

CANADA

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MAP

DOMINION OF CANADA *Frontispiece*
(from Morris and Wood: "English-Speaking Nations".)

• CHAPTER I •

THE FRENCH WERE HERE FIRST

CANADA is a nation with a written constitution enacted by the British Parliament and an unwritten constitution wholly derived from that of Great Britain. It occupies the half of the North American continent lying between the United States to the south and the Polar Seas and the United States territory of Alaska to the north.

The most important thing to bear in mind about it as a political entity is that nearly one-third of its population consists of people who are not in the British Commonwealth because they themselves or their ancestors elected for that destiny. In the 1931 census, in a total population of 10.4 millions, 2.9 millions were of French racial origin; and all but a negligible fraction of the latter are descendants, very little mixed as to blood, of the French colonists who passed from French to British rule as a result of the defeats of the French forces in 1759-60, and the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

The census of the French colony of New France in 1754 had shown a population of 55,009, and the expansion of this group in less than two centuries into almost 3 millions, taking place as it did under the government of people of another race, is one of the marvels of the world's history.

Moreover, these 3 millions have preserved not only their racial qualities quite unimpaired, but also a habit and philosophy of life which are completely foreign to the habit and philosophy of life of the whole English-speaking white population of North America. The difference between the French-Canadian and the English-speaking Canadian is vastly greater than that

between the English-speaking Canadian and the American, which is very slight. The French-Canadian is acutely conscious and extremely proud of this difference, and strongly determined to maintain it.

His language he regards as the most important means of perpetuating this difference, and hence he is determined to maintain the full rights of that language in the province of Quebec, where it is the majority tongue and the common means of communication. Hence also he seeks to secure at least a part of the same rights for it in the other provinces of Canada, where, however, he is met by a very strong resistance on the part of the English-speaking majority, which in the main is disposed to rely on unity of language as a prime factor in bringing about unity of national feeling, and regards the spread of French as a divisive force. The French-Canadian maintains that he cannot be expected to feel a national loyalty for a nation in three-quarters of whose territory his ancestral tongue is regarded as foreign and is so treated by the local law and the local educational system. The English-speaking Canadian replies that the tolerance shown to the French language in Quebec is a regrettable historical necessity, and must not be permitted to extend beyond the limits assigned to it by the national constitution (the British North America Act, 1867)—namely, the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of Quebec, the courts of Quebec, and any courts of Canada established under the Act.

This difference of opinion as to the treatment of the French language is the chief source, and a very constant and irritating source, of political dispute between the French-speaking minority in Canada and the majority, although the special privileges of the Roman Catholic Church in respect of education, which are safeguarded in the province of Quebec by a strong Roman Catholic majority in the population, but in other provinces depend on the goodwill of the Protestant majority and a



I. CANADIAN SCENERY

1. YELLOWHEAD
PASS
(*Canadian National
Railways*)

2. WATERTON
LAKE,
S. ALBERTA
(*Fox Photos*)



rather vague and disputable provision in the constitution, are also a frequent source of difficulty. It should be noted, however, that the Roman Catholics are by no means all French by origin or by language; they numbered 4.3 millions in the 1931 census, of whom 0.7 million were of British racial origin, mainly Irish, and 0.7 million were continental European. The constitution ensures to the Roman Catholic minority in Ontario, and to the Protestant minority in Quebec, the perpetual preservation of any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which they had at the time of the passing of the Act (1867), which means in effect the right to a separate school system maintained by taxes levied on the minority, who are thus exempt from taxation for the schools of the majority. And in the case of the last two provinces to be created in the former North-West Territories, Alberta and Saskatchewan, similar separate school systems were established by the Dominion Parliament in the legislation which created them.

In Canada the legislative and executive power, which in the United Kingdom is vested in a single authority, the Parliament of Westminster, is divided between the Dominion Parliament and the Legislatures of the provinces, which are nine in number. The constitution of Canada sets up, therefore, a federal and not a unitary system. We shall examine later on the historical forces which made such a system inevitable if the separate British colonies in North America were to be brought together to govern themselves as a single unit. At present we are concerned with the kind of nation which it was possible to establish, and which was established, in 1867, and the way in which the character then imparted to it has developed up to the present time.

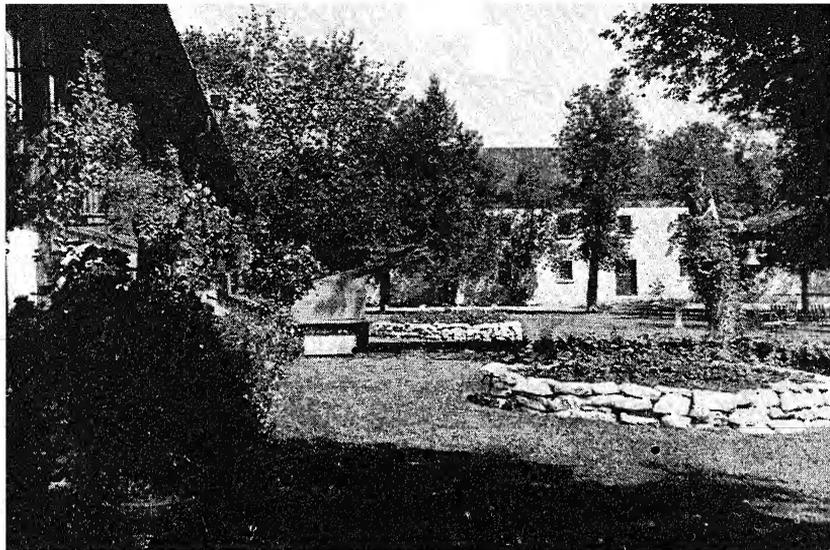
The Act of 1867 provided for the immediate union of what were then three separate provinces, each enjoying a very restricted measure of self-government and

actually controlled very largely by appointees of the British Government. These provinces were Canada,¹ Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. They extended along the United States border from the Atlantic to a little beyond the head of the Great Lakes. Provision was also made for the subsequent addition of Newfoundland (which never acted upon it), Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, upon representations from their Legislatures, and of the then politically unorganized areas of Rupert's Land and the North-western Territory without any expression from their inhabitants. The Act thus contemplated already a "Dominion stretching from sea to sea" such as has since been realized; and one of the chief objects of its advocates was to consolidate all the British possessions in North America as a form of insurance against possible aggression by the United States. The British authority had been pretty securely established from the Atlantic westward to the head of the Great Lakes and from the Pacific eastward to the Rockies; but between these lay Rupert's Land and the North-western Territory, practically uninhabited and ruled with quasi-sovereign power by the Hudson's Bay Company. These enormous areas, whose value was beginning to be dimly suspected, had hitherto been accessible only by Hudson Bay or the Great Lakes; but railway construction in the prairie States was bringing them into close contact with American settlement, and their complete Americanization seemed inevitable if they were not politically organized and provided with railway connection with the eastern provinces very promptly and under British auspices. The acquisition of the territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company (1869), the adhesion of British Columbia (1871), and the rapid completion of the Canadian Pacific

¹ Canada at that time consisted of the formerly separate provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, coinciding in area with the present provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

Railway from Montreal to Port Moody, B.C. (1886), solved this problem. The year 1874 is regarded by historians as marking the end of the most difficult quarter-century in the relations between British North America and the United States; and from that time onward those relations have become steadily more amicable.

The establishment of a unitary government for so vast an area, with such immense differences of economic condition and development, would in any event have been unwise, even if it had been rendered impossible by the necessity of recognizing the special and historic rights of the French in at least the territory which they occupied at the time of the fall of Quebec, in 1759. Persons unacquainted with the history of North America at that period sometimes express surprise that the "conquerors" allowed so large a measure of freedom to the "conquered" to maintain their own laws, customs, and institutions. The truth is that they made a very earnest attempt to abolish these during the first five years of British administration, but that by 1774 (date of the Quebec Act, restoring or confirming most of the French law and institutions, but leaving the English criminal law, to which the French had no objection) they had become aware of the growth of revolutionary feeling in the Thirteen Colonies to the south of Quebec, and knew that it would be extremely dangerous to provoke a similar feeling among the French-Canadians. Nothing but the wise and generous tolerance shown in the Quebec Act could have ensured that when the American Revolution actually broke out in 1775 the people of Quebec, under the leadership of their clergy, would refuse to give it any support. The provisions of the Quebec Act relating to the Roman Catholic religion, the French law of property and family, the French customs of trade, have come to be regarded as a sort of Great Charter of the rights of the French in the province of



II. CANADA HOT AND COLD

1. FORT GARRY
(Paul Popper)

2. FLOODS
(Paul Popper)

Quebec. Constitutional authorities differ as to whether the British Government had any intention of setting them up as anything of the kind.

By 1867, however, the French in Quebec had enjoyed these laws and institutions for nearly a hundred years, under British rule, and would have resisted violently any attempt to take away the smallest part of them. On the other hand, the imposition of French laws and institutions on any other part of Canada was equally impossible. If, therefore, there was to be a single authority over all Canada for certain subjects of essentially national character, there had to be also a local sovereignty for the province of Quebec—and therefore for each of the other provinces—for all subjects upon which the people of Quebec were insistent for their special laws and institutions. The federal system of the United States provided the solution.

With this understanding of the reasons why the Canadian provinces are so largely distinct political entities with interests and feelings different from their neighbours, we may proceed to examine each province or group of provinces in succession in order to ascertain what it is like and how it came to be so. And since Quebec is the oldest of the provinces, and we have already learned more about it than the others, we may reasonably examine it first.

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN— FRENCH AND BRITISH

A GLANCE at a relief map of North America east of the Rockies will show that the interior of the continent is drained by three watershed systems: the rivers running into Hudson Bay, the Great Lakes system running out by the St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi. The height-of-land divisions between the St. Lawrence watershed and those on each side of it are very slight; vast quantities of water can be diverted from one to the other watershed with very little engineering work. The minor watersheds of the continent are shallow, merely draining off the area between the coast ranges and the adjacent ocean; but one of them, the Hudson River, acquires immense importance from the fact that it also is separated by only a small height of land from the St. Lawrence watershed.

These three watersheds are not merely the run-off channels from the vast and superbly fertile interior plain; they provide also the great natural entry-ways to that plain. But the Hudson, which is not a run-off channel from the interior at all, early became the most important means of access to it because of the ease of the transfer to the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes system in the neighbourhood of Buffalo. The Erie Canal (1825), and the subsequent railways paralleling it, were what made New York the greatest city of the New World. For the Hudson River entry to the interior has advantages which none of the others possess.

The entry from the Atlantic by way of Hudson Bay involves passing to the north of Cape Wolstenholme. It is true that this is only about the latitude of Trond-

hjem in Norway; but it is on the west side of its ocean, not the east, and therefore gets no benefit from the tropical currents which so greatly affect the eastern shores of both the North Atlantic and the North Pacific. It is much too cold to be a first-class inter-continental highway of commerce, though it is much the shortest route from Chicago to Great Britain. The Mississippi, on the other hand, is very much the longest. The St. Lawrence route is longer than that by Hudson Bay, but is easy of navigation. Its weakness compared with the Hudson River is that it is frozen up much longer in winter, including its ports, whereas the port of New York is never frozen up at all. In the early days of exploration and settlement, however, the Hudson River was not much of a competitor for the interior trade, for the connection with the Great Lakes was barred not only by the moderate height-of-land, but by hostile Indians.

Hence it comes that the European power which commanded the St. Lawrence in these early days commanded also the whole interior of the continent; and that power was France. The voyages of Cartier (1534-43) left little permanent result, but those of Champlain (1603-33) led to enduring settlement. The first colonist, Louis Hébert, arrived at Quebec in 1617; his descendants still bear his name. In 1641 the resident population of New France was 240; in 1666, at the first census, it was 3215. French explorers, fur traders, and missionaries (eight of the last being subsequently canonized as martyrs) roamed all over the interior plain and left their names and those of their patron saints on hundreds of camp-sites, waterfalls, mountains, and passes, where they still remain, usually much Americanized in pronunciation.

The French controlled both the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi entries to the great interior plain. The British settlements, occupying the whole coast from

Nova Scotia (frequently disputed by the French), down to Florida and Louisiana, were pinned between the Appalachian mountain range and the sea, and remained so until the French empire in North America was smashed by the capture of Quebec and the subsequent Treaty of Paris (1763).

But there was a radical difference in character and organization between the French and British settlements, which is the basic cause of the difference between the French-Canadian and the English North American cultures of today. The French settlers came out at the instigation of their home Government, and their affairs continued, in the last detail and up to the last moment, to be regulated by the officials representing that Government. The British settlers came out largely because of a strong—often religious—hostility to their home Government, and developed with remarkable speed a strong self-reliance and a lively interest in self-government. The spirit of adventure in the individual French settler, completely barred from any enterprise in politics or trade, which were rigidly controlled by officials, found vent in the life of the explorer, the voyageur, the martyr-missionary. That of the individual British settler, free to express itself in trade and politics, developed great powers of community organization and great economic resourcefulness. In New France, hardly anything new could be done without authorization from Paris, and any profits resulting from whatever was done were promptly drained off to Paris by taxation. In New England hardly anybody bothered to ask what London would think if something new was done, and if it was successful all the profits remained in the colony. It was not because they were tired of being taxed by an outside authority, but because they never had been, that the Bostonians threw the taxed British tea into the harbour.

