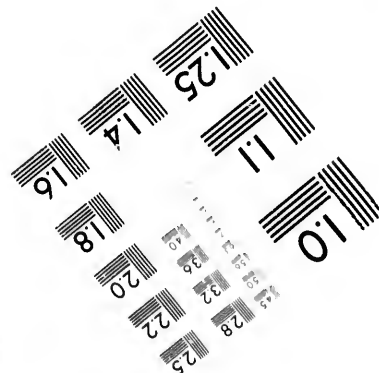
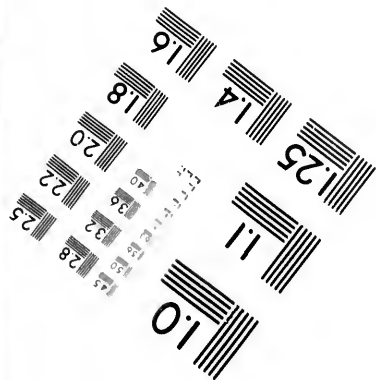
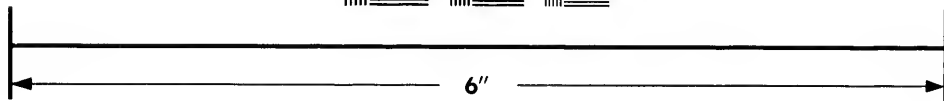
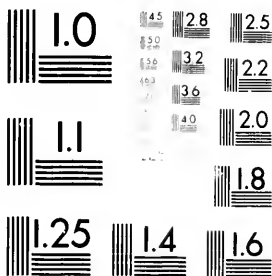


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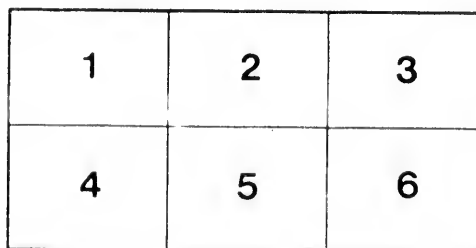
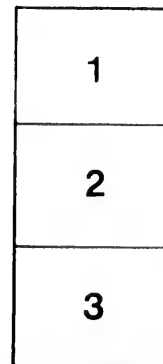
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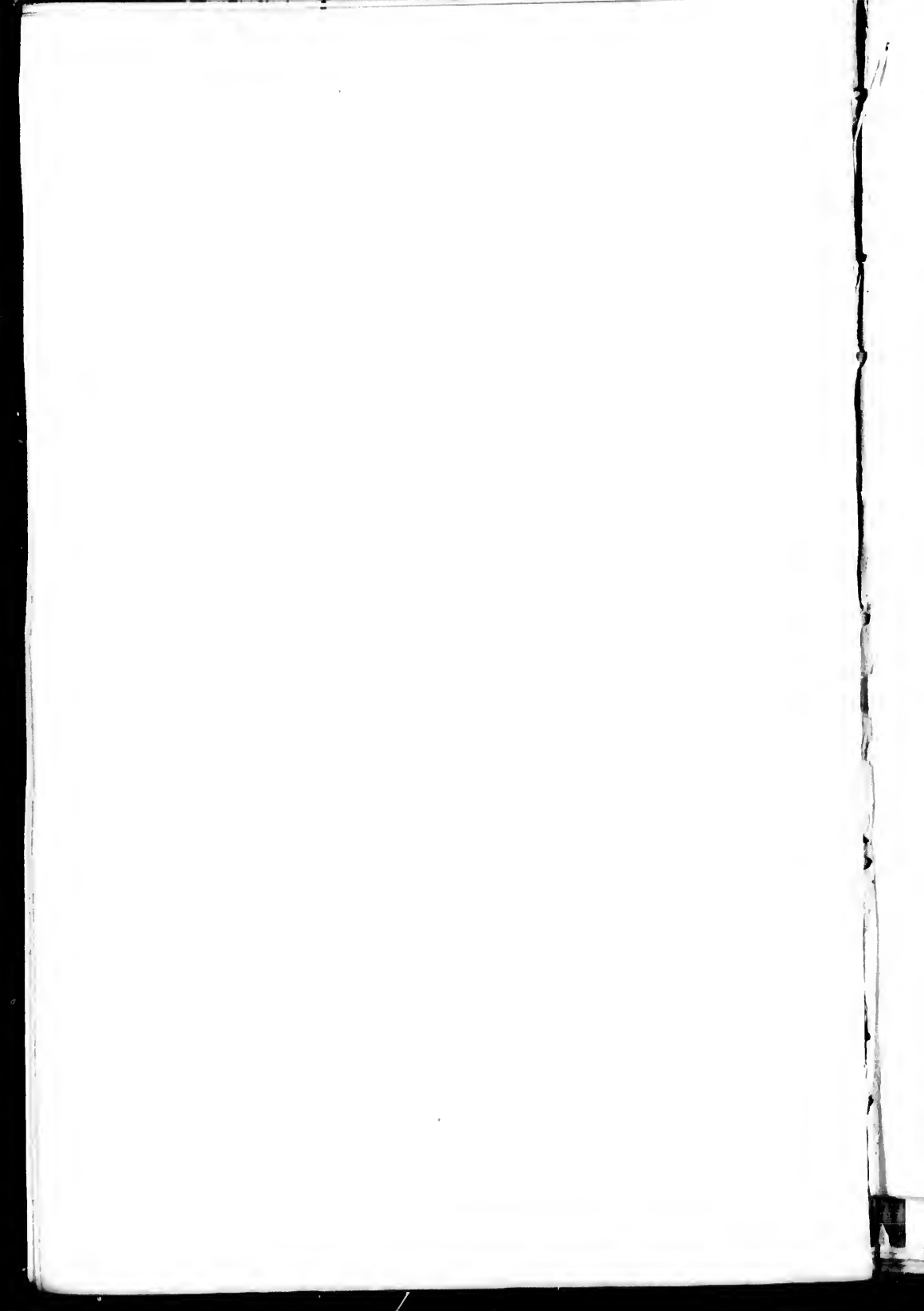
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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Johnson's Graphic Statistics of the Development of Canada since 1867.* Ottawa, 1888.
2. *Canada: Statistical Abstract and Record from 1886 to 1888.* Published by the Department of Agriculture. Ottawa, 1888.
3. *Tables of the Trade and Navigation of Canada, 1887-88.* Ottawa, 1889.
4. *Daylight Land.* By W. H. H. Murray. Boston, 1888.
5. *Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada.* By J. G. Bourinot, LL.D., Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada. Montreal, 1888.

