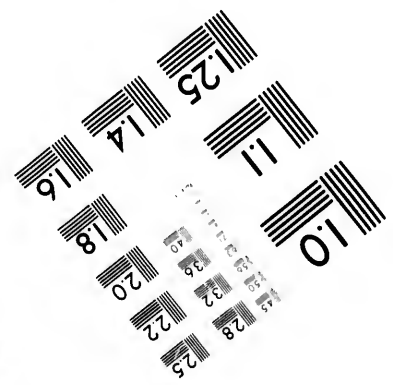
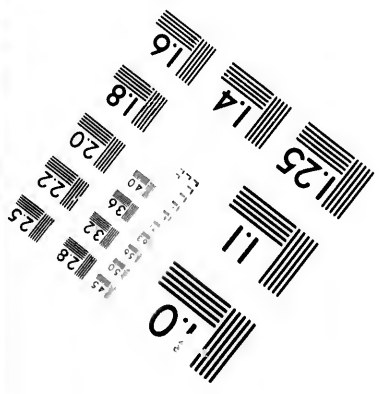
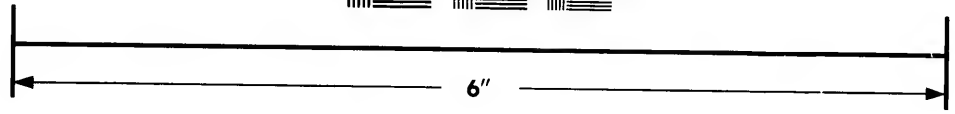
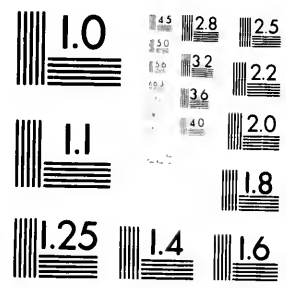


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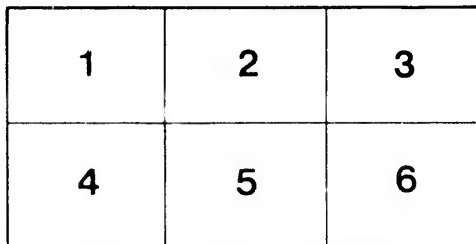
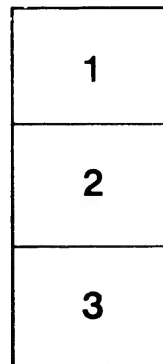
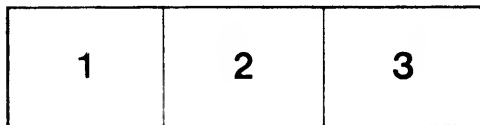
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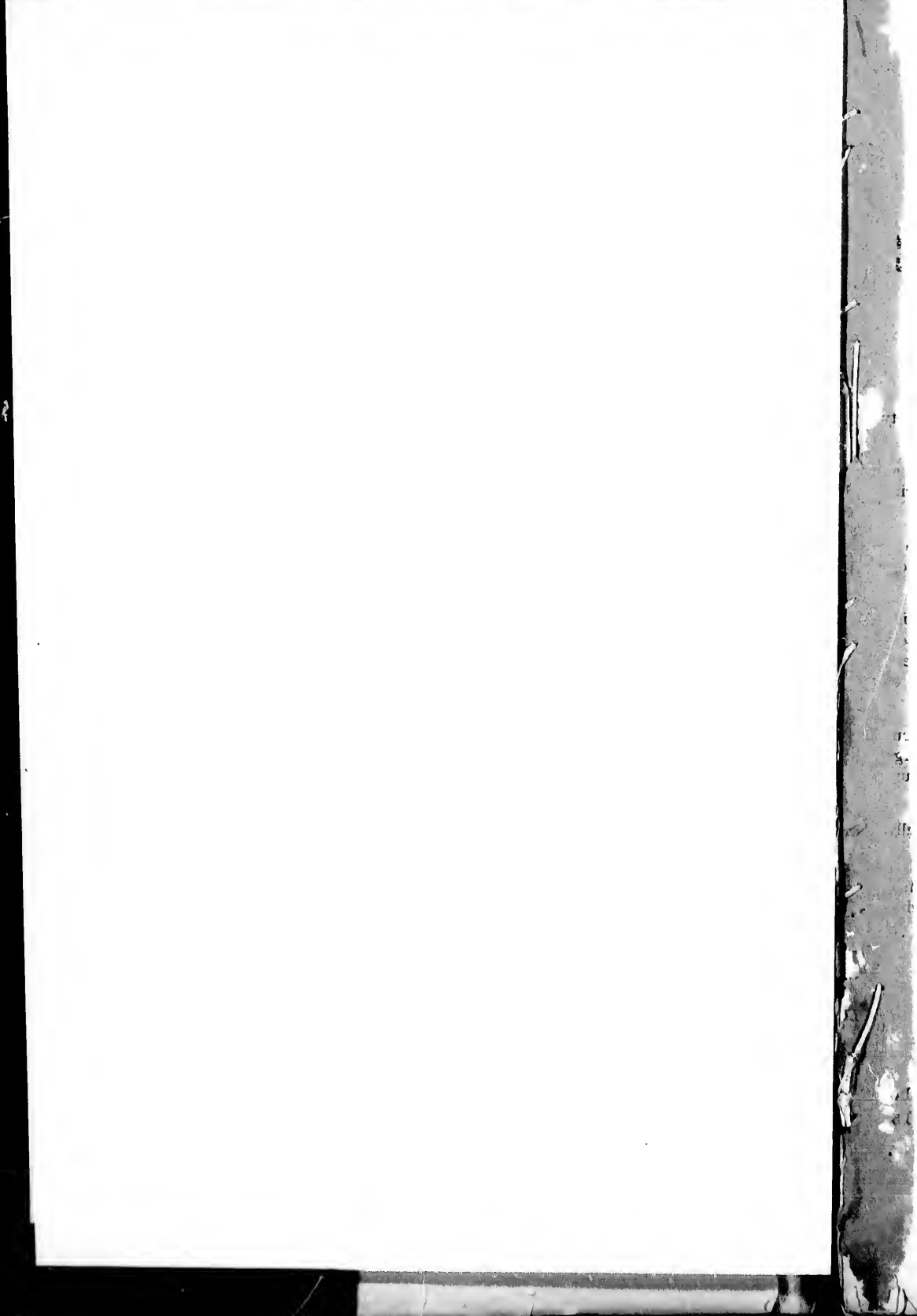
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From Blackwood's Magazine

THE PROGRESS OF THE NEW DOMINION.

"I hear the tread of pioneers
Of nations yet to be,
The first low wash of human waves,
Where soon shall roll a sea."

—WHITTIER.

