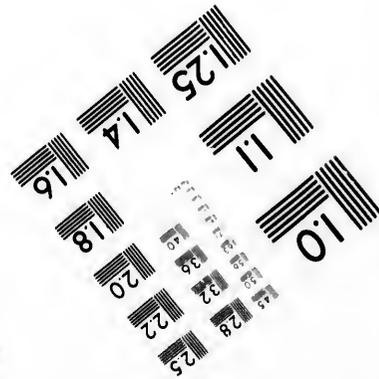
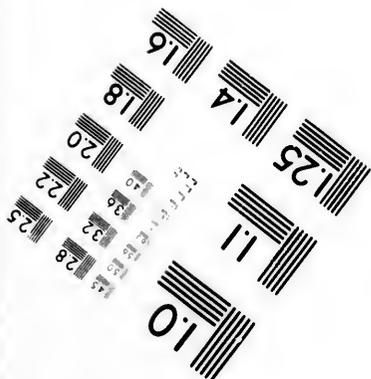
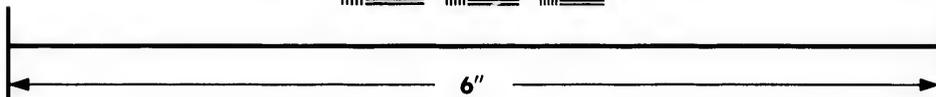
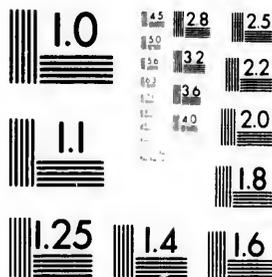


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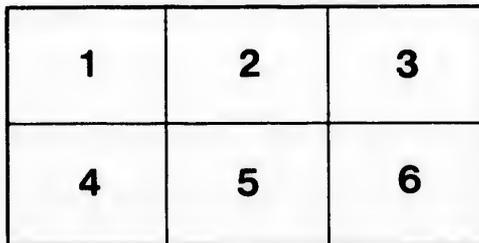
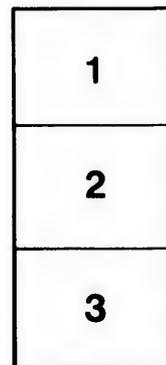
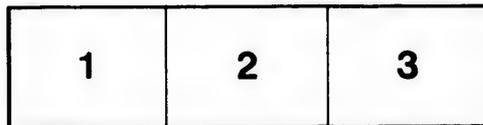
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A CANADIAN-AMERICAN LIAISON

Mr. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Erastus Wiman have cut all the maps out of their geographies excepting that of the United States of America. They would like to enlarge this map, and if they have their way it will be necessary to double it up before long: the book will hardly hold it. Whether they will succeed in thus revising the geography and making new work for the publishers of school-books may depend upon the result of the next Dominion election which will probably occur in the American presidential year 1892. Mr. Smith's able essays and Mr. Wiman's telegraphic dispatches have convinced the leaders of the Canadian Liberal party that the manifest destiny of the provinces is closer union with the United States, and as soon as they can agree upon a name for the new policy a vigorous campaign will begin. But the name is a very troublesome matter. Shall it be "unrestricted reciprocity," commercial union, or annexation? In favor of the first and second, it is argued that in going down hill easy grades are the best: on behalf of the third, it is urged that when several roads lead to the same market it is wise to take the shortest. Perhaps American statesmen can help these doubting Canadian politicians to come to a decision.

The question for Americans to consider is this: The idea of annexation being distasteful to Canadians in general, will it be good policy for Americans to form a liaison with Canada in the hope of bringing about an honorable union later on? It is inconceivable that any maiden who rejects an honorable offer of marriage from a lover would consent to become his concubine. But perhaps countries are different from maidens: Mr. Erastus Wiman thinks so. He is sure that Canada would indignantly reject an offer of annexation or marriage, and thinks she would readily consent to enter Uncle Sam's house as a concubine. The *New York Sunday Sun*, of September 30, 1888, contained an article giving the views of Mr. Erastus Wiman in the form of an interview with Mr. Blakely Hall. As newspaper men are sometimes charged with making mistakes in reporting interviews, it is important to note that Mr. Wiman, in the course of a letter to the Canadian press, dated October 3, 1888, said: "I had prepared a few days before, at the request of my friend, Blakely Hall, an interview, which, fortunately for my purpose, came out in the *New York Sun* of Sunday morning, and was simultaneously transmitted to a syndicate of 42 different