WE propose in the present article to review as briefly as practicable certain phases of the material and political development of a country which has now entered on the most important era of its history. At the present time, when certain American politicians are casting covetous eyes on the territorial expansion and natural resources of the Dominion of Canada, and when there are even men amongst the Canadians who are not satisfied with the progress that the country has made under circumstances of great difficulty, and only see reasons in the existing condition of things for pessimistic utterances; at a time like this it is as well perhaps we should consider the situation of affairs, take stock as it were at the commencement of the year, and consider if there is much cause for congratulation for what we have already done, and sufficient grounds for continuing in the same line of courageous effort which true and hopeful Canadians believe has already won such eminent success. In pursuance of this object we shall call upon our readers not to take up those economic or other questions which are matters of doubt and controversy among politicians chiefly anxious to subserve the purposes of party, but to review those salient facts which stand out in bold relief on the pages of

the public records of Canada as illustrative of the substantial progress and real happiness of the community.

That our readers may fully appreciate the value of the heritage which Canada now possesses, we ask them to follow us for a few minutes as we 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 sea-coast 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 east to west, 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 phosphate are found in the hills, which add 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 enterprise of two millions and a half of people by its prosperous cities and towns, its teeming granaries, its well-cultivated farms, its busy factories. This country produces a large surplus crop of wheat, and other agricultural products, besides fruits of every kind that can grow in a temperate

perate climate. Then, passing from this wealthy province, 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 probably of eighty thousand souls, and one city of nearly thirty thousand. This is the region of the prairie with its tall grasses and many 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 for 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 on 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 base 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 snow-clad 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.

When we come to survey the statistics of the progress of this great country, so rich in natural resources, it is satisfactory to know that its material prosperity has followed closely on its political development. According as the political privileges of the people have been enlarged and they have enjoyed the fullest measure of self-government, with as little interference as possible from the parent State, all branches of industry have attained larger proportions and the territory and wealth of the

country have expanded. All the progressive stages of this political development have been taken since Her Majesty became Queen of England. It will be perhaps not the least glorious feature of her reign, that the people of this dependency will always associate her name with the extension of their political liberties, and the development of their material prosperity.

When Her Majesty ascended the throne, the total population of Canada did not exceed one million of souls, nearly one-half of whom were in French Canada. At present the population of Canada may be estimated at five millions, of whom at least four-fifths are native Canadians. The fact that there are four millions of 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 growing 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.

The French Canadians at present number at least a million and a quarter of souls, for the most part occupying Quebec, and adhering with remarkable tenacity to their religion and institutions. These people, whose ancestors came chiefly from Normandy and Brittany, 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.