This explains why the French-Canadians accepted

the capitulation of Quebec in 1759 with such placidity, when once they were assured that their language, their religion, and their civil law would be respected. They were used to being governed from Europe; with those conditions secured it did not much matter to them whether they were governed from Paris or from London. It was not they who had been defeated, but an army and a fleet from old France. True, they had rallied to the *levée en masse* for the defence of Quebec, but soldiering was not their business; Montcalm himself wrote shortly before the battle that his army was 2,900 regulars and 7,900 militia, but that the latter were largely unfit for service. "I think four or five hundred picked Canadian voyageurs are capable of doing a good job, but half of the militia are old men or children who are in no shape for marching, and who had never before been under discipline or seen any fighting." And this state of affairs was largely due to fantastic corruption and inefficiency on the part of the civilian officials put in charge of the colony by the Paris authorities, and headed by the unspeakable Intendant Bigot.

All the officials from old France left the colony after the capitulation, there being nothing further for them to do. With them went the wealthy merchants and a good number of the seigneurs, the hereditary Canadian aristocracy of feudal type but limited powers which the French Court had very successfully planted all over New France. The mass of the population were thus left to face their new rulers with hardly any leaders of their own except their clergy and a small professional class of lawyers and notaries. It is this circumstance which gives to the Roman Catholic clergy their immense prestige and influence in French Canada; they are not merely the spiritual guides of the people, they are also the leaders who enabled them to resist the efforts of the new British mercantile class to overthrow the French language and the French civil law.

For no sooner were the British troops in possession of the colony than it became the scene of a steady influx of settlers from the old land and also from the adjacent British areas, which rapidly established a substantial English-speaking population in the cities of Montreal and Quebec. This consisted at first largely of those who had business with the military authorities in each city—Londoners for the army at Quebec, which was supplied from England, and persons from the American colonies at Montreal, where the troops were more largely of American origin and obtained most of their supplies from Boston. These settlers, especially at Quebec, were insistent in their demands for the establishment of English law and of an elected Legislative Assembly. They took it for granted that the French-Canadians would be excluded from entering or voting for this Assembly because they were Roman Catholics, and Roman Catholics were still barred from political rights in Great Britain. The British military authorities in Canada, and the British Government at home, held out strongly against these demands, the granting of which, they perceived, would destroy the carefully fostered loyalty of the French-Canadians to the British Crown; and in consequence there developed among the French-Canadians a strong distrust of their English-speaking fellow-Canadians and a reliance upon the home authorities, attitudes which still find expression in an unwillingness to see the power of amending the Canadian constitution definitely and formally transferred from Westminster to Canada.

CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

THE Quebec Act of 1774 has already been referred to. In addition to restoring or confirming various French laws and customs, it disposed of the demand for a Legislative Assembly by setting up a Council with from seventeen to twenty-three members appointed by the Crown, with a limited right of legislation. This threw the English merchants of Montreal and Quebec into the most violent dissatisfaction, and when the American revolutionary leader Montgomery reached Montreal in 1775 he received a warm welcome from many of these aggrieved personages. From the French-Canadians, however, the Americans received little aid or sympathy, and the British troops were able to hold this French colony when all the thirteen original British colonies succeeded in establishing their independence.

That independence completely changed the position and prospects of the Canadian colony, which remained British although it had only become British a few years earlier. Its area—it had extended behind the seaboard colonies southward to the Ohio and westward to the Mississippi—was greatly curtailed, and became substantially the area of the present provinces of Ontario and Quebec. But it immediately began to receive a great influx of English-speaking persons from what was now the United States, driven from their old homes because of their loyalty to the British Crown and their consequent hostility to the Revolution. They received grants of land from the Government, but only to a very limited extent in what is now Quebec because it was not thought desirable to settle them on land held under the French legal system.

But what is now Ontario was then an integral part of Quebec, and received an influx of several thousand of these "Loyalist" settlers; and the idea that the French-Canadians would permanently constitute a majority in their colony—which was the underlying assumption of the Quebec Act—began to look like an illusion. The new settlers would certainly not be content to live under French civil law and under a Council in whose appointment they had nothing to say. By 1786 it had become evident that a new policy would have to be devised for the administration of this now mixed population. The attempt to do so took form in the Constitutional Act of 1791.

This Act was the first attempt to set up a measure of self-government on British lines in the territory acquired from France by the victory of Wolfe at Quebec. Recognizing that the two types of population could not be fused into a single political unit, it divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada, substantially identical in area with the Ontario and Quebec of today; and the course of events in Upper Canada ceases to be part of the subject-matter of this chapter.

But a measure of self-government could not be established in Upper Canada without a similar measure being established in Lower Canada. And in Lower Canada it was no longer possible to contemplate a representative Legislative Assembly elected only by Protestants. For one thing, a great change of opinion was taking place in Great Britain on the subject of Catholic emancipation, which found expression only two years later in the grant of the franchise to Roman Catholics in Ireland. But in any event it would have been impossible to place the great mass of the French-Canadians—rural, agricultural, and Catholic—under the political control of a relatively small number of English-speaking residents who were urban, commercial, and Protestant. In the interval since the Quebec Act,

the neighbouring British colonies, the five that made New England and New York had been converted into states of the new, and then distinctly hostile, Republic; and to turn the French-Canadians over to the tender mercies of the English of Montreal and Quebec would have been inviting them to secede and join with these neighbours, thereby cutting off the English in Upper Canada from connection with the mother country except by Hudson Bay.

The French-Canadians therefore, by no wish of their own—for they had no acquaintance with democracy or self-government—were presented with an elected Legislative Assembly, whose powers, however, were greatly checked by the Crown-appointed Legislative Council, with its eight-to-seven English majority, and the Crown-appointed Executive Council, also with an English majority. The difference of race and religion coincided with a difference of economic interest, and speedily developed a party system in which the French, with a permanent majority in the Assembly, were regularly thwarted by the English, with a permanent majority in the Council. The Assembly became inevitably a sounding-board for the grievances of the Catholic agriculturists.

The War of 1812—an attack upon Canada by the fast-growing and powerful United States while Great Britain was desperately engaged in Europe—supervened upon this very difficult situation. But the French-Canadians realized that the strongly assimilative policy of the United States would never tolerate the special claims of either their language or their religion; and they preferred the tyranny of the Councils, which they thought they could ultimately mitigate or abolish, to that of a Protestant and English-speaking national majority which they knew would be permanent. So they fought strongly and on several occasions brilliantly in defence of the British regime in Canada. The victory



1. PROSPECTING
(*Canadian National Archives*)



2. FRENCH-CANADIAN CRAFTSMAN
(*Jes, Toronto*)



3. TRAPPING
(*For Photos*)

of de Salaberry's Voltigeurs over a greatly superior force (some authorities say ten times the size) at Chateauguay was one of the major events of the war.

A severe economic depression in the middle 'thirties greatly accentuated the bitterness of the struggle between the privileged mercantile interests, which had the ear of the Councils both in Upper and Lower Canada, and the agricultural masses. The struggle came to a head in the Rebellion of 1837—really two synchronized rebellions in the two provinces. It is merely a coincidence that in Lower Canada racial and religious cleavage followed the same lines as economic cleavage; the Rebellion in Lower Canada had little to do with either race or religion. English Protestants were conspicuous among its leaders, and the Catholic clergy as a whole discountenanced it. It failed, but led to a general realization of the imperative need for political reforms.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 had given each of the Canadas a representative Assembly which could talk but could not act, because of the control exercised by the Councils. There could be no more dangerous half-way measure. If the representatives of the people are not to be allowed to govern, they should not be presented with the machinery for discussing how they would like to govern if they were allowed.

The re-shaping of the constitutional system of Canada after the Rebellion was largely the work of Lord Durham, the young and radical but brilliant English statesman who was sent out as governor-in-chief of the Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island with exceptional powers, especially in Lower Canada, where the constitution had been suspended.

Durham's great achievement was that of recognizing that any half-way measure between the grant of an elected Assembly and the grant to that Assembly of the right to effectual control of the process of government

was bound to lead to disaster. In his report to the British Government, therefore, he came out boldly with a demand for the establishment of what the moderate reformers in Canada had long advocated under the name of "responsible government", meaning that the persons entrusted with the management of public affairs—the Executive Council—must have the confidence of the representative body. This principle had been denied up to 1837 by the British Government, which maintained that the Executive Councils were responsible, through the Governors, to the British Crown, and could not be responsible also to a colonial legislature.

Durham cut the knot of this dispute by dividing the business of government into two sections: those matters which were of mainly local concern, and those which were of mainly Imperial interest. The Executive Council was to be responsible to the Legislative Assembly for the former, and to the Crown and the British Ministers for the latter. It was obviously a compromise, containing no enduring principle; for a Legislature which can dismiss an Executive for flouting its will in domestic matters can equally, using some domestic matter as a pretext, dismiss that same Executive for flouting its will in Imperial matters. The truth is that responsible government is indivisible; the Executive either is or is not controlled by the Legislature; and as soon as the Legislature can control the Executive in some matters, it can control it in all.

The question of responsible government, however, was not one to be settled by British legislation, but rather by British governmental instructions to governors, and by the interpretation and application of those instructions by the governors themselves. Durham's views on this matter were therefore slow in making themselves felt. His views on another matter, in which he seems almost certainly to have been in error, were promptly carried out. This was the union of Upper and

Lower Canada, with all the consequences that the Constitutional Act of 1791 had so carefully sought to avoid.

Durham, who saw the French-Canadians at the worst possible time, while they were seething with resentment at the methods employed in the suppression of the Rebellion, and who had not stayed long enough to understand their racial aspirations, was convinced that no measure of responsible government could safely be granted to a political unit in which they formed the majority. He was frankly determined to make of their territory "an English province", and to that end he urged that "the ascendancy should never again be placed in any hands but those of an English population". He thought that the French-Canadians could be manipulated into adopting the language and customs of the English. With these ends in view, he proposed, and the British Parliament enacted, the union of Upper and Lower Canada with a single Legislature. The Act of Union came into force in February 1841.

CHAPTER IV

QUARTER-CENTURY OF DEADLOCK

THE quarter-century following the Act of Union is the most painful period in the history of the area which was then Canada, and which even today contains two-thirds of the population of the Dominion. The only consolation is that these very difficulties produced several able statesmen, and that the impossibility of carrying on the government of the united provinces with satisfaction to any of the contending elements led to the demand for a wider union and a federal system, now realized in the Dominion constitution.

The French were embittered and restless. They had lost the control of their elected Legislative Assembly. They had lost the right to use their own language in the official records, though it was still recognized in the Legislature debates. Their part of the united colony had been assigned only one-half of the Legislature seats although they had much more than half the population. The united colony had been saddled with the debts of the old provinces, and those of Upper Canada greatly exceeded those of Lower Canada. Moreover, Lower Canada had not been consulted in the matter, as her constitution was suspended, while Upper Canada had at least gone through the motions of giving consent by a vote of the Legislative Assembly.

It is not necessary to enumerate all the bitter and factious disputes which marked this unhappy quarter-century. The most flagrant of them was that concerning the Rebellion Losses Bill of 1849. The Act of Union had given the Legislative Assembly greatly increased power over the expenditure of the provincial revenue.

The Assembly put through this Bill, for compensating persons who had suffered losses through the Rebellion of 1837. It was claimed that its terms would allow the payment of compensation to persons who had publicly favoured the Rebellion, and a faction which claimed to be specially loyal to the British connection demanded that the Governor refuse his assent.

The Governor was Lord Elgin, a son-in-law of Lord Durham and a determined and courageous believer in responsible government, who had the full confidence of the British Government. The Bill was obviously within the limits of the matters of domestic concern on which Durham had said the Executive should obey the Assembly. If he refused his assent his advisers would resign and he would be unable to get an Executive Council which would enjoy the confidence of the Assembly; government would become impossible. He signed the Bill.

The "ultra-loyal English" of Montreal, then the seat of government, were infuriated. Elgin's life was in danger. The Parliament Buildings were burned by a mob. But Elgin was backed up by the British Government. The question of responsible government was thus settled; nothing remained except the slow process of increasing the area of responsibility to the elected legislative body, and decreasing that of responsibility to the British Government, until today the Governor-General has become a sort of personal delegate of the King with no instructions from any source outside of the Dominion.

Moreover the attitude of the French-Canadians on the subject of responsible government was profoundly affected. The Rebellion Losses Bill was a matter on which they had made common cause with the Reformers of Upper Canada. The ministry which had put through the measure—W. P. M. Kennedy, Canada's leading constitutional authority, calls it "the first real cabinet in Canada"—was headed by Lafontaine and

Baldwin, the first statesmen to demonstrate in practice the possibility of political co-operation between the two races. (Their joint memorial is today the most conspicuous of the works of sculpture on Parliament Hill at Ottawa.) French Canada was convinced of the sincerity of the concession by the British in granting responsible government, and of its feasibility in operation. Above all, it was made clear that the "ultra-loyal English" in Montreal and elsewhere did not represent the views of the Imperial Government and could not rely upon it to enforce their own views on a hostile majority of Canadians. The ultra-loyalists lost much of their prestige and influence, and some of them a few months later, in a fit of petulant indignation and anti-French bitterness, demonstrated the real depth of their loyalty by signing an Annexation Manifesto calling for union with the United States.

One other event of enduring importance marked the period of deadlock. The creation of the Dominion was preceded by several years by the selection of the site for what was to be its capital but began by being merely the capital of the United Canadas. Deadlock and compromise largely governed the choice. Montreal was made impossible as a seat of government by the behaviour of the mob in 1849, and for a time it was agreed that the Legislature should meet for four years at Toronto—too English and too far west—and then for four years at Quebec—too French and too far east. The government offices remained in Montreal. The situation was impossible, and finally Queen Victoria was asked to designate a site.

