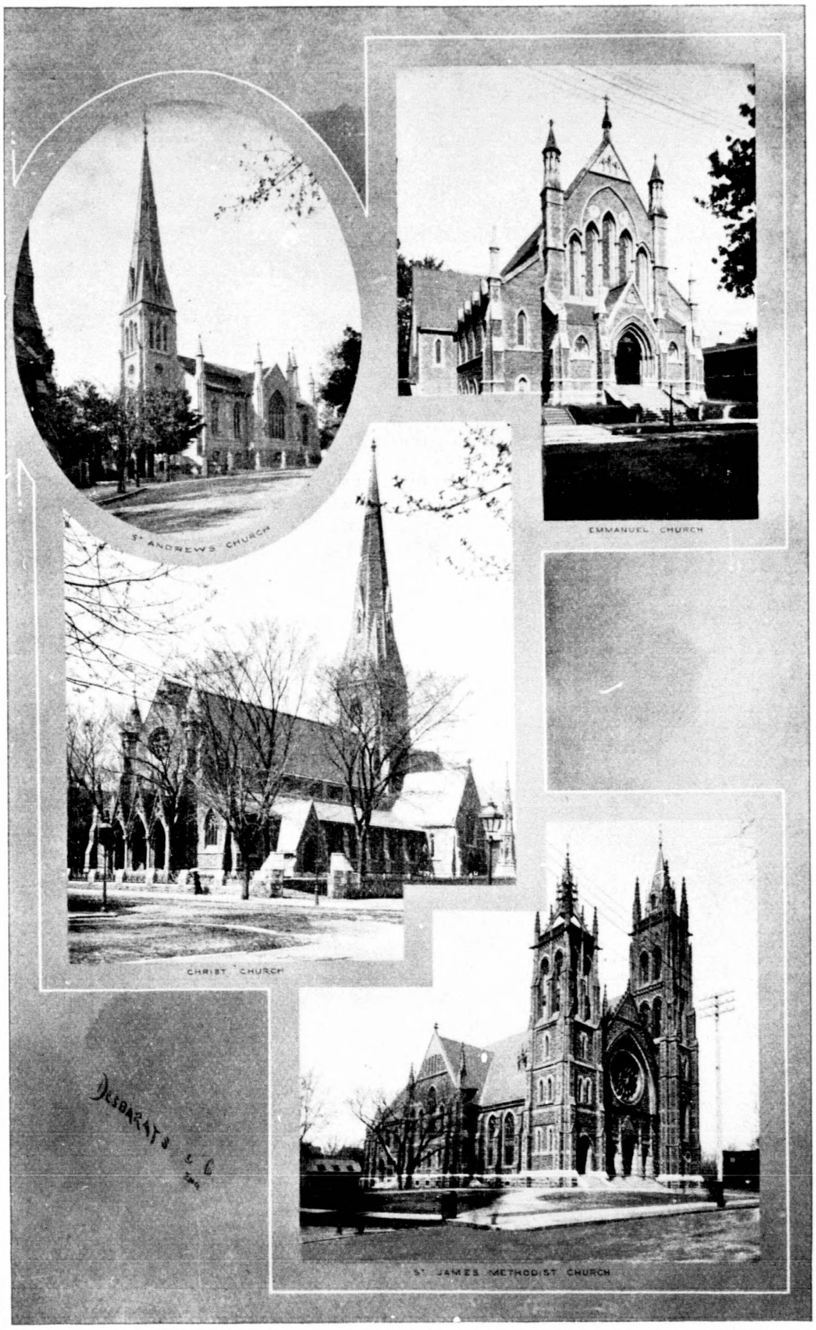
6 VIEW OF ENTRANCE OF RIDEAU CANAL, 1837.
PARLIAMENT BUILDING NOW STANDS ON HEIGHT ON RIGHT.



7. HALIFAX IN 1837.—*From Martin's British North America.*



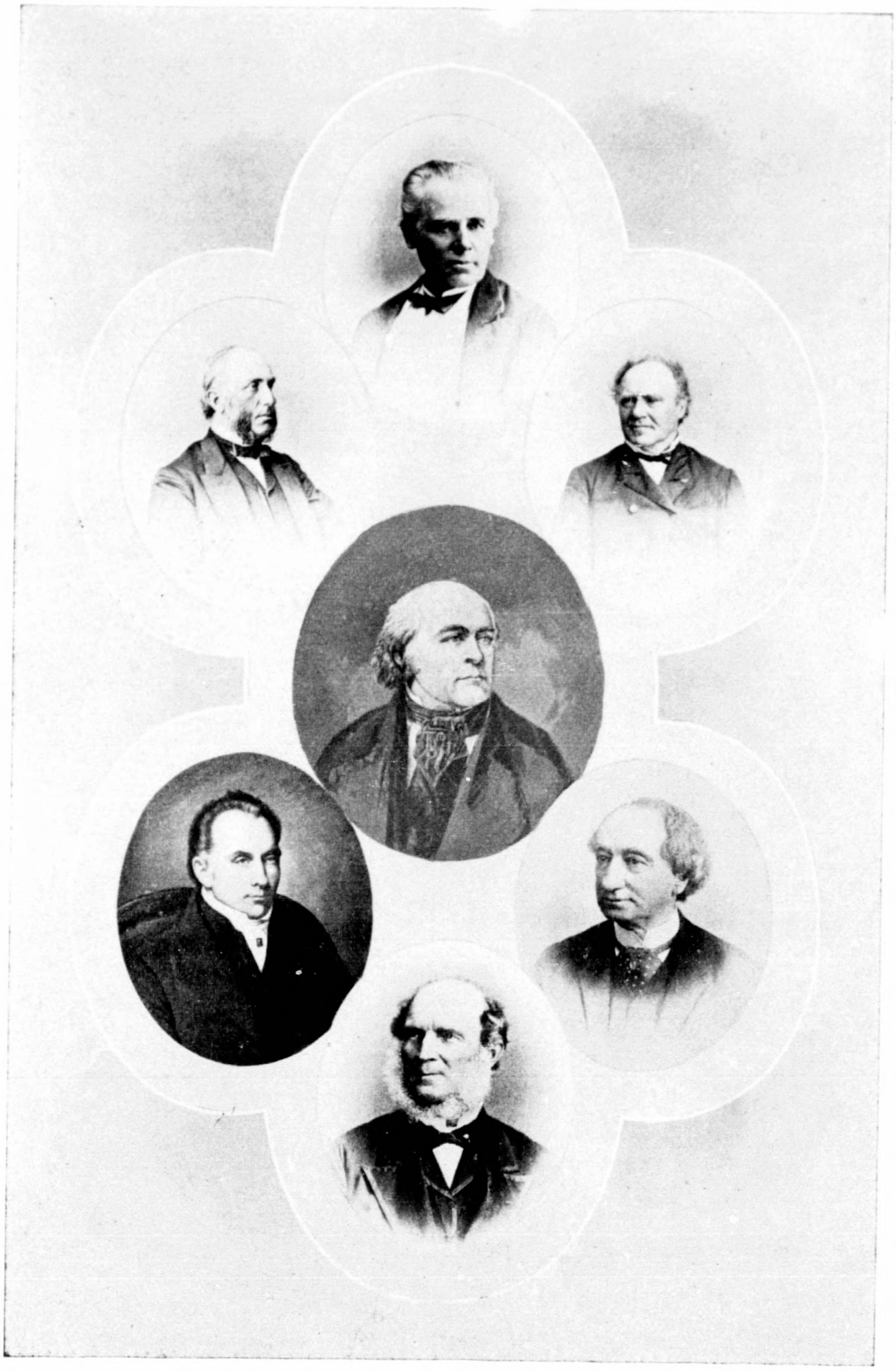
8. SOME MONTREAL CHURCHES IN 1838.—*From Bosworth's Hochelaga Depicta.*