The population increased in the greatest ratio during 1840 and 1860, while the large and fertile province of Ontario had great tracts of fertile land to offer to immigrants. Then the prairies of the West of the United States continued to attract the great bulk of European emigration. The young men of Canada, in the absence of a large system of manufactories, sought the cities and towns of New England. The fishing vessels of Gloucester and Marblehead were manned by Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers as long as the fisheries of the Maritime Provinces were open to the industry and energy of the United States. It is only within a few years since the world has known the extent of the fertile area of the Canadian North-West, that there has been built up a large system of manufactures, and that the coal and fishing industries have received a new impetus, to keep Canadians at home to develop the great resources of their own country.

Following

Following the example of the United States, a considerable population has been of late years steadily flowing from Ontario and the other provinces into the rich prairie lands of the Canadian West, where the opportunities for making new homes for themselves, and amassing a competency at the least, are now far greater than any offered in the United States. These facts encourage us to believe that the exodus, which has been an unsatisfactory feature of the past history of Canada, is practically at an end.

Let us now consider some of the results which have been achieved by these five millions of people who occupy a country with an area of only 400,000 square miles less than that of all Europe, and greater than that of the United States, if we leave out Alaska.

The wealth of the Dominion is still derived chiefly from its forests, its agriculture, and its mines, though it is satisfactory to know that of late years a large and valuable manufacturing industry has been built up. The value of the aggregate trade of Imports and Exports may be placed at present at a little over 40,000,000*l.* sterling, or an increase of 35,000,000*l.* since the commencement of the reign of the Queen. No feature of the commerce of Canada is more satisfactory than the growth of internal trade in manufactures and home products between the different members of the Confederation—a trade which does not show in the Canadian blue book of Imports and Exports.

At the present time there are throughout Canada probably over 3000 mills and factories, small and large, engaged in manufacturing industries of all kinds; representing a capital of some 35,000,000*l.*; employing upwards of 260,000 persons; paying wages to the amount of 15,000,000*l.*; and producing goods annually to the value of 65,000,000*l.* Whatever doubts political economists may have of the soundness of the 'national policy' of Canada, there is some reason in the argument advanced by its advocates, 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. This is a question, however, best left to the domain of the politician and journalist, who are likely to perplex us to the end—if, indeed, the end of the discussion can ever come.

Canadians refer with much satisfaction to the statistics of their maritime wealth. Their fishing grounds have been, from the earliest times of which we have any record, the resort of the fleets of the great maritime powers. The value of the annual catch of fish has increased from two millions of pounds sterling

in 1875 to over three and a half million pounds at the present time, apart from the home consumption, of which we have no satisfactory statistics, but which may be estimated at two million and a half pounds in addition. The deep-sea fishery is now carried on in a better and larger class of vessels than formerly, and the crews are consequently able to compete successfully with the enterprising fishermen of Gloucester and other ports of New England.

The people of New England have always cast an envious eye on the 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 her 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 now quite evident that the dominant party in Canada 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 natural resources of Canada have naturally tended to develop a large commercial marine in Canada. In the first place, the carriage to foreign markets of her 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 is engaged in the fisheries or the coasting trade. 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—a tonnage which places her in the front rank of commercial and maritime people. It is true the decreasing demand for wooden vessels has of recent years stopped the construction of large ships; nevertheless, in view of the great coasting trade—which has increased from 10,000,000 tons in 1875 to 18,000,000 in 1888—of the rapidly-expanding output of coal for domestic use, and of the yearly increasing demand for better and faster schooners for the deep-sea fisheries, this branch of maritime industry is still active, and Canadians can hold their own with their wealthy and progressive neighbours. The province of Nova Scotia has coal and iron capable of producing the finest steel, and the maritime capitalists of the Dominion must sooner or later turn their attention to that class of vessels which are best suited to the necessities of the commerce of these days.

The

The forests of Canada annually produce some two hundred and fifty million cubic feet of timber of all kinds, of which one-half consists of white pine. The value of the annual export of the forests is at the present time 4,000,000*l.* sterling, or an increase of about 600,000*l.* since 1868. The pine woods of the Ottawa and 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. Coal exists in great abundance on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and throughout the north-west territories; iron of the finest quality is found in every part of the Dominion, while gold, copper, and every valuable mineral known to commerce, are mined throughout the Laurentian range and the mountains of British Columbia.

All the provinces, but especially Ontario, grow a great variety of agricultural products. The wheat, especially of the North-West, is acknowledged to be the best raised by any country in the world. The total value of farm products of all kinds may be roughly estimated at 30,000,000*l.* 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 when the temperance advocates, now so formidable in Canada, begin to see 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

into probably some ten provinces as large as the State of 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, Canada naturally looks forward to a 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 is 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.