The place which she selected had been known as Bytown, from the name of Colonel By of the Royal Engineers who founded it; but it bore henceforth the more euphonious Indian name of Ottawa. The governing reason for the choice was military—for security as against the United States. The St. Lawrence River runs

between an American and a Canadian shore from the foot of Lake Ontario down to Cornwall, where it becomes all-Canadian. It was within this range of longitude that the capital would be most central, and Kingston, at the foot of the lake, had strong claims, but was considered too close to the border. It happened that for the very purpose of providing a military waterway free from contact with the United States, the Rideau Canal had been dug (1826-32) connecting Kingston with the Ottawa River, down which the traffic could pass to rejoin the St. Lawrence beyond reach of American interference; and the point of junction of this canal with the Ottawa River was the best available site at a sufficient distance north of the border. The choice was made on the last day of 1857; the corner-stone of the Parliament Buildings was laid by the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII, on September 1, 1860; the buildings were used by the Legislature of the Canadas in 1866, and by the first Dominion Parliament on November 6, 1867.

A less pleasant event was the failure of a government proposal to increase the militia, made in 1862, at a time when strained relations between London and Washington over the Civil War had put Canada in some peril. The proposal was defeated by the French vote, and led to a strong feeling in Great Britain that in the event of a quarrel with the United States the small British forces then in the Canadas might be unable to maintain themselves if they received no aid from the colonials. It should be said in extenuation that from a realistic point of view the French-Canadians were entirely right; Canada, in the words of the Canadian historian George M. Wrong, "was then and is still indefensible in case of war with the United States"; the precedent of 1812 does not apply, for there were then no railways to deliver a crushing force at whatever point the stronger nation might select for attack. But this

episode had much to do with the desire of the British Government to amalgamate their colonies in North America and make them as responsible as possible for their own behaviour and their own land defence.

The impossibility of reconciling English Protestants to legislation forced on them by French Catholics, and vice versa, led to the adoption, as a theory of government, of the astounding "double-majority principle" that no legislation affecting one division of the colony should be passed unless it was supported by a majority of members from that division. This principle, giving to half the members from a division a sort of veto on all legislation affecting it no matter how strongly supported by the other half and the other division, helped to make government impossible. "Within ten years ten ministries held office. In three years four ministries were defeated and two general elections had provided no working majorities." What the colony was trying to work was a "bastard federal union"; and by degrees men's eyes turned to the south, where a genuine federal union seemed to be providing a solution for similar problems. The unhappy quarter-century came to an end with a widespread realization of the need for a division of legislative subjects into local and national, with local legislatures to deal with the former and a national legislature for the latter. In 1864 two Upper Canada leaders, John A. Macdonald and George Brown, sank their differences to promote a federal union of all British North America. On July 1, 1867, the Dominion of Canada was born.

CHAPTER V

THE FRENCH ON AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CONTINENT

WE HAVE now reviewed, in a very summary manner, the long sequence of events which made the French-Canadian willing to submerge his racial unit in a federation in which he would be for many generations, and perhaps always, a minority, provided that he were given a local government with sufficiently extensive and perpetually guaranteed powers, in which he would be always a majority. But we have made no mention of one of the most important events which led him to that frame of mind

As we have seen, at the time of the union, Lower Canada (Quebec) had a larger population than Upper Canada (Ontario), and was somewhat imposed upon by the equal representation accorded to the two divisions. But during the quarter-century this condition changed. A tremendous inrush of population—American, Irish, Scottish, English—followed the opening up of the fertile lands of Southern Upper Canada by roads and railways, and outpaced even the amazing birth-rate of the French-Canadians, while Lower Canada was already beginning to feel a shortage of good land and to crowd out some of its own native-born increase. (The French-Canadians had of course no hope of any increment to their numbers by immigration, for the French of France were no longer a colonizing people, and their receptiveness to anti-clerical ideas after the French Revolution had made them an object of suspicion to the deeply Catholic and traditionally Royalist French of Canada.) The land area of Quebec is 100 million acres greater than Ontario; but the excess is more than accounted for by the forest area, and the agricultural area is only 43·7

million acres against 65.8 million acres; on the average the Ontario acreage is superior in climate and probably also in soil.

All hope of a French-Canadian majority in a political unit larger than Lower Canada had therefore to be abandoned. Yet there were many considerations which prevented the French-Canadian from seeking complete political separateness for Lower Canada alone—though there were, and still are, French-Canadians who advocate that solution. In the first place there was history: Upper Canada had originally been part of New France, and there were still isolated but ancient settlements of French among the English-speaking flood. This was partly a sentimental consideration, but there was also the more practical one of having outlets for the surplus population which would increasingly have to seek economic security beyond the borders of Quebec. Let that surplus population go to areas in which Quebec had no political influence whatever, and it would speedily be lost, if not necessarily to the Church, at least to the French-Canadian way of life. Let it be directed to areas under a federal government in which Quebec had some influence, and much might be done—much is today being done—to preserve it.

The problem of the relation of French Canada to the rest of Canada cannot be understood without a full appreciation of the rate of increase of the French-Canadian race and the reasons which caused it and are still maintaining it. It is not possible to isolate the vital statistics of the French in Quebec from those of the non-French, but there is no reason whatever to suppose that the non-French differ much from the rest of Canada in these respects. The statistical peculiarities of the province must therefore reflect an even higher degree of peculiarity for the French in Quebec taken by themselves. The statistics show a rate of natural increase for Quebec of around 17 per thousand against one for all

Canada of around 13 per thousand (average 1926-30).¹ But the high rate in the younger provinces is largely the result of a temporary condition, namely heavy recent immigration producing an exceptional percentage of persons of fertile age, and the true comparison is with the other old province, Ontario, whose increase rate is only 9.8 per thousand for the same period. As nearly 10 per cent. of the population of Ontario is French and largely retains the characteristic high increase rate, while 21 per cent. of Quebec is non-French and has a lower rate, we may fairly assume that the real rates in these provinces are more like 18 per thousand for the French and 9 per thousand for the non-French. The latter would double the population in about 75 years, the former would quadruple it.

Until comparatively recent years all incentives—patriotic, religious, and economic—combined to bring about early marriage and large families in French Canada. In the earliest days a rapid increase of population was very desirable for protection against the Indians, and immigration was never great enough to meet this need. Hired labour was scarce; a farmer needed several hands to work his farm, and could seldom obtain them outside of his own family, while if he happened to beget too many there was always free land to be had for the clearing. When free land became scarce, industrial employment began to open up, in Quebec itself, in Ontario, in New England. The racial incentive was always vigorous; the more French-Canadians there were, especially in Canada, the better could the race maintain its privileges and preserve its character. The Church encouraged early marriage, frowned upon celibacy except in the religious orders, and vehemently reprobated all forms of birth control; and its influence was effective.

¹ The depression and other causes reduced these rates to 14.3 and 11.0 for single year 1938. Part of the reduction is probably permanent.

With the Great Depression of 1929 the economic incentive began to diverge from the others. Manufacturing industry not only refused to accept the steady stream of surplus population from the farms; it actually threw back upon the farms many of those it had formerly accepted, and the supply of farm labour became excessive. Agricultural prices were so low that the taking up of new land, even in the fertile West, became unprofitable; only in a few areas adjacent to the new gold mines or pulp mills could the pioneer farmer make a living. These changes had begun to show their effect on the birth rate by 1935; but improved sanitation and public health facilities and better knowledge on health matters are also lowering the death rate, and it will be long before the rate of natural increase shows much of a decline. Birth control will long continue to be held in abhorrence, but deferment of marriage by two or three years is inevitable; this, however, may so improve the health of the mothers as to cause little decrease in the number of viable births.

In the French-Canadians, then, we have a people profoundly imbued with that sense of racial continuity which the English-speaking North American seems to have very largely lost. The assimilation of all white races having been for generations a fundamental doctrine of American polity—and of English-Canadian polity also—the preservation of any particular racial type seems to have come to be regarded by Americans and English-Canadians as a matter of no importance, until the revelations of the last war began to cause grave misgivings. And in a community highly receptive to immigration, the economic motive tends to be hostile to large families; immigrant labour is cheap, and takes over all the less desirable tasks, and because these tasks become associated with cheap immigrant labour they become too “low” to be performed by the native.

This difference in the feeling about racial continuity

is the foundation of all the other differences between the French-Canadian and the rest of white North America. The race instinct was a large part of the original motive which brought his ancestors to Canada; they came, not for personal advancement (that was the object of the courtiers, politicians, and hangers-on who went back to France after the fall of Quebec), nor for personal freedom of belief or practice (that was as little available in Quebec as in France), but literally to establish a New France, and a new realm for the Catholic faith, in North America. Out of this sense of racial continuity has grown a very considerable contempt for such purely personal achievements as the making of a fortune or the establishment of a business enterprise. Millionaires have never been as highly regarded in French Canada as they used to be in New York or Ontario. Even in the professions to which the French-Canadian is most inclined, such as politics and the law, there is a disposition to check the pursuit of success before it begins to trespass upon the claims of family life. Outsiders often maintain that the talented French-Canadian does not "get as far" as his talents would justify, and explain it by the theory that he is easy-going or lazy or lacks concentration. A better answer would be that he does not think excessive concentration on mere worldly success is worth the price that has to be paid for it in the sacrifice of other things.

This philosophic, "long-term" attitude towards life is fostered in the French-Canadian not only by his heredity and his traditions, but also, and very strongly, by his education. That education is entirely in the hands of the authorities of the Church, who have control not merely of the cultural but largely also of the technical instruction in the province of Quebec. With a profound distrust of the state which is perhaps not unnatural in a community which was at first governed for over a century by Paris and then for nearly a century by

London, the French-Canadians hold that it should never interfere with the relationship between parent and child; and hence it has never been possible to introduce compulsory education into the province. All that the government does is to confer upon the Catholic School Board and the Protestant School Board alike the right to levy local taxes upon the adherents of the respective faiths for the upkeep of the schools. Jews and other non-Christians are assigned to the Protestant panel.

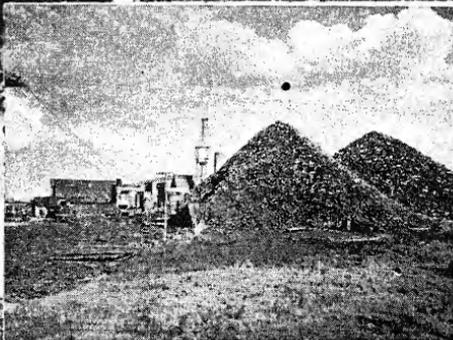
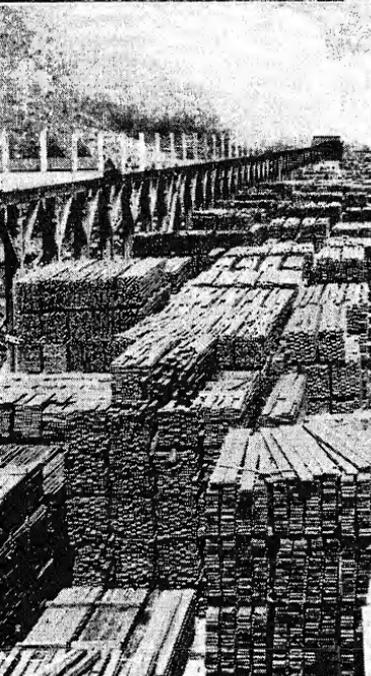
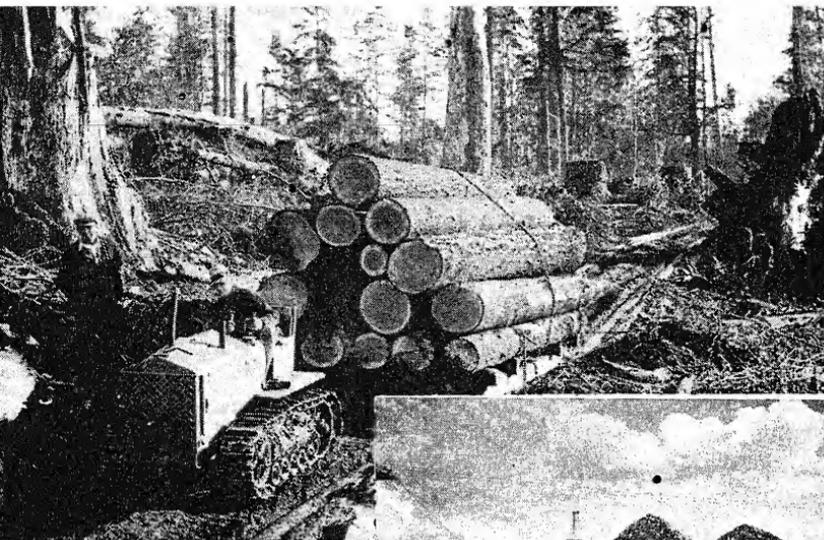
In the Catholic schools of Quebec, while religion occupies a considerably more prominent place than is usual elsewhere, the outstanding difference lies in the adherence to the old "classical" curriculum of the eighteenth century. The sciences are almost ignored, and the more advanced training is calculated to lead the student on to one of the "learned" professions rather than to the practical ones. Lawyers, notaries, and doctors are produced in large numbers, but engineers and business executives rather scantily; and this is one of the reasons for a state of things which the French-Canadian is apt to ascribe to the control of capital by English-speaking Canadians and Americans, namely the small number of French-Canadians in executive and expert positions in industry, commerce, mining, and lumbering. The heads of these businesses claim, and many French-Canadians admit, that French-Canadians are not available for such posts because they are not adequately trained for them. In recent years the government has established a number of technical and commercial schools for the French-speaking population, but they are not yet proportionate to the provision for similar purposes in the English-speaking provinces.