9. SOME MONTREAL CHURCHES, 1897.

10. COUNTRY SCHOOL HOUSE IN 1837.—*From Eighty Years Progress of B. N. A., Toronto,* 1863.

11. HAMILTON (ONT.) PUBLIC SCHOOL, 1897.—*From Bourinot's "How Canada is Governed."*

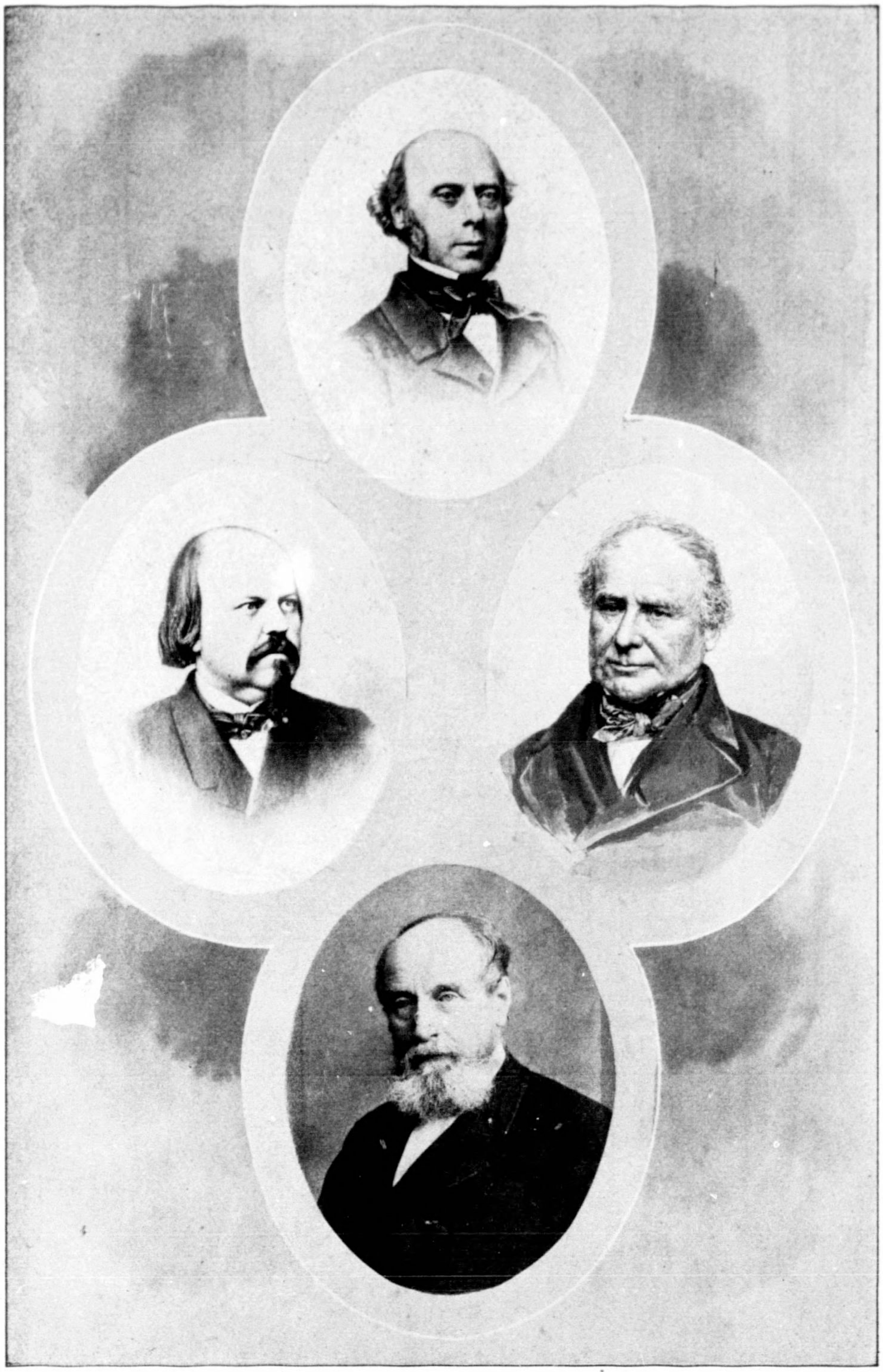


12.

HON. G. BROWN.
HON. R. BALDWIN.

SIR G. E. CARTIER.
LORD ELGIN.
HON. L. A. WILMOT.

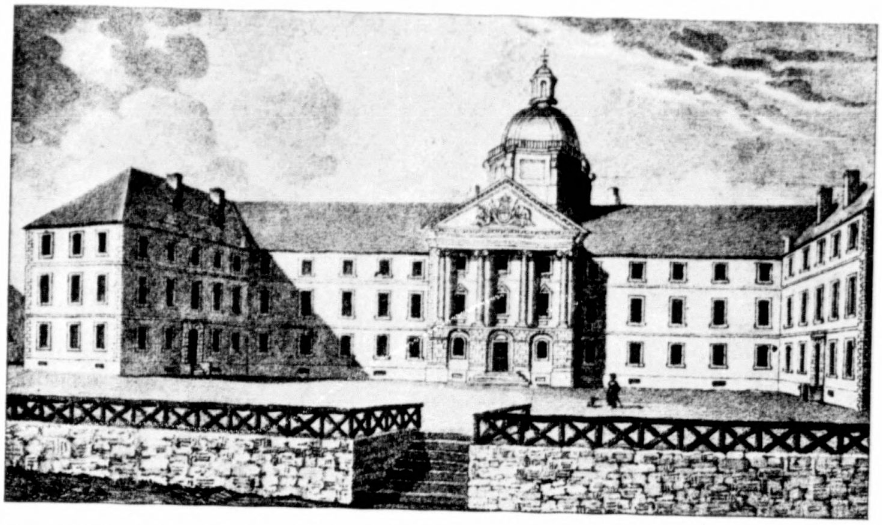
HON. J. HOWE.
SIR J. A. MACDONALD.