It was an eminent American statesman and orator, Daniel Webster, who gave expression to the finest image that was probably ever conceived of the power of England as shown by the extent of her colonial possessions. Whilst standing on the heights of the old city of Quebec at an early hour of a summer day, he heard the drum-beat which called the soldiers to their duty, and instantaneously there flashed across his mind an idea which he clothed in eloquent words on a subsequent occasion, when he wished to impress an audience with the greatness of the British empire. The place where he stood on that summer morning was associated with many memories peculiarly interesting to an American statesman. The old gates and walls of the fortifications recalled the days of Frontenac and other French viceroys, who were continually threatening the peace of the New England settlements. The quaint architecture of the houses, and the narrow streets running up and down the hills, were so many memorials of the French régime which had vanished with the victory on the plains of Abraham, whose green meadows might even be seen from where the American was standing. The black-robed priests, the sisters and nuns in their peculiar garments of sombre hue, hastening to the antique churches and convents, were all characteristic of a town in Normandy or Brittany, rather than of an American city on the banks of one of the great highways of the Western

continent. He might for an instant have thought himself in a town of old France; but he was soon aroused from his reverie as he heard the beat of the morning drum, and saw the flag run up the staff on the citadel which crowns those historic heights. At such a moment, amid such a scene, he might well think of the vastness of the empire of England, even without the possession of the old American colonies. His prescient mind could see in the great north-land, of which Quebec was but the gateway, the rudiments of States as flourishing and prosperous as the American commonwealth, of which he was one of the most illustrious citizens. The ships in the harbour below, so many representatives of the maritime nations, were among the evidences of the growing commerce of half a continent still under the dominion of England. Half a million of French Canadians, even at that day, were dwelling by the side of the St. Lawrence and its tributary rivers; whilst away beyond the borders of the French province, stretched a vast territory, already occupied by a thrifty, energetic class of British settlers. As the *reveille* awoke the echoes of the heights, even the American statesman, proud of his own country, and confident of its future, was forced to acknowledge the greatness of a Power "which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts; whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours,

The London Times reviewed this paper
"as the best that has for a long time
appeared on Canada."

circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

But those memorable words were spoken many years ago. Indeed, nowadays, such an idea would hardly recur to the mind of either English or American statesmen standing on the same historic ground. The British garrison has been withdrawn long since from the citadel of the ancient capital, and the martial airs of England are no longer heard in "one continuous and unbroken strain" in the Dominion of Canada. Yet no one can say that this fact is a matter of regret, save to the old inhabitants, who have pleasant memories of the times when society found its greatest charm in the presence of English regiments. The withdrawal of the troops from all the cities except Halifax—and here only one regiment is kept—is in itself an acknowledgment of the progress of Canada in wealth and population, and of her ability to depend on herself entirely in times of peace, and in a great measure in times of war. We now see a city far more busy and prosperous than the Quebec of the days of Daniel Webster—a Quebec which the rough hand of improvement has not, however, been able to divest of its ancient Norman character. On the Atlantic seaboard, on the banks of the St. Lawrence and great lakes, in the interior of a region which was a wilderness a few years ago, in the midst of the prairies of the North-west, cities and towns have sprung up with the rapidity so characteristic of American colonisation; and though several of them already surpass the old French capital in size and population, not one possesses the same interest for the European or American traveller. From the lakes to the sea a large fleet is constantly employed in carrying the wealth of

the flourishing communities which have grown up in the West and by the side of the St. Lawrence. Railways are stretching across the continent itself, carrying capital and population along with them into the prairie-lands of a region larger than France, whose bold explorers were the first to venture centuries ago into the Western wilderness. In the prosperity, wealth, and contentment of several millions of people, we recognise the results of that wise colonial policy which has given self-government to Canada, and established in that dependency, as in other parts of the colonial empire of England, free parliaments, which follow closely the practice and usages of that great body which has been heretofore the prototype of all deliberative assemblies throughout the world.

It has long been the belief in the parent State that the progress of the Dominion of Canada has been very slow compared with that of the United States, and that the opportunities which it offers for the investment of capital and the acquisition of wealth are very inferior to those of the enterprising rich country to the south. The geographical expression "America," to many Englishmen and Scotchmen still conveys the idea of the United States, though Canada, in reality, occupies the greater part of the continent. I now propose to show, that though Canada is overshadowed in many respects by the great Republic, though her wealth and population are very much inferior, yet she has fairly held her own in certain branches of industrial activity, and can now offer to agriculturists a far larger area of profitable wheat-lands than any actually possessed by her neighbours.

The settlement of Canada was contemporaneous with the colonisation of New England. During the

seventeenth century, a struggle for the banks of the St. Lawrence succeeded in establishing a French colony. The encounter of the French and the English in the country was the result of the presence of the Indians. The French government was divided between the public and the private interests of the colony. They were sovereigns in their own territory. The liberal policy of the time was the total abolition of the province. In 1700, the war of the Seven Years' War broke out. The cession of Canada to the British was known to the public. The sons of the Upper Canada were small, but the natural population of the north was probably more than some of the colonies. The North American continent was divided into provinces, and with its territories and provinces, it was the most interesting in the world.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a few thousand Frenchmen struggled to make homes on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and succeeded in founding Quebec and Montreal. These Frenchmen had to encounter innumerable difficulties; all the privations of a life in a new country, the neglect and indifference of their rulers, all the miseries arising from frequent wars with the Indians and the New England colonists. Their very system of government was repressive of all individual energy as well as concerted public action. It was a happy day for the French Canadians when they became subjects of a British sovereign, and were allowed to participate in all the advantages of a liberal system of government. At the time of the conquest of Canada, the total population of the present province of Quebec did not exceed 70,000 souls. It was not until the war of American Independence that Canada received a large accession of inhabitants, historically known as the United Empire Loyalists, probably some 40,000 persons in all, who founded the provinces of New Brunswick and Upper Canada. During the first decades of this century, the immigration into the provinces was but small, though sufficient, with the natural increase, to bring the total population by the year 1840, when the union took place, up to probably 1,250,000 persons, of whom some 900,000 were living in the two Canadas. The years that followed the establishment of responsible government in British North America were remarkable for the rapid increase of population and wealth throughout the provinces, especially in Upper Canada, with its mild climate, its fertile territory, and its energetic, industrious inhabitants. The Irish famine, combined with a greater interest in Europe in the development

of Canada, brought into the country a large number of immigrants during the first ten years following the union: so that by 1851, Upper Canada alone had a population of 1,000,000 souls; Lower Canada, 900,000; and all British North America, upwards of 2,500,000. For the last thirty years the population has not increased in the same ratio as in the decade just mentioned. Yet despite the many advantages offered to immigrants by the United States, the united provinces, now known as the Dominion of Canada, were able in 1881, when the last census was taken, to show a total population of nearly 4,500,000, of whom about 2,000,000 live in Ontario, and 1,500,000 in Quebec. In 1790, the total population of the United States was estimated at about 4,000,000, and in 1880 at over 50,000,000, having increased twelve and a half times in ninety years. Now in 1790 all the provinces of British North America had a population of probably 250,000, who had increased to 4,500,000 in 1881, or eighteen times in less than a century. This population would undoubtedly have been very much greater by this time, had the provinces been able years ago to establish a large manufacturing industry, or had they possessed the North-west Territory, whose value as a field for immigration has only very recently been discovered. Further on, we shall consider the splendid opportunity that the North-west Territory now offers to the Dominion to compete with the United States on something like fair terms for the emigration from Europe; but as it is, the population of Canada is greater than that of Norway, and equal to that of Sweden—neither of which countries has resources capable of sustaining the large population which Canada must have ere long.