The complete separation of the educational systems of Catholics and Protestants, including their finances, has one very regrettable consequence. The wealth of the province is largely in Protestant hands, and the taxable capacity of the average Protestant greatly

exceeds that of the Catholic. Hence it is impossible for the Catholics to make anything like the same per capita expenditure on education as the Protestants, a fact which is reflected in the average salaries of teachers in the two systems. At the middle of the past decade the average annual salary for women teachers was \$1,140 in the Protestant schools and \$394 in the Catholic schools. This condition is slightly mitigated by the fact that much of the teaching is done by members of religious orders, who receive only sufficient for a very Spartan scale of living.

School attendance ceases, on the average, at a much earlier age among the French-Canadians than elsewhere in Canada. The average daily attendance in the province as a whole, Catholic and Protestant, is 28.2 per cent. of that of the whole Dominion. But the population under twenty years of age is 34.3 per cent. of that of the whole Dominion; so that the school attendance is something like one-sixth below the Dominion average. As the discrepancy in the Quebec Protestant schools, if any, must be considerably less than this, it follows that the discrepancy in the Catholic schools is really higher.

A word should be said here also as to the effect of the racial attitude upon the structure of the family. The typical family of an old-fashioned rural parish in Quebec is thus described by Horace Miner, an American sociologist who has made a scientific study of the life and *mores* of such a community (*St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish*, 1939): "The father is forty-two and the couple has had ten children, three of whom have died. . . . He will ultimately have to arrange for (the future of) six children. . . . One child out of every family becomes a nun, priest, doctor, lawyer or notary every other generation." This obviously provides a constant surplus of new population, and the cutting off of former outlets to productive activity is throwing this surplus back into the old agricultural areas. The result



IV. TIMBER

1. TRANSPORTING LOGS
(Fox Photos)

2. (Inset) TIMBER FOR PAPER PULP
(Mondiale, Ltd.)

3. SAWN PLANKS
(Fox Photos)

is the growth of a new depressed class of odd-job day labourers, for whom in a community amply supplied with family labour there is very little employment available. It is not unnatural that this situation should have led to the growth of a strong resentment against the national (Dominion) policies which have filled up the West with alien races before the French-Canadian population was ready to take hold of it—and which give to the French language no more recognition, in those Western areas, than to Ukrainian or Polish.

The province of Quebec thus becomes the only territory in which, by virtue of his complete control of its political institutions, the French-Canadian can feel at home; and he is becoming too numerous to be confined within its boundaries. (Over 22 per cent. of the population of French origin was outside of Quebec in the last census, in addition to great settlements in the United States.) Hence he is intensely concerned about two somewhat contradictory objectives: he wants to maintain at its maximum the provincial authority of the province of Quebec, and at the same time to increase the power of the Dominion over the other provinces in everything which helps the French minorities there to maintain their special culture against the efforts at assimilation made by the English-speaking majorities. Thus he approves of the Privy Council decision giving the Dominion power over broadcasting, because in a national radio system he is able to insist on French broadcasts being transmitted all over Canada, whereas most of the provincial authorities would be strongly opposed to such broadcasts if they were in control. On the other hand he is distrustful of projects for giving the Dominion power to amend its own constitution, for he fears that the majority would be more ready than the British Parliament to curtail the provincial rights of Quebec. But his ultimate security, he feels, lies in increasing his numbers in Canada, a thing which must

be done mainly outside of Quebec, and in maintaining his language and his culture in his settlements outside of Quebec. He is now 30 per cent. of the total population, and he has a large natural increase rate while the English-speaking element has little or none. If immigration can be kept down, he may ultimately become 35 per cent., 40 per cent., even—who knows?—50 per cent. He will wait, and hold on, and retain his French-Canadian character no matter where he is. The Dionne quintuplets are in Ontario, wards of the Ontario government, but no one who has heard them on the air can doubt that they are as French-Canadian as if they were in Quebec. Annette, Emélie, Yvonne, Cécile, and Marie are a symbol both of the fecundity and of the indomitable persistence of New France.

With this race feeling is associated an extraordinary intensity of feeling for the land itself upon which the race may hope to flourish—a feeling not sentimental or æsthetic, but prophetic, looking upon the land as the means towards the race's future greatness. The French-Canadian is called upon to preserve the resources of that land from being exploited swiftly and ruthlessly for the benefit of a new and alien population, instead of being kept in reserve and utilized only as his race's increasing numbers need them. The forests and agricultural land of Canada were not to him, as to the British, the Loyalists, and subsequent waves of European immigration, so much natural wealth to be turned into dollars as fast as possible. They were something to be treated as a trust for a posterity which would be French-Canadian and would use them in building a greater French Canada.

This note runs through the whole of French-Canadian politics and literature. It has never been more perfectly sounded than in the closing pages of *Marie Chapdelaine*, that tale of French Canada written by a Frenchman of France who had lived in Quebec and learned to under-

stand the French-Canadian—the pages in which “the voice of the land of Quebec” speaks to Maria as she is trying to determine whether to stay in the harsh, cruel, cold climate and endure the cramped and rigorous life of the struggling back-country settlement where she was born, or accept the hand of an expatriated son of Quebec and go with him to the milder clime, the easier life, the urban comforts, and relative wealth of a New England town. It came to her, this voice, with the sound of a bell, with the mighty roll of the full organ in the church, with the piercing cry of the lumbermen calling to one another in the woods, and it said :

Three centuries ago we came here, and here we remain. Those who led us hither might come amongst us without disappointment and without regret, for it is true that, if we have learned little, assuredly we have forgotten nothing.

We carried overseas our prayers and our songs; they are ever the same. We bore in our breasts the heart of our country's men, valiant and vital, as prompt to pity as to laugh, a heart the most human of all human hearts. It has not changed. We marked out a plan of the new continent, from Gaspé to Montreal, from St. Jean d'Iberville to Ungava, saying to ourselves: Herein all those things which we have carried with us, our religion, our language, our virtues, and even our frailties, are become sacred things; and although they are intangible, they will endure even unto the end.

Round about us strangers have come, whom we are wont to call barbarians; they have seized almost all the power; they have acquired almost all the money; but in the country of Quebec nothing has changed. Nothing will change because we are a witness. For ourselves and our destinies we have clearly apprehended this sole duty: to persist, to hold our own. And we have held our own, so that, it may be, after several centuries more, the world will turn to us and say: these people are of a race that knows not how to perish. . . . We are a witness, a testimony.

For this cause we must remain in the province where our fathers have remained, and live as they lived, so that we may yield obedience to that commandment, unexpressed although formed in their hearts, which has passed into our hearts, which too in our turn we must transmit to a

numerous offspring: In the country of Quebec, nothing shall die, and nothing shall be changed. . . .

“This sole duty; to persist.” Of what other race on the continent of North America could that be the watchword?

CHAPTER VI

EARLY DAYS IN ENGLISH CANADA

WE HAVE dealt at some length with the origin and character of that French element of Canada's population which, while less than 30 per cent. in numbers, is so vastly more important than that ratio by reason of its solidarity and its tenacity. We have now to deal with the other 70 per cent.

This fraction of the population, while generally referred to as English-speaking, is by no means entirely British by racial origin. In the census of 1931, English was the "mother tongue" of 5.9 millions, and languages other than English or French were the mother tongues of 2.6 millions. Of these German had the largest single group with 362,000; Ukrainian was next with 252,000; Yiddish, Polish, and Italian followed, at discreet distances. There is little or no resistance to learning English among any of these groups, and it usually becomes the tongue of common intercourse, even within the family, after one generation. The vast majority even of the people with a "foreign" mother tongue (which merely means that they spoke it before coming to Canada) claim to "speak English" for census purposes. About half-a-million persons of non-British origin have qualified as having English for their mother tongue, and another million as speaking it but not as the mother tongue. Only 275,000 of the non-French-speaking also speak no English. (Children under 5 are classified as speaking the language of the home.) A million French-Canadians, over a third of the total, also speak English; only 189,516 Canadians of British origin, or 3.5 per cent., also speak French!

The "foreign" mother tongues are heavily concentrated in the Prairie Provinces, the area of most recent settlement. English and French together, which are the mother tongues of 85 per cent. of the Dominion, account for only 63 per cent. in Manitoba, 60 per cent. in Saskatchewan, and 67 per cent. in Alberta.

The entry of these non-British elements into Canada is, however, a matter almost entirely of the twentieth century. In 1871 there were only 300,000 persons of other than British or French racial origin in the country, over 200,000 being Germans who had been in Canada for generations or had moved up after a long sojourn in the United States. Even in 1901 these non-British and non-French elements had risen only to 660,000, still predominantly German. They were then 12 per cent. of the whole.

To go back to the beginnings of non-French settlement in Canada, we have already seen that the earliest comers were the merchants and their helpers and agents who were supplying the British armies. After the fall of Quebec a part of these armies was disbanded, and some of the soldiers settled in Quebec; but they settled mainly in the rural parts and were speedily absorbed into the French-Canadian mass, from which their descendants are now indistinguishable unless they happen to bear a Scottish or an Irish name. It was only in the cities of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers that the early English-speaking settlers formed blocks sufficiently large, and sufficiently distinct in interests from the French, to retain their character.

The real start of English-speaking immigration into Upper and Lower Canada came with the aftermath of the American Revolution, and consisted of those inhabitants of the revolted colonies who had opposed the revolt. The British Government, anxious to build up settlements of loyal British people to strengthen its hold on what was left of North America, gave large grants

of land to these immigrants as compensation for the property of which they had been deprived in the United States. The greatest numbers came from New York, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, and they included a great many of the most cultured and formerly wealthiest persons in the colonies—government officials, merchants, English Church clergymen. Many of those from New York proceeded to Nova Scotia, a part of the present Dominion of Canada whose early history will have to be treated separately. But the most extensive movement was directed to the shores of the upper St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, in the unsettled part of Canada proper. Dutch and German elements from New York and Pennsylvania were already important in this migration, which otherwise was of pretty pure British stock. The total migration to the province of Canada was about 12,000.

The 1837 Rebellions occurred simultaneously, and to some extent in collusion in the two provinces. But that of Upper Canada was different in many respects from that of Lower Canada. In Lower Canada at the turn of the century there was hardly any good and accessible land (railways were a generation in the future) left unalienated from the Crown. In Upper Canada there was a vast quantity; and the official class around the lieutenant-governor used their power over this to make enormous profits for themselves and their friends. In this connection it is to be borne in mind that they in no way regarded themselves as dishonest; they were persons of the most impeccable respectability, headed by the bishop and the more important judges; and after 1800 they came to be known by the name of the Family Compact, because their intermarriages were so numerous.

The Family Compact, while from time to time it added to itself the abler newcomers from Great Britain and even the United States, consisted in the main of the

earliest comers of the settlement, largely the leaders of the Loyalist migration. Bishop Strachan, probably the ablest man of the party, was a Scot who arrived in 1799. Their political supporters were the older settlers, the merchants and the members of the Church of England, and were to be found chiefly in the cities. They possessed, partly by their education and culture but partly also by their closeness to the lieutenant-governor and their command of the high offices of state, a virtual monopoly of social prestige; and they claimed a monopoly of loyalty to the Crown. Their great holdings of unimproved land, held for speculative purposes and taxed little or nothing, impeded the growth of greatly needed highway facilities and, in the words of a Canadian historian, "afforded an asylum for wolves and other wild beasts . . .; they kept the settlers apart at a time when co-operation was essential".

We have seen that the Loyalist settlers, coming as they did from colonies which had long had a large amount of self-government, had to be provided with a certain amount of democratic machinery; the government could no longer be carried on entirely by appointed officials. But as the older element became more of a minority in the population, their control of the elected Assembly diminished, and they came to rely more upon the large powers of the Legislative and Executive Councils, where they were sure of a majority. In 1824 the "Reform" Opposition, led by a more recently arrived American, Marshall Bidwell, secured a majority in the Assembly, and its watchword became Responsible Government—the advisers of the Crown must be men who possessed the confidence of the representative body. In 1828, the Reformers were reinforced in the Assembly by the election of William Lyon Mackenzie, a Scot, destined to be a leader of rebellion in 1837 and the grandfather of a most constitutional Prime Minister of Canada in the present generation.

Although the Family Compact claimed to be the only party genuinely loyal to the Crown, and constantly accused its opponents of wishing to abolish the British connection and even to join the adjacent Republic, the British Government by no means always acted as the Compact desired. But it was at times peculiarly unfortunate in the character of the men whom it sent over as lieutenant-governors, and notably so in the case of Sir Francis Bond Head, who governed in the years immediately preceding the Rebellion. Head, although the representative of the King and assumed to be above party politics, took a most active part in the Assembly elections of 1836, and Mackenzie, to whom the Reform leadership had now been transferred, was defeated in his own constituency and the Compact party secured control of the Assembly.

Mackenzie now concluded that there was no hope of securing reform except by violence. (It is to be noted that the Compact party had used a good deal of both violence and corruption in and before the 1836 election.) He led a body of armed rebels to Toronto, hoping to take it by surprise and seize the arms and ammunition in the city hall. He was profoundly disappointed at the small number of partisans who rallied to his standard, and who were speedily dispersed, largely by private citizens anxious to preserve law and order. Mackenzie escaped to the United States, but two of his lieutenants, Lount and Matthews, highly respected citizens of Toronto, perished on the scaffold. Twelve years later Mackenzie returned to Toronto under the protection of an amnesty act of the Legislature of the then united provinces, was greeted by Tory rioting, and in 1851 was elected to the Legislature, where in the words of his biographer "he found the area of legislative action and the system of government greatly changed".