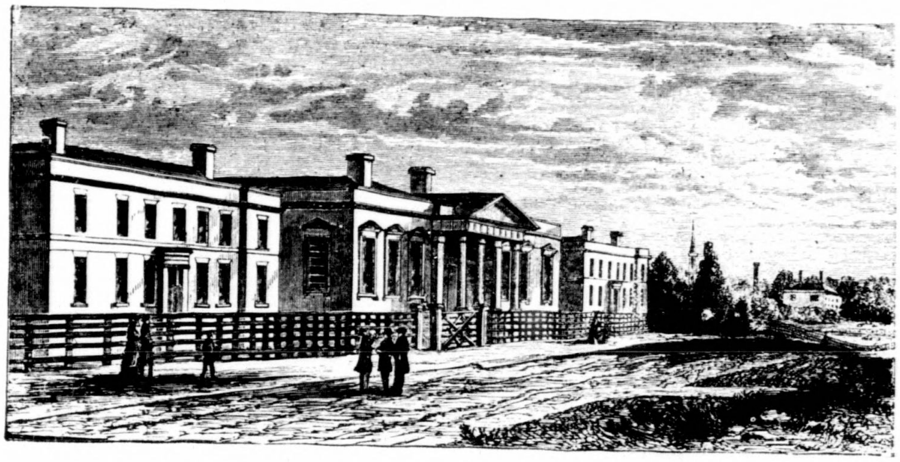
13. F.-X. GARNEAU.

O. CRÉMAZIE. JUDGE HALIBURTON.

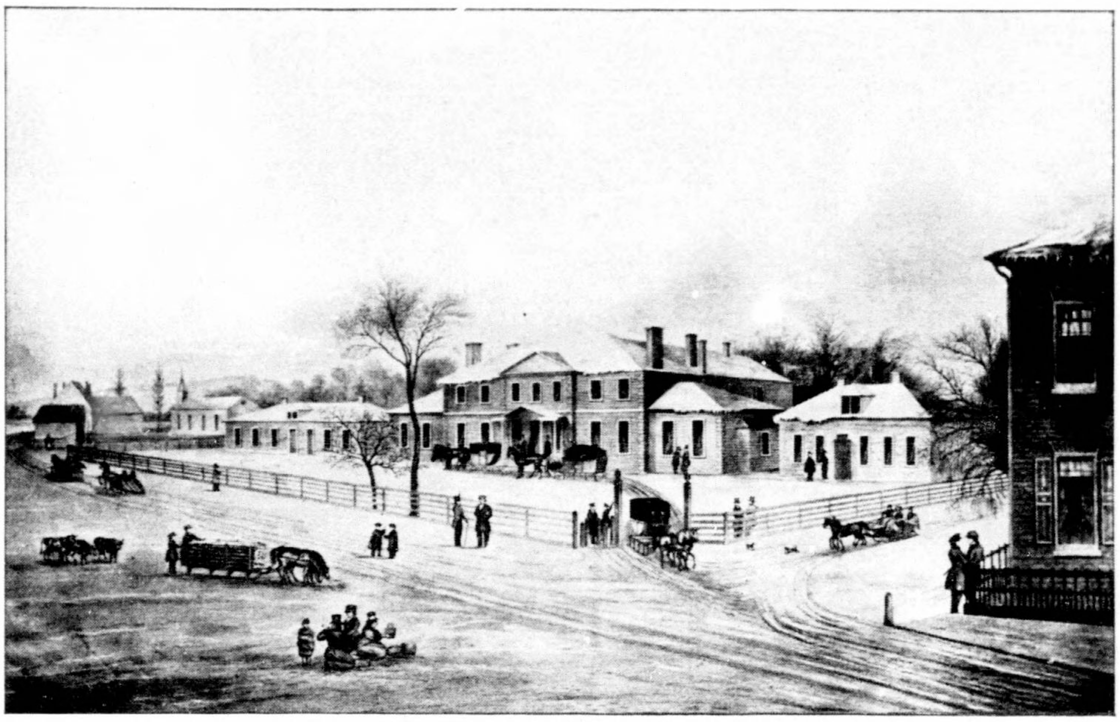
SIR J. W. DAWSON.



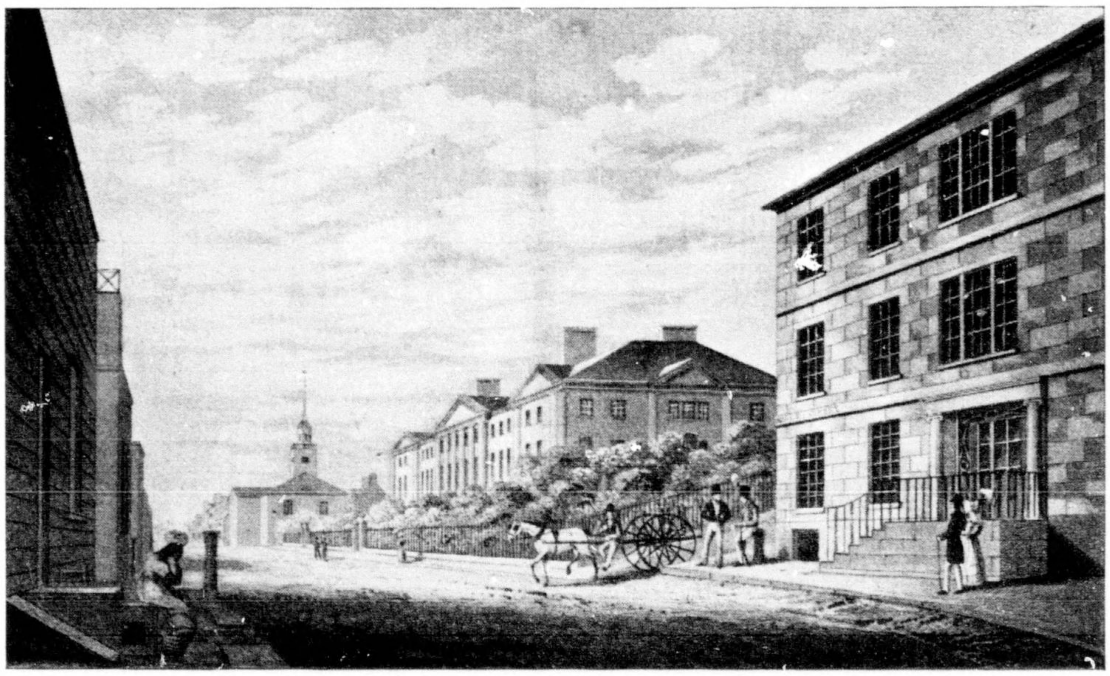
14. PARLIAMENT HOUSE OF LOWER CANADA, 1839.—*From Hawkins's Pictures of Quebec.*



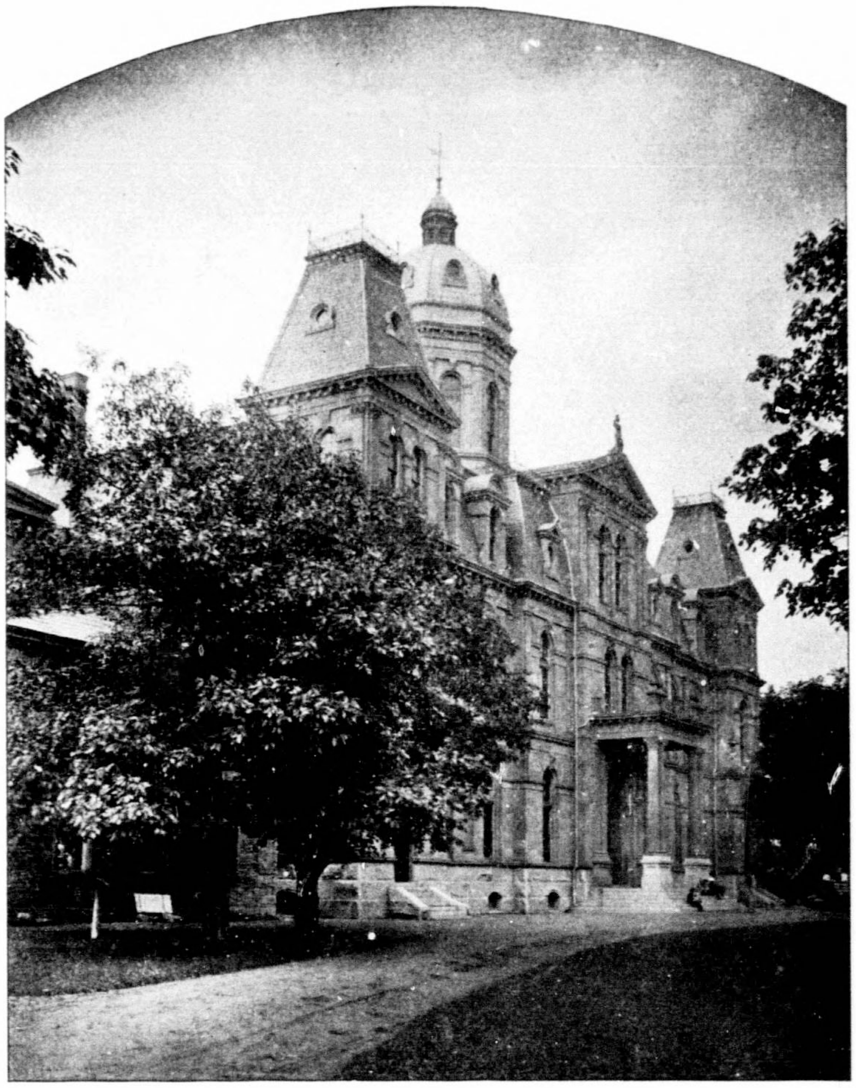
15. PARLIAMENT HOUSE OF UPPER CANADA, 1837.



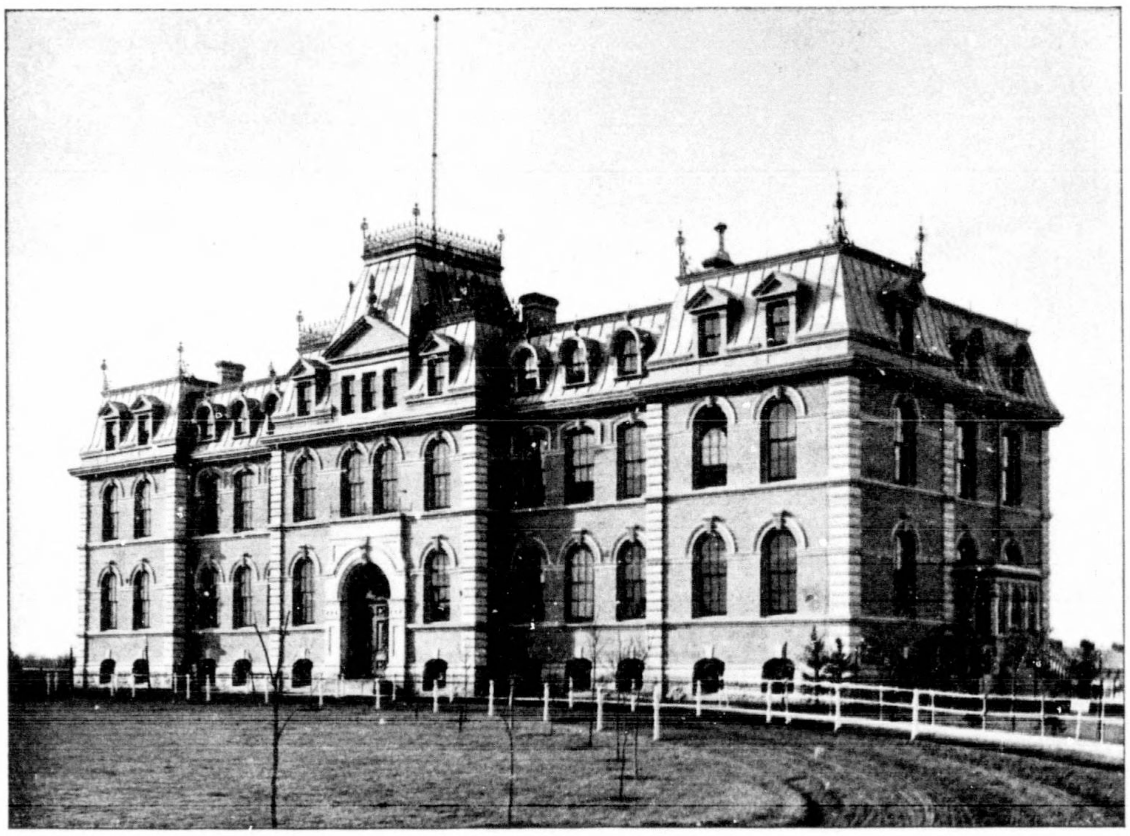
16. GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, FREDERICTON, 1837.—*From an old print.*



17. PROVINCE HOUSE, HALIFAX, 1837-1897.—*From McGregor's British America*, 1839.

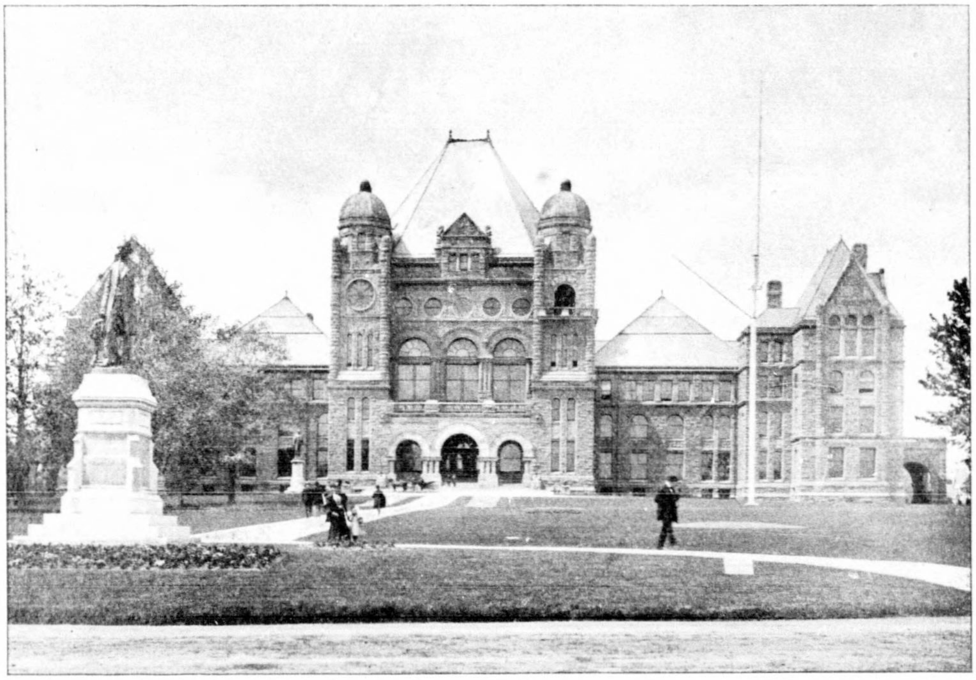


18. GOVERNMENT BUILDING, FREDERICTON, 1897.

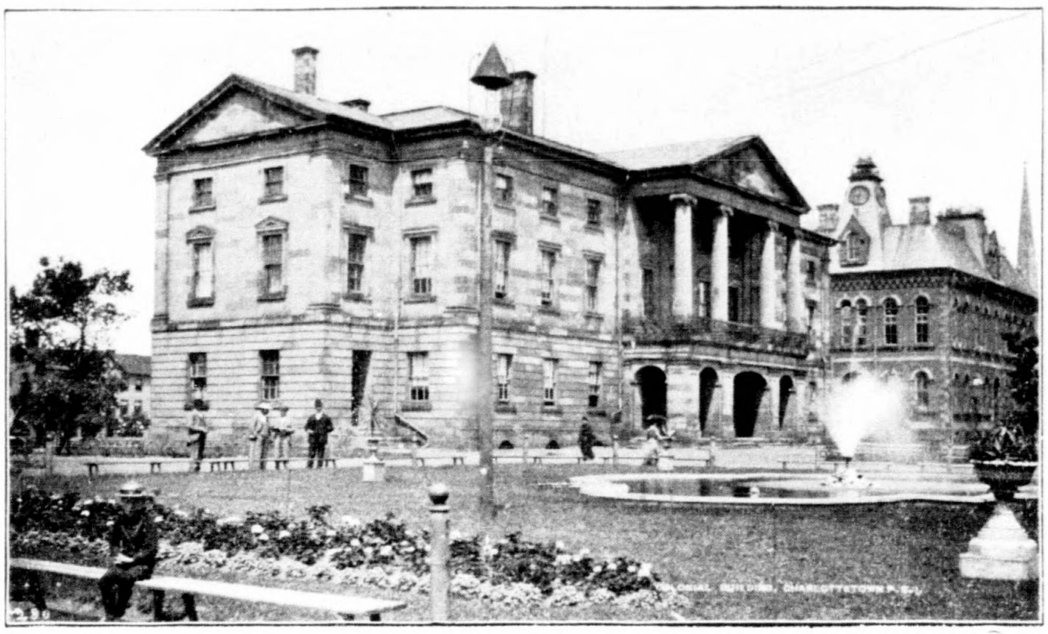


19. MANITOBA GOVERNMENT BUILDING, WINNIPEG, 1897.

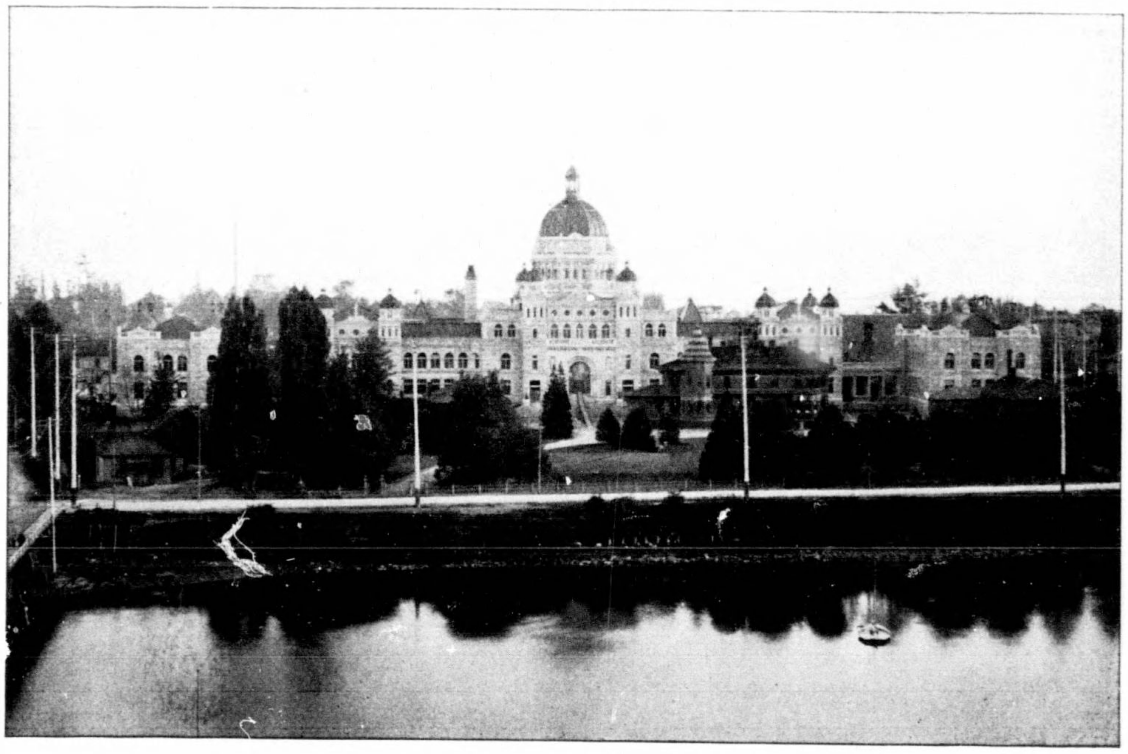
20. QUEBEC GOVERNMENT BUILDING, 1897.



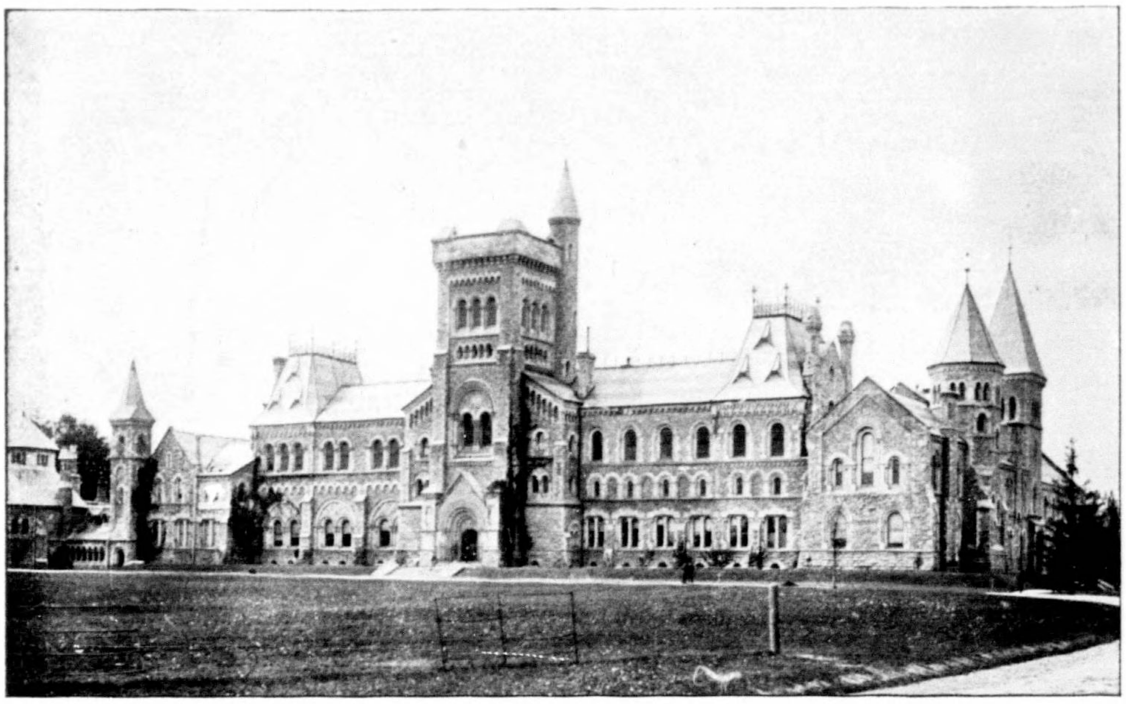
21. ONTARIO GOVERNMENT BUILDING, TORONTO, 1897.



22. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, 1897.

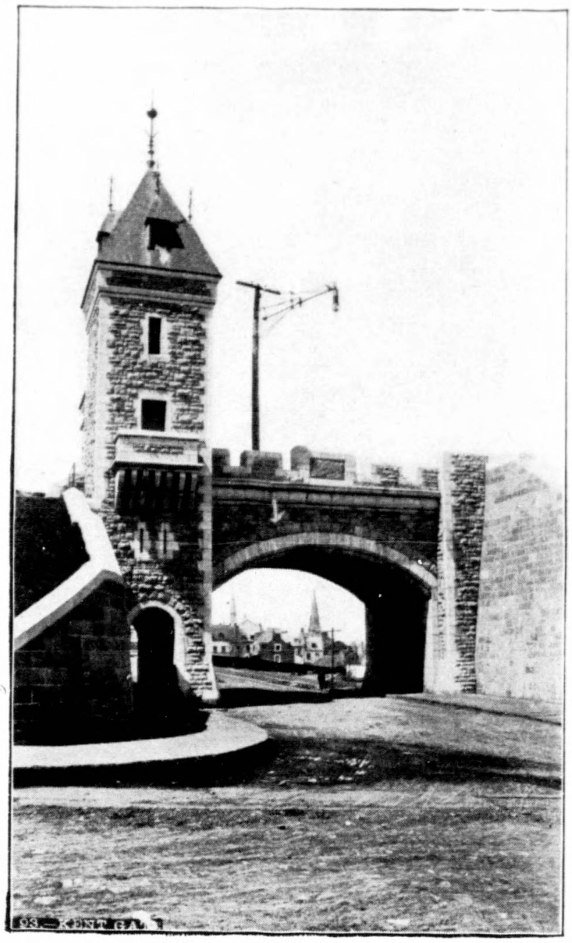


23. BRITISH COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS AT VICTORIA, 1897.

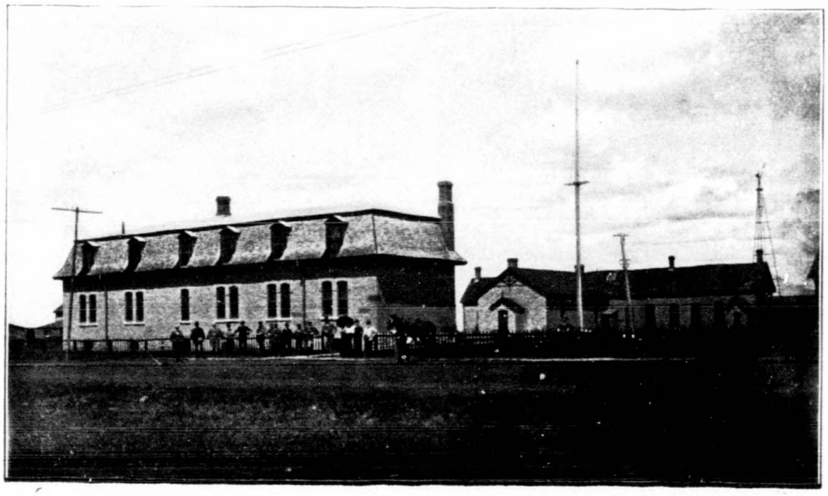


24. TORONTO UNIVERSITY—MAIN BUILDING, 1897.

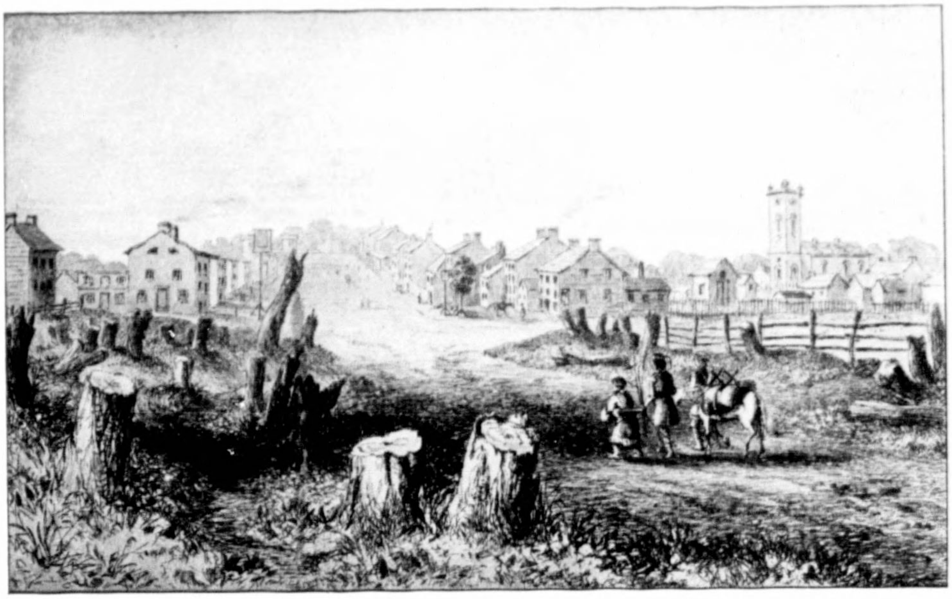
25. PARLIAMENT HOUSE OF CANADA AT OTTAWA.



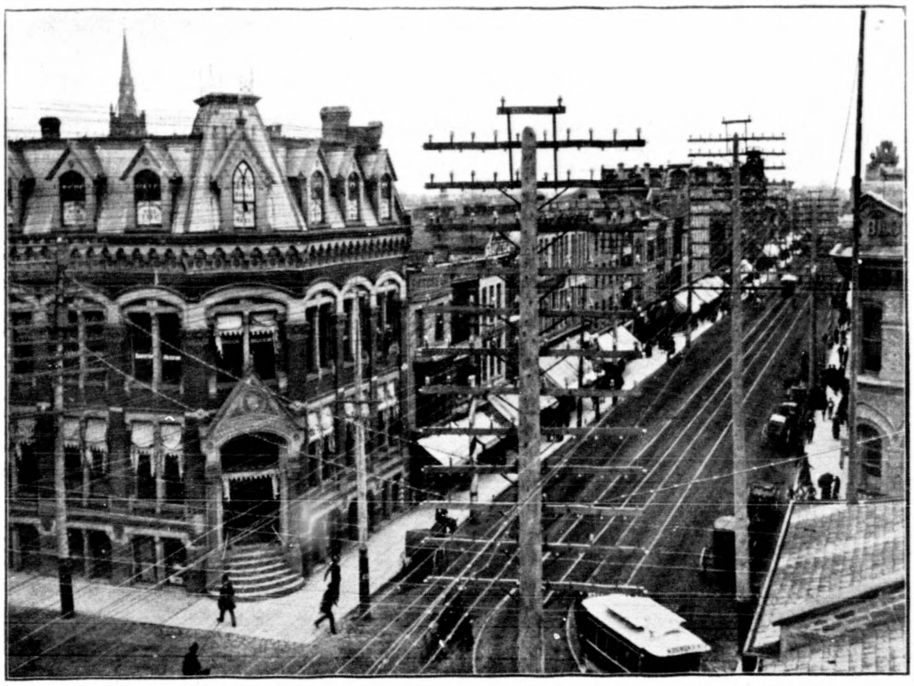
26. KENT GATE, QUEBEC.—ERECTED DURING THE REIGN OF THE QUEEN.



27. GOVERNMENT BUILDING, REGINA, N.W.T.



28. LONDON, UPPER CANADA, 1848.—*From Alexander's "L'Acadie."*



29. VIEW OF MAIN STREET, LONDON, 1897.

30. WINNIPEG IN 1870.—*From A. J. Russell's Hudson's Bay and N.W.T.*

31. VIEW OF MAIN STREET IN WINNIPEG, 1897.

32.

DUNCAN C. SCOTT. PAULINE JOHNSON. A. LAMPMAN.

L. FRÉCHETTE. ETHELWYN WETHERALD. GILBERT PARKER.

BLISS CARMAN. PROFESSOR ROBERTS. W. W. CAMPBELL.

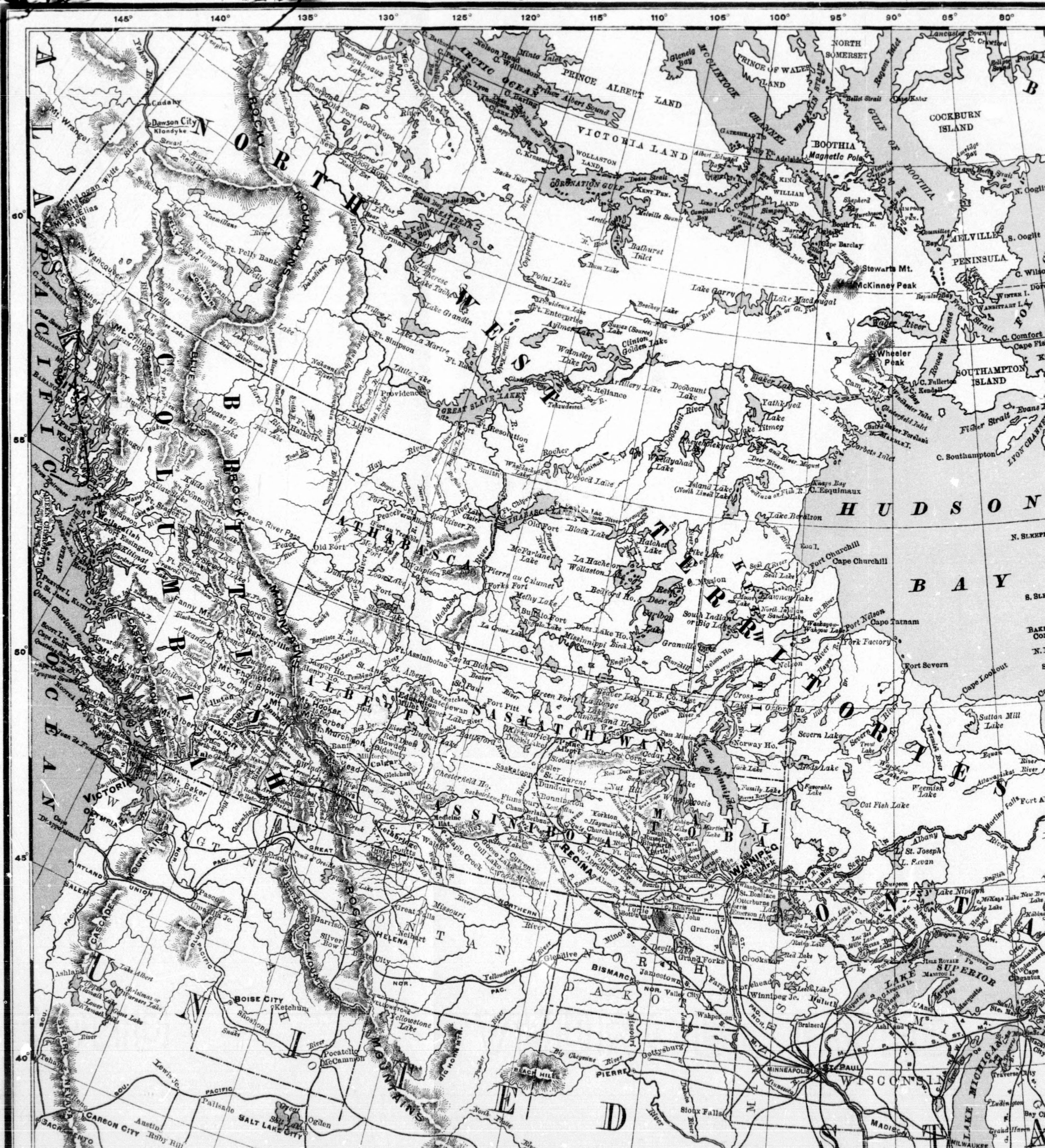
33.

SIR W. LAURIER.

SIR O. MOWAT.

SIR R. CARTWRIGHT.

SIR C. TUPPER.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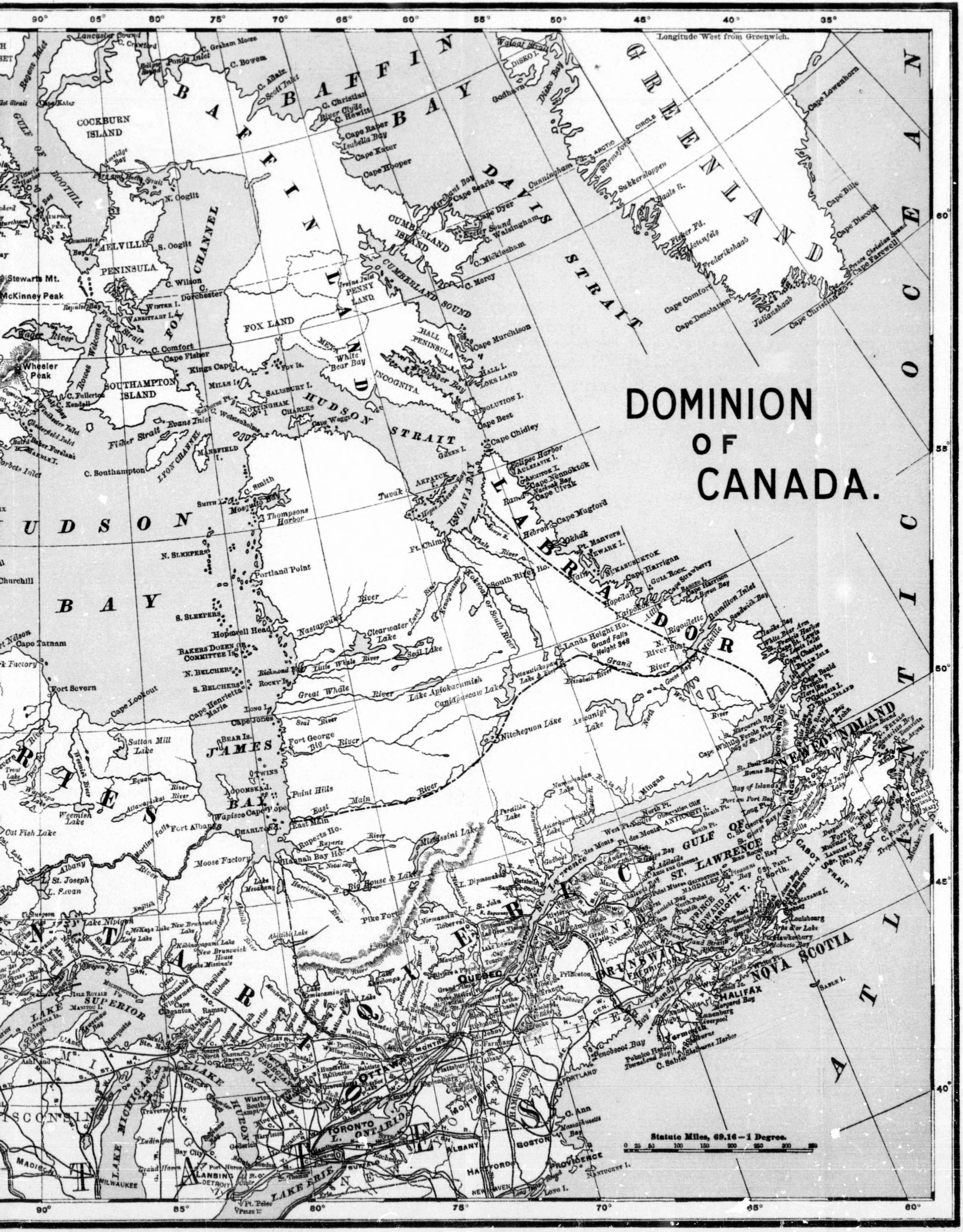
ALASKA
PACIFIC OCEAN
NORTH WEST TERRITORIES
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
ATHABASCA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
ASSINIBOIA
MANITOBA
KEEWATIN
ONTARIO
HUDSON BAY
UNITED STATES
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
WISCONSIN
WASHINGTON
ARCTIC OCEAN
PRINCE ALBERT LAND
VICTORIA LAND
WOLLASTON LAND
PRINCE OF WALES LAND
NORTH SOMERSET
BOOTHIA
Magnetic Pole
COCKBURN ISLAND
KING WILLIAM LAND
MELVILLE PENINSULA
SOUTHAMPTON ISLAND
CORONATION GULF
M'CLINTOCK CHANNEL
GULF OF BOOTHIA
Prince Albert Sound
Minto Inlet
Nelson Head
C. Wollaston
C. Bathurst
C. Parry
C. Lyon
C. Krusenstern
Dease Strait
Kent Pen.
Melville Sound
Bathurst Inlet
Arctic Sound
Back River
Lake Garry
Lake Macdougal
Beechey Lake
Point Lake
Aylmer Lake
Clinton Golden Lake
Lake Gr andin
Ft. Enterprise
Ft. Providence
Ft. Simpson
Ft. Rae
Ft. Norman
Ft. Good Hope
Old Fort Good Hope
GREAT BEAR LAKE
GREAT SLAVE LAKE
Ft. Reliance
Artillery Lake
Doobaunt Lake
Baker Lake
Yathkyed Lake
Chesterfield Inlet
Wheeler Peak
McKinney Peak
Stewarts Mt.
Wager River
Repulse Bay
Frozen Strait
Lyon Inlet
C. Fullerton
C. Southampton
C. Comfort
Fisher Strait
Evans Strait
Rowes Welcome
Ft. Resolution
Ft. Smith
Ft. Chipewyan
Lake Athabasca
Old Fort
Black Lake
Hatchet Lake
Wollaston Lake
Reindeer Lake
Deer Lake Ho.
South Indian or Big Lake
Fort Churchill
Cape Churchill
Port Nelson
Cape Tatnam
York Factory
Fort Severn
Cape Lookout
Sutton Mill Lake
Severn Lake
Cat Fish Lake
Albany
Ft. Albany
St. Joseph
Lake Nipigon
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
Isle Royale
Duluth
Ashland
Marquette
Ludington
Grand Haven
MILWAUKEE
Madison
MINNEAPOLIS
ST PAUL
Brainerd
Sioux Falls
SIOUX CITY
PIERRE
Gettysburg
BISMARCK
Jamestown
Valley City
Fargo
Grand Forks
Grafton
Devils Lake
Minot
Crookston
Winnipeg Jc.
WINNIPEG
Selkirk
St. Boniface
Emerson
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Norway Ho.
Cross Lake
Oxford Ho.
Pas Mission
Cumberland Ho.
Fort à la Corne
Prince Albert
Saskatoon
Battleford
Fort Pitt
Green Lake
Isle à la Crosse
La Crosse Lake
Methy Lake
Buffalo Fort
Pierre au Calumet
Lac La Biche
Ft. Assiniboine
St. Albert
Edmonton
Red Deer
Calgary
Banff
Gleichen
Medicine Hat
Lethbridge
Maple Creek
Swift Current
REGINA
Moose Jaw
Qu'Appelle
Yorkton
Brandon
Fort Vermilion
Fort Dunvegan
Peace River Pass
Lesser Slave Lake
Ft. Liard
Dease Lake
Teslin Lake
Ft. Selkirk
Dawson City
Klondyke
Mt. Logan
Mt. St. Elias
Mt. Wrangel
Mt. Vancouver
Chilkoot Pass
Port Simpson
Port Essington
Queen Charlotte Is.
Barkerville
Quesnel
Ft. George
Mt. Brown
Mt. Hooker
Mt. Murchison
Mt. Forbes
Kamloops
Ashcroft
Vancouver I.
VICTORIA
OLYMPIA
Mt. Baker
C. Disappointment
PORTLAND
SALEM
Pasco
Umatilla Jc.
Spokane
Lake Pend d'Oreille
HELENA
Great Falls
Missouri River
Yellowstone
Glendive
Billings
Butte City
Silver Bow
Garrison
BOISE CITY
Ketchum
Shoshone
Yellowstone Lake
Pocatello
McCammon
Ogden
SALT LAKE CITY
Great Salt Lake
CARSON CITY
SACRAMENTO
Austin
Palisade
Lewis Jc.
Black Hills
Big Cheyenne River
North Platte River
Snake River
CASCADE MTS.
SIERRA NEVADA
BITTER ROOT MOUNTAINS
BIG HORN MTS.
NORTHERN PACIFIC
GREAT NORTHERN
UNION PACIFIC
SOUTHERN PACIFIC
C.P.R.
Lake Albert
Lower Klamath Lake
Goose Lake
Christmas or Warners Lake



DOMINION OF CANADA.