It was our good fortune to spend several months during the past year in the North-West and in British Columbia, and to see for ourselves some of the capabilities of a region on which depends in a great measure the future greatness of the Dominion. Like every one who has made a similar journey, we have been as much delighted with the beauty and variety of the scenery as with the extent and richness of the fertile prairie. As we stood on the banks of the Red River of the West, where it mingles with the Assiniboine, and saw the well-built and well-kept city that has grown up since Canada has become a Federation of provinces, and still later as we passed for days through prosperous towns and villages for over fifteen hundred miles, as far as the Pacific Coast, we could not but feel satisfied with the results already achieved under the political system of the Canadian Government, and look forward hopefully to the future. But a very few years ago, the flag that flew from the Hudson's Bay Fort on the banks of the Red River was the only sign of British supremacy at the edge of the prairie region. A little settlement of half-breeds and British people led a solitary life on the banks of the Red River of the North, and the Indians roamed the masters of the great plains. The cordon of towns and villages which now stretches across the continent from Port Arthur to Vancouver is the best evidence of a progress which is remarkable, when we consider that it illustrates a history which does not go beyond a decade of years. Stone and brick buildings of fine architectural proportions, streets paved and lighted by electricity, elevators and mills busy night and day, are the characteristics of towns over whose sites only yesterday silence brooded.

To one who sees it for the first time, the prairie possesses an interest which gains on us as we travel over its green and flowery sward. There is something very impressive in the
great

great expanse of plain, only bounded by the deep blue of the horizon—some such feeling comes over one as when we find ourselves amid the silence of ocean. The beauty and variety of the flowers add much to the charm of the scene as we travel over the trails which offer such delightful drives—so soft and easy is the motion; crocuses, roses, blue bells, convolvuli, sun-flowers, anemones, asters, and other flowers too numerous to mention—if indeed we know all their names—follow each other in rapid succession from May to September, and mingle with the “billowy bays of grass ever rolling in shadow and sunshine.” The sunsets in the prairie country are the most glorious that ever dazzled the eye. The sky to the very zenith is at moments one mass of varied hues of a perfection of colouring that shows us how futile after all is the best work of the artist who dares to imitate nature’s gorgeous tints.

It must have been some such scene that our great English poet saw when he speaks of

‘Sunny isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea.’

Then the lights and shadows that pass over the mingled grasses and flowers, as the sun declines, and the sky assumes its brilliant colours. Then the enchantment of the scene when the sun disappears beneath the horizon, and a mist perhaps comes over the prairie, and lakes and streams seem to surround us with one of those curious phenomena with which nature sometimes deceives us. It was of such illusions that Longfellow wrote in the lines—

‘Hope still guided them on, as the magic Fata Morgana
Showed them her lakes of light that retreated and vanished before
them.’

We should like to take our readers with us in imagination to the magnificent mountainous country of British Columbia—to those stupendous masses of bare rugged rock, crowned here and there with snow and ice, and assuming all the curious forms which Nature loves to take in her great upheavals. We should like them to see with us the picturesque beauty and the impressive grandeur of the Selkirk range, and take the delightful ride by the side of the broad, rapid Frazer, over trestle-work, around curves, and through tunnels, with the forest-clad mountains rising precipitously on all sides, with glimpses of precipices and cañons, of cataracts and falls that tumble down from the snows and glaciers far above us. But we must not dally with a theme so attractive, but proceed to the subjects more strictly within the scope of this paper. If we are asked
what

what we think of the possibilities of a region now entering into the competition of the world, we can say in all truthfulness that they are illimitable. It is now clear that the best wheat in the world can be profitably grown in the North-West, and that Frost is not King after all. All varieties of grain and vegetables can be successfully cultivated in an immense area, while horses and cattle in untold numbers can be reared on rich grasses of districts the full extent of which we hardly know as yet. In the great prairies, in the country watered by the Saskatchewan, Bow, Assiniboine, and Peace Rivers, and even it is thought with reason in a portion of the still unknown Mackenzie Basin, there must sooner or later be a large population engaged in farming, mining, and other industrial pursuits, and inhabiting States as prosperous as any in the American Republic. Great results have already been achieved within a decade; less than twenty years will probably see this country, from Port Arthur to Vancouver—already two thriving towns—peopled by communities of industrious inhabitants uniting with their brethren of the old provinces in laying broad and deep the foundations of a new nationality—always connected, Canadians trust, in the closest possible ties with the parent State, and holding such commercial relations with our American cousins as are compatible with our true interests and dignity. Lest the Canadians, sanguine of the future of their country, may be thought to exaggerate the possibilities of the prairie region, we ask our readers to listen to the words of an intelligent American writer—‘Adirondac Murray,’ who passed through this country a few months ago, and has given us his opinion of its capabilities and progress in a volume which he prettily entitles ‘The Daylight Land,’ in reference to the prolonged solar light of those regions during many months of the year.

‘Last year those prairies to the West produced thirteen millions of wheat. This year (1888) they will yield probably twenty millions. Four years ago scientific men were disputing whether wheat would grow on that soil or not! The wheat area west of us is larger than the whole wheat area of the United States. The soil of the vast belt is virgin soil—rich, inexhaustible. The State of Illinois can support twenty millions of population easily, but the productive area of this Western Canada is ten times larger than the State of Illinois. Two hundred millions of people can be supported, richly supported, north of the forty-ninth parallel. Five hundred miles north of the international boundary you can sow wheat three months earlier than you can in Dacotah. The climate is milder in the valley of the Peace River than it is in Manitoba. As the soil to the south under our silly system of agriculture becomes exhausted, as it soon will be, and the average yield per acre shrinks more and more,

more, the wheat growers must and will move northward. This movement is sure to come. It is one of the fixed facts of the future, it is born of an agricultural necessity, and when it begins to move it will move in with a rush. A million of American wheat farmers ought to be in this country inside of ten years, and I believe that within that time population will pour in and spread over these Canadian plains like a tide.'

Only a few more figures before we come to a more interesting part of our subject. A study of the public debt and expenditure 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 gross public debt of Canada may now be placed at something like 57,000,000*l.* sterling, and, deducting the assets, the net debt at about 47,000,000*l.* The revenue, chiefly from customs and excise, is over 6,500,000*l.*; when Her Majesty ascended the throne, the total revenue of all British North America did not exceed 150,000*l.*

The large amount of at least 36,000,000*l.* sterling has been expended up to the present time on railways, canals, light-houses, telegraphs, and other public works. 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 assist 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 1868 there were in all Canada only 2522 miles of railway in operation; and now there are 12,292 miles completed through the length and breadth of the country. Towards the construction of these

these various railways, the Government and Municipalities of Canada have directly contributed nearly 20,000,000*l.* sterling. 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. 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.

No figures are more satisfactory than those we may gather from our monetary institutions. In 1878 the amount of discounts given by the chartered banks of Canada was 25,169,577*l.* sterling, and in 1888, 37,185,812*l.*, which goes to show the accommodation required to carry on the great commerce of this country. But the most satisfactory feature of these returns is the fact that while in 1878 there was about 1*l.* sterling overdue on each 20*l.* borrowed, in 1888 the amount overdue was only one-fifth of a pound sterling, though the discounts were 12,000,000*l.* greater—a fact which shows very conclusively the flourishing condition of business throughout Canada. The deposits in the chartered banks rose from 6,808,104*l.* in 1868 to 23,860,700*l.* in 1888; in Savings Branches of Building Societies and Loan Companies from about a quarter of a million of pounds to 3,551,423*l.*; in Government Savings' Banks from 960,692*l.* to 10,801,984*l.* So in twenty years the peoples' savings increased from 1,210,692*l.* to 14,353,407*l.* These facts are eloquent evidence of the thrift and prosperity of the people.*

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,

* The writer is indebted for these figures to the Government Statist, Mr. G. Johnson, of Ottawa.

yet in all the provinces the children of rich and poor can obtain a good education which will fit them for their 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 14,000 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 2,000,000*l.* sterling, of which Ontario contributes at least 800,000*l.* sterling. The same province has spent during thirty years some 14,000,000*l.* sterling for the building of school houses and other educational objects; and the result 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 five. The higher educational institutions of Canada, for instance, McGill University in Montreal, Toronto University, Trinity University, Queen's College in Kingston, Laval University in Quebec, Victoria University, and Dalhousie College in Halifax, have connected with them a large class of professors, many of whom have won for themselves a high reputation in the world of science and literature.

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

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, 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. The large number of pamphlets and works on Canadian subjects, issued from year to year, clearly shows the stimulus that has been given to mental activity by the larger field of thought which 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 at 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 one 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 of the Marquis 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 continues to take 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 political institutions of Canada are the results of the
labours

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 are 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 régime. 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 meetings, 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, that 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, combining 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

are defined and limited by the British North America Act. Next we come to the Central or Federal Government, which has jurisdiction over all matters of national import. The Constitution is essentially limited. In the first place, the powers of the general government are restricted, inasmuch as it 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 America Act; but these doubts have been gradually set at rest by the decisions of the 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.

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 a nation, and exercises 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 an appeal still lies to the Privy Council from Canadian Courts, 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, is consulted and represented whenever her commercial interests are affected by treaties with Foreign Powers, 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 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.

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As a people Canadians have a good 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, which 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 Dominion franchise, which is on the very borders of universal suffrage.* No legal 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. In the absence of race conflicts for many years, 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.

* In the province of Ontario there is now universal suffrage, only limited by a residence qualification.

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 interest 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, and it would be an unfortunate day for the Dominion should the declamatory appeals which are made from time to time prevail so as to excite a religious or racial conflict. Happily in all national crises, so far, the common sense and patriotism of the people have won the day. So it will be in the case of the present agitation on the Quebec Jesuits' Act, which is entirely a constitutional question that must be decided by legal and constitutional methods.

The inquiry now naturally suggests itself, what will be the outcome of this material and political development; what is the destiny in store for a country showing so much energy and enterprise in all the pursuits of industry, and such admirable capacity for self-government. This question is occupying much attention, in consequence of the efforts that are now being made to stimulate an interest in the grand idea of Imperial Federation, and of the discussion that has grown up in the United States on the subject of annexation. Of one thing we may be quite certain, that the people of the Dominion are resolved on working out their own future apart from the United States, and on building up a new nationality to the north of the Republic. Canadians for the last twenty years have taught themselves to be independent, not only in a political but in a commercial sense, whenever practicable, of their powerful neighbours. Their efforts have been directed as far as possible to new avenues of trade, and to the building up of a large system of manufactures, and to the cultivation in every way open to them of a spirit of self-reliance. Canadians are quite ready to meet their neighbours in a spirit of compromise and fair dealing, whenever it is a question of Fisheries and commercial relations. It is needless to say that the people of Canada generally have not been a little irritated by the hostile attitude assumed towards them by certain politicians in and out of Congress since the repeal of the Washington Treaty. The unwillingness of these politicians to agree to any fair commercial arrangement between the United States and the Dominion, on the basis of a reciprocity

city in the valuable fisheries of Canada, has naturally stimulated the national spirit of Canadians, and shown them the necessity of working out their own future patiently and determinately, without placing any too great dependence on the policy of their prosperous, energetic, but not always very trustworthy neighbours, whose desire for territorial aggrandizement and commercial supremacy on this continent has more than once carried them beyond the bounds of generosity and justice in their relations with the Canadian provinces.

Besides this national sentiment that is now growing up in Canada, especially among the young men, there has always existed certain influences decidedly antagonistic to political absorption into the United States. No influence has been greater than that of the thoughtful, intelligent classes of the French Canadian population, who are anxious to preserve their institutions and language intact. In addition to this powerful French-Canadian influence in favour of the existing state of things, under which the French-Canadian population exercises so much weight—at times a supremacy in the political councils of the country—there is another sentiment which, if it does not appear to flow in as clear and well defined a current, nevertheless mingles with the stream of thought in the British-speaking communities, and prevents it running in the direction of the United States. From the commencement until long after the close of the war of Independence, there was a steady influx of Loyalists into the provinces, and especially into New Brunswick and Ontario, of which they were the founders. Some forty thousand souls in all made their homes in Canada, and laid the foundation of that love for British institutions and British connection which has ever been a recognized characteristic of the Canadian people. It may be easily supposed that the descendants of these Loyalists must now form no inconsiderable proportion of the five millions of people who inhabit Canada, and must exercise a silent, but none the less potent, influence on the destinies of Canada. Of the members of the Senate and House of Commons, some thirty gentlemen, several of them the leading men in both parties, are directly descended from this class, and we find them acting as lieutenant-governors and occupying important positions in every vocation of life throughout the Dominion.

All these influences would probably amount to very little if Canada should be overburdened with debt, her great sources of wealth impeded, and her large schemes of opening up and peopling her undeveloped country in the North-West fail of realization during the next two decades of years. A wave of

discontent and lost hope would then probably pass over the country, and bring to the surface an annexation party; but it is idle to speculate on what appears, as matters are now, the most unlikely thing to happen. Whatever may be said by pessimistic writers like Mr. Goldwin Smith, success has so far, on the whole, crowned the efforts of Canadian statesmen to consolidate the confederation, and there is no reason to fear that their hope of seeing new and prosperous provinces stretching as far as the Pacific Ocean will not be realized during the next twenty or thirty years, as long as the mass of the people continue to be animated by that spirit of enterprise and national ambition which has hitherto characterized their efforts.

But during some months past a fruitful discussion has grown up on another question of vast import. With the view, as they say, of preventing the disintegration of the Empire, a league of thoughtful men has been formed in England, with branches in Canada and the other dependencies, with the avowed object of fully discussing the whole question of Imperial Federation, in the hope that the result will be the development of some practical scheme of union or federation on a basis which will preserve all the institutions of local government enjoyed by the dependencies, and at the same time enable all sections of the Empire to combine more satisfactorily for certain common purposes with the Parent State, than seems possible under existing circumstances. So far as the discussion has gone, there is a great diversity of opinion, and no one has been able to offer a scheme which is likely to prove workable. So far the whole question has not come out of the range of mere theoretical discussion. We may, however, come to the following conclusions, when we sum up the opinions of prominent public men and of the press so far as they have been expressed:—

1. That the Canadians will accept no scheme which may in any way whatever weaken the admirable system of federal government and of provincial freedom which Canada now possesses under her present constitution.

2. That Canadians hesitate to entrust the arrangement of her financial or fiscal policy to any parliamentary body in which her representation will be necessarily small, and her influence consequently insignificant.

3. That a million and more French-Canadian people look suspiciously on a scheme of federation which may curtail their privileges, and bring them under the control of an Imperial Parliament, in which their peculiar interests may be jeopardized, and their identity as a distinct race eventually lost.

These objections are believed by not a few persons to stand
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for the present in the way of the adoption of the large scheme of federation, under which one general parliament would be created for the whole Empire—the most logical scheme on its face, since it would give each province or section of the Empire control over its purely local or provincial affairs—and constitute one large legislative body, to legislate on all matters which would naturally appertain to the whole Empire. It must be admitted that, grand as appears this idea of a federation, the difficulties that impede its realization seem for the moment impossible to surmount.

But still every one who is paying any attention to the movement in Canada must see that its promoters are making a steady headway, especially since the efforts of American politicians and their sympathizers to develop an annexation feeling. Branches of the League are being established in every part of English-speaking Canada, and public meetings are frequently held to stimulate a public interest in the question. The League has among its members Lieutenant-Governors, heads of Universities, Members of the Dominion Parliament and of the Local Legislatures, prominent Divines, and a large number of energetic young men imbued by true British sentiment.

It must be expected, however, that some time will elapse before the masses can appreciate the importance of this great movement. There are so many decided advantages in the present political position of the country, that some great national crisis alone can show the people how frail after all in some respects are the ties that now bind the Colonies to the Empire. Because the people are now indifferent on the subject, is no reason why the advocates of an improvement in the relations between the Parent State and the Colonies should feel discouraged. Previous to 1864, the confederation of the provinces of British North America had been very briefly discussed in parliament and in the press, but the majority of the people throughout the country appeared to take little interest in the matter, and it was not until the political necessities of the two Canadas became very great, when government had become almost impracticable on account of divisions between the French and English sections, that leading men of both parties united on the general basis of the confederation. The legislative union of Scotland and England was not successfully consummated until the cause of the Protestant succession to the throne was in danger. The present constitution of the United States only became the fundamental law of the whole people when the old confederation proved a mere rope of sand, and there was every

every prospect of disintegration. The same may be the case with the great question still new to the popular mind throughout the Empire. Some great national emergency may arise to show the Parent State, as well as her dependencies, the inequality and insecurity of the basis on which the Empire rests. At present Canadians may be apathetic, for reasons which we have endeavoured to set forth, as concisely as possible; but fifteen or twenty years hence, when Canada will have a large population, and her vast territory will be divided into flourishing provinces, extending continuously from the Atlantic to the Pacific, they may feel that the time is come for demanding a higher position in the councils of the Empire, commensurate with their growth and importance. Questions of tariff may then sink into insignificance, and a people of fifteen or twenty millions will be entitled to a representation which may give them sufficient influence over the affairs of the Empire, and guard all their own immediate interests. The national sentiment which is slowly developing among the people may become dominant, and force Canada to assert herself more determinedly. Any one looking at the political movement throughout the Empire, has every reason for thinking that events are shaping themselves for important political changes. The parent islands themselves are, in the opinion of many astute observers, on the eve of a social and political revolution, the result of which cannot be foreseen by the most sagacious statesmen. The Imperial Parliament must, sooner or later, be compelled to relieve itself of some of its functions which now render legislation in many cases impracticable. The Australian dependencies are improving their facilities for joint action, and must eventually recognize the necessity that exists for a wider scheme of federation. Even the West Indies are commencing to see the necessity of some bond of political union, although no decided step has yet been taken in this direction. No doubt the principle of federalism, which above all other principles of government combines a strong central authority with local freedom of action, is likely in the future to unite all communities, naturally allied to each other by ties of a common nationality, or common political and commercial interests. The United States and Germany, and Austria-Hungary to a minor degree, illustrate the growth in modern times of this great governing principle, which has resulted from the necessity that has arisen in these days of democratic tendencies for giving as full play as possible to the desire that exists in every community for local self-government. By the commencement of the twentieth century,
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in all probability the several groups of Colonies which enjoy representative institutions will be strongly consolidated into a series of powerful federal States, and become, in fact, so many semi-independent nations. Then, in the nature of things, it will be absolutely necessary to settle their future position among the communities of the world. Some great political convulsion may precipitate matters, but in the ordinary course of events years must pass before the problem is likely to demand a solution.

In the preceding pages we have not attempted to discuss the subject of Independence, knowing as we do that there are very few thoughtful men who believe that it would be prudent or wise for Canada to imperil her present position of ease and security, for one which would immediately entail so many heavy responsibilities at a juncture when she is already fully burdened with obligations, which it will require all her energies to meet for many years to come. No Canadian will of course deny that the time may arrive when a state of higher political existence may become the natural object of the aspirations of every man who is proud of his country and its successes; but it is certain that many years must elapse before any question of this kind can possibly arise. It is questionable if Englishmen generally even yet fully appreciate the sincerity of the loyalty which has kept Canada a dependency of the Empire through good and evil report. The inducements to join her fortunes with those of the United States have been undoubtedly very powerful at times. It is certain that she could to-morrow enter the ranks of the American States on terms compatible with her self-respect, and largely to her commercial advantage. But Canadians, as we have already shown, have never listened to the voice of the charmer, charm he ever so sweetly. They have always believed that their true interests lie in the direction of establishing a federation which will be a friendly competitor with its great neighbour in the important work which both, as agents of civilization, have to perform on the American continent. When, as in the nature of things it must be the case, Canada has far outgrown the position of a mere dependency of England, and the inequalities that now exist between her and the mother-country become more obvious to her people, and no practical steps have been taken to remove them, she is not likely to make an effort to sever the ties that bind her to the Empire in a spirit of impatience and ingratitude. If the difficulties that now appear to impede the successful accomplishment of a large scheme of federation continue as impracticable as they seem at present,

present, if the necessities of the Empire do not bring about a practical solution of the problem which is now occupying the attention of public men in England and her dependencies, Canada will be very false to her past record if she should ask to stand alone, without a single link of connection between herself and that England to whom she owes so much. If the difficulties that arise from distance, tariffs, and representation cannot be arranged on terms which will preserve the interests of all sections of the Empire, then it will be open to Canada and the other great countries which are now dependencies of that Empire, should they be dissatisfied with the existing state of things, to assume a higher position among communities, and at the same time enter into a solemn league and compact with their old parent for their common defence and security. Then England, whose manifest destiny it is to perpetuate her language and institutions in every quarter of the globe, would still be able to retain that prestige which the possession of a great Colonial Empire has long given her, while Canada and the other countries which are of British origin would be in a position to satisfy their national aspirations, and at the same time preserve the connection on terms which would be at once a recognition of their importance, and of their respect and affection for the Parent State.

And who will dare to say that it is not even among the possibilities of the future that all the British-speaking peoples will sign this solemn league? A Federation of the World is but a poetic fancy; but it would be well for the peace of nations were the United States, in whose progress and prosperity Canadians must take a natural pride, although they may never be associated with the political union of their neighbours, also to form part of such a league as we imagine, and in that way give guarantees for the common peace and security of communities which should be always allied to each other by the ties of a common ancestry and a common interest.

However, the people of Canada are not yet called upon to deal practically with questions which probably await solution only in a distant future, but must continue in the great lines of development so clearly marked out for them from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Among the communities of the world there is none more highly favoured than the Dominion of Canada, and it would be folly for its people to listen to the agitators who always arise among peoples from time to time to create, for political reasons, discontent with the existing state of things. Canadians, as it has been the endeavour of ~~this paper~~ to show, have

have much reason for self-gratulation and hopefulness. They can point with pride to the work already achieved, and to the promise which the future seems to hold out to themselves and their children. They are proud of their country, of its noble scenery, of its varied resources, and its bright prospects. All of them are imbued with an honest love for the country of their birth or of their adoption. In that beautiful poem of Longfellow's, which must always awake the tenderest emotions while men and women can be touched by the story of human love and human devotion, we are told of a little flower that is said to grow on the meadows that skirt the base of the Ozark Hills:—

‘See how its leaves all point to the north, as true as the magnet;
It is the compass flower, that the finger of God has suspended
Here on its fragile stalk, to direct the traveller's journey
Over the sea-like, pathless, limitless waste of the desert.’

So it must be with all Canadians: their hearts, differ as men may on political, or social, or religious questions, are true to their North-Land—a land of great rivers and inland seas, of illimitable prairies and lofty mountains, of rich sea pastures and luxuriant corn-fields—a land of free government and free speech—a goodly heritage with which they can never part to a foreign Power.