It may now be said with truth that there is a Canadian people. If we look closely into the census statistics, we find that, of the total population of the Dominion, nearly 4,000,000 are native Canadians, and consequently attached to the country by all those ties that make home dear to the people. As respects origin, the population is composed of French, Irish, English, and Scotch, besides a large German element in some western counties. The French Canadian comes from a Norman and Breton stock, and possesses much of the thrift and steadiness of his ancestry. The *habitant* may be wanting in energy, but he is conservative in all his tendencies, a lover of his Church, fond of simple pleasures, little disposed to crime or intemperance, a capital worker in mills and factories. The higher class has produced men of fine intellects, who have won distinction in politics, in the professions, and even in French literature. The other elements of the Canadian people display all those energetic and persevering characteristics essential to the foundation of prosperous communities. They possess that spirit of aggressiveness which is a natural characteristic of the Teutonic race, and eminently qualifies them to overcome the climatic and other difficulties of Canadian colonisation. The history of Canada, so far, emphatically proves that the Canadian people possess that stability of character, that earnestness of purpose, and that love of free institutions, which give the best guarantee of their success in laying deep and firm the foundations of a great State to the north of the American Republic.]

When, a century and a quarter ago, Canada fell into the possession of England, the French king, basking in the smiles of mistresses, and enjoying all the pleasures of a vo-

luptuous Court, consoled himself with the reflection that he had, after all, only lost a valueless region of ice and snow. That same region now gives homes to nearly a million and a half of the French race, who enjoy an amount of comfort and happiness which they could never have had in old France. We may now travel for days among the wheat-fields and orchards of the colony, so neglected and despised by the king and his ministers. But Canada has extended her boundaries far beyond the limits of the province founded by France. The eastern and western shores of the Dominion are washed by the waves of the two great oceans which separate America from Europe and Asia. The climatic conditions of this vast territory do not vary to any great extent: the cold is intense in winter, and the heat even fierce at times in summer.—British Columbia, with its more equable temperature and mild winters, being an exception to the rest of British North America. Though the climate is rigorous at times, at all events it is bracing and healthy; though the heat is great for weeks, it ripens with remarkable rapidity all those grains and fruits which are at once the life and luxury of man. The natural features of the territory are varied in their character. The Dominion may be divided into certain divisions, having distinct natural characteristics. First, we have the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, on the Atlantic coast—provinces noted for their large bays and harbours, and their maritime industry. In the interior are fine agricultural lands, producing hardy grains and fine fruit, especially apples. In remote districts there is still some valuable timber; whilst coal, iron, copper, marble, and even

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gold, are mined in various places. It is a peculiar feature of these provinces, especially of New Brunswick, that rivers run for many miles from the interior, and practically give all sections connection with the sea. Adjoining these provinces is Quebec, which may be also described as a largely maritime division, since it has a considerable coast on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, whilst the river of the same name is navigable for ocean vessels as far as the city of Montreal. The Laurentian hills stretch across the northern section of the province, and give a picturesque ruggedness to the landscape not found in Ontario. The province of Quebec possesses minerals and timber in abundance, whilst large tracts of valuable farming land are found close to the St. Lawrence and other rivers which water this section in all directions. All the cereals and roots are grown in profusion, as well as apples, pears, and grapes in favoured localities. Next comes the premier province of Ontario, whose prosperity rests mainly on its agricultural wealth, though it, too, in a certain sense, has its maritime interest, since its internal commerce needs the employment of a considerable fleet of steamers and other craft on the great fresh-water seas, which touch its southern shores. Then we leave the country, watered by the St. Lawrence and the lakes for a distance of over 2000 miles, and reach that remarkable territory which stretches from Lake Superior to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and which is generally known as the north-west of Canada—an illimitable region of lakes and rivers, and vast stretches of prairie and pasture lands, the great wheat-granary of the future, and the grazing-grounds of millions of cattle. Crossing the Rocky Mountains, we come to British Columbia, with its pictur-

esque hills and table-lands—this, too, a maritime province, indented with bays and ports. Away to the northward of these several countries, comprising an area nearly as large as Europe, are the Arctic Seas, imposing an insurmountable barrier to enterprise and settlement; while to the south stretches the territory of the United States, with its varied climate and unbounded natural resources. But great as are the resources of her progressive neighbour, Canada need not fear the future if she is given a fair opportunity of developing the maritime, mineral, and agricultural capabilities of her extensive territory. We may have an idea of that future by briefly reviewing some features of the progress which Canada has already made, with the assistance of a relatively small population and limited capital.

Living on the threshold of the most productive fisheries of the world, the people of the maritime provinces have necessarily, from the earliest date in their history, drawn a large portion of their wealth from the sea. Basque and Breton fishermen have frequented these prolific waters for centuries, and a small island on the coast of Newfoundland still bears the name of "Baccalaos," or Basque for "cod." Even in these days, by virtue of the Treaty of Utrecht—that much-maligned emanation of the statesmanship of Harley and St. John—a large French fleet fishes on the banks of Newfoundland, and finds refuge at need in the port of St. Pierre, one of a group of islets still owned by France. The Americans have also access, under the recent Treaty of Washington, to the Canadian fisheries; and consequently, year by year, the fishing-craft of New England, with their trim hulls and white sails, frequent in large numbers the waters of Bay Chaleurs, and other fishing-grounds

of the Dominion. The total value of the annual product of the Canadian fisheries is over three million pounds sterling, of which about one-half the value is exported to other countries, or more than double the export from the United States of the same article of merchandise. It is to the fisheries that Canada owes, to a large extent, the important merchant fleet she now possesses. The little province of Nova Scotia owns more shipping, in proportion to population, than any one of the great commercial States of the American Union. Her ships are seen in every port of the globe; and it was an energetic Nova Scotian merchant who established the first, and most successful, steamship-line between Europe and America. The Dominion is now the owner of between seven and eight thousand vessels, making an aggregate tonnage of over one million three hundred thousand tons, and valued at eight million pounds sterling. This large tonnage enables Canada to occupy the proud position of the fourth, if not the third, maritime State of the world—the United States having only one million tons, and Norway only one hundred thousand tons, more than the tonnage of the Dominion. Nor is the spirit of marine activity confined to the provinces by the sea. Ontario has a marine comprising nearly five hundred steamers, chiefly “propellers.” It says much for the enterprise of the Canadians that they are fast outstripping their American neighbours as a ship-owning, ship-sailing people. Whilst they continue to have this love for the sea, they must sooner or later obtain the maritime supremacy in the waters of the western hemisphere. The same courageous spirit which animated Frobisher and Gilbert, and all the gallant sons of Devon, still exists in its pristine

vigour among the people of the new dominion. That Spain, to curb whose ambition Raleigh devoted his life—that Spain, whose richly laden galleons once crowded the Spanish main, has now only one-fourth of the tonnage of a country which was a wilderness, without a single English settlement, in the days when Virginia, “the Old Dominion,” was founded by the most famous Englishman of his time.

The minerals of Canada are scattered over a wide extent of territory. Gold, silver, copper, iron, and almost every mineral and stone of value to commerce, can be found in some part of the Dominion, though this source of national wealth is still in the early stage of development. The Dominion Government, following the example of the American States, employs the services of a large and efficient staff of geological experts, to explore, year by year, the mineral districts of all sections, and there are consequently fresh and valuable discoveries made from time to time. The coal-fields of Nova Scotia extend over a large area, and are not likely to be exhausted for many centuries, however extraordinary may be the drain upon them. It is worthy of notice, that on the Atlantic, as on the Pacific coast, we find provinces possessing valuable mines of coal to supply the homes of the people with fuel, and to feed the furnaces of the shipping of the empire. Vancouver and Cape Breton, the sentinel islands, as it were, of the Dominion, seem destined by nature to play no insignificant part in the future commercial progress, and perhaps in the defence, of Canada. Coal of an imperfect formation, known as lignite, has also been discovered over a large section of the North-west, and it is quite certain deep borings will bring to light coal of the best

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quality. At present Canada exports coal and other minerals to about the value of a million pounds annually—but an insignificant sum compared with the amount that her undeveloped treasures must eventually realise with a greater expenditure of capital, and the more rapid progress of the country from Cape Breton to Vancouver.

The agricultural capabilities of Canada are very valuable, and form the principal source of her wealth. The forests still continue to supply a large amount of timber to the English and American markets—the total annual value of the export being some five million pounds sterling; but the rapid destruction of the pine throughout Canada must in the course of a few years materially diminish the importance of this branch of industry. According as the value of the forest decreases, capital and industry must be devoted to a larger extent than at present to manufacturing pursuits, and consequently give a still greater stimulus to the production of the agricultural districts. In all the provinces agriculture is a profitable pursuit, though in certain parts of the maritime provinces and of Quebec, where the soil is rocky and the climate very variable, the farmer has always led a stern life, though not more stern than that of the people on the bleak hills of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In the interior of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by the side of rivers and streams, especially in the valley made famous by the pen of Longfellow, rich farming lands are found to gladden the heart of the industrious agriculturist. The whole of Prince Edward Island has soil fit for a garden, capable of producing all the cereals and roots in abundance—potatoes forming one of the chief exports to the United States and even to England in times of

scarcity. Parts of the old province of Quebec are very mountainous, but even there we find a large area of valuable grazing-land, and literally "cattle on a thousand hills." The best lands exist in the oldest settled districts, by the St. Lawrence, Richelieu, St. Maurice, and other rivers, where the traveller may see for miles and miles the innumerable fences of the remarkably narrow lots, stretching to the water-front. This feature naturally attracts the attention of a stranger, and is explained by the fact that the subdivision of the farms among the members of a family, in accordance with the French law of property, has cut up the country so as to present series upon series of parallelograms. Very fine farms exist in the English section, generally known as the Eastern Townships, where some of the finest cattle in the world are raised on large stock-farms, and find sale at enormous prices in the United States. But the province of Ontario surpasses all other parts of the Dominion in its agricultural wealth. With a territory for the most part level, with an extremely rich soil, with a climate less rigorous and more equable than any other section, Ontario has necessarily become the richest province of Canada. Her wheat crop exceeds that of most States of the American Union, and supplies food not only for her own people but for thousands in England. The farmer of Ontario, who is thrifty and industrious, is one of the happiest men in the empire, producing as he can all the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life, and living as he does in a community which affords him the protection of well-administered laws and well-ordered government. However large his surplus crop he need never want a market, either in the many cities and towns which have grown up

with remarkable rapidity all over the province, or in foreign countries, which are always ready to purchase just such articles as he grows. Those who wish to know the origin of the prosperity of this flourishing province, now the home of two millions of people, will have to go back many years ago, and follow step by step the progress of the pioneer from the day he raised his little log-cabin amid the forest, and cleared the acre or two on which he grew his first crop. It was a hard fight for years, but courage and industry triumphed at last; and now the forest has receded to the rocks of Muskoka, or to the remote lumber districts of the Ottawa and its tributary streams. The best evidence of the success that has crowned the efforts of the pioneers, is the fact that Ontario produces more than half of the total export of the produce of the farms of Canada, which may be valued at over twelve million pounds sterling.

As a manufacturing country, Canada has made very considerable progress within the past five years. Whatever may be the opinion of English political economists as to the soundness of the present fiscal policy of the Dominion, there is reason for the statement constantly made by its supporters, now largely in the majority, that it has helped to stimulate manufactures throughout the country. Montreal, Hamilton, and other cities and towns, east and west, have become important centres for the manufacture of sugar, ironware, agricultural implements, sewing-machines, pianos, woollen and cotton goods, and furniture. All over Ontario, wherever there is a valuable water privilege, or a thriving busy community, factories are established from time to time, to give additional employment to population, and a larger market to the farmers. Quanti-

ties of articles, hitherto purchased abroad, are now produced at home,—a fact which helps to make the people of Canada more self-reliant, and independent of other countries. More than that, Canada already manufactures more articles than she requires for her own use, and last year sold in foreign markets a million's worth of her own manufactures—only a small amount, it is true, but sufficient to show the present direction of her energies. Political economists may point out as much as they please the fallacies of the system, but the fact nevertheless remains, that protection in a modified form is likely to be the popular policy for some time to come in Canada. A good deal probably depends on the action of the United States, where protection practically amounts to prohibition in the case of certain classes of foreign goods. If, as will probably occur, the Democrats obtain complete control of the Government, the change of policy will be in the direction of tariff reform rather than in that of free trade as understood in England. The New York 'World,' an influential organ of the Democratic party, speaks authoritatively when it says that "there is no man of weight in the councils of the Democratic party who proposes, in simplifying and remodelling the tariff, to disregard and demolish interests which have grown up under the present tariff." A revenue tariff which will give incidental protection to manufactures will likely be the policy to be adopted sooner or later. And as long as protection exists in any shape in the United States, Canada will not be disposed to alter what her public men call a "national policy." Indeed the present disposition of the dominant party in Canada is to work out, under any circumstances whatever, such a policy as will make Canada as in-

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dependent as possible of her wealthy neighbour. A policy of free trade in manufactures would practically make Canada one of the States themselves.

Statistics of revenue and trade very clearly show the national development of Canada. The annual value of the exports and imports—now about equal—is forty-five million pounds sterling, or four millions more than the aggregate trade of Brazil, or of Norway and Sweden; one-third that of the empire of Austria; and greater than that of Spain, still a Power with rich colonial possessions. The revenue of Canada, mostly derived from customs receipts, may be estimated at seven million pounds sterling, or three times greater than the revenue of Denmark, fifteen per cent greater than the revenue of Portugal, and equal to the revenue of Sweden and Norway. The expenditures of Canada are annually large, and a very considerable debt has been created; but the expenditure is now several millions below the revenue, and the debt is represented by public works, absolutely necessary to the development of the internal resources of the Dominion. The debt of Canada may well be paid to a large extent by future generations, since it is for their benefit that Canada is perfecting a system of canals and railways which, year by year, is opening up new sections and adding to the wealth of the country. In the early days of their political history, when the Canadian provinces were poor struggling communities, they commenced the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals, so essential to the commerce of the lakes and the rich country to their north and south. By the aid of this fine canal system, that noble artery of Canada, the St. Lawrence river, has become navigable for

over two thousand miles, and now gives millions of people in the West direct water-communication with the markets of Europe. This river is controlled by Canada, and the enterprise that has improved its facilities for commerce is an example of the national spirit that animates Canadian statesmen.

The same liberal prescient spirit has been shown in connection with the railway system. Thirty years ago there were only some forty miles of railway in British North America. The Grand Trunk Railway, so fatal to the original bondholders, but now a profitable, well-managed undertaking, was most liberally assisted, year after year, by the Canadian Legislature, which recognised its value to the internal development of Canada. Nearly fifty years ago, the importance of the Intercolonial Railway, from an imperial as well as a provincial point of view, was acknowledged by Lord Durham and other English statesmen; but it was not until the provinces were united in a confederation that this decidedly national project was successfully carried out: and now the people of the Dominion have a continuous rail communication from the upper lakes to the Atlantic seaboard—that is, a communication for at least two thousand miles. Railways, very important as feeders to the trunk lines, have also received liberal subsidies from the several legislatures; and now there are about eight thousand miles of railway constructed throughout Canada, and some two thousand five hundred more in course of building. That is, the Dominion of Canada has already in operation double the mileage of Sweden and Norway, some two thousand more than Italy, and one-half the mileage of France. The Canadian Pacific Railway, now under construction, is a work of

imperial magnitude. Its total length, when completed, will be nearly three thousand miles, and Canada will have an uninterrupted rail communication from Halifax to the Pacific coast. This is an undertaking which might well have obtained practical aid in some shape from the imperial Government, since it gives unity to the Dominion, develops the finest wheat-region in the world, and opens up the shortest route between England and China and Japan. But Canada, a few years ago, assumed all the onerous responsibilities which the construction of so gigantic an enterprise necessarily entails. Her public men have felt the weight of the obligation resting upon them as Canadians and subjects of the empire, and have resolutely set to work to complete this national enterprise with great business tact and energy. The plan on which the road is being built does not severely tax the financial resources of Canada for the time being, but, on the contrary, is calculated to develop the North-west, and bring in capital and population, which otherwise cannot be attracted into the country. By a liberal grant of money and land, capitalists of high standing and great energy have been induced to undertake the construction of the whole road, which is approaching completion with remarkable rapidity. The road, in fact, is being built in a certain sense on the principle of co-operation. The company and the Government are mutually interested in the sale of the lands of the North-west: every acre sold to an immigrant is a positive gain to both, since he contributes to the revenues of each. The great object of the Dominion is to have the road built with as little pecuniary outlay as possible, and to have the country through which it runs settled without delay; and cer-

tainly no more satisfactory scheme could be devised than one which makes the company equally interested with the Government in opening up the wilderness of the North-west.

In fact, on the construction of the Pacific Railway depends the development of that "Great West" where now are centred the hopes of the people of Canada. Up to the present time the relatively limited area of the agricultural lands of the old provinces has necessarily retarded their growth. Though there is still a wide field for the employment of capital and enterprise in those provinces—though agriculturists with more or less means can procure all the good land they want in Ontario on the most satisfactory terms—yet it may be conceded that those provinces of themselves are not able to compete with the Western States for the emigration from Europe, and that their prosperity must mainly depend on the establishment of manufactures and the development of their commerce. The opening up of the North-west at last places Canada on a vantage-ground as compared even with the United States, whose territorial resources are now inferior to those of that vast region as respects the production of wheat and other cereals. The acquisition of that western territory is one of the important national results of the union of the provinces in 1867. For centuries the Indian and the buffalo roamed over the wilderness of this "long land;" and the sole representatives of civilisation were, till very recently, the traders of the great company of adventurers, who obtained their charter from one of the Stuart kings, always ready to grant principalities to their favourites at one stroke of the pen. Here and there, many hundred miles apart, from Lake Superior to the

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Rocky Mountains, from Red River to Hudson Bay, were established little stations, commonly called "forts," but rough buildings and enclosures at the best, where the company's servants passed their solitary lives, only relieved by periodical visits from Indian and half-breed trappers, and by the annual arrival of the "trains" with mails and supplies. Up to the time of confederation this company reigned supreme in a territory of whose vastness and value the world was entirely ignorant. The only settlement was that on the banks of the Red River, the headquarters of the company—the home of a few thrifty, industrious Scotchmen, and a considerable half-breed population. Here several religious denominations had established schools and churches, but above them all loomed the stately Roman Catholic cathedral, whose bells, at the hours for matins and vespers, gladdened the heart of many a wearied traveller as he struggled over the plains.

"Is it the clang of wild geese,
Is it the Indian's yell,
That gives to the voice of the north
wind
The tones of a far-off bell?"

The voyageur smiles as he listens
To the sound that grows apace;
Well he knows the vesper ringing
Of the bells of St. Boniface.

The bells of the Roman mission
That call from their turrets twain
To the boatmen on the river,
To the hunter on the plain."¹

This North-west Territory, at last reclaimed from the hunter and trapper, is large enough to give Canada half-a-dozen or more provinces as productive as any of the Western States. On its prairie-lands can be raised better wheat and roots than in Illinois and Iowa; this, too, year after year, probably for twenty years, without

the use of manures, as the experience of the old settlers of the Red River valley has conclusively proved. The wheat produces sounder flour than that of Illinois or Indiana, and the soil is easily tilled all over the prairie region. As the tourist travels day after day over these rich lands, his eye becomes perfectly wearied with the monotony of the "endless sea of verdure," only broken at intervals by the muddy shallow streams and lakes that, for the most part, water the region. But monotonous as seems the landscape, it represents to the practical eye a vast heritage of comfort and wealth. Here the settler can, with a very little labour, raise his crops, and avoid all the toil of clearing the forest, which is one of the troublesome features of pioneer life in the old provinces. The most valuable districts of the territory are watered by the Red, Assiniboine, Saskatchewan, and Peace rivers; and many years must elapse before the rich lands can be exhausted, even if the tide of immigration flows into the country with the same rapidity as it has poured for several decades of years into the Western States. Where the prairie-lands end, stretches a rolling country towards and up the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, where herds of cattle can be raised far more profitably than in the States to the south; and there have been already established in that section several large "ranches," the beginning of a productive industry, in view of the yearly increasing demand for animal food for exportation. One fine province has already been carved out of the territory, and others will soon follow as the necessity arises for provincial organisation.

Manitoba has now a population of between eighty and ninety thou-

¹ Whittier—Home Ballads.

sand souls, whose numbers are increasing every summer. The capital, Winnipeg, on the Red River, has already a settled population of over twenty thousand persons, and seems destined, by its natural position, and relation to the country away beyond, to become the Chicago of the Canadian North-west. It must be the emporium of the yearly increasing trade of a country whose natural resources will find their full development with the completion of the Pacific Railway, and its auxiliary lines, tapping the most fertile sections of the territory. Like all new towns in the West, Winnipeg has been hurriedly run up,—though, as its position is now assured, a better class of buildings is yearly erected, and the streets begin to present that substantial appearance which is the best evidence of its prosperity, and of the confidence which its citizens have in its future career. Speculation in land is the favourite employment of all classes of the citizens. Even the hotel barber forgets to extol the merits of his "tonics" and "invigorators," and suavely directs your attention to the ticket which shows that he, too, has "lots for sale." A great deal of land has changed hands during the past two years, and sharp speculators have realised handsome sums. Numerous companies have received charters for colonisation on a very extensive scale—the Duke of Manchester, Lord Elphinstone, Mr. Tennant, and other capitalists having already made large investments in the territory. So far the history of colonisation in the North-west is that of the Western States. For a century people from the New England and the older States have been moving westward and occupying the new territories. In this way, Illinois, Iowa, and all the great States of the North-west have been settled by the class of

pioneers best suited to a new country. It will be the same thing in the Canadian North-west. Farmers from Ontario, chiefly from the most thickly populated districts, have been pouring into the province of Manitoba and the adjacent territory, and preparing the way, as it were, for the emigrant from Europe. By the time there is a large influx of Old World population, there will also be found, scattered all over the North-west, little settlements of industrious farmers from the older provinces, whose experience and knowledge will be invaluable, and, in fact, absolutely necessary, to the European settler, to whom everything will be at first very strange in his new home. Already throughout that vast region towns and villages are being "located" along the line of railway, and here and there patches of cultivated ground tell of the rapid march of the advance-guard of that army of pioneers already on their way to take possession of the territory. The cabins of these settlers—sentinels, as it were, of civilisation in the wilderness—are but humble homes; their inmates must, for years to come, lead lives of privation. But we all know that the history of Western colonisation is ever the same; that difficulties are eventually overcome—that the rude cabins are, sooner or later, turned into large and comfortable dwellings, and the little clearings lost in wide stretches of fields of ripening grain.

I have briefly reviewed the most noteworthy features of the material development of Canada, so rich in territory, and all those natural resources which create wealth and attract population. The foundations of her prosperity rest on a sound system of popular education, and on those principles of government which, experience has shown,

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are best adapted to give unity and strength to a people. No dependency of the empire, not even England herself, has a system of education better calculated than that of Ontario to elevate the masses to a higher degree of culture. The legislatures of all the provinces have, for many years past, largely supplemented the efforts of the people in the various municipal districts to improve the condition of the public schools; and the result is, that the poorest children in the country can receive an education, according to their vocation in life, in common schools, grammar schools, collegiate institutes, agricultural colleges, and universities, some of the latter of a high standard. The progress that has been made within less than half a century may be proved by the fact that in 1840 there were in all the schools of British North America only some 90,000 young people, or about one in fifteen, whilst at the present time the proportion is one in four—about the same proportion as in Massachusetts. With a liberal and thorough educational system, with the rapid development of wealth, the Canadian people have necessarily gained in intellectual culture. The architecture of the churches and public buildings; the taste and even luxury of the homes of the people; the establishment of numerous societies for the promotion of art, literature, and science; the literary ability displayed in the leading journals; the interesting historical, scientific, and other books that are annually published,—all go to prove that the Canadians have long since successfully passed through the rude stages of colonial life, and are slowly but steadily advancing in the direction of that higher culture which can only be expected in communities of mature age and large wealth. It is true

no great poem, no popular novel, no remarkable history, has yet appeared to rival the masterpieces of American literature; but there is nevertheless produced from year to year much meritorious work, especially in science, which augurs well for the future literature of Canada. The remarks of Mr. Freeman in a recent work have an application to Canada as well as to the United States, when he says that America strikes him "as the land of the general reader; and that the well-read—not the professed scholars, but the intelligent readers—are a larger proportional class in America than in England." In every populous centre there are many persons of cultivated, refined tastes; and even now that apostle of culture, Mr. Matthew Arnold, may travel in Canada without enduring much mental suffering. In the management of local and municipal affairs, in the work of administering the provincial and Dominion Governments, the Canadians exhibit an amount of constitutional knowledge and executive ability that will account for the large measure of success that has heretofore attended their efforts to govern themselves. The proceedings of their legislative bodies, especially of the Dominion Parliament, are conducted, as a rule, with a regard to decorum, and with an adherence to the great principles of British parliamentary usage and procedure, that may well provoke comparison with the proceedings of the imperial Legislature in these degenerate days, when the *clôture*, as yet unknown in Canada, is forced on a minority. On those occasions, far too rare, when the public men of Canada are called upon to pass beyond the sphere of narrow provincial issues, and to deal with questions of national significance, not a few speeches are distinguished by an oratorical skill and a comprehen-

siveness of knowledge which show that a colonial statesman can rise beyond that "colonial littleness" which the 'Times' very recently went out of its way to describe as the principal characteristic of Canadian public life.

The people of Canada now enjoy a system of government that is in complete harmony with their social and material condition, and fully equal to their wants and necessities for years to come. Representative institutions were established in Canada less than a century ago, and have expanded according to the progress of the country in population and wealth. The inhabitants, in the days of the French *régime*, had no system of local government, and were even restrained from holding public meetings. The government was administered through a few French officials, who derived their instructions directly from the king and his Ministers. Assemblies were given to the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in 1792, and the people were from that time educated in self-government. The history of the forty years following was one of bickerings and controversies between the governors and the Assemblies. The fatal defect of the early constitutions was the irresponsible character of the executive; and it was not until the ill-advised rebellion of 1837-38 broke out, and the attention of England was necessarily given to the political condition of the country, that British statesmen at last recognised the mistakes of their previous policy, and consented to extend the constitutional liberties of the people of the North American provinces. The immediate results of this wise change of policy were the union of the Canadas in 1840, and the concession of responsible government. This was the commencement of a new era in colonial

history, from which must date the remarkable development of Canada. Concession after concession was made to the colonies by the British Government until they were finally permitted to manage their own affairs without the interference of the parent State. By the federal union of 1867, the provinces are in the possession of powers almost imperial in their nature. The central Government now has the power to appoint and dismiss the lieutenant-governors of the several sections constituting the Dominion, and to establish new provinces within the vast Northwest Territory, which is exclusively under its control. The constitution also invests the central Government with the right of disallowing the acts of the provincial legislatures whenever they conflict with the powers given, either in express terms or by necessary implication, to the Dominion Parliament. The right of disallowance has been exercised on several occasions, and is likely to prove a source of much controversy from time to time between the several provinces and the general Government. The history of the federal system of the United States shows us very clearly that the various members of the Union must always regard with jealousy and suspicion any interference with their legislative action, and that the central authority is bound to act strictly within the letter and spirit of its constitutional limitations, in order that the federal machinery may move without that friction which, sooner or later, must lead to troublesome complications. At present we only refer to this important constitutional provision as showing the large power given to the Government of Canada under the Act of Confederation. If it were not for the facts that the sovereign is still represented by a Governor-General,

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that Canada is not yet allowed to make commercial treaties with foreign countries, and that the people have still a right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Dominion would be practically an independent State. Even the right of Canada to make her own commercial treaties has been distinctly affirmed by a powerful party in the Canadian Parliament. Indeed the history of the Reciprocity Treaty which existed between Canada and the United States until 1866, and of the Washington Treaty of 1872, sufficiently shows the desire of the imperial Government to meet the wishes of the colonies in all matters affecting their commerce; and the time is undoubtedly near at hand when arrangements will be made to place the commercial relations of the Dominion on a far more satisfactory basis than at present. But, of course, any arrangements that are made must keep in view the interests of the imperial connection.

By the written constitution of the Dominion, each province has a Lieutenant-Governor, and a Legislature of either one or two Houses, and an Executive Council. These provincial Legislatures have the right to pass laws with respect to education, local works, and other matters of a municipal or provincial character. Trade and commerce, the raising of a general revenue by taxation, postal affairs, militia and defence, the organisation of the territories, and all matters of a Dominion or national importance, are within the jurisdiction of the central or federal Government, to which are also reserved all powers not expressly given to the provincial Governments. This system, so far, has worked to the common advantage of the Dominion and provinces, and seems well adapted to con-

serve the varied interests of the several members of the confederation. Like the United States, Canada has a Supreme Court to which cases are brought on appeal from the various provincial tribunals, and which is proving itself a valuable auxiliary to the harmonious operation of the Union by its interpretations of the imperial Act of 1867; and there can be no doubt that, in the course of time, the people will fully appreciate the advantage of having an impartial learned body, removed from all sectional influences, ready to decide important issues of constitutional law. The Governor-General is advised by a Privy Council responsible to and dependent on the support of a majority in the House of Commons; and the same wise principle of responsibility to the people through their representatives in Parliament is strictly carried out in all the provinces. The Civil Service is composed of a permanent body of officials, who hold their positions during good behaviour, and can look forward to public support when old age incapacitates them for work. The judiciary is appointed by the Crown, and no one of its members can be removed except on the address of the two Houses of Parliament. These features of the Canadian system of government are in direct opposition to the principles of the American system, and show the essentially British character of Canadian institutions. A permanent Executive, a Ministry directly responsible to Parliament, a non-political body of public servants, and an independent judiciary, are all absolutely necessary to the healthy political development of a country; and Canadians have never been tempted by American influences to swerve from these wise, conservative methods of government. Indeed,

their wisdom is proved by the fact that leading minds in the United States are already prepared to move in the same direction. With a Democratic majority in Congress, there is now reason to hope that the Civil Service of the United States will ere long be placed on a substantial basis, and cease to be used as a mere machine for serving the purposes of unscrupulous demagogues and tricksters. There are also signs that the evils of the system of an elective judiciary are becoming quite apparent to the majority of intelligent citizens in the older States, and that it must, sooner or later, disappear with other creations of unbridled democracy. Thinkers, too, are found to urge the necessity of having in the Legislature some responsible body to control and perfect legislation, as well as to give explanations on public affairs; and it may be, the time is not far distant when Congress will agree to provide a constitutional amendment which will give the President's advisers a seat in either House. In the meantime, Canada can be held out in all these respects as an example to her powerful democratic neighbour.

And here the question will probably be asked—Is there at present a tendency towards annexation among any class of Canadians? In the days, now happily long past, when the Canadian provinces were poor struggling communities isolated from each other, not a few of the people were disposed to contrast their poverty and illiberal system of government with the prosperity and political freedom of the American States, and some men of ability and influence believed that the time was approaching for forming a closer connection with their more progressive neighbours. The Union of 1840 was the turning-point in the political

history of Canada. The healthy development of all sources of prosperity brought content and hope to the people, and created that national pride which is the most effective influence against the progress of an annexation sentiment. Then, a quarter of a century later, came the confederation of the provinces to destroy effectually any feeling that may have existed in favor of a political union with the State. The people, year by year, have seen their territory extended until Canada has assumed the proportions of an empire, and now their aspirations take a higher direction than absorption in the ranks of the American commonwealths.

But in order to understand the sentiments of the great mass of the Canadians on a subject concerning which some misapprehension exists in the parent State, we need only consider the character of the ruling classes in Canada. There are now, within her borders, nearly four millions of native-born Canadians, of whom over a million speak the French language. The French Canadians have always, for the most part, held decidedly monarchical and Conservative opinions. A large proportion of the early settlers came from that section where devotion to the king was a powerful sentiment when all the rest of France was mad with republicanism. Removed from the revolutionary influences of the dark days of France, living under the benign rule of England for over a century, the French Canadians have never ceased to cherish a deep attachment to monarchy, and even now their sympathies are with the Legitimists of the parent State. They are remarkable for their devotion to their Church, and are largely directed in all their affairs, temporal and spiritual, by the priesthood. During the war of

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American Independence, when stirring appeals were made to the French Canadians by Rochambeau and Lafayette, the French priest was entirely on the side of England. The rebellion of 1837 had no substantial support among the intelligent majority of the people of Lower Canada: on the contrary, they looked with suspicion on the republican sentiments of some of the revolutionary leaders. It was a French Canadian statesman who declared that "the last shot fired for British rule on the continent of America would be fired by a French Canadian." By the present constitution the special interests of the French Canadians are protected, and their rights expressly guaranteed; and under these circumstances, they are the class least likely to see any advantages in annexation. On the contrary, it conveys to their minds the idea of positive peril to those institutions to which they attach the greatest importance. They believe it really means in the end the destruction of their laws and language, just as the old institutions of the French have been gradually forced to give way in the State of Louisiana.

Among the English Canadians there exists an influence against annexation just as powerful in its way as the attachment of the French Canadian to British connection. This is the influence of the descendants of the old Loyalists who made their homes in Canada in such large numbers during the closing years of last century. The descendants of the forty thousand and more persons who became Canadians at that time of imperial discomfiture now form a considerable portion of the dominant class in the Dominion, and still retain that affection for the parent State which is their natural heritage. They have much more liberal, progressive ideas than had their stern,

uncompromising forefathers. They do not form a distinctive political party, but are found in the Liberal as well as in the Conservative ranks. One, indeed, would forget that these are descendants of the Loyalists in Canada, were it not for crises affecting the honour and interests of the empire, when immediately their attachment to England rises above all minor considerations, and makes its influence felt throughout the Dominion. Indeed, to the silent influences of this class may be attributed in a great measure the fact that there are such striking contrasts in the social life of the Canadians and their American neighbours. We do not notice in Canada the restlessness and want of tone characteristic of the average American citizen. Society in the older cities and towns even yet refuses to be Americanised in thought or speech. The language is that of English society of the better class; the orthography is still English, and "honour" has not become "honor," nor are Canadians in the habit of going to the "theater,"—though it must be admitted that the press and careless writers are working energetically in that direction. The current literature is that of England; and it is a fact that even Howells, James, and other distinguished writers, have fewer readers in Canada than in London. Indeed one may think with reason that there is too decided a disposition among Canadians to ignore American literature, and in fact to look suspiciously at everything that is not English—a decidedly insular trait which Canadians have inherited in a large measure from the Loyalists. Indeed it is to the influence of this spirit that we may attribute the slow growth of a native literature in Canada.

These national influences combine with a strong belief in the

future career of Canada, to prevent the progress of an annexation sentiment in the country. Indeed Canadians have so much practical work on hand for years to come, especially in the North-west Territory, that they have literally no time to devote to theoretical speculations about their future destiny. When the Dominion has a population above 10,000,000—probably by the end of a decade—Canadians may aspire to a higher position among communities. Whether this great dependency will become a more active partner in the empire—in that imperial federation which was foreshadowed by James Otis,¹ and is the aspiration nowadays of not a few far-seeing statesmen,²—is a question which must be left to the solution of time. Canada is pursuing her work of development under the most favourable circumstances. She enjoys all the security and prestige which connection with the empire can give her. She is bound by the closest ties of commercial interest and family affection to the powerful nation on her borders. European complications are not likely to endanger her peace whilst England can perform police duties on the seas. The questions which agitate the public mind are simply ques-

tions of provincial interest which can be easily arranged. It is the hope of the Canadian people, who are making all possible sacrifices, and exerting their best energies to develop the resources of their country, that they will meet with that cordial sympathy from the parent State which will be at once a guarantee of success and a reward for their fidelity to the empire. And when the time comes for solving the question of the destiny of Canada, it will be well both for her and the empire if it be left to the decision of statesmen possessing the foresight and the breadth of view of the late Lord Beaconsfield. Imperialism is a word which certain political critics have been wont to construe only in a derogatory sense; but a Canadian writer may be allowed to say, that a policy which makes England a real influence and power in the councils of Europe, and at the same time promotes the unity of the empire by attaching due importance to the possession of colonies, is, after all, that policy which is deserving of the approval and support of true Englishmen all the world over.

Only a few words in concluding a paper which is necessarily but a brief review of some leading features of the material and political

¹ Bancroft's Constitution of the United States, vol. i. p. 6.

² Since this article was put in type, the principle of colonial federation has received powerful support from a speech delivered at Edinburgh by a distinguished Canadian, Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G., in the course of which he said: "He was quite prepared to say that, as regards everything, there could be no doubt federation would be an unmixed good. It would certainly tend to consolidate the empire, to bring the inherent elements of strength more directly under the control of the principal Government, and increase its influence and strength. The general principle would be simply the consolidation of the general interests which concern us all, whether east or west, north or south—the consolidation of those under one general Legislature, and the localising of the sectional questions which were not imperial. . . . There were certain local questions which they could deal with better than anybody else could; and he believed that, as regards the general question, it would be very much better if they were dealt with by all whose interests were really embarked in it. . . . The truth was the empire was growing beyond the present system; and he hoped that as the necessity for further changes came, those changes might seek a direction which would give vitality and permanence to the British empire."

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March 1883

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development of the most important dependency of the empire. It is a country of whose progress every Englishman should be proud. We have seen that it is a country which is rapidly gaining national strength; but it is also a country rich in natural beauty. Where will we see a river which can rival the St. Lawrence at once for extent and grandeur—a river ever and anon expanding into great lakes, and broken into picturesque forms by impetuous rapids and cataracts? Where will we find such forests of tall pine as still darken the hills of the Laurentian range—these ancient hills which have existed amid all the earth's changes since times primeval? Where in Europe will we see lakes that may compare with the great inland waters which bathe the shores of the province of Ontario, with its flourishing towns and prosperous farms? The countries watered by these Western seas may have none of the rich historic memories that cling to the shores of the Mediterranean; but still Ontario, tame and uneventful as her history may be, will be always associated with the record of human endeavour and human happiness. Or where will we find a country offering to all the world so vast a territory of rich prairie-lands, purple with wild flowers and grasses, soon to give way to golden grain, to feed millions of people now struggling in the overcrowded Old World? Or where will we see such deep blue skies as canopy the vast region which Canadians call their own? So invigorating and bracing is the Canadian winter, that those who have once breathed its air can never find health or comfort amid the enervating influences of southern climates. The people who live in Canada are deeply attached to their own land. Indeed it is a trait of the people

born under northern skies that they can never find content elsewhere, but that their hearts, like the leaves of the little compass-flower found on the slopes of the Ozark Hills, ever turn towards the north. Canada is a north-land, not of perpetual glaciers; not of gloomy, solitary fjords; not of bleak, barren hills, where men slave and toil with little rewards; but it is a north-land whose bays teem with fish, whose hills are covered with the finest timber, whose soil is productive for a territory extending over 3000 miles. What the people of this country have already achieved, their present wealth abundantly shows when compared with that of countries which have played no insignificant part in the world's history. A century ago the greater part of Canada was but a remote and unexplored wilderness, and now we find seven provinces—one of them, Ontario, large enough for an empire—teeming with population, and prosperous in all the great concerns of life, in good government, the means of subsistence, and social happiness. The tide of population is overflowing the boundaries of the old provinces, and pressing further and further towards the west. No rivers, or mountains, or seas resist the progress of industry and enterprise. Ere long, from Halifax on the Atlantic to Victoria on the Pacific, for thousands of miles westward from the heights where Daniel Webster stood many years ago, we will find people from all the northern countries of Europe cultivating smiling fields, rearing towns and villages, and cherishing the blessings of those free institutions, under whose wise and fostering influence Canada has already attained so large a measure of happiness and prosperity.

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