Mackenzie, it should be inserted here, had no designs against the British connection when he started the

Rebellion, but when he was compelled to flee to the United States he did for several years hold meetings in many American cities urging that Americans should aid Canada to secure its own independence, and for a short time he actually headed a "provisional government" on Navy Island, Canadian territory in the Niagara River, which he seized with a force composed largely of Americans and proceeding from Buffalo. For this he was later imprisoned for nearly a year in a New York State prison. After his release he became a close friend of Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, for which paper he did much brilliant writing; but his enthusiasm for the republican form of government had been greatly chilled.

The constitutional reforms which followed the 1837 Rebellion included, as we have seen, the union of the French and English provinces, so that Upper Canada ceases for a quarter of a century to have a separate political history. We shall see it next as a province—the largest and wealthiest—of the Dominion which came into existence in 1867.

CHAPTER VII

PROVINCES BY THE SEA

THE Dominion of Canada now includes three provinces known as the Maritimes, from their position on the Atlantic coast. These, however, never had any political connection with Upper and Lower Canada until the formation of the Dominion in 1867; and it is still possible to find elderly natives of Nova Scotia who speak of "going to Canada" when they mean leaving Nova Scotia for Quebec or Ontario.

The early history of this area is part of the prolonged struggle between France and England for the mastery of North America. A French attempt at settlement took place in 1604-7. But the beautiful and fertile peninsula that is now Nova Scotia was much more accessible from the British colonies to the south than was Quebec, away up the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and it began changing hands, or being raided and ravaged at intervals by either side, as early as 1613. A historian has called it New England's outpost against New France. Its official French title was Acadie (Acadia), but the British in 1621 called it Nova Scotia and shortly after created the order of Baronets of Nova Scotia whose members were expected to contribute to the expense of settlement and defence.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 recognized the British conquest of Acadia but reserved to France the islands of Cape Breton and St. Jean (now Prince Edward Island). Nova Scotia was now constituted as a British colony with civil government; but conflict continued to be almost incessant until the fall of Quebec ended French claims altogether, and Nova Scotia was extended to include not only its present area but also that of New

Brunswick. In the combined areas there was already a substantial French settlement which had numbered 7,600 in 1737; many of those in the New Brunswick area were settlers who had been expelled from Nova Scotia by military orders. The Acadian French, although of similar original stock to the French-Canadians, have been considerably differentiated from them by their historical experience, involving frequent transitions from one European master to the other, with consequent prolonged uncertainty as to their future destiny. Unlike the French of Quebec, moreover, the Acadians after the disappearance of France from North America were always in a minority in whatever colonial governmental unit they belonged to. They have, however, preserved their fecundity, their religion, many of their traditions and habits, and a strong consciousness of their distinctive differences even from the French of Quebec, to say nothing of the English-speaking people of the Maritimes.

The French language has strictly speaking no legal status in these provinces, but is nevertheless in extensive use, especially in northern New Brunswick, in which province it is given as the "mother tongue" of 133,385 persons, or one-third of the whole population. The economic resources of this province are limited, and the same problem as in Quebec, of increasing population pressing upon the means of subsistence, is very seriously felt.

The population of French racial origin in the three provinces in 1931 was as follows:

<i>Province</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Total</i>
P. E. Island	12,962	88,038
Nova Scotia	56,629	512,846
New Brunswick	136,999	408,219

The proportion of the French-origin families preserving French as the mother tongue is somewhat lower in Nova

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Scotia (39,018) and Prince Edward Island (10,137) than in New Brunswick, but is still high. These provinces have no separate school system for Catholics, but the poverty of some of the French districts is an obstacle to good education. The Acadians have produced a considerable number of public men of notable ability.

The early settlements of both French and British in Acadia were almost purely military, necessitated by the key position of the country in regard to the approaches both to New England and to New France. France spent enormous sums prior to 1744 upon the fortifications of Louisbourg, in Cape Breton, and Britain retaliated in 1749 with the rival fortified harbour of Halifax, which is of major importance at the present time, while Louisbourg is a ruin. An attempt to settle the country surrounding Halifax with discharged British soldiers was only partly successful, and in 1753 Swiss and German Protestants were settled in large numbers along the coast south-west from the city. Meanwhile the French settlements on the Bay of Fundy shore were rapidly increasing in population, and refused to regard the British occupation of Acadia as anything but temporary. Their consequent refusal to take the oath of allegiance was the cause of the extensive deportations by the British in 1755. The ultimate defeat of France put an end to all apprehension of danger from this source, and the exiled Acadians were invited to return, and to some extent and by degrees did so.

Meanwhile, however, the lands of the exiles had attracted the attention of many New Englanders, who from their familiarity with the colonization process made the best type of settlers. Some came from even farther south: Pictou County, Nova Scotia, was partly settled by the Philadelphia Company, in which Benjamin Franklin had an interest. In 1767 more than half the 13,374 persons in Nova Scotia were from the American colonies. It was the demand of these people

for a voice in the government of the colony that compelled Governor Lawrence as early as 1758 to summon an elected Assembly, the first body of the kind to be constituted in what is now Canada; many of the nineteen members were from New England.

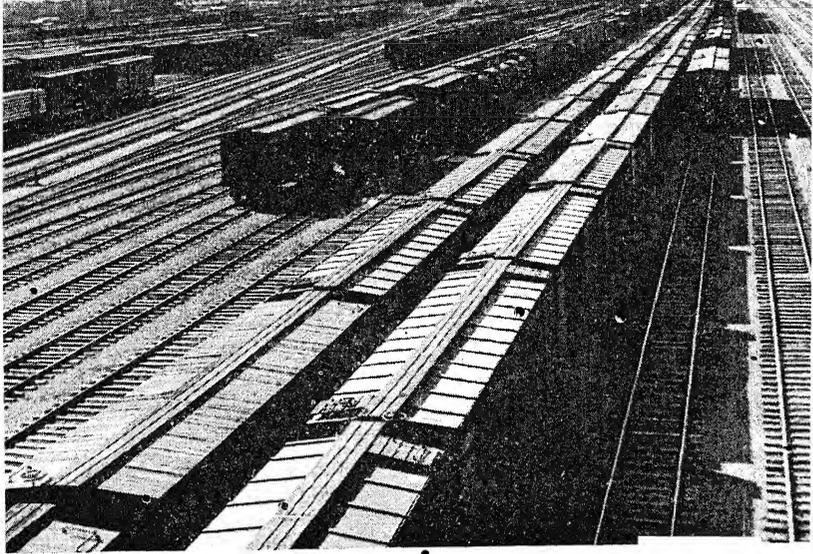
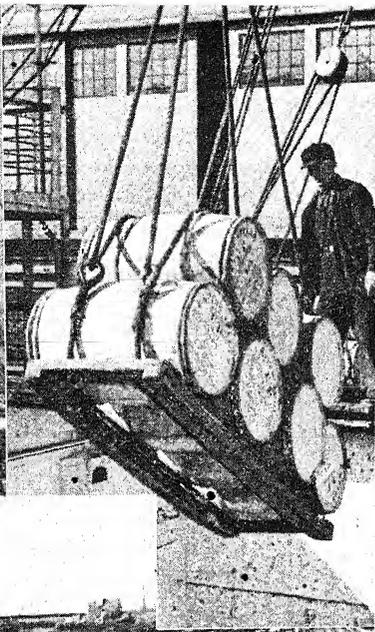
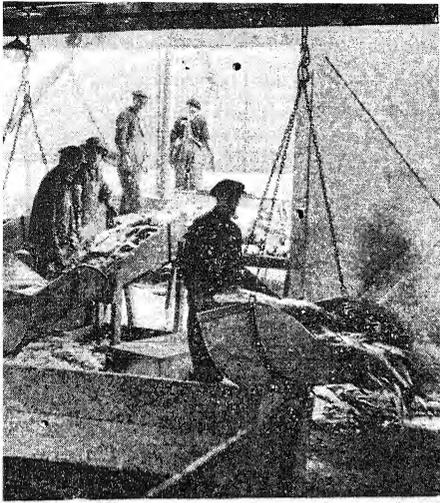
The outbreak of the American Revolution naturally caused much division among a population of this character. But on the whole the New England immigrants remained loyal, and the presence of a British fleet based at Halifax prevented any serious invasion. (The land route from Maine to the peninsula was largely through a pathless wilderness.) During and after the war, Nova Scotia became the most obvious haven for great numbers of Loyalists congregated in Boston and New York. By the end of 1783 thirty thousand refugees had come to Nova Scotia, including what is now New Brunswick; it was the difficulty of administering the north side of the Bay of Fundy from Halifax that led to the creation of the separate colonial government for New Brunswick in 1784.

The Loyalist migration extended also to Prince Edward Island. This fertile island—the “Garden of Canada”—acquired by the British in 1758 and annexed to Nova Scotia along with Cape Breton in 1763, but re-separated in 1769, had been settled under a proprietorship system by which townships were assigned to individual owners with the obligation to pay certain rents and to bring out settlers. Many of these proprietors had defaulted, and the British Government offered their lands to Loyalist settlers; but the proprietors subsequently contested the settlers’ titles, and the unfortunate dispute was not terminated for nearly a century.

The history of the Maritime Provinces from the Loyalist migration to the creation of the Dominion is one of steady and uneventful progress in economic and political vigour. For a short time (1784–1820) there

were four of these provinces, the island of Cape Breton (separated from the Nova Scotia mainland by a narrow strait now crossed by a car-ferry) being given a separate government. Precisely the same conflict occurred after 1800 in these colonies as in the Canadas, between the elected Assembly and the appointed Council, which latter came to be monopolized by a group of influential families. (In New Brunswick the office of Provincial Secretary was held by father and son for sixty years.) It is evidence of the greater political wisdom of the influential men of the Maritimes that responsible government was there established without violence. The instructions of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, to the governor of Nova Scotia in 1847 very explicitly told him to apply to the majority party in the Assembly for assistance in forming a new Council if the advice given by the old one was not acceptable to the Assembly; and in 1848 the old Council, faced with a vote of no confidence by the Assembly, had the wisdom to resign, thus establishing the principle of responsible government. It is interesting to note that these instructions by Lord Grey materially influenced Lord Elgin's conduct in the Canadas in 1849. New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island adopted the same principle a few years later.

No grave internal political difficulties, similar to those of the Canadas, impelled the Maritime Provinces to join in the great Confederation of 1867, and indeed they did so join only reluctantly and slowly. They were influenced chiefly by the cutting off of the market for their fish by the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, which compelled them to look to the Canadas. But trade with New England had been water-borne; trade with the Canadas, to continue all the year round, must be by rail. The project of the Intercolonial Railway, to link the small Nova Scotia railway system with the Canadian system at Rivière du Loup, was indispensable to Maritime progress, and it



V. FISH, FRUIT, FREIGHT

1. PACKING FISH
(Mondiale, Ltd.)

2. LOADING APPLES
(Paul Popper)

3. IN TRANSIT
(Paul Popper)

was made conditional upon the union of the colonies in a single federation. The British Government, which for reasons of security as against the United States was anxious for both the railway and the federation, used its influence. The Maritime Provinces came into Confederation—but Prince Edward Island not until 1873.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT CANADIAN SHIELD

THE century which elapsed between the ceding of Canada to Britain, and the summoning of the Charlottetown Conference which paved the way for Confederation, witnessed greater changes on the continent of North America than any century ever saw upon any continent. In 1763 the British population of North America was a string of shallow colonies between the Atlantic and the Appalachians. In 1864 the descendants of that population, and the immigrants whom they had attracted, were a great independent nation stretching from ocean to ocean, engaged in developing with feverish activity the untouched resources of a virgin continent, and destined to become in less than another century the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world. The age of steam and the Industrial Revolution had combined with the opening up of the richest of the world's areas left untouched by the white man's exploiting hand.

This development had taken place in the southern half of the continent, below the Great Lakes and the 49th parallel. North of that boundary, progress had been much less spectacular. A population of slightly over three millions was concentrated largely in the immediate vicinity of the Lower Lakes and the St. Lawrence. Huge areas between the Lakes and the Rockies, now sustaining millions of people, were roamed over by buffalo and Indians. A quarter-century of railway building had done little more than link up the Gulf of St. Lawrence with Detroit and Chicago by a single track. Canal building had done better; there was a

nine-foot waterway from Chicago to Montreal, but it could not compete with the Erie Canal route from the same point to New York, an all-year-round port. As for the prairies, if one were to reach them by any other route than Hudson Bay it must be through the United States; even in 1873 the first detachment of the famous North-West Mounted Police travelled to their post by way of Chicago.

The reasons for this relatively slow development in Canada were mainly geographical and climatic, though, it is fairly certain that immigration from Europe went to the United States rather than Canada partly on account of the belief that an independent nation must be "freer" and more surely exempt from European wars than a colony. Geography was very kind to the United States. Once the Appalachian boundary was surmounted or turned, progress all over the great interior plain was utterly unobstructed, save by hostile Indians. In Canada, on the contrary, a huge and at that time apparently barren waste—it is now known to be liberally sprinkled with mineral wealth—intervenes between the St. Lawrence basin and the fertile prairie. This is the Great Canadian Shield, so called from its shape, which surrounds Hudson Bay on all sides for a distance of three to six hundred miles, and reaches its most southerly point on the very banks of the St. Lawrence, just at the foot of Lake Ontario. Otherwise known as the Laurentian Plateau, it is an area of very ancient rocks "rejuvenated" by glacial action, and is full of lakes and bogs and very thinly covered with soil, where there is any at all. The combination of pulpwood timber and water power makes part of it very valuable for the paper industry, but this was unknown until the twentieth century. It is entirely unfit for agriculture except in a few "clay belts", and was useful up to 1900 only for its furs, a commerce involving little resident white population beyond a few trading posts. This

formation covers the whole of Quebec except the St. Lawrence Valley, not very wide on the north shore, and the whole of Ontario except the peninsula south of a line from Kingston to Georgian Bay. It reduces Quebec's 335 million acres to 43.7 million acres for agricultural purposes, and Ontario's 232.5 million to 65.8 million; and by occupying the whole north shore of Lake Huron and Lake Superior it completely cuts off the agricultural East from the agricultural West. The United States it touches scarcely at all.

Access to this Shield territory was originally by way of Hudson Bay, which penetrates it for a depth of five hundred miles from the polar ocean. The history of the events which gave control of that waterway to the British instead of the French is an interesting example of the importance of little things. Two French fur traders, in search of finer furs, went north from Lake Superior about 1660 (probably not as far as the Bay) without getting a licence from the governor of Quebec; and finding him very angry on their return they decided to seek aid from the British. The King's cousin, Prince Rupert, became interested and helped to finance an expedition sailing direct to Hudson Bay, and its immense success led to the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company, with almost sovereign rights over a million square miles of territory. Posts were rapidly established all around the Bay, and although the French did not recognize the validity of the charter granted by the King of England, the distance between their customary routes and those of the British was so great that clashes were infrequent. In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Hudson Bay was ceded to Britain at the same time as Acadia.

The Hudson's Bay Company lived on the fur trade. But its territory extended into the western prairies far beyond the Canadian Shield, and covered a great part of what is now the world's finest wheat-raising area. The fertility of this land could not be permanently con-

cealed, and the publication of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages* (1801) drew the attention of a Scottish nobleman who was devoting his life and fortune to finding land for the dispossessed crofters of Scotland. Lord Selkirk had already planned to bring bodies of settlers to Prince Edward Island and to places in Upper Canada; but he now formed a more ambitious project. In 1811 he acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company 45 million acres in the Red River Valley, in what is now Manitoba, and sent out two large parties.

The Hudson's Bay Company traders, though hostile to the settlement, had to preserve an appearance of neutrality. But other fur traders, men from Montreal who regarded themselves as the British successors to the Montreal fur traders of the French régime, were not so hampered, and worked upon the Indians and half-breeds to attack the settlers, twenty of whom, including the governor of the colony, were killed in a fight in 1816. The nomadic fur hunter and the permanent agricultural settler can never occupy the same territory peacefully together; but agriculture is so immensely more productive and provides occupation for so many more inhabitants that it eventually wins out in any territory that is suitable for it. The virgin soil of the prairies, its surface enriched with the droppings and carcasses of hundreds of generations of buffalo, was fertile beyond belief; and the intense sunlight of the hot dry summer gave a rapid ripening of vegetation which overcame the shortness of the season. The Selkirk farmers prospered, and others followed them; until by two years after Confederation there was enough settled population in what is now Manitoba to necessitate the buying out of the Hudson's Bay Company from the whole of its sovereign rights and most of its land, and the erection of Manitoba into a province.

But this settlement went on in the face of fierce and continuous opposition from the fur traders, and pushed

ahead very gradually because of the absence of transportation. Manitoba had good water transport by the Red River to United States railway lines; but farther west the height of land between the Mississippi watershed, and Hudson Bay and the Arctic, runs close to the border, and the rivers are too small for commercial navigation. Even in 1871 the North-West Territories, including the present Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Yukon, had a population of only 48,000.

CHAPTER IX

THE ENTRY FROM THE PACIFIC

THE Rocky Mountains, one of the world's great mountain ranges, run almost from top to bottom of North America in a line roughly parallel to the Pacific coast, and in Canada at a distance from that coast of about 250 miles. They are the continent's one great natural barrier to transportation, and settlement in the area between them and the coast has been almost entirely from the sea eastwards, and not from the mountains westwards. In Canada the area west of the main range belongs to the Yukon Territory, north of 60°, and to British Columbia from 60° to the United States border at 49°; but both territory and province own also a considerable area on the Hudson Bay side of the height of land. British Columbia includes also Vancouver Island and many smaller islands in the Pacific.

More remote from the main lines of exploration from Europe than any other part of the New World, this area was vaguely claimed in the eighteenth century by Spain, which was then leaving such an enduring impress upon California. But Spain's great era was drawing to an end, and it was not a Spaniard but the British navigator, Captain Vancouver, who first extensively explored the northern part of the coast, in 1792, and in 1795 the Spaniards relinquished their claim to the British. Meanwhile, in one of the great exploits of North American discovery, Sir Alexander Mackenzie had reached the coast overland from Montreal in 1793.

In 1819 the Spaniards also turned over, this time to the United States, their claims north of California which they had retained after 1795. The British claimed

that this grant extended only to 42° ; the Americans claimed that the grant extended to $54^{\circ} 40'$. A *modus vivendi* was arranged by which subjects of each country were allowed to settle and trade in the disputed territory, and in 1846 the Oregon treaty established the 49th parallel as the boundary.

Trade in the district was from the first largely in the hands of the North-West Company, which in 1821 was united with the Hudson's Bay Company. The land did not, as in the earlier grants, belong to the Company, which, however, obtained in 1849 a grant of the land of Vancouver Island on condition of selling land to settlers on reasonable terms and establishing a colony.

Settlement on the Island was slow, but about 1858 there was a rush to the mainland owing to gold discoveries on the Fraser River. The Company had established a governor for its colony on the Island, and when the mainland had to be politically organized in 1858 he was entrusted with the administration of it, and about the same time the Company was largely bought out of the Island and the governor became a Crown official. The two colonies were united in 1866. In the first Canadian census, 1871, the province had 36,247 population, a large part of which consisted of miners from Australia and the United States.

Cut off by a vast mountain barrier and a thousand miles of prairie and rock from the British colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, and possessing easy sea transportation to California, these settlements did most of their business with the Americans to the south, and the rise of high protectionism in that country after its Civil War caused difficulties; moreover the gold-mining industry was beginning already to decline, and the burden of a heavy debt for road-building to the mines (including the famous Cariboo Road) was serious. The union of the British colonies east of the Great Lakes impressed the British Columbians, especially as the

Dominion was shouldering most of the provincial debts. The purchase by Canada in 1869 of the Hudson's Bay Company's sovereign rights removed an obstacle to the extension of Confederation to the Pacific coast, and in 1871 British Columbia joined the union. The Dominion agreed to begin within two years and complete within ten years a railway from the Pacific coast to a junction with existing Canadian railways; actually the first train did not go through until 1886.

The enormous area lying north of the 60th parallel and west of Hudson Bay, a million and a half square miles, is still without provincial government and is administered by the Dominion. Its population in 1931 was under 14,000 and consists largely of natives and half-breeds. At the time of Confederation it was still in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company and contained a number of forts or posts for fur-trading purposes, but little other white settlement. Aerial transportation has of late permitted the exploitation of important mineral deposits, including pitchblende, the source of radium. A vast herd of caribou has been led into the territory from Alaska and is establishing itself very successfully.

CHAPTER X

THE COMING OF THE IRISH

THE population which flowed into Canada between the taking of Quebec by the British and the War of 1812, whether it came to the colony from Great Britain or from what after 1776 was the United States, was overwhelmingly of English or Scottish racial origin, for emigration from Ireland did not become really extensive until the introduction of steam navigation on the Atlantic. Such Irish settlement as there was consisted mainly of disbanded regiments, or parties brought out by Irish gentry (usually of English race themselves) such as Thomas Talbot, who founded a settlement on the shores of Lake Erie. But the growing over-population of Ireland with its consequent famine conditions, the cheapness of steam travel, and above all the demand for muscular labour in the building of railways after 1840, combined to produce a huge movement from Ireland to Canada. It is probable that a factor in bringing a large share of Irish emigration to Canada—which was certainly not chosen by the emigrants out of any preference for British as against American government—was the desire of the Irish Catholic clergy to direct their parishioners to a country where Catholic schools enjoyed government status and were supported by taxation. At any rate the influx was so rapid that by the time of the first census of the new Dominion (1871) the Irish were already the most numerous of all races in Canada except the French. (French racial origin 31·07 per cent., Irish 24·28 per cent., English 20·26 per cent., Scottish 15·78 per cent., all others 8·61 per cent.—mostly German.) Numerically the Irish influence was at its peak at Confederation, and has

declined ever since, for the rate of Irish immigration fell off very heavily after 1881, at just the time when the English and the European races began to move in in great numbers. The Irish in the 1931 census were 11.86 per cent. of the population. On the other hand, their importance in every other respect has increased beyond imagination. At their arrival they were for the most part in a state of extreme destitution, and it was only by great self-sacrifice on the part of both clergy and laity that they were able to maintain their religious institutions on the scale proportionate to their numbers. But they did so, and thanks to that fact, and to their possession in Ontario, Quebec, and the prairies of denominational schools separate from both their English-speaking Protestant fellow-subjects and their French fellow-Catholics, they are now the most compact and homogeneous racial unit next to the French in the Dominion. (This description does not of course apply to the North-of-Ireland Protestants, who are indistinguishable from the other Irish in the census returns, but probably do not account for more than a fifth of the whole.) Their political influence, owing partly to their national genius for discussing public affairs, has always been out of proportion to their numbers, and though starting under the most unfavourable circumstances, they have achieved a remarkable degree of cultural progress.

One of the most interesting things about the Irish in Canada has been the very small extent to which they have shared in the more violent and extremist policies of many of the Irish groups in the United States towards British government in Ireland. It has already been mentioned that clerical influence probably had something to do with the selection of Canada by many of those who came thither; and the continuance of that influence may well have modified the political views of the settlers. Furthermore, at the time of their settle-

ment these immigrants in many cases found themselves subjected to a strong influence from another stratum of Celtic migration, the Catholic Highlanders of Scotland, who provided the clergy for many Irish settlements, and who had no anti-British feeling.

At any rate, by 1866 the Irish, though still very recent arrivals, had so thoroughly identified themselves with the British colony in which they lived that when the Fenian campaign of that year took the form of a blow at Great Britain through Canada they gave it practically no support and many of their leaders rallied to the defence. Perhaps the history of the political development of these new Canadians may be summed up in that of their most representative figure, the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee—son of a Carlingford coast-guardsmen, born in 1825, a supporter of the Irish rebellion of 1848, a fugitive to the United States in the guise of a priest, a journalist in the latter country till 1857, and thereafter a member of Parliament for a Montreal constituency, a brilliant advocate of Canadian nationalism, a powerful force in the achievement of Confederation, and a year later (1868) the victim of a Fenian assassin. A poet and orator of strong emotional appeal, McGee with his Irish followers contributed as much as any element in Canada to the movement for Confederation and the growth of national feeling which accompanied it. They were naturally exempt from the "colonial" feeling towards Great Britain which held back most of the English and many of the Scots from pressing for further instalments of self-government.

The English-speaking Catholics in Canada at the time of Confederation included also the groups already referred to, of Highland Scots, most of whom had preceded the Irish to Canada and were of a more comfortable economic status. These were largely to be found in a few agricultural counties, and were rather less distinct from the rest of the population, and especially from the

Presbyterian Scots. Most of their communities were the result of settlement by disbanded Highland regiments, a circumstance which imparted to them a strong communal sense which exists to this day, along with a somewhat patriarchal form of social organization.

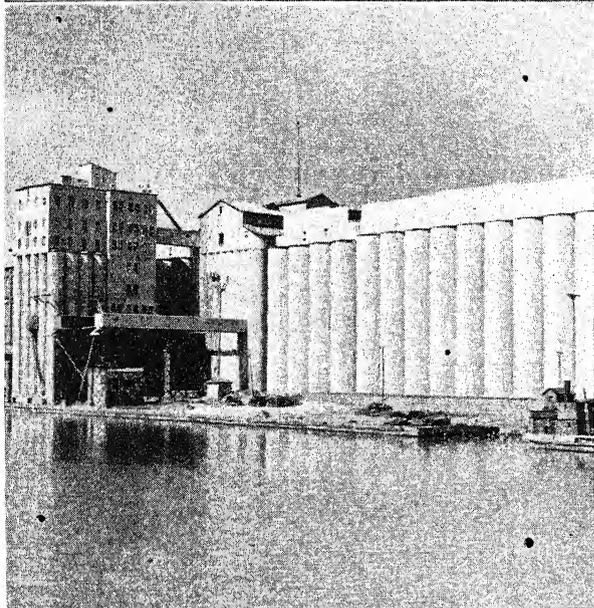
CHAPTER XI

PRESSURES TOWARDS CONFEDERATION

TO UNDERSTAND the forces which in 1867 led the separate colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Upper and Lower Canada (the last two temporarily and uncomfortably united by the Act of Union) to come together in a federal union and to plan for the extension of that union to the Pacific coast, it is necessary to consider something of the history of the United States. The great railway-building era had made possible the effective occupation, under the flag which originally flew over only the thirteen Atlantic States, of the whole vast territory between the Appalachians and the Pacific Ocean; and the conclusion of the Civil War had shown that for all its economic divisions that entire area was to be a single and powerful political unit for as long as the mind of man could peer into the future. With a very large part of its population accustomed, by several years of large-scale warfare, to bearing arms, and with a widespread feeling among Americans of resentment against Great Britain for its sympathy with the defeated South, the United States not unreasonably appeared to many Canadians and to the British Government at home as a rather dangerous neighbour. The danger seemed particularly acute, for geographical reasons which have been noted in the account of the populating of the prairies, in connection with the boundary between the rapidly filling American areas west of the Great Lakes and the adjoining empty territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. But without solid communications from the Atlantic coast ports of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (those of Quebec being icebound for many months of the winter) the defence by Great Britain of this far

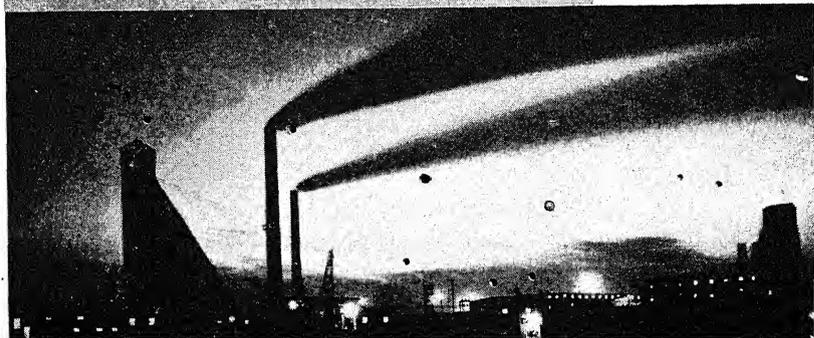
inland frontier would be quite impossible; and therefore the establishment of a strong and united colony extending from the coast to the head of the lakes was highly desirable. These are the considerations which chiefly influenced the civil servants and some of their political chiefs at Westminster, and which had some effect on the more far-seeing Canadians.

But in Canada—or rather in what was to become Canada—the determining considerations were economic, with the political deadlock between Upper and Lower Canada as a further influence in those areas. The abandonment by Great Britain of her preferential treatment of colonial produce in her customs schedules, which resulted from her conversion to Free Trade in 1849, had been a disastrous blow to the North American colonies, which were compelled to look to the adjacent United States for a market; and this market they enjoyed under a Reciprocity Treaty from 1854 to 1866, when the Americans—partly in the hope that they could thus compel the British colonies to enter the American Union—exercised their right to denounce the treaty on one year's notice. The colonies were thus plunged from a state of high prosperity, due to the demands for their produce resulting from the American Civil War, into one of equally profound depression. A federal union of the colonies, with free trade within its boundaries, accompanied by greatly improved transportation between them and a prospect of expansion westward into the prairies, was an attractive policy of economic betterment, and indeed seemed the only alternative to piecemeal absorption into the United States. It must be remembered that the defection to the United States of a single colony, and that the most depressed and struggling of the lot—New Brunswick—would have sufficed to cut off the Canadas from all access to ocean navigation during the winter months, a situation in which their defence might easily become impossible.



VI. ANIMAL,
VEGETABLE,
MINERAL

1. HORSE RAISING IN
ALBERTA
(Fox Photos)
2. GRAIN ELEVATOR
AT FORT WILLIAM
*(Canadian National
Railways)*
3. SMELTING AT
NORANDA
(Fox Photos)



It is worth while to consider why the alternative, of entry into the United States, was not more favourably considered by the colonies at this and several other periods. The "economic determinism" historians have of late been placing much emphasis upon the interest taken by the Bank of Montreal and the Grand Trunk Railway in the Confederation project, and the means which they employed to further it, not only in the colonies, but in London—where the railway at least had more influential connections, for it was always controlled by British financiers. A very recent historian, Professor Edgar McInnis, has said in so many words concerning Confederation, that it was not the will of the people of the colonies but the power of the Imperial Government, "wielded effectively and without too much delicacy of scruples, that crowned the work which Canadian business interests considered so vital to the future of the Canadian economy". It was certainly not the will of the people of Nova Scotia, who promptly elected for themselves a provincial government pledged to seek repeal of the Act which put them into Confederation; but the leaders of this government soon found that the only feasible alternative which they could advocate was annexation to the United States, and few were prepared to go that far.

The truth is that public opinion almost all over the confederating provinces, while far from insistent on Confederation, was pretty solidly opposed to annexation and vaguely aware that something must be done if it was to be prevented. Hostility to annexation had different grounds in different places; but in all parts of the colonies there could be no feeling that the United States had ever done much to conciliate the affection of the colonials; it had either ignored them or domineered over them. Among the older English-speaking settlers the two strains, of connection with British officialdom and of Loyalist origin, were still very strong. Among the

French "a section at least of the clergy saw Confederation as the essential alternative to American annexation" (McInnis) and knew well that annexation meant the end of all special privilege for the Catholic Church.

• But beyond all this, the surprisingly rapid development of a strong national spirit in the very earliest years of Confederation, though no doubt stimulated by the spectacle of expansion to the Pacific and the Polar Seas, proves that there must have been in the people of these colonies, even before their union, a distinct sense of themselves as an entity different from, and proud of being different from, the people of the United States. The foundation of that difference was in the preservation of British institutions and the "British connection". Annexation meant the sacrifice of many British institutions—cabinet government, the appointed judiciary, the appeal to the throne, etc. It meant also the sacrifice of the British connection, which left the colonies an immense sphere of freedom, and the acceptance of the supremacy of Washington, which might leave a great deal less. And curiously enough, the things about which Great Britain was likely to limit the freedom of the colonies were things about which they did not want to be free. They trusted Britain more than they trusted themselves to preserve the constitutional privileges of minorities; they have never asked Great Britain to give them the right to amend their own constitution. And they trusted her not without reason, for they had found by nearly a century of experience that British interference in their affairs became ever less as they became more capable of managing them, and that when interference was inevitable it was usually performed with high wisdom. The British Government had learned supremely well the lessons of 1776, and Canada profited greatly.

CHAPTER XII

WHAT CONFEDERATION MADE

THE constitution upon which the provinces came together in 1867 was designed in Canada and received only minor and technical retouching at Westminster. It can have no more than a very brief summary here; and it has to be noted that its interpretation is in the hands of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain as the final court of appeal for cases arising outside the United Kingdom, and that that body is generally regarded by lawyers as having, unlike the Supreme Court of the United States, adhered to the letter of the Statute and made no effort to impart to it the elasticity, the responsiveness to changing conditions, which should characterize a good constitution.

The essential feature is one which had never before been employed in a British territory, but which was first employed in the Constitution of the United States. This is the division of the sum total of legislative and executive power into two parts, and the assignment of one part to a central authority to be exercised over the whole territory and of the other to partial and local authorities to be exercised by each in its own territory only. The division was performed with great dexterity, and if the Privy Council had shown equal dexterity in interpreting it much trouble could have been avoided. The national authority was given everything except a list of sixteen definite "classes of subjects" assigned to the provinces, and the subject of education, which was made provincial but with an overriding power in the Dominion to remedy minority grievances.

This device of a separate provincial sphere of authority was necessary, if for no other reason, in order

to preserve the special institutions of Quebec. But most of the English-speaking leaders in the Canadas were frank to admit that they would have preferred a legislative union, with but one law-making body, if there had been any chance of its being accepted, and the authors of the constitution actually made provision for the other provinces—outside of Quebec—to surrender their most important subject of legislation, namely property and civil rights, to the central authority whenever they felt like doing so. (The expectation that they would surrender it was never fulfilled, and it is easy to see now that it was far too optimistic.)

In the sixteen "classes of subjects" the power of the provinces was made paramount and exclusive. Only one—"property and civil rights within the province"—has given serious trouble in interpretation. One other contains the possibility of serious conflict but has seldom yet given any trouble; it is No. 14, which gives the province control of "the constitution, maintenance and organization of provincial courts, both of civil and of criminal jurisdiction", although the criminal law to be enforced in these is made by the Dominion.

Since 1896 the Privy Council, apparently following a strong bias in favour of the province as against the Dominion, has given to "property and civil rights" an extension of meaning which in the opinion of many excellent Canadian authorities goes far beyond what the authors intended, and cuts out of the Dominion's sphere of legislative power an area which, in these days when industry and commerce are organized in nationwide units, it very urgently needs.

The Fathers of Confederation did not want provinces whose constitutional powers would be any greater than was necessary to preserve the special institutions of Quebec and to look after purely local matters such as roads, municipalities, local works, the public lands, etc. They expressly gave the Dominion all powers not con-

tained in these subjects. More; they gave it the right to assume power over any "local work or undertaking" by merely declaring it to be for "the general benefit of Canada". And still more; they gave it an absolute right of veto over all new provincial legislation; the province can pass no new law, even though it be clearly within the sixteen classes of subject, without the assent of its Lieutenant-Governor (a Dominion appointee), which assent may be withheld, or may be reserved for the signification of the pleasure of the Governor-General-in-Council, otherwise the Dominion Government. If assent is given, the law must be immediately transmitted to the Dominion Government, which may disallow it at any time within one year of receiving it.

In practice these federal powers are not as great as they would seem. The power to declare a local work to be "for the general benefit of Canada" has not been used for many years. The disallowance power is used occasionally, but seldom against a provincial government strongly entrenched in power, and usually of late on the pretext that the law is unconstitutional anyhow but would cause trouble during the months or years that it would take the courts to give a final decision on it. But the fact that the powers exist is a strong indication of the kind of national government that was in the minds of the drafters of the constitution.

Roughly speaking, the disallowance power is seldom employed except when there is a strong financial interest involved, of which the Dominion can reasonably consider itself the special guardian. Thus the Dominion, having guaranteed the C.P.R. an exclusive right to railway connection from Manitoba with the railways of the adjoining states, repeatedly vetoed Manitoba Acts giving charters to rival railways to operate to the border; and it recently vetoed an Alberta Act which would have inflicted grave hardships on the Dominion-chartered banks.

One of the most serious limitations on the Dominion power is the lack of any authority to carry out its own treaties if the subject-matter falls within the sixteen provincial classes. The Fathers failed to perceive that treaties would ever be made by the Dominion in its own right, and they therefore gave it an overriding power to legislate for the performance only of obligations "arising under treaties *between the Empire* and such foreign countries". The Dominion has assumed—because there was nothing in the constitution to prevent it—the right to enter into treaties on its own behalf, and Great Britain has stipulated in its own recent treaties that the Dominion shall not be obligated by them unless it accepts the obligation. But the Dominion has been held to have no power to legislate for the performance of the obligation of its own treaties when the subject-matter is provincial. It cannot, for example, by agreeing in a treaty to limit the hours of labour, acquire power to limit them; that power remains with the provinces. There are now nine provinces, and none of them will enact the required limitation until it is perfectly certain that all the remaining eight will do the same; the consequence is it is never enacted.

This constitution, adopted under the title of the British North America Act, 1867, provided for the admission of Newfoundland, but no agreement to that end has ever been effected. It established a House of Commons in which Quebec was to have 65 members and each other province a number bearing the same proportion to its latest census population as 65 bears to the latest population of Quebec. It established also an Upper House, called a Senate, consisting of members, over thirty years of age and possessing a modest property qualification, named by the Dominion Government, and distributed in a certain ratio among the provinces. Senators hold their seats for life or until absent for two consecutive sessions; losing citizenship, becoming bank-

rupt, being convicted of treason, felony, or infamous crime, and ceasing to be qualified as to property or residence are also disqualifications. The Senate determines whether a Senator has become disqualified, but has not yet expelled any member. In one case a member whose qualifications were attacked voluntarily resigned.

The House of Commons in general character closely resembles that of Westminster, though it has not kept pace with the latter in the point of Labour representation. The Senate contains an extraordinarily large number of persons who also hold directorships in the great interlocking corporations, but it is also used on occasions to reward less wealthy politicians who have given long service to the party which appointed them. Since the tenure of power of one party in the House of Commons is ordinarily around fifteen years, the Senate by the end of that time is pretty heavily loaded with members of that same party, and it may take eight or ten years for the new party in power to gain a Senate majority. On minor issues the Senate is not excessively partisan, but when the order comes from the party leaders, who act in co-operation with their fellow-leaders in the Commons, the vote is strictly on party lines. This does not mean that a Senate of opposite party to the Commons will always vote against Government measures. It will in fact do so only if (1) the Government, having got credit for passing the measure in the Commons, is willing that it should not go into effect, in which case it lets it be known quietly that it will not make an issue out of the defeat, or (2) if the Opposition in the Commons thinks that it would be a good thing if an issue were made upon the question. By voting down a Commons measure which has strong support in the country, the Senate would present the Government with a good opportunity for going to the country on a platform of Senate reform. Actually, however, no party ever does make any practical effort

to reform the Senate, as it is easier to wait until death makes it possible to change its party complexion.

The workings of the House of Commons resemble very closely those of the same institution at Westminster. There is the same tremendous concentration of power in the hands of the Prime Minister, checked only by the fact that if he does not keep a Cabinet of pretty able men around him he will probably lose the next election, a fact of which Mr. R. B. Bennett's defeat in 1936 is an excellent example. The civil service, though very able in its upper ranks, has not the same prestige or influence as in Great Britain.

Ottawa, the seat of government, is a small city of 127,000, the seventh in the Dominion. Its press does not circulate much beyond its limits; and the press of all the greater cities has to obtain its reports of the parliamentary sessions by telegraph. This cuts down the reports very heavily, and probably diminishes the public interest in and respect for Parliament, whose debating is often on quite a high level. Sessions tend to be short, as the members, many of whom are a thousand miles from home, dislike being at the capital for too many months of the year. The business, shipping, and finance of the country centre in Montreal and Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

A peculiar feature of Canadian politics is the rigid necessity for a "representative" Cabinet. No matter what may be the available material, it is politically essential that a Government position should be provided for every province except the diminutive Prince Edward Island, and that there should be French, English Catholics, and English Protestants in certain proportions. Nor can a Minister, with rare exceptions, be a mere temporary resident of the constituency for which he sits; the electors insist on a real "home-town boy". It is amazing that in these circumstances the personnel of Dominion Cabinets is as good as it usually is. Un-

fortunately the supply of Cabinet timber is not sufficient to meet the needs of ten Governments, and the level of ability in the Provincial Governments is sometimes definitely lower.

The leader of the House in the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada while Confederation was being hammered out was John (later Sir John) A. Macdonald, born in Glasgow in 1815 and brought to Canada by his father in 1820. The party system had not definitely taken shape in the Canadas, and was in a particularly fluctuating state during the campaign for Confederation, which brought all sorts of strange political bed-fellows together. The collection which Macdonald led, first in the Canadas, and after 1867 in the Dominion House, assumed the name of Liberal-Conservative in recognition of its heterogeneous origin, and clung to that name for generations; but as time went on the elements which dropped away from it left it more and more distinctly Conservative, and the growing party opposed to it never abandoned the name Liberal, though the older term Reform party, and occasionally the nickname Grit (applied about 1850 to the most aggressive wing of the Upper Canada Reformers), clung to it for some time, as did the nickname Tory to the Liberal-Conservatives.

For the first few years of Confederation, while its success was still dubious and protests from Nova Scotia and rebellion in Manitoba were the chief events of the time, party lines were not clearly drawn. But by the time of the general election of 1872 the Opposition had gained coherence, and the Government majority was significantly reduced. A scandal over political contributions made by the financiers who were contracting for the projected transcontinental railway caused the Government to resign in 1873, and a new election put in power the Liberal party under Alexander Mackenzie. The party system was in working order. It has con-

tinued to function ever since, and although from time to time there have been third-party groups in the House, they have never made it difficult for the majority party to carry on the business of the country except from 1922 to 1926, when agrarian discontent in the West caused a large and very independent Progressive party to hold the balance of power.

Parties in Canada have never divided on the issue of provincial rights—that is, the view of the constitution which emphasizes these at the expense of the central authority and vice versa. If this seems strange in contrast with the long-maintained (if now extinct) attachment of the United States Democrats to the rights of the individual state, and of Republicans to the aggrandizement of the central authority, the answer may lie in the fact that the Americans both amend and interpret their own constitution (interpretation being by a Supreme Court whose vacancies are filled by the President), while the Canadian constitution is interpreted by a British court and is nominally amended by the British Parliament. There is perhaps another reason in that any strong tendency to exalt the federal power arouses at once the unanimous opposition of Quebec with one-third of the total electorate. An approach to a stand for federal rights was made by the Conservatives in 1896 on an issue which was calculated to conciliate Quebec, for it was an attempt to use the overriding power of the Dominion to secure a better position for the Catholic schools in Manitoba, and the Quebec clergy mainly supported it. But it tore the party in pieces and drove it from power for fifteen years, while Sir Wilfrid Laurier held a large part of the Quebec representation by a policy which aimed at, and succeeded in, reaching the same end by negotiation instead of compulsion. The prestige of Sir Wilfrid as the first national party leader of French-Canadian birth had something to do with this result, but there was also an undoubted feeling

that if the Dominion could interfere with a small province in one direction today it might interfere with a larger province in another direction to-morrow.

The real and vital difference between the two parties developed in the 'seventies while the Conservatives were in opposition, when Sir John Macdonald decided to apply the term "National Policy" to a fiscal procedure which (to quote his Resolution moved in the Commons in 1878) "by a judicious readjustment of the tariff will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; . . . and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of reciprocity of tariff with our neighbours, as far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country, eventually, a reciprocity of trade".

The dexterity of this phrasing will not be apparent without some knowledge of the economic conditions in North America at the time. Manufacturing industry had been in the United States prior to 1860, and in Canada still was, a very local business, of small factories selling in their own small area. But the tremendous growth of railways, and the impulse of the Civil War, had much enlarged the scale of American business. Increases in the United States tariff, adopted for reasons of war finance, had exerted a strong protective effect during the post-war prosperity, but in the depression which followed, about 1873, the American manufacturers began to dump their surpluses into Canada, while the United States tariff prevented retaliation; and at the same time Canadian agricultural products were placed at an even greater disadvantage than they had been since the abolition of Reciprocity in 1866. The leading Canadian exports at this time were lumber, cheese, fish, and cattle; and the total export of domestic products fell from 77 millions in 1873-4 to 62 millions in 1879. The producers for export, whether farmers, lumbermen,

or fishermen, wanted to get back to reciprocity, but this was dependent on the action of the United States. The manufacturers had no desire for reciprocity, having but little chance in the American market anyhow, but were delighted at the idea of getting the export producers to vote for a high tariff in the hope that it might bring reciprocity. The National Policy swept the country in 1878 and kept the Conservatives in power until their error about the Manitoba Catholic schools in 1896. The Liberals became a low-tariff or tariff-for-revenue party, and this has remained the chief difference between them and the Conservatives to the present time, though in practice the decreases of tariff effected by the Liberals and the increases effected by the Conservatives have often been very small.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS

WE HAVE reviewed the growth of the two major parties from the date of Confederation to near the end of the century. Other events in that period must be glanced at. The acquisition of the Hudson's Bay Company lands was preliminary to the conversion of all the prairie soil in that territory from the fur trade to agriculture, with an intervening period of cattle ranching in the more arid areas near the eastern slope of the Rockies. As always happens with a radical economic change of this type, the transition involved some disorder. We need not go into details on the two North-West Rebellions (1869 and 1885), marking different stages of the onward march of agricultural settlement. They were suppressed without undue difficulty, the former by a mainly British force under a leader who was later to be the famous Field-Marshal Wolseley, and the latter by the Canadian Militia. Their importance is due less to the extent of the fighting than to the fact that the rebel leader on both occasions was Louis Riel, son of a French and Indian half-breed father, and that his execution after the second Rebellion for the killing (after an unlawful trial) of a young Ontario Orangeman named Scott in the first rebellion, caused a bitter outburst of racial feeling between French-Catholics and English-speaking Protestants in the closing years of the nineteenth century. The Conservatives were in power at the time, and had enjoyed for years the support of the French; but their failure to prevent the carrying-out of the death sentence on Riel, their Manitoba School fiasco, and the choice of Laurier

as leader of the Liberal party, lost them the whole French vote, which they have never since regained.

Between the first and second North-West Rebellions, while Riel was a fugitive in the United States, the province of Manitoba was created in 1870, with considerably less than its present area, to give local administration to the Selkirk settlers and their more newly arrived companions. In 1871 its population was 25,228; by 1901 it was 255,211. It was here, and by these people, that the great experiment of growing wheat north of the 49th parallel was carried through to success, and the way was thus opened for the conversion of the whole prairie area into the world's greatest granary. When the problem of early frosts had been overcome it was found that the resultant wheat, the best grade of which was designated Manitoba No. 1 hard, was for many purposes the finest milling wheat in the world. The first export of wheat from Manitoba was in 1877.

The Pacific scandal did not lessen the demand for a transcontinental railway, and the Mackenzie Government in 1875 began its construction as a publicly-owned work, while progress was also going on with the Intercolonial Railway to link the Maritime railway system with Montreal. The latter has continued to be a publicly-owned (and unprofitable) enterprise to the present time; but Macdonald on his return to power reverted to private ownership for the transcontinental, which was contracted for in 1880 and ran a train to the Pacific in 1886. (It was open to Manitoba in 1885, and contributed greatly to the suppression of the second Rebellion.) The enterprise, known as the Canadian Pacific Railway, was heavily bonused with land and a certain amount of cash; it was criticized in the 'eighties as being doomed to certain failure, and from 1890 to 1920 as being far too profitable. It accepted regulation of rates when the Railway Commission was created in 1904.

In Canada's external relations in this period the most important event was the Treaty of Washington, signed in 1871. This was negotiated by five commissioners for Great Britain and five for the United States, for the settlement of all the numerous outstanding differences arising during and since the Civil War; and Sir John Macdonald was named on the British Commission, though not with any direct responsibility to the Canadian Government, which was not then regarded as a treaty-making power. The British were determined to effect an agreement at any cost, for excellent reasons of their own, and Sir John was several times on the point of resigning because of the concessions which Canada was forced to make. He got nothing for compensation for the Fenian raids and had to consent to the opening of the fisheries of each country to its neighbour's fishermen, which was much more valuable to the United States than to Canada; but the American market was opened to Canadian fish and fish products and \$4,500,000 cash was paid to Canada. The result could be defended only on the ground of benefit to the Empire, not of benefit to Canada; it was highly unpopular, especially in Ontario, and Macdonald had difficulty in getting it adopted by Parliament and in winning the election of the following year.

In 1873 Prince Edward Island, which had stayed out of the Confederation project, although it was in its capital, Charlottetown, that the project took shape, at last entered the Dominion, in consideration of aid in completing its railway and the guarantee of an all-year-round ferry connection with the mainland, together with \$800,000 to extinguish the rights of the absentee proprietors referred to in an earlier chapter. This completed the territorial expansion of the Dominion's sovereignty.

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway was not immediately followed by any inrush of settlers, and

the disbanding of the army of construction workers caused grave economic difficulties. Domestic exports, largely blocked by another United States tariff increase in 1890, were in 1891 but little more than in 1881. The factors which were to cause the immense economic expansion of the period 1896-1914 were ready but they were not operative. Wheat had been grown on the prairies. Charles Riordon had established (in 1887) a sulphite mill for making newsprint from pulpwood. Hydro-electric power was being developed on a small scale, but its long-distance transmission was still in the future. Between the death of Sir John Macdonald in 1891 and the defeat of the Conservative party in 1896, the government of Canada was lacking in confidence, energy, and public support; and an energetic and confident government was urgently needed.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DAWN OF "CANADA'S CENTURY"

THE year 1896 saw the advent of the Laurier Government and the discovery of gold in the Yukon. The new Government had a large majority in the House, a feeble Opposition with no credit in the country, and a very strong Cabinet containing several men with long administrative experience in the provinces. It promptly restored the confidence of the manufacturers by giving proof that it had no intention of ruthlessly destroying the protectionist system. It set about improving the market for perishable foodstuffs by encouraging cold-storage transportation to England. Above all, it energetically promoted immigration to the great new wheatlands of the west. It was materially aided by a sharp reversal of the long-continued downward trend of world commodity prices; the Canadian wholesale price index fell from 112.1 in 1882 to 75.6 in 1897, the bottom of the curve, and rose steadily to 96.2 in 1907. The population, which from 1886 to 1896 had only risen (estimated) from 4,580,000 to 5,074,000, rose by 1906 to 6,197,000 and by 1911 (census) to 7,206,643.

Exports were now far more diversified. In 1890 only four items exceeded 5 million dollars; in 1910, fifteen. Wheat now topped the list (in 1890 it hardly existed) with 52.6 million dollars. Lumber was second, 33.1 million; cheese third, 21.6 million; fish, 15.2 million; silver, 15 million; wheat flour, 14.9 million; cattle, 10.8 million; meats, 8 million.

The racial character of the population began to change, partly as the result of Government and railway efforts to stimulate immigration from continental



VII. TRADE, LAW, TRANSPORT

1. MARKET IN WINNIPEG
(Paul Popper)

2. ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE
(Mondiale, Ltd.)

3. CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS
(Paul Popper)

Europe. The British and French racial origin groups provided 91.62 per cent. of the population in 1871, 88.96 per cent. in 1881, but only 82.58 per cent. in 1911. However, as yet no one "foreign" group contained more than 1.5 per cent. except the Germans, and these were largely the early settlers and their descendants. Scandinavians, Hebrews, and Ukrainians were becoming numerous. The reduction of the British proportion was to go much further in the succeeding thirty years, after the institution of unemployment insurance began to reduce emigration from Great Britain.

In the enthusiasm caused by this rapid expansion, and in a natural state of ignorance of the impending advent of the petrol-propelled road vehicle, the young Dominion took to financing new railways with guarantees of bond interest upon the public credit. The ultimate effect of this policy, which was disastrous, comes up for discussion in another chapter. The immediate, and temporary, effect was an abounding prosperity due to expenditure within the Dominion of nearly a billion dollars of imported capital between 1901 and 1911.

A more fortunate expansion was that which took place at the same time in the newly-developed field of hydro-electric power. Like all geologically "young" countries, Canada has a vast number of lakes which to a large extent smooth out the variations in the run-off of the rainfall towards the sea, by providing storage for the seasonal excess of water, thus making the descending streams capable of developing a regular and constant supply of power. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, scientists discovered means of transmitting this power for long distances, a discovery of great value to Canada because many of her waterfalls were inconveniently situated for the purposes of industry. In consequence the hydraulic turbine installations of Canada, which in 1895, were negligible, rose from

173,323 h.p. in 1900 to 1,363,134 h.p. in 1911—the beginnings of a growth which was to continue up to a present figure of over 8,000,000 h.p. Cities with contiguous waterfalls received hydro-electric power as early as 1894 (Quebec) and 1896 (Sherbrooke), but the first long-distance supply was to Three Rivers in 1898. Niagara Falls was an obvious source of supply for much of Central Ontario, and dissatisfaction with the manner in which private enterprise was making available the new "white coal" led to the establishment in 1906 of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, at first to contract for electric power with private developing companies for sale to member municipalities, but ultimately to go into power development itself on an enormous scale. Its capital is borrowed on the credit of the province, an arrangement which has the disadvantage that interest must be paid whether earned or not, and there are times when it is necessary to develop additional power without being absolutely certain that it will at once be saleable; capital raised by the sale of stock is free from this objection. However, by accumulating a substantial reserve against such disappointments the Hydro has avoided causing the province any financial trouble, and is less likely to do so as it gets older. It has unquestionