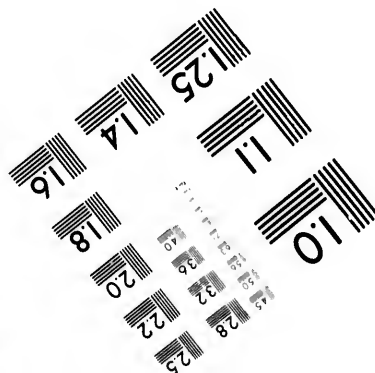
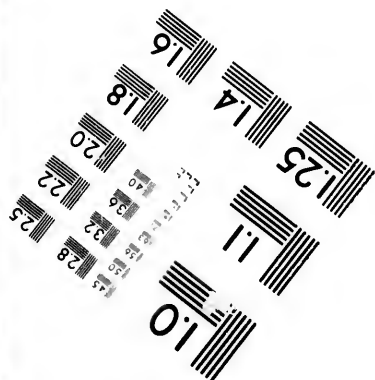
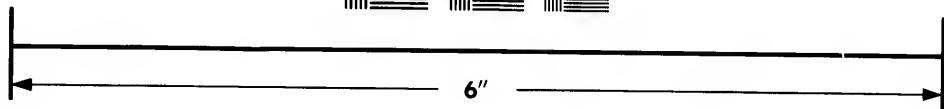
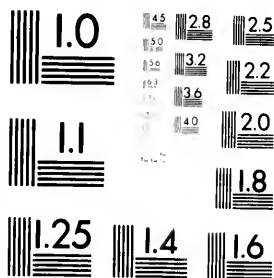


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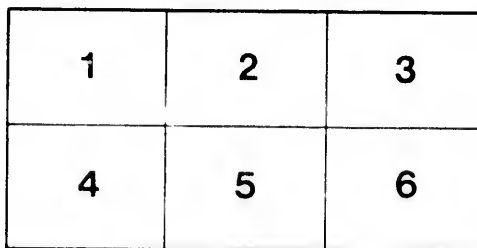
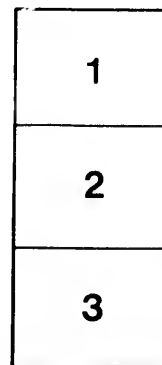
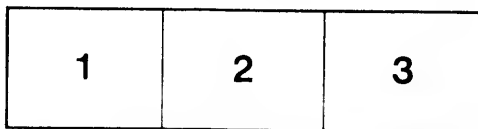
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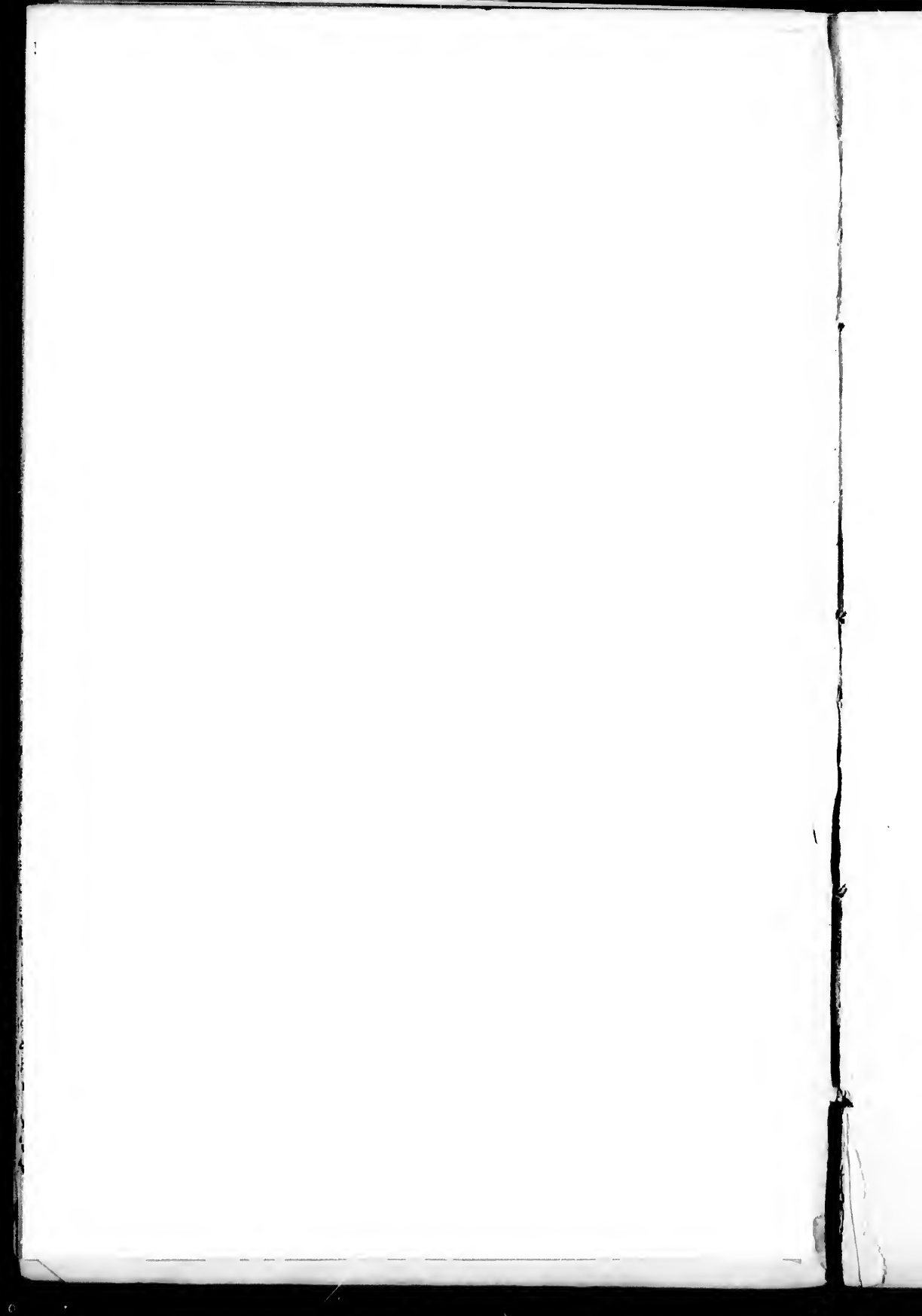
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*From the Revue Coloniale
Internationale, March 1881
Amsterdam*

CANADA AS A NATION.

BY

JOHN GEO. BOURINOT.

In the early part of last November there appeared in the newspapers of America and Europe a brief announcement that the Canadian Pacific Railway had commenced to run its trains from the city of Montreal on the St. Lawrence River as far as the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Upon the majority of persons the mere mention of this fact probably made little impression at the time, but to every one who has an interest in the progress of the new Dominion it must have afforded the most conclusive evidence of the remarkable energy and enterprise of a country whose total population does not yet exceed five million souls. If any one wishes to appreciate the full significance of this item of news, placed very likely in some cases in an obscure corner of a European newspaper, let him take up a map of North America and carefully trace out the route of the new railway from the province of Quebec to British Columbia, and he will soon obtain some idea of the magnitude of the task which Canada has achieved within a decade of years. This great road runs through about three thousand miles of country, the greater part of which is still a wilderness. By its connections at Montreal — the North Shore, the Grand Trunk and the Intercolonial Railways — Canada now possesses an uninterrupted line of rail communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans of three thousand eight hundred miles. This great system of railways has been completed within eighteen years — since the commencement of Confederation — by the unaided efforts of the Canadian people. The present Governor-General of Canada, the Marquess of Lansdowne, has very truly said that when we consider "the physical difficulties which had to be overcome,

»the shortness of the time in which the work has been carried
 »out, and the small numerical strength of the nation for whom
 »the work has been done, the construction of this road — imperial
 »in its conception and results — is without a parallel in the history
 »of similar undertakings.”

That my readers may fully appreciate the ^{value in the Peninsula} ~~extent~~ of territory which Canada now possesses, I would ask them to follow me for a few minutes as I take them through the countries over which her great lines of railway pass. Starting from the East, we see the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island — Newfoundland still remaining isolated from the rest of British America — with an aggregate population of nearly a million souls, with coasts surrounded by the most valuable fisheries of the world, long the object of the envy of their American neighbours. These provinces possess rich mines of coal and other minerals, while their shipping industry is larger than that of all the New England States. They are indented by noble harbours and by rivers which enable their people to have communication with the seacoast in every direction. Proceeding northward through New Brunswick with its picturesque hills and valleys, and its rivers teeming with salmon, we come to the country watered by the St. Lawrence. First, we pass through the historic province of Quebec, the home of a million and a quarter of people, who are descended from those courageous Frenchmen who followed Champlain into the wilderness more than two centuries and a half ago. A range of mountains, coeval with the earliest ages of the world, stretches from North to South, and dips its slopes in the waters of the great river. A large farming population, chiefly French-Canadian, cultivate these Laurentian slopes, and the fertile lands which extend to the southward of the river as far as the American frontier. Valuable mines of iron and phosphate are found in the hills, which add so much to the picturesque beauty of a province famous for its rugged scenery, its rapid rivers, its wide lakes, and its impetuous cataracts. Large forests of pine still rise in gloomy grandeur on the heights overlooking the upper waters of the St. Maurice and Ottawa Rivers, and give employment to the many thousands engaged in one of the most profitable industries of Canada. Leaving Quebec we travel on to the premier province of Ontario, which claims a territory extending from the River Ottawa, the western boundary of Quebec, to beyond the head of Lake Superior, the largest of the inland waters of the Dominion. The greater part of this province illustrates the energy and enter-

of the two million people by its prosperous cities and towns, its teeming granaries, its well cultivated farms, its busy factories. This is a country producing a large surplus crop of wheat and other agricultural products, besides fruits of every kind that can grow in a temperate climate. Then passing from this wealthy country, we find ourselves in that illimitable region which is generally known as the North West Territory, and which in the early days of the Dominion was an entire wilderness aptly styled the Great Lone Land! Here within fifteen years has been established the prosperous province of Manitoba, with a population of probably eighty thousand souls, and one city of thirty thousand at least. This is the region of the prairie with its tall grasses and purple flowers, stretching for miles without a break until the very sameness of the scene becomes weary to the eye, and the traveller longs for the bold hills and green forests of the East. Rivers of great length wind through the prairie lands, and afford facilities for navigation to steam and other craft of small draught of water. As we proceed West we gradually leave the fine prairie lands and find ourselves in the rolling country that lies to the east of the Rocky mountains. Wheat and other agricultural products are grown in the prairie region of a quality not surpassed on any other part of the continent. On the large tracts of rich grazing land that lie at the feet of the Rocky mountains thousands of cattle can thrive at a relatively small cost. A considerable area of country is of carboniferous formation, and promises to yield abundant fuel of excellent quality — a great boon to the people who are to settle a region without the maple and hardwood forests of the old provinces. Passing through one of the natural gateways of the Rockies we descend to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The dark waters of the Fraser River pursue their devious way through a country surpassing other sections of the Dominion in mountains whose lofty peaks are ever lost amid the clouds. As on the Atlantic coast the island of Cape Breton with its great coal fields and spacious harbours, guards the Eastern approaches to the Dominion, so on the Pacific shores the island of Vancouver, with its rich deposits of coal, stands like a sentinel at the Western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Large tracts of land in this beautiful province are suitable for farming purposes; its rivers and coasts abound in salmon and other fish, and its mountains in gold.

We have now traversed a territory of nearly four thousand miles in length, and may briefly refer to its climatic characteristics.

On the whole, the climate of this vast region is extremely healthy and well adapted to the growth of food. In the maritime provinces the fall of snow is very heavy at times, especially in the interior, but as a rule the cold of winter and the heat of summer are considerably modified by the influences of the ocean. The seasons resemble in some respects those of Scotland, the advantage being in summer on the side of the maritime provinces. In Quebec the winters are long and the cold and the heat intense at times in their respective seasons, but the climate after all is about the same as that of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, the home of the bone and sinew of New England. Ontario possesses the mildest winters of the older section of the Dominion, and the hottest summers, which enable the peach and grape to ripen as in the most favoured localities of the Northern States. The North West has a climate more rigorous than that of the eastern provinces, but all those who have lived any time in the country concur in saying that the air is more bracing and invigorating than in any other part of Canada. In British Columbia there are none of the extremes of heat and cold, peculiar to the country east of the Rocky Mountains, but the climate is as balmy and equable for the greater part of the year as in that much favoured state of the American Union, golden California. In short all the climatic conditions of the Dominion are calculated to develop the energy and endeavour of men.

At present the population of Canada may be estimated at five million souls. The history of the French Canadian province is contemporaneous with that of the New England States. The colonies of Plymouth and of Massachusetts Bay were established during the first years of the seventeenth century when Champlain and his compatriots were laying the foundations of a New France on the banks of the St. Lawrence. For a century and a half French Canada struggled under an illiberal system of government which centralized all authority in the King and his representatives, and never permitted the establishment of local self government as it existed in New England. The energies of the people were wasted in the wars between England and France for the supremacy on the continent of America, and by the time the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763 there were not more than sixty or seventy thousand people in all French Canada. Some forty thousand intelligent, industrious people, known as United Empire Loyalists came into the country rather than remain in the United States when they became independent of Great Britain, and first settled the provinces of New

Brunswick and Ontario. By the beginning of the present century there were in all Canada only one hundred and eighty thousand souls, the majority of whom were French Canadians. Representative institutions were now conceded to the provinces, and a considerable commerce grew up in the most populous centres; but nevertheless the growth of the population for forty years was small when compared with that of the United States. The political difficulties of the country, especially in Lower Canada, and the general poverty of the mass of the people, then without any large markets or speedy means of inter-communication, prevented anything like a considerable immigration. Nevertheless the population of Canada reached at least a million and a quarter by 1840, which was the turning point in the history of the political as well as the material development of the provinces. By 1860 the total population of Canada had nearly trebled, as there was a large influx of immigrants from Ireland and Great Britain between 1845 and 1860. The same ratio of increase has not been kept up since that time, chiefly on account of the preference given by European emigrants to the United States, and the exodus of many Canadians year after year to the manufacturing towns of that country. Of late this Canadian migration appears to have been diminishing, and with the prospects of settlement in the North West, the Census of 1890 is likely to present figures calculated to encourage Canadians in the future of their country.

The ancestors of the French Canadian race which now forms so large a proportion of the population of Canada, and exercises so much influence on its political and social conditions, came chiefly from Normandy and Brittany. These people are very sociable in their habits and fairly industrious, although slow to adopt improvements and adapt themselves to the new order of things. A great many of them are employed in the lumber and manufacturing industries of the country. Preferring such occupations to agricultural pursuits, large numbers have for many years sought employment in the manufactories of New England, especially in the cities of Fall River, Holyoke and Lowell. They are devout Roman Catholics, and in no other country of the world do the priests exercise greater influence than in the province of Quebec. The humblest village is built around a large stone church, and wherever you go you see the evidences of the religious devotion of the people in the names of the settlements, and in the fine conventual and other institutions, controlled by the priests and religious orders. Under an ordinary condition of things the French Canadians are a well disposed,

amiable people, but once let a question arise that appears to affect their race or religion, they become easily excited. Happily for the peace and prosperity of Canada, whenever questions have come up during the last fifty years, likely to precipitate a conflict of races, the sound sense and intelligence of the people of French and English Canada have at last obtained the supremacy. Canada already owes much to those able men among the French Canadians who, rising superior to national prejudices, have looked only to the ends of justice and the good government of the country.

The remaining three and a half millions of whom at least two millions live in Ontario, are made up, in about the same proportions of people of English, Scotch and Irish origin; the German and other foreign nationalities forming but a small element of the population. The descendants of the loyalists who founded the most prosperous sections of the Dominion have always exercised much influence on the political development of the country. The Scotch have brought into Canada those characteristics of thrift and energy which have given them the superiority, in every country to which they migrate, and we find the "canny Scot" consequently not only among the leaders of political parties but at the head of all great commercial and financial enterprises which are doing so much to make the country wealthy and prosperous. The Irish are on the whole a contented and successful class, who fully appreciate the liberal system of self-government which Canada gives them in common with people of all nationalities. It is also important and interesting to note in this connection that while the population of Canada is divided by the Census Returns into four large classes as respects its origin — French, English, Scotch and Irish — the great majority are native born. In consequence of the small immigration that has come into Canada compared with the millions who have poured into the United States, the native Canadians now form the principal element of the population. The fact that there are over four million people born in Canada is important inasmuch as it gives some explanation why there exists in Canada above all other dependencies of the Empire, a strong national sentiment — a pride in Canada and her successes — and an earnest desire to place her in the van of the British communities of the world.

Let us now consider some of the results which have been achieved by these five millions of people who occupy a country of greater area than the United States. The

wealth of the Dominion is now derived chiefly from its forests, its agriculture, its fisheries and its mines. The export trade with foreign countries annually reaches, taking the average for the past ten years, some £ 20,000,000 sterling, of which amount the forest contributes £ 5,000,000; the farms £ 7,000,000; the fisheries £ 1,500,000, and the mines £ 700,000. Canada is able to export annually some £ 800,000 worth of manufactured goods, leaving out of the calculation, the large quantity of sawn lumber she sends to the United States and other countries. Of these Exports £ 9,000,000 worth finds its way to Great Britain, and about the same amount to the United States, nearly £ 1,000,000 to the West Indies and South America, the trade with other countries being comparatively insignificant. The imports of Canada are valued at £ 24,000,000 a year, and are distributed as follows: From Great Britain, £ 9,000,000; the United States, £ 10,000,000; the West Indies and South America, over £ 1,000,000; Germany £ 400,000; France £ 350,000; Spain, £ 350,000. Canada still buys large quantities of tea, cotton, linen, silk, spirituous liquors, and various luxuries from Great Britain, but there is no doubt that the effect of the National Policy is to reduce the trade with the parent state in certain classes of manufactures which the Dominion is now commencing to produce easily and cheaply. We cannot have any very satisfactory statistics of the condition of the manufacturing industries of the country until the next Census, five years hence, but sufficient facts have been already collected to show that certain classes of goods have been largely manufactured since the adoption of a commercial policy some years ago with the avowed object of stimulating Canadian enterprise. A considerable business has been developed in refined sugars, cottons, woollens, furniture, boots and shoes, ironware, and other staple manufactures. From the figures at hand, we may put down the number of large cotton mills at 21, and the value of their annual productions at £ 2,500,000 sterling. The value of the annual production of woollen manufactures of all kinds is estimated at £ 3,000,000. At the present time there are throughout Canada probably, between 3000 and 4000 mills and factories, small and large, engaged in manufacturing industries of all kinds; representing a capital of some £ 15,000,000; employing upwards of 90,000 persons; paying wages to the amount of £ 6,000,000 and producing goods to the value of £ 20,000,000. Whatever doubts the political economists of the old world may have of the soundness of the policy, there is reason for thinking that it has been successful in making Canada in certain respects

independent of other countries, in giving employment to capital and people, in teaching Canadians the benefits of self-reliance, and in helping to create a national feeling.

The maritime industry of the Dominion continues to add largely to the wealth of the people. The fisheries of British North America, from the earliest period of which we have any historical record, have been the resort of the vessels of the great maritime powers. Soon after the discovery of the continent of America Basque and Breton fishermen cast their lines on the banks of Newfoundland, and from that time to this a large fleet of French fishermen annually finds its way to the coast of Newfoundland, where France still clings to the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, as indispensable to the successful prosecution of those fisheries which she has always prized so highly. The value of the annual catch of the Canadian fisheries has increased from two million pounds sterling in 1875 to over three million and a half at the present time. The deep sea fishery is now carried on in a better and larger class of vessel than formerly, and the crews are consequently able to compete successfully with the enterprising fishermen of Gloucester and other ports of New England. The question of the fisheries has again been reopened by the repeal of those clauses of the Washington Treaty of 1871 which allowed the Americans access to the fishing grounds of Canada in return for the free importation of Canadian fish into the American market, and for a money compensation of five million and a half of dollars awarded the Dominion by a Commission appointed under that Treaty. The history of the Fisheries proves conclusively that the people of New England have always cast an envious eye on the mackerel, herring and other inshore fisheries of Canada, and now that the controversy has been revived we may be sure there will be a determined effort on their part to gain access to these valuable waters on terms as little favourable as possible to the Dominion. The Canadians, however, knowing the increasing value of their fisheries are not disposed to surrender their rights without receiving adequate return. They are quite prepared, as in 1854, to enter into a fair arrangement of reciprocal trade in certain products of both countries; but it is also quite evident that they will not make any treaty with their neighbours which will in any way interfere with the success of the National Policy, or make Canadians dependent on the United States.

The old provinces of Canada possess natural features eminently favourable to the development of a great marine. In the first place

the carriage to foreign markets of their principal natural products, of the mine, of the fisheries and of the forest — has always given a great stimulus to the construction of vessels of all sizes, from the full rigged ship which sails round the world, to the little schooner which plies about the coast. The maritime section of Canada possesses harbours not surpassed in depth and security by those of any other country in the world. The St. Lawrence connects the rich country surrounding the Western Lakes with the ports of Montreal and Quebec. Under these circumstances Canada has been forced to build a large commercial marine for the purposes of her domestic and foreign commerce. The lakes and rivers of the upper provinces maintain a considerable fleet of steamers and other craft, necessary for the prosecution of her inland trade, while the large ships of Halifax, St. John, Yarmouth and other ports on the sea board carry her exports to all parts of the world. Canada now owns a fleet of between six and seven thousand vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of over a million and a quarter of tons, valued at over six million pounds sterling. As a maritime power the Dominion already ranks above France, Italy and Germany, and is exceeded in tonnage only by England, the United States and Norway. The United States with fifty five million people or more, own only one million more tons than the Dominion of Canada with one eleventh of the population.

The forests of Canada annually produce some two hundred million cubic feet of timber of all kinds, of which one half consists of white pine; but in the old provinces this source of wealth must greatly diminish in value a few years hence. The pine woods of the Ottawa and the St. Maurice country are rapidly disappearing before the axe of the lumberman and the fires of the careless settler or hunter, and the time must come when the principal timber supply of the Dominion will be found on the hillsides of British Columbia. But while the forests are decreasing in value, the agricultural industry of the whole of Canada continues to be developed every year on a greater scale. In the older provinces there is relatively a small area of fertile land now open to settlement except in the province of Ontario where new lines of railway have given easy access to large tracts which offer considerable attraction to industrious immigrants. In every province, however, there is room for the settlement of a class of people, with a little means of their own to enable them to buy cultivated lands which are always in the market for from four to six pounds an acre according to the location. All the provinces, but especially Ontario, grow

a great variety of agricultural products. When the last Census was taken in 1881 the Dominion raised some thirty two million bushels of wheat, seventy one million bushels of oats, fifty five million bushels of potatoes, and eighteen million bushels of barley. The people owned eight million head of stock, including one million horses, as well as three and a half million animals intended exclusively for food. The total value of farm products of all kinds may be roughly estimated at £ 30,000,000 sterling. The stock owned by the best farmers is generally of the higher grades, imported at a considerable cost from England and other countries. In the English or Eastern Townships of the province of Quebec, and in Ontario, there are stock farms with herds of Jersey and other cattle which it would be difficult to equal on the great estates of the old world. But the farmers of Ontario do not confine themselves to wheat and other grains, for they now raise a large quantity of apples, peaches, plums and grapes. The annual production of apples alone is now some fifteen million bushels, of which a considerable quantity is exported to the English market from the valleys of old Acadia, the scenes of Longfellow's immortal poem, Evangeline. The grape is not only raised for the table but also for the making of very fair red and white wines, which resemble in appearance and flavour the cheaper Sauternes and Clarets of France. This is an industry which must increase in value according as the people better understand the niceties of such a manufacture, and as the temperance advocates, now so formidable in Canada, begin to understand that as the taste for these wines increases the cause they have at heart will be greatly promoted.

It is in the Great West of the Dominion that we must henceforth look for the most remarkable results of agricultural industry. This region should in the course of years be divided into probably some eight provinces as large as Minnesota, which was admitted into the American Union only a quarter of a century ago, and has now a population of probably a million persons, and produces annually thirty five million bushels of wheat. Now that the Canadian Pacific Railway is completed, and branch lines are running or will soon run through the country, Canada naturally looks forward to considerable influx of settlers during the coming years, according as the value of the lands is better appreciated and the ignorance that still exists as to their capabilities dispelled by the evidence of unprejudiced witnesses. There can be no doubt, however, that no other country in the world has the same area of rich agricultural land to offer to the hardy, industrious peoples

of the Northern countries of Europe. On this point we have the testimony of an imperial observer like the Marquess of Lansdowne, the present Governor-General — a nobleman not given to enthusiasm or rash assertions — who has recently passed over this region and made himself closely acquainted with its resources. In an admirable speech which he delivered at Winnipeg in October last he stated that he had seen in the course of his travels «a » greater extent of first rate agricultural land than it had ever been «his good fortune to look upon before — a great deal of it of «extraordinary richness”. With regard to the reports so frequently heard as to the injury done to the crops by the frosts he had come to the conclusion «that this obstacle was not going to be «fatal to the cultivation of wheat.” He pointed out what every Canadian knows, that while the best lands of the United States now under the most favourable circumstances annually produce some twelve bushels to the acre, and there is not in that country a large area of valuable land open to settlement, the prairies of the Canadian North West easily produce twenty bushels to the acre, and are of illimitable extent. «With abundance of fertile soil,” continued His Excellency, «with every scientific appliance for its «cultivation, and with easy access by railway to the great centres «of distribution, the farmers of Manitoba appear to be well provided «with the conditions of success, and he would be surprised if, before «ten years are over, the terrors of low prices and early frosts do «not become things of the past.”

During the past ^{by years} ~~summer~~ the settlement of the country has been retarded by the unfortunate rising of the Half-breeds and Indians, led by a reckless man who has paid the penalty on the scaffold. It has always been a matter of surprise to many Americans that Canada has had hitherto so little trouble with the Indian tribes and their equally unsettled cousins, the half breeds or Métis, whose favourite means of livelihood have been gradually disappearing with the cultivation of the country and the progress of railways. The half breed does not yet appear better able to settle down to the patient plodding industry of the farm than his Indian ally. He cultivates his lot in a half hearted manner, and still loves the chase above all other pursuits. Like the French Canadian from whom he is descended he is easily aroused by appeals of dangerous leaders. The policy of the Canadian Government, irrespective of party, has been always to treat the Indian in a spirit of justice and generosity. It may not be the wisest in all respects, but it is certainly the most generous and liberal that our experience has

so far enabled us to devise. Not only are large sums of public money annually paid out for the support of Indians, but they have the benefit of the assistance of farm and other instructors, whose duty it is to teach them the industrious habits of the whites. Whatever may have been the grievances of the half breeds, they would have been probably remedied in due course of time, and it is very unfortunate that they should have been induced by indiscreet leaders to take up arms. The rising, however, will not be without some useful results. The blood that has been shed so early in our history has probably saved a great waste of life and property in the future. It was inevitable that a struggle should come sooner or later between civilization and savagery in the West. The peace of the territories is now practically assured by the intrepidity of the militia forces of Canada last spring when they rallied so bravely to the call of duty and proved that their country can always depend on them in every great national crisis. The Indian and half Breed must alike bow to the inevitable law of their destiny and fall into the ranks of patient industry if they wish to hold their own in the race of progress. The Indians certainly have been taught the lesson that the strong arm of the Canadian Government can reach them at all times and seasons, and that their security and livelihood depend on the good faith with which they observe their obligations to the Dominion which has always shown its desire to assist them in the unfortunate circumstances in which they are placed.

A study of the public debt and expenditures of Canada shows very clearly the energy which has long characterized the conduct of public affairs, and the determination of all governments to leave no means untried to give facilities to capital and enterprise in the development of the large resources of the country. The public debt of Canada may now be placed at something like £ 50,000,000 sterling; the annual revenue at £ 6,000,000, and the yearly expenditure at about the same amount except for the last year when there was an increase to an abnormal amount in consequence of the unhappy rising in the North West. Large as is this debt, it is less than that incurred by the Australasian colonies with a smaller population in the aggregate; but in any case it is represented by great public works in every section of the Dominion. The natural features of Canada are such as to require a large yearly expenditure to ensure the safety of commerce, and to promote the development of the resources of the whole country. On the sea coast and on the banks of the great routes of inland navigation are found numerous light houses, and all the appliances essential to the preservation of life and

property. The immense extent of territory has rendered absolutely necessary the construction of numerous lines of railway, some of them as I have already shown of national importance. The natural obstructions that impede the free navigation of the St. Lawrence route have been removed by the building of a system of canals which enables commerce to flow without interruption from Lake Superior to tidewater. My readers will probably better understand how the debt of Canada has grown when I show them that there have been already expended on Canals, £ 10,000,000 sterling, on Public Buildings, £ 3,000,000; on Harbours and Breakwaters, £ 2,000,000; on Light Houses and Beacons, £ 600,000; on Roads and Bridges, £ 1,700,000; on Slides and Booms (necessary for the safe passage of timber down the rapids and cataracts), £ 500,000; on Telegraph and Signal Service, £ 200,000; on Dominion Railways alone, £ 20,000,000. These are certainly the most valuable assets a young country can possess. Every year a large sum is expended for the same useful purposes. It must also be remembered that Canada pays annually, in accordance with the terms of Union, large sums to the several provinces in order to provide them with the means of meeting their provincial expenses and carry on their respective governments. It is not surprising that under these circumstances Canada is frequently a borrower in the money market of the world, to enable her to meet the heavy obligations entailed, not by the extravagance of her rulers, not by the disasters of war, but as a necessary consequence of her endeavours to develop her wealth, and assert her people in keeping pace with the prosperous and progressive country on her borders. The fact that Canada can always borrow in the English money market on the most favourable terms is the most conclusive proof of the confidence of Englishmen in her industrial progress, and in her ability to meet her obligations at all times.

The best evidence of the enterprise of the people of Canada is found in the history of her railway undertakings. In 1867 there were in all Canada only between two and three thousand miles of railway in operation; and now there are over eleven thousand miles completed through the length and breadth of the country. The Intercolonial Railway which connects the upper with the maritime provinces has a total length of 686 miles; the Grand Trunk and connecting lines of 2,591 miles; the Canadian Pacific road and its leased lines of nearly 3600 miles. Branch railways connect with these three principal avenues of trade, and enable the people of almost every important district in the old provinces to bring their

commodities to market at the lowest rates. Towards the construction of these various railways, the Government and municipalities of Canada have directly contributed nearly £ 40,000,000 sterling, of which the government of the province of Quebec alone has given £ 3,000,000 and consequently for a time crippled its provincial revenues. The average value of the receipts of these roads is now about £ 6,700,000, and since 1876 the capital stock has increased from £ 67,000,000 to £ 112,000,000 in 1885. Canada has now a railway system whose total mileage doubles that of Spain and is greater than that of all the South American countries which she founded in the days when she was supreme in the new world. France who established a colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence with the hope of building up a Great Empire in North America sees that her dream has been realized by her ancient rival and that the child of her bosom has under British auspices literally solved the problem of finding a new route to the riches of Cathay. With all her wealth and enterprise France has only some seven thousand more miles of railway than the Dominion of Canada. The Great Empire of Russia which in extent of territory may be compared with Canada has only five thousand more miles in operation. The mileage of Canada is double that of Italy, and nearly equal to that of Austria-Hungary. These are decidedly remarkable results to have been achieved by a country which was, a few years ago, simply a geographical expression, almost unknown to European nations outside of France and England. They have been achieved, however, through the necessities of her position. Without such facilities for trade and intercourse, a country of the great length of Canada would soon find itself left behind in the race of competition on this continent.

Anyone who travels over Canada will see abundant signs of the prosperity of the people. Though there is not in the Dominion the greath wealth of the United States — though there are no Vanderbilts, no Goulds, no Mackays or California millionaires, the people generally enjoy a fair amount of comfort and have in many cases become moderately rich. Nowhere do we come across those scenes of poverty which are the saddest spectacles which a Canadian or American can witness in his visits to the crowded communities of the old world. If a man cannot make a comfortable home for himself and family in Canada, it is because he is idle or dissipated or is one of those unluckly, shiftless people who never get along in the world. In Canada there is a tendency as in the United States, especially among the Irish, to congregate in the large towns

and cities when the same class could lead more contented and prosperous lives were they to settle on the public lands or obtain employment on the farms. The happiest class in Canada ought certainly to be the farmers, especially in Ontario. You may travel for days through that province and admire the well cultivated fields, and comfortable homesteads in every direction; many of these latter being built of brick or stone in the place of the rude log cabin in which the pioneer toiled for years in the early times of the country settlement. With the increase in the population of the towns and cities, the demand from abroad for grain and cattle, and the construction of railways, the agriculturists of Canada have abundant opportunities for becoming wealthy.

The monetary institutions of Canada are generally conducted on a sound basis, and the failures have been few during the past forty years compared with those in the United States. At the present time the chartered Banks of the Dominion have a paid up capital of twelve million pounds sterling, and the latest returns show that they have on deposit £20,000,000, one half of which amount is payable only after a fixed day or after notice. The rate of interest has been very low in the banks for some time, and it is only in the Government Savings-banks — which do not receive deposits beyond £ 200 — that the people can get four percent, for their savings. They have now to their credit in these institutions at least ten million pounds sterling, which represent, for the most part, the accumulations of the relatively poor and industrial classes.

The mental outfit of the people is now quite worthy of a country enjoying a fair measure of wealth and prosperity, and exhibiting such laudable energy in all matters of commercial and national enterprise. Although it is to the premier province of Ontario that we must look for the most perfect school system, yet in all the provinces the children of rich and poor can obtain a good education which will fit them for the ordinary occupations of life. The labourer may pay little or nothing towards the support of education, and yet his child is on as good a footing in the public schools as the child of the merchant or lawyer or doctor who contributes largely towards this object. The State long ago recognized its obligations to take the initiative in the establishment of a thorough system of free education for the people, and consequently a large sum of money is annually expended by the governments of all the provinces to supplement the taxes raised by the municipalities. At present there are in all Canada some twenty Colleges, many of them having university powers, and offering a

large and excellent curriculum to the ambitious student; over fourteen thousand common and other schools, and eight normal schools, in which teachers are trained. The total amount annually expended by the governments and people of all the provinces amounts to £ 1,600,000, of which Ontario contributes at least one half. The same province has spent during thirty years some £ 12,000,000 sterling for the building of school houses, and other educational objects; and the results of its liberality is the possession of buildings which for size and convenience cannot be surpassed by the New England States where education, from the earliest times in their history, has been the most important feature of their social and political system. The public schools of Canada, however, do not go very far back in the history of the country. In 1839 there were in all the schools of British North America only some 92,000 children out of a population of 1,400,000 souls, or one to fifteen, but now the proportion is given as one to four. The majority of the schools in the province of Quebec are controlled by the priests and religious orders. Separate Schools, however, exist in Quebec and other provinces for Protestants and Roman Catholics; and in fact they are specially protected by the terms of the Act of Union.

The higher educational institutions of Canada, for instance, McGill University in Montreal, Toronto University, Queen's College in Kingston, and Laval University in Quebec — have connected with them a large class of professors, many of whom, like Sir William Dawson and Dr. Daniel Wilson, have won for themselves a high reputation in the world of science and literature. In accord with the spirit of the day, these large institutions have their courses of technical, geological, medical and legal studies. A young man can in Ontario commence with the common school, in due course of time pass through the academy or collegiate institute, and then complete his studies in ^{one of} the University ^{of} at the minimum of expense. Indeed if he is clever and industrious, he can take enough scholarships to meet nearly all his necessary expenses whilst passing his university course.

The people of Canada have been so much occupied in building cities and towns, in opening the mine, in clearing the forest, in developing all the varied resources of their country that one would naturally suppose they have had little time for the pursuit of Art, Literature and Science. The Geological and other Sciences have, however, from an early period engaged the attention of many able men who have found abundant opportunities for the exercise of their talents in the very fertile field of investigation and study

which the natural formation and the mineral deposits of Canada offer to the student. The results of their researches have attracted the attention of the world of Science in Europe, and brought many of them both fame and distinctions. In general literature also Canadians have made marked progress of late years. The French Canadians who possess an exceedingly interesting history have produced not a few poets of merit, one of whom not long since won the Monthyon prize at the Institute of France. English Canada has given birth to several writers whose historical and constitutional works are of undoubted value. The press of Canada is conducted with signal ability and energy, though the party papers sometimes display an amount of bitterness which weakens their influence with the intelligence of the community. The large number of pamphlets and works on Canadian subjects that are issued from year to year clearly shows the stimulus that has been given to mental activity by the larger field of thought that the union of the Canadian provinces has opened up to students and thinking men. Canada has hitherto possessed only one large Library — that belonging to the Parliament of Ottawa — which is housed in a building remarkable for its architectural beauty. All the leading educational institutions, the law societies, and scientific associations have their special libraries, but it is only now that an effort is being made to establish free libraries in the principal cities and towns. The province of Ontario has placed on its Statute book a law which enables every municipality to tax itself for the support of such an institution and already the city of Toronto possesses a library which promises to be extremely valuable. The Art Schools which now exist in several cities owe their origin to the exertions of Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise and the Marquess of Lorne. The Royal Society of Canada which comprises the leading scientific and literary men of the Dominion, something on the basis of the French Institute, was founded by the nobleman, just named, who, above all previous Governors-General, endeavoured to encourage a taste for science and literature in the country in whose future he takes so deep an interest. The soil of Canada is still new, and we cannot yet expect the rich fruition of the old countries of Europe where every inch of ground has its traditions and associations to evoke the genius of history, poetry and romance. The Canadian people, however, inheriting as they do the mental characteristics of the two great nations, which have produced those literary treasures from which the world is every day drawing inspiration are not likely to prove false to their ancestry, but must

sooner or later contribute to the democracy of letters and science works that can fairly take their place among the masterpieces which constitute the chief glory of England and France.

The literary history of Canada must resemble in many respects that of the United States. We find that in the early days of that country, when the people were laying the foundations of their government, very able writers devoted themselves to the study of political and constitutional questions. No greater literary monument is possessed by any country than that series of essays written by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, but principally by the former, on the federal constitution adopted in 1787 after considerable doubt and hesitation on the part of statesmen and people. For breadth of constitutional learning, vigour of style, and acuteness of reasoning, Hamilton's papers stand in the front rank of this class of literature. In their press, in their state papers, and in the debates of their legislatures for many years we find the most interesting evidence of the culture of the leading minds of the country. The necessities of the Union at that time forced the talent of the Republic into a groove of thought where it would be of the greatest public value, and attract the most attention. The same has happened in a measure in Canada. The political changes that have taken place in the course of a century have engaged the attention of the best minds, and have originated a large number of invaluable pamphlets, essays and works — in some cases of an elaborate character — which favourably compare with the ablest productions of a similar class in other countries. The statesmen and publicists of Canada have displayed a breadth of knowledge and an amount of acumen in reducing theory to practice which affords abundant evidence of their descent from the races most capable of governing large communities on liberal constitutional principles.

The political institutions of Canada are the results of the labours and struggles of her public men during the century which has nearly elapsed since a representative system was established in the provinces of British North America. Home Rule exists in the full significance of the phrase. If we begin at the village councils which lie at the basis of the political structure, we find that the people are represented in some shape or other, and able to exercise a direct influence on the administration of public affairs in every sphere of political action. It was not so, however, in the days of the French regime. Then there existed an autocratic illiberal system of government which effectually crushed every expression of public sentiment. No meetings for the discussion of the most

trivial local matters were permitted under the rule of the French Kings. Whilst the people of New England were discussing their affairs in the fullest manner in their township meeting, the French Canadian was ignorant of the very meaning of the great heritage of local government peculiar to the Teutonic races. An incomplete system of parliamentary government was conceded in 1792 to Canada, and then commenced the struggle which practically lasted until 1854 for the establishment of responsible government which would give to the people the fullest control over their local affairs with as little interference as possible from the parent State. In 1840 the British government relaxed its parental authority and adopted a policy which eventually gave the people complete jurisdiction over all matters except those which affected Imperial interests and obligations. In 1867 the Imperial authorities cheerfully responded to the aspirations of the people for a larger sphere of political activity, and passed the constitution which now unites the provinces in a federal union, which combines many of the best features of the American system with those principles of British constitutional government which seem well adapted to their political condition. Canada now possesses political institutions which allow abundant scope to the capacity of the people for self-government. At the base of these institutions lies the municipal system which enables the owners and occupants of property in every district defined by law to tax themselves for the support of schools, roads, and public improvements of every kind. Many abuses have at times arisen in some of the large centres of population on account of unsuitable persons obtaining positions in the municipal councils, but the remedy always rests with the people themselves at the polls. On the whole the system works satisfactorily and enables the people to make all necessary local improvements. Then going a step higher we find the people represented in provincial assemblies whose duties and functions are defined and limited by the Constitutional Act.

The provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia are governed by a lieutenant governor, appointed by the Governor-General of Canada in Council; an Executive Council holding office as long as it retains the confidence of a majority in the peoples' house; a legislature consisting of a Legislative Council and an Assembly in four, and of an Assembly only in three provinces. This provincial Government has control of certain enumerated matters affecting civil rights and property, education, local works, and such other

matters as are of a provincial or municipal character. This government, is, however, supreme in all those matters over which it has been given an exclusive jurisdiction by the constitution, and not expressly or by clear implication given to the dominion or central authority which presides over the whole of the united provinces. This central authority consists of a Governor-General, representing the Queen; of a privy council, responsible to the peoples' representatives, and of a parliament of two Houses; a Senate or Upper Chamber, appointed by the Crown for life, and a House of Commons elected by the people of the whole Dominion, in their respective provinces. This government has jurisdiction over militia and defence, all customs and excise duties, fisheries, marine, hospitals, navigation and shipping, light houses, dominion railways, and all matters of national importance. The constitution is essentially limited. In the first place, the powers of the general government are restricted in as much as they can pass no acts which are in conflict with Imperial rights and interests, or infringe on the clearly defined jurisdiction of the local governments. These latter, on the other hand, are restrained to legislation on such subjects as are expressly set forth in the Constitutional Act. As must be the case with every written constitution, conflicts of jurisdiction arise from time to time in consequence of the doubtful construction, of certain parts of the British North American Act; but these doubts are being gradually set at rest, by the decisions of the judicial tribunals of the Dominion and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England as the court of last resort for the whole Empire. The highest Court of Canada is the Supreme Court in which the majority of such controversies are decided, as appeals to the Privy Council are limited in practice and only necessary under exceptionally important circumstances. The people have, very justly, great confidence in their courts; for it is a matter of pride with Canada that her judiciary has been on the whole composed of men of integrity and learning. The judges of all the courts are appointed by the dominion government and are, as in England, only removable by the Governor-General in Council on an address from the two Houses of Parliament.

The people are able to exercise an immediate influence on the administration of public affairs by means of the liberal franchise which exists throughout the Dominion. In the cities, towns and rural districts practically every tax payer is able to vote for the wardens, mayors, reeves, aldermen, and municipal councillors generally. Each province has a franchise for the Assembly extremely liberal

in its provisions. The owners or occupants of houses, farmers and their sons, mechanics, clerks and others who receive a certain income, can in Ontario exercise the franchise; and indeed in Prince Edward Island the performance of statute labour, or the payment of a few shillings in lieu thereof, entitles a man to vote and in effect establishes universal suffrage. Until recently the members of the House of Commons were elected by the same constituency which returns representatives to the Assemblies, but during the last session of Parliament it was thought advisable by the government to arrange uniform franchise for the Dominion. This measure met with a great deal of opposition at the time, ostensibly on the ground that it was unnecessary to interfere with the previous practice which had worked quite satisfactorily on the whole; but without going into the political question as to the necessity for this change of policy, there is no doubt that the new franchise is extremely wide, and that every man of intelligence and respectability who is able to make an honest livelihood in any vocation of life will now be able to exercise the privilege of voting for the most influential legislative body of Canada. Whilst the people annually vote for municipal officers, they choose representatives to the Assemblies every four years and to the Dominion Parliament every five years. Although the period of five years is fixed for the latter body, the exigencies of party government give the people an opportunity of choosing new representatives every four years, if not less, on an average. In this way they are able to criticize the acts of their representatives at sufficiently short intervals of time, and to exercise a large control over the management of public affairs. In every country enjoying a system of representative government it is absolutely essential there should be abundant room for the expression of public opinion without at the same time keeping the public mind in a state of turmoil and agitation by a frequency of elections. The Canadians believe that their system is in this respect an improvement on that of the United States where the frequent occurrence of elections — for country and state officers, for representatives to Congress and the State legislatures, and for the Presidency — seems calculated to disturb business and give an opportunity to demagogues and partisans which may prove, sooner or later, injurious to the public interests. In one respect, however, the people of Canada might well follow the example of their neighbours, and that is with regard to the meetings of their provincial legislative assemblies. The practice of holding biennial sessions of the Legislatures is gaining ground throughout the United States, and is very materially lessening

the expenses of legislation without in any way jeopardising the public interests. In Canada the British practice of voting supplies every year is of course one reason why the provincial assemblies meet every year, but that is a difficulty which can be removed by legislation. Another objection is the belief it would increase the chances of a weak government continuing in office since the people's representatives would have fewer opportunities of expressing their opinions and voting on questions affecting that government. This appears to be the objection which has heretofore prevailed against the adoption of a practice which is becoming general in the United States where it must be remembered, the people as a rule vote every year for their state officers including the governor, and the vote of parties does not depend on their strength in the legislatures.

The only evidences now of British sovereignty in the Dominion are the appointment of a Governor-General every five or six years; the disallowance at rare intervals of such Acts as conflict with Imperial legislation or Imperial treaties; the privilege which the people possess of appeal to the Privy Council from their own judicial tribunals; and the necessity that exists for conducting all commercial negotiations with foreign nations through the Imperial authorities. That Canada is no longer a burthen upon the Empire is clearly proved by recent events in her history. Whilst as a part of the Imperial dominions she must always have a claim to the support of England in case of foreign aggression, she is able to preserve peace within her own borders, even under extraordinary circumstances, as the record of the recent rising in the North West has abundantly shown. The presence of a few troops and men of war at Halifax is now the only perceptible evidence of British supremacy, that exists from Sydney to Victoria.

[Canada now occupies a position without a parallel in the past history of the world. Although still a dependency she has assumed the proportions of an Empire and can exercise many of the attributes of sovereignty. Whilst the head of the executive authority is still the Queen of Great Britain, who has delegated her powers to a Governor-General, whilst Canada still occupies a position of dependence with respect to treaties and other matters of a directly Imperial character, she models her commercial policy without reference to the parent state, appoints and dismisses lieutenant-governors, establishes new provinces in her territories, supports a large and efficient militia force on which she depends for domestic peace and security, and builds at her own expense public works of Imperial value. All this she has achieved within less than a

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quarter of a century; for it cannot be denied that it is the federal union which has enabled the provinces to assume a position of so much importance among communities. Such facts prove that her people have hitherto been animated by a national spirit which must carry them still further on the path of national development.

The question will now naturally occur to every reader of these pages. — What is the future destiny of a country which is making such rapid strides towards national greatness? The interest that is now taken in the proposed Federation of the Empire proves that the foregoing question is already attracting the attention of Englishmen. The growth and prosperity of Canada and the other colonial dependencies for a quarter of a century have naturally interested British statesmen, and showed them how unfortunate it would be for England were communities of such undoubted promise to be allowed to drift away from the Empire without an effort to continue the connection on terms compatible with their self-interest and self-respect. This is, however, a subject of too great importance to be discussed at the conclusion of a paper like this. So far in Canada the discussion has not come within the limits of practical politics. It is quite certain that at present neither Independence nor Annexation is among the questions of the day, although they may be incidentally discussed when Canadians review the facts of their progress, and consider their position in the Empire. It is quite certain, however, that there are no large number of persons disposed towards a political connection with the great country to the south of the Dominion. The people who stood true to England during the War of Independence who suffered severely during the War of 1812—14, who never raised the flag of Annexation even in the days of the greatest depression in trade and industry, are not likely to seek absorption into the ranks of the American Union when they have already achieved a position among political and commercial communities, which is the best earnest of their national ambition, and of their ability to hold their own on this broad continent. As respects the question of Independence, it may be said that the various progressive steps in the political career of Canada seem to point towards the establishment in a later period of her history of a distinct nation. Such aspirations may be fairly considered the natural heritage of a British people, but while they may animate the hearts of the races that inhabit the Dominion, and may obtain still greater force in the days when Canada becomes a country of twenty or thirty million people dwelling in an unbroken line of provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific, I

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believe for one that their desires do not run in the direction of entire separation from the parent state, but that they rather look forward to such a ^{modification} of the relations between the dependencies and England, as will give the former larger influence in the Imperial Councils, and at the same time enable the latter to retain that prestige which she has always enjoyed as the governing power of a great Colonial Empire. However this is a question which, in the ordinary course of events Canadians can hardly be called upon to consider from a practical point of view for years to come. Their energies must be directed for sometime towards the consolidation and development of their widely extended provinces.

As a people Canadians have a great deal to be thankful for. Under the protection of Great Britain they have been able to reach a position which may well be envied by many communities of the old world. Those questions which have long kept the countries of Europe in a state of constant agitation do not exist to disturb the tranquillity of the Dominion. No great landlords occupy the largest portion of the territorial domains of Canada, but every man of industrious habits can win for himself a comfortable home, and become a landed proprietor without any of those difficulties of transfer which gladden the hearts of English lawyers. The only land question that ever occupied the attention of Canadian statesmen was the old system of Seigniorial Tenure — a relic of the feudal times of France — but it was soon settled on principles that were fair to both Seignior and tenant. Primogeniture was abolished very many years ago in Canada and property is now generally divided among the children of a family. All respectable and industrious men can exercise the privilege of voting under a franchise which is on the very borders of universal suffrage. No connection exists between Church and State, but all denominations depend on the voluntary contributions of their respective members. Of course Canada must have her difficulties to face in the future. Her statesmen are called upon to legislate for the interests of five million people — soon to double in numbers — inhabiting provinces with diverse interests. They have assumed heavy financial obligations which it will require all the resources of the country to meet without heavily burthening the people. The preservation of peace and order in the vast North West region must require the watchful care of the government for years until railways and settlement bring the whole territory within the limits of civilization. The political agitation which has commenced among a portion of the French Canadian people since the execution of Riel has a

certain significance which every intelligent, thoughtful man of either the French or the English race cannot well overlook. In the old troublous times of Canada, before the concession by the Imperial authorities of a liberal system of popular government, the province of Quebec then known as Lower Canada was torn asunder by political conflicts, and commerce and industry were constantly paralyzed. Lord Durham who was sent out to restore order to the distracted country after the Rebellion of 1837-8, confessed in his Report that he "found two nations warring in the bosom of a 'single State; a struggle not of principles but of races'". Since those unhappy times the country has enjoyed a long period of comparative freedom from dangerous contests between the two great national elements of the population. At intervals certainly there have been political crises, and the country has been much agitated. In 1849 there was an explosion of British sentiment, which culminated in the burning of the Parliament House at Montreal, in consequence of the payment of French Canadians for losses sustained by them during the Rebellion.

Much political excitement also existed up to 1865 on account of the claims of the Western or English province, for additional representation in proportion to its population, then considerably greater than that of the Eastern or French section; but these difficulties were peaceably settled by the Federal Union under which each province has control of the administration of its local affairs, and a representation in Parliament which gives full consideration to population. In the absence of race conflicts, and in the presence of the new spirit of energy and enterprise brought into every sphere of political and commercial life by the Confederation, Canada has prospered and her people have been hitherto happy and contented. To the confederation the French Canadians have always given an unqualified adhesion inasmuch as it affords every necessary protection to their peculiar interests. It has practically made of Quebec a French province and at the same time enabled its representatives in the Dominion Parliament to exercise a large, sometimes a controlling influence, over the administration of the day. Under no other system of government would it be possible for them to possess the same weight they do now in the federal councils. Unfortunately sometimes for the best interests of that province, the people exhibit the impulsive, excitable temperament which is the natural heritage of a French race. They are at times very susceptible to declamatory appeals not always founded on grounds of sense or justice. If it were possible to believe that

intelligence and reason could be ever finally lost in a storm of passion, it would be unfortunate for Canada and we might well despair of her future. The true interests of French Canada lies, not in keeping aloof from, but in identifying itself with all other nationalities for the security and peace of the whole country, irrespective of provincial boundaries or race considerations. The success of confederation up to the present has been based on this spirit of Canadian unity.

Those who have visited the interesting village of St. Anne's at the junction of the rivers Ottawa and St. Lawrence — a spot made famous by the poet Moore — may have noticed an interesting natural phenomenon. The waters of the Ottawa are distinctly blue whilst those of the St. Lawrence are perfectly green. Where these rivers join, we can easily distinguish their respective hues for some distance, but at last these differences disappear and the Ottawa and St. Lawrence form one magnificent stream bearing on its bosom the traffic and wealth of half a continent. So it should be with the French and British peoples of Canada. They may to a certain point preserve their national characteristics, but whenever it becomes a question involving the peace, happiness and unity of the Dominion, let us hope that all differences of race will disappear, and the French Canadian will be found working energetically and harmoniously with the English Canadian in all matters affecting the best interests of the Confederation which owes its origin to their common efforts.

House of Commons, Ottawa,
1st December 1885.