influential journals throughout the country." At Mr. Wiman's request the interview was republished in full in the *Toronto Empire* of October 8, 1888. So Mr. Wiman himself prepared the interview; he is responsible for every word of it, and had no fault to find with its accuracy after its publication. In the interview referred to, Mr. Wiman, after stating that it would be useless to think of annexing Canada at present, because "loyalty to Great Britain has been imbibed with mother's milk by a large proportion of Canadians," said: "If the barbed wire fence, which, in the shape of a customs line, now runs athwart the continent, could be lifted up, made of uniform height, and stretched around the continent, commercial union would be achieved. The height of this line, in other words, the tariff, would have to be regulated in Washington. It would seem impossible that the American people would ever consent to permit the smaller body to have much influence in regulating the rate of duties to be levied. Of course, the Canadians object to this, and say that it is taxation without representation; and there is a very strong feeling, that if commercial union implies that the tariff must be regulated at Washington, all the advantages which would flow from an open market in the Republic would be dearly bought. There are, however, not a few who feel that the elimination of the tariff entirely from the politics of Canada would not be an unmixed evil, and it would be worth the attempt to see whether or not the enormous gains which Canada would make under commercial union would not be more than a compensation for the loss of the privilege of tariff-making. It is claimed that whatever would be good for Massachusetts in the shape of taxation on imports, would certainly be advantageous to the Maritime Provinces. Whatever would suit New York and Ohio in the shape of tariff would certainly suit Ontario and Quebec; while, if Minnesota and Montana prospered, Manitoba and the Northwest would enjoy equal advantages, and that which precisely fitted the Pacific slope would suit British Columbia. It may be difficult to achieve, but, if commercial union stands or falls upon the right of the American people to regulate the tariff of the whole continent, my own impression is that, with time and patience and liberality on the part of the United States, the Canadian people would accept such a tariff as would benefit the United States, because it could not fail to benefit them also."

Mr. Wiman's explanation of what he means by commercial union is clear and unmistakable, but many Canadians who have used the term in advocating closer relations with the United States, have attached a different meaning to it, and Canadians in general have assumed that the accomplishment of commercial union would mean the establishment of a new

congress, composed of representatives from the United States and Canada in proportion to population, to whom the tariff-making power would be delegated by the two governments. It was some such arrangement as this which the leading Liberal newspapers at first advocated, although they never defined exactly what they wanted, but the proposal did not meet with a very hearty response from the party at large, and the term "unrestricted reciprocity" was adopted at the suggestion of Mr. Edgar. How the tariff would be made with "unrestricted reciprocity" in force has never been explained, but the object in view, as with "commercial union," is complete freedom of trade between the two countries. It was urged at one time that the sea-board tariff need not be touched, that each country could make its own tariff against transoceanic countries, the customs houses along the international boundary being still maintained, but only for the purpose of levying duties on goods imported from across the ocean. However, it was evident that the opportunities of defrauding the revenue would be multiplied under such a system, and the idea seems to have been abandoned. It is now admitted by all that to insure freedom of trade between the two countries it will be necessary to assimilate the seaboard tariffs, and in discussing the question it is generally assumed that under unrestricted reciprocity the tariff would be made by treaty. The two houses of Congress and the president having agreed upon a tariff, it would be passed over to the Canadian Parliament for approval or amendment, after which a treaty would be based upon it. Can it be supposed for a moment that the United States Congress would submit its tariff bills to the Canadian Parliament for amendment? Suppose such an arrangement were made, with what derision would the two houses of Congress receive a bill sent back from Canada with amendments! Yet, if the Canadian Parliament might not amend tariff bills, it would be farcical to submit them to it. In short, as Mr. Wiman says, the tariff would have to be regulated at Washington.

If it were workable, the most equitable arrangement short of annexation would be to have the tariff made by a congress or parliament common to the two countries. In such a parliament the United States would have ten times as many representatives as Canada, but it is conceivable that if the Canadians were united they might hold the balance of power. However, a solid Canada would certainly be met with a solid America and completely crushed. Would it be wise for the American people to take the tariff-making power away from their own Congress and delegate it to a semi-foreign body such as the Canadian-American international parliament would be? I think not. Such a parliament would be cursed with

sectionalism. In the United States Congress, as now constituted, there is some sectionalism, too much for the good of the country, but underlying it all there is a feeling of pride in the Republic and a desire to see it prosper. Few of the members are entirely lacking in patriotism; the most selfish will at times be stirred by national enthusiasm. There would be no such unity of sentiment in a Canadian-American parliament. Its very existence would mean a sacrifice of national spirit to the desire for gain, and every member's heart would be in his own pocket. But, even if such a parliament could settle the tariff question to the satisfaction of both nations, there would be other causes of dissatisfaction. Unless there was a common executive as well as a common parliament, the Canadian and American customs officials would interpret the customs act differently, and constant disputes would arise between the importers of the two countries, causing much bitterness of feeling. The two nations trading so freely with each other, a common currency would be necessary, the banking systems must be assimilated, and the laws regulating railways must be the same in both countries. Every day some new cause of difference would arise, necessitating the delegation of more extensive powers to the Canadian-American parliament, until the United States Congress and the parliament at Ottawa would alike fall into a state of "innocuous desuetude." No doubt the ultimate outcome of the liaison would be annexation, but in the meantime the government of both countries would be disorganized, and the anarchists might arrange matters to please themselves. If a short period of semi-anarchy would lead to the peaceable annexation of the great Dominion of Canada with its wealth of natural resources it might be worth while. But it would not lead to peaceable annexation. Annexation probably would be brought about: under such circumstances it would be almost as necessary to the preservation of the Republic as was the suppression of the Southern rebellion, but it would not come peaceably. Let me tell you why. So far I have looked at this question from an American standpoint. Now I propose to consider how a Canadian-American liaison, whether under the name of "commercial union" or "unrestricted reciprocity," would affect my own country, "this Canada of ours," as we Canadians delight to call our Dominion.

In the first place it must be understood that Canada is now a prosperous country. There are not as many millionaires in the Dominion in proportion to population as in the neighboring Republic, but poverty is almost unknown. Even the pessimists will admit that the country is more prosperous and more progressive during this decade than in that between 1871 and 1881, which included four years of extreme depression.

Now, let us see how the progress of the Canadian provinces compared with that of the adjoining states during the last decade. A census is taken by both the Canadian and American governments once in ten years, the last Canadian census being taken in 1881 and the last American census in 1880, near enough together to institute a fair comparison. Beginning with the Maritime Provinces of Canada, we find that in 1871 Prince Edward Island's population was 94,021; in 1881 it was 108,891, an increase of over fifteen per cent. In 1871 Nova Scotia's population was 387,800; in 1881 it was 440,572, an increase of over thirteen per cent. In 1871 the population of New Brunswick was 285,594; in 1881 it was 321,233, an increase of over twelve per cent. In 1871 the combined population of the three Maritime Provinces was 767,415; in 1881 it was 870,696, an increase of over thirteen per cent. Now take the State of Maine which adjoins the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Its population in 1870 was 626,915; in 1880 it was 648,936, an increase of a little over three per cent, as compared with over thirteen per cent, in the adjoining Canadian provinces. And how did slow-going Quebec province compare with Vermont and New Hampshire, which are contiguous to it? In 1871 Quebec's population was 1,191,516; in 1881 it was 1,359,027, an increase of over fourteen per cent. The combined population of Vermont and New Hampshire in 1870 was 648,851; in 1880 it was 679,277, an increase of over four per cent. So far the comparison is decidedly in favor of the Canadian provinces; but let us include all the New England States. In 1870 the combined population of Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut was 3,487,924; in 1880 it was 4,010,529, an increase of nearly fifteen per cent. In 1871 the combined population of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces was 1,958,931; in 1881 it was 2,229,723, an increase of nearly fourteen per cent. Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut seem to have drawn largely upon Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont for their increase of population. No doubt, if annexation or commercial union were consummated, the Canadian provinces adjoining would also become tributary to them. Going farther West we find that the premier province of the Dominion made greater progress than the Empire State of the Republic during the last decade. In 1871 the population of Ontario was 1,620,851; in 1881 it was 1,923,228, an increase of over eighteen per cent. In 1870 the population of the great metropolitan State of New York, directly south of the Province of Ontario on the other side of the lakes, was 4,382,759; in 1880 it was 5,082,871, an increase of over fifteen per cent. Traveling to the far Northwest we find that in 1871 Manitoba had a population of 18,995; in 1881 it was 65,954, an increase

of over 247 per cent. Minnesota, an American state adjoining Manitoba, had, in 1870, a population of 439,706; in 1881 its population was 780,773, an increase of over seventy-seven per cent. The territory of Dakota, southwest of Manitoba, had, in 1870, a population of 14,181; in 1880 its population was 135,177, an increase of over 853 per cent. Why did Dakota grow faster than Manitoba during that decade? The question may be answered by another: Why did Dakota gain only six thousand in population during the decade between 1860 and 1870 when the states and territories south of it were growing wonderfully? The people did not begin to move into Dakota until the best of the free public lands in the states to the south of it were taken up. Manitoba is farther north than Dakota, and although its climate is more moderate than that of Dakota, owing to the lower elevation of the country, the presence of great lakes and other causes, there is no reason to believe that if it were an American territory the influx of population would begin before Dakota's public lands were nearly all taken up by settlers. The Canadian Northwest was not annexed to the Dominion until 1870, and practically no attempt was made to open up the country until 1880. The population of the Canadian territories west of Manitoba in 1871 is not known, no accurate census of that section of the Dominion being taken until 1885, when the population was 48,362, of whom 20,170 were Indians. Although British Columbia was completely isolated from the rest of the Dominion during the decade between 1871 and 1881, its population increased over 36 per cent., while Washington Territory, lying to the south of it in the United States, gained over 213 per cent. Since British Columbia has been connected with the rest of the Dominion by the Canadian Pacific Railway, its growth has been very rapid, and there is little doubt that at the next census it will make at least as good a showing as Washington Territory. The reports of the Hudson Bay Company and other land companies in the Canadian Northwest show that more land has been sold this year than during the five preceding years, and there are many other indications that the Canadian Northwest is now entering upon a period of development as extraordinary as that of the western states of the American Union. Now as to the growth of our cities. Toronto is the residence of Mr. Goldwin Smith, and the headquarters of the Commercial Union Club, although the majority of its people are intensely Canadian in feeling and strongly opposed to closer union with the United States. Let us see how the growth of Toronto compares with that of neighboring American cities. Toronto's American rivals are Rochester, Buffalo and Detroit. Rochester is just across the lake, Buffalo is the chief city of northern New York, and Detroit is the

metropolis of Michigan. In 1870 Rochester's population was 62,386; in 1880 it was 89,366, an increase of a little over 43 per cent. In 1870 Buffalo's population was 117,714; in 1880 it was 155,134, an increase of a little over 31 per cent. In 1870 Detroit's population was 79,577; in 1880 it was 116,340, an increase of a little over 46 per cent. In 1871 Toronto's population was 56,022; in 1881 it was 86,415, an increase of a little over 54 per cent. So Toronto increased in population more rapidly than any of the neighboring American cities during the last decade. Its growth since 1881 has been even more extraordinary. A municipal census taken December 12, 1888, showed the population at that time to be 166,040, an increase of over 92 per cent. in less than eight years. About a week after the taking of the census the suburb of Parkdale, with about 6,000 inhabitants, was annexed, making the population of the city about 172,000. Including Parkdale, which is an outgrowth of the city since 1881, the per centage of increase is about 99 per cent. It should be noted, however, that the census of 1881 did not include the floating population, while that of 1888 included all who slept in the city the night before, but as there was nothing going on in the city at the time to attract strangers, it is probable that the floating population did not number more than 6,000, so that the actual increase was about 92 per cent. West Toronto Junction, Carleton, Davenport, Chester, and East Toronto, are thriving suburbs which have grown up around the city during the last five years, and if they were included the population of the city would probably be over 180,000; but it would not be fair to include them in calculating the increase since 1881, for suburban districts, which in 1881 had about the same population as that of these new suburbs at present, have been annexed since 1881. In 1881 Toronto's taxable property was assessed at \$56,286,039; in 1888 it was assessed at \$113,183,828, an increase of over 101 per cent. Chicago, the marvel of the United States, only increased in population 68 per cent. during the ten years between 1870 and 1880. Boston is nearer to Montreal than any other large American city, and it is one of the most important cities of the Republic. In 1870 Boston's population was 250,526; in 1880 it was 362,839, an increase of over 44 per cent. In 1871 Montreal's population was 107,225; in 1881 it was 140,747, an increase of a little over 31 per cent. Since 1881 the increase in Montreal has been much more rapid than ever before. In the year 1886 the assessors took a census which showed the population to be 186,000, an increase of over 32 per cent. in five years, but the assessors admitted at the time that they had not secured full returns. The general opinion is that the population is now about 225,000. According to assessors' returns, which are usually below the

mark, during the five years between 1881 and 1886 Ottawa gained 35.75 per cent., London, Ont., 32.05 per cent., and Hamilton, 16.74 per cent., while many of the smaller towns of Ontario, ranging from 4,000 to 10,000 in population, have increased as rapidly as Toronto. In 1871 Winnipeg had a few hundred inhabitants; in 1881 it had 6,249 inhabitants, and the assessed value of real and personal property was \$9,196,435; in 1886 its population was 22,025, and the assessed value of property, \$19,286,405, the population having increased over 252 per cent., and the assessment 109.71 per cent. It should be noted that between 1880 and 1883 Winnipeg passed through a great boom, increasing in an incredibly short time from a few hundreds to 30,000. Then came a collapse, and the population decreased to 15,000 or less. The city is now on a solid basis, having about 25,000 inhabitants, and is steadily increasing in population and wealth, although some people think that Brandon, Calgary, and several other towns that have sprung up on the prairie within the last five years, may rival it. The youngest marvel of Canada is Vancouver City, the British Columbia terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Five years ago its site was covered by gigantic forest trees; there was not a house built; about two years and a half ago when its population was 2,000 it was burned to the ground, only two or three buildings escaping the flames; in July, 1888, a census showed its population to be nearly 8,000, and it is said to be now about 11,000. Many pages of official statistics might be given to show that Canada is making great progress, instead of standing still as some people suppose. The letters and post-cards delivered numbered 53,600,000 in 1880, and 90,656,000 in 1887; there were 2,040,000 registered letters in 1880, and 3,560,000 in 1887; in 1880 there were issued 306,088 postal money orders, amounting to \$7,207,337, and in 1887, 574,899, amounting to \$10,328,984; in 1880 the amount of money orders issued in other countries payable in Canada was \$698,651, and in 1887 it was \$1,495,674; the newspapers and periodicals posted in Canada numbered 45,120,062 in 1880, and 64,246,326 in 1887; the deposits in savings-banks under Government control amounted to \$9,207,683 on July 1, 1880, and to \$37,173,813 on July 1, 1887; the deposits in chartered banks amounted to \$84,818,804 in 1880, and to \$114,483,190 in 1887; the amount of life insurance at risk in 1880 was \$90,280,293, and the amount of new life insurance effected that year was \$13,906,887, while in 1887 the amount of life insurance at risk was \$191,679,852, and the new insurance effected that year amounted to \$38,108,730; in 1880 the Canadian railways handled 9,938,858 tons of freight and carried 6,462,948 passengers, while in 1887 they handled 16,356,335 tons of freight and carried 10,698,638 passengers.

Six million prosperous people, enjoying practical independence, are asked to give up the right to make their own tariff for the sake of freer trade with their neighbors. It is reasonable to suppose that if the Canadian provinces were peaceably annexed to the United States, the people sharing in all the rights of American citizens, the new states would make equal progress with the old states contiguous to them. Perhaps they would even maintain their present rate of growth, which has been shown to be greater than that of the states south of them. But the outcome of a Canadian-American liaison, whether under the name of commercial union, or "unrestricted reciprocity," would be almost complete stagnation on the Canadian side of the boundary. Politically dependent on Great Britain, and commercially dependent on the United States, the Dominion would be like a legless man with a broken crutch on one side and an ill-fitting wooden leg on the other. No one could believe in the permanency of such an arrangement, and capitalists could not be induced to invest in a country with such an uncertain future. The tariff being abolished, by locating in such border cities as Buffalo and Detroit, manufacturers would be able to reach the Canadian markets as advantageously as if they were in Canada, while they would be in a much better position as regards the American market. It is absurd to suppose that any American manufacturer would remove to Canada, where he would have no voice in making the tariff, when he could carry on his business with both countries just as well from the border cities of the United States. Boston would take from Montreal the trade of the maritime provinces; Detroit and Buffalo would do the manufacturing for central Canada, and St. Paul and Minneapolis would together form the metropolis of the Canadian Northwest. Buffalo and Detroit would gain most by such a liaison, and Toronto would suffer most. The South-western peninsula of Ontario, the most populous section of Canada, is nearer to Detroit and Buffalo than to Toronto, or any other large Canadian city. Even with complete annexation Toronto, which now almost monopolizes the wholesale trade of this section, would have to share it with Buffalo and Detroit. With "unrestricted reciprocity," or commercial union, such as Mr. Wiman proposes, these American cities would not only cut out Toronto, but would also grow at the expense of Hamilton, London, and all the smaller cities of the peninsula, which could not hope to secure many new manufacturing industries so long as the country had no voice in the making of the tariff. If a Canadian-American tariff-making Parliament were established, the Canadian manufacturers would probably be consulted to some extent in framing the tariff, but very few capitalists would invest in the Dominion,

because every one would know that such a liaison could not last long and there would be fear that the difference of opinion among Canadians would lead to a civil war. The Canadian people would have to contribute their share of the cost of the international parliament in addition to maintaining their own Dominion Parliament and the Provincial legislatures. They could not expect to greatly extend their foreign trade, for the British representatives in various quarters of the world would be slow to assist a people who discriminated against Great Britain in favor of the United States, and Canada could not afford to maintain a foreign diplomatic and consular service of her own. Indeed, in order to carry on the Government of the country and meet its obligations, it would be necessary to resort to direct taxation to raise about fifteen million dollars of revenue, lost by the abolition of the customs houses along the Canadian-American boundary. Heavily taxed, suffering from loss of trade, and despised alike by British and Americans on account of their dependent position and the sale of their birthright, Canadians would very soon wish to end the liaison. But the only ending that the United States could agree to would be annexation, and to that the majority of Canadians would not be disposed to consent. Although they would be themselves to blame for their misfortunes, there would be a strong disposition to charge the Americans with having cheated them. One party would favor annexation, the other would bitterly oppose it, and civil war would be the result. The United States would have no choice in the matter. To save the republic the conquest of Canada would be necessary, and, although the Canadians would be divided against themselves, and could not expect any assistance from Great Britain after discriminating against that country in favor of the United States, they would not submit until the country was overrun by American soldiers. If the United States waged war against Canada before the formation of such a liaison the Canadian people would be united against the invaders and have the British to back them, while by persuading them to adopt commercial union they could be set against each other and cut off from England; but surely the American people are too generous to wish to take their neighbors at such a disadvantage. They would be obliged to do so in self-defense if the liaison were formed, but they are too sensible to enter into an arrangement which would result in that way.

Let us have no halfway measures. In favor of honorable, voluntary annexation some very strong arguments can be adduced if we accept Mr. Goldwin Smith's map, but not one sensible reason can be given for a Canadian-American liaison which, while causing an extraordinary growth for a few years in the American cities at or near the Canadian boundary,

would engender bitter feelings and bring about a war whose evil effects would be felt for generations afterward. If annexation is inevitable, if the manifest destiny of the Dominion is absorption by its great neighbor, as Mr. Goldwin Smith believes, the people of the United States can afford to wait quietly until the Canadian people knock at the door for admission to the union. But perhaps Mr. Smith is mistaken in that regard. Look at the map of Canada—not the map in Mr. Goldwin Smith's "Handbook of Commercial Union," where it is represented merely as a fringe of the United States, but at the map in any Canadian school geography. Is Canada's proximity to the United States the only geographical fact worth reaching? Note the remarkable way in which it juts out into the two great oceans; mark the numerous good harbors on both Atlantic and Pacific coasts; see how the Atlantic sweeps in to meet the mighty St. Lawrence and joins its waters with the Arctic in forming Hudson's Bay. Then take a map of the world, or better still, a globe, and see what Nature means by this peculiar configuration. Is it for nothing that Canada is hundreds of miles nearer to both Europe and Asia than the United States? Is it for nothing that the Canadian coasts abound in magnificent natural harbors, with unlimited quantities of good coal close to them, while the American coasts have comparatively few good harbors and the coal is in the interior? The answer is plainly marked on the map in Nature's own language. Canada was not intended to be a fringe of the United States, but the entrepot for trade between Europe and Asia. Through Canada lies the way to Japan and China, Australasia and India, and before the next century is as old as this one the Canadian people will probably hold the commercial supremacy of the world. It may be said that the Hudson straits are often blocked with ice and that the Gulf of St. Lawrence is sometimes made dangerous by fogs. These are disadvantages, but they are more than offset by the fact that Montreal, hundreds of miles inland, at the foot of lake navigation, is a port for ocean vessels several hundred miles nearer to Liverpool than New York is, while Louisburg, the most eastern port of Canada, is over seven hundred miles nearer England than New York, and several good harbors on the western shore of Hudson Bay, in the very heart of the Canadian Northwest, are about the same distance from Europe as the leading Atlantic ports of the United States. The channels of the St. Lawrence River are constantly being improved, and when the work is done it is permanent, for there is no trouble with shifting sands as with the Mississippi. The gulf and river are becoming better lighted every year, and science will probably yet discover a light that will neutralize the fog. As to the ice cakes in Hudson Strait, it is claimed that

even now vessels can pass through without danger for five months of the year. Once through the straits the difficulties of Hudson Bay navigation are over. Long before the Northwest is densely populated steamships will probably be specially constructed to meet the difficulties of navigation in that region, while the straits and bay will be thoroughly lighted by the Dominion Government, making the way clear. In the meantime the St. Lawrence route serves all necessary purposes, and it will probably always take a large share of the Northwest trade. Nature often fails to complete her work when she knows that man can do it for her; she likes to set tasks for men, but always rewards them for their pains. Here in the Northland of America where the climate makes men energetic and vigorous she has placed great confidence in their ability to overcome difficulties, and has demanded of Canadians the completion of some stupendous undertakings; but when the work is done she will make them the masters of the world.

Nature evidently intended Lakes Ontario and Erie to be navigated, and she might easily have made a waterway between them, but, instead, she turned her attention to the creation of the wonderful Niagara waterfall, and Canadians had to make the Welland Canal for her. She intended the St. Lawrence to carry the commerce of the lakes to the Atlantic, but left numerous rapids in the way between Ontario and Montreal, forcing the Canadians to make canals to overcome the difficulties. These canals are gradually being enlarged to meet the demands of trade, and in a few years any vessel which can pass through the Welland Canal will be able to come to Montreal to meet the ocean steamships. Nature placed one chain of rivers and lakes between the northern part of Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River, and another between the southern part of the bay and Lake Ontario. Had she finished her work lake vessels could have taken a short cut from Lake Superior to Montreal in the one direction and to Toronto in the other, saving hundreds of miles of voyaging by way of Lakes Huron, St. Clair and Erie and their connecting links. But British and Canadian engineers have estimated that for less money than the Welland Canal has cost a ship canal can be constructed between the Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River, and although this work has not yet been begun it is certain to be accomplished in the future. The advantages which the Canadian Northwest, the northern part of Ontario and the city of Montreal will derive from this short route can not be over estimated. Work is now in progress on the Trent Valley Canal, which will connect Georgian Bay with the eastern end of Lake Ontario, and Toronto people talk hopefully of a canal to connect their city with Lake Simcoe, which is joined to

Georgian Bay by the Severn River. All these waterways were begun by Nature; she intended to have them completed, but knew that the performance of such work would do more than anything else to make the Canadians a strong, vigorous, self-reliant people. Nature marked out the shortest route for a railway across the continent, but left some very big rocks in the way along the north shore of Lake Superior. Mr. Goldwin Smith and his disciples said: "Don't fight against Nature. Let the railway connections with the Northwest be made through the United States, south of Lake Superior." But the Canadian people understood Nature's orders better than Mr. Smith. They cut through the rocks, and now have the shortest and best-equipped railway across the continent. Having completed our great railway we now intend to devote more attention than ever to the improvement of our waterways and the equipment of our ports. The pessimists among us ring alarm bells and proclaim to the outside world that we are piling up a big debt in fighting Nature, but the world at large and the heart of it, the London money market, begin to see the meaning of it all, so Canada's credit is exceptionally good and improving all the time. Since the last census we have completed the Canadian Pacific railway and established a line of steamships connecting its Pacific terminus with Japan and China; we are now having constructed in Scotland a magnificent line of steamships, which will probably be on the Pacific in a year and give us the fastest service to Australia, while we expect to make arrangements at the coming session of Parliament for the construction of a line of Atlantic steamships that will surpass any now running to New York city in both accommodation and speed. These steamships will run from Montreal in summer and from one of the ports of our maritime provinces in winter, and will cross the Atlantic in five days. Many Americans suppose that central Canada is cut off from the Atlantic in winter or that our maritime ports are blocked with ice. This is a great mistake. It is true that the upper part of the St. Lawrence is closed in winter, but some steamship men are of the opinion that there would be little difficulty in navigating the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec city in winter, and many more declare that ocean steamships can reach Tadousac, where the Saguenay River joins the St. Lawrence, at all seasons of the year. However this may be, there is no doubt whatever that St. John, Halifax and a number of other ports in the maritime provinces are open all the year, and Montreal is connected with the maritime provinces by two railways running entirely through Canadian territory, while a third railway, known as the Canadian Pacific Short Line, is being constructed across the State of Maine to New Brunswick, bringing St. John and Halifax still nearer to

Montreal. A ship railway is now being constructed across the Isthmus of Chignecto between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and it may have an important effect in determining the location of Canada's most important winter port. It may be asked, if Canada has good winter ports why do not Canadians use them instead of importing by way of American ports. They do use them to a great extent, importing millions of dollars' worth of goods through the home ports every winter, but many business men got into the way of importing through the United States before the railway connections with the maritime provinces were completed, and business seeks old channels until it is forced into new ones. Many Canadians hoped that Mr. Cleveland's retaliation scheme would be carried out, feeling sure that it would have the effect of forcing Canadian business into home channels, where it would have gone naturally had not the American railway system been completed before that of Canada.

The latest scheme to establish Canada's position as the connecting link between Europe and the countries of the Pacific Ocean is a cable line from Vancouver to Australia, touching at New Zealand and other points. This is being pushed by energetic men; it will be subsidized by the Canadian, Australasian and British Governments, and is almost certain to be in operation before the year 1891. Arrangements have already been made to lay a cable from Halifax to Bermuda, and an independent Canadian cable to England is projected. In the summer of 1892 a great Oriental exhibition, in which Persia, India, Japan, China, Australia and New Zealand will be asked to join, will be held in Montreal to commemorate the completion of the systems of communication which make Canada the highway between the East and the West.

Have we not come to the front during the last ten years? Who talked of Canada five years ago, who thought of it ten years ago? The whole English-speaking world is thinking about it now, and talking, too. Why is it that almost every American newspaper one takes up contains an article on Canada? Why is it that the English papers, which a few years ago scarcely mentioned the Dominion, now devote so much space to it? Because we own the world's highway. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* recently said: "The Canadian Railroad is a menace to the supremacy of the United States in the Continent of North America—really. It imperils its very life by threatening to take from it its only remaining foreign market, the great East, including China, Japan, and the East Indies. From the British Isles to the St. Lawrence ports is four days sooner than from the British Isles to New York. From the mouth of Puget Sound to China, Japan and the Indies is two days sooner than from San Francisco to the

same points. Great Britain, through her Dominion of Canada, has throttled both the St. Lawrence and Puget Sound, and her new railroad joins the two coasts in one day less than our Pacific roads can make the distance. The net gain to England in its trade with the great East is seven days, and the result of that is to control the trade of the world. Is the United States, already, through supine republican policy, driven out of almost every foreign market, going to put up with this last blow at her very vitals? If she does, then this paper wholly mistakes the temper of her people. We want Canada, Puget Sound, the St. Lawrence and the connecting road with it. We should waste no more time in the matter."

Those Americans who foresee that Canada will in the future control the commerce of the world, should come to Canada to live. We do not want the American absconders, but we will gladly welcome all honest, enterprising Americans, especially those with capital. Come and share the great future that awaits the people of Canada. There are boundless opportunities for men of capital and enterprise. Canada's great want is capital. We have fertile lands for agricultural purposes, grassy plains for stock-raising, coal and iron and timber enough to supply the world, and our waters are full of fish. The climate is invigorating, the scenery is beautiful, the government is democratic, the judiciary is unrivaled and the people sociable. It is a pleasant land to live in. Let millions of Americans come and share it with us. And they will do so! Before the next twenty-five years have gone the public lands of the United States will all be occupied, and those restless people who are always seeking new fields of enterprise will begin to crowd into Canada just as they rushed to the Western States. Mr. W. H. H. Murray, a well-known American writer, has recently published a book on the Canadian Northwest, which he calls *Daylight Land*, on account of the long days of our northern latitudes. He makes one of his characters say: "This country is agricultural, and in a few years a great agricultural movement from the states northward is likely to take place. Our tent is pitched at the centre of the wheat area of the continent. Five hundred miles to the north and as far to the south from where we sit, and a thousand miles east and west, measure what I call the great wheat square of this continent. Here is pure water, a perfect climate, cheap fuel, and a soil that produces forty bushels of prime wheat to the acre. As the soil to the south, under our silly system of agriculture, becomes exhausted, as it soon will be, and the average yield per acre shrinks more and more, the wheat growers must and will move northward. This movement is one of the fixed facts of the future; it is born of an agricultural necessity, and when it begins it will move in with

a rush. A million of American wheat farmers ought to be in this country inside of ten years, and I believe that within that time population will pour in and spread over these Canadian plains like a tide." Those people who expect a rush of American settlers during the next ten years are likely to be disappointed. It will probably be fifteen years before the movement attains sufficient magnitude to attract much attention. But, it may be asked, will not this multitude of Americans so control public sentiment as to bring about annexation? I do not think so. Had the rush of Americans begun ten years ago that would probably have been the result, but the pioneers are Canadians, Canadian laws and Canadian customs are established, Americans cannot vote until they become naturalized, and the extraordinary development of the country will excite Canadian pride and intensify the present opposition to annexation; for when the exodus to Canada begins, the period of extraordinary development in the American West will be over; the public lands having been mostly taken up the rate of increase in population will be about the same as that of the Eastern States at present, while the Canadian West, where millions of acres of cheap lands can be obtained, will be filling up in a most astonishing way. Moreover, it is probable that the majority of those who come from the United States to Canada will not be very enthusiastic Americans. These will stay at home, while millions of Canadians, Scotchmen and Englishmen now residing in the United States, will cross the boundary, bringing with them, of course, a great many who are Americans by birth. It is worthy of note that some of the most enthusiastic believers in the great commercial future of the Dominion are American-Canadians, natives of the United States, who have invested their capital in Canada and come to live here.

The Canadian provinces and the States adjoining them, having the same climate and the same class of productions, are competitors rather than customers of each other; but there is growing up in Australasia a great community of English-speaking people, citizens, like Canadians, of the British Empire, with whom we may have a profitable exchange of products, and just across the water, nearer to Canada than to any other civilized country, are the wonderful Japanese who have wakened up to civilization just at the time the Canadian Pacific railway is completed, and the Canadian people are ready to supply them with manufactured goods. All Canada will greatly benefit by this trade with the East, but Vancouver City will probably be the chief mart. The terminus of the greatest trans-continental railway, with cheap coal, iron, and timber, close at hand, a magnificent natural harbor, and a climate scarcely ever cold enough for

snow in winter and never oppressively hot in summer, it may be the greatest city on the American continent before the twentieth century draws to a close.

But, after all, Canadians are more likely to be guided by their hearts than by their pockets. Mr. Goldwin Smith, who was a professor of history, ought to know, that, in guessing at the future of nations, history as well as geography must be taken into account. Mr. Erastus Wiman has much to say about Canadian loyalty to Great Britain, and he is right in thinking that there is a great deal of British sentiment in the Dominion, but stronger than that, more general than that, is the sentiment of Canadianism, the love of Canada. We like the Americans, we imitate them in many ways, we would be pleased, as I have said, to have millions of them come among us and share the era of extraordinary prosperity that is approaching our country, but we will never listen to any proposition involving the disintegration of "this Canada of ours," which we all love so well.

Watson Griffin

MONTREAL, CANADA, December 27, 1888.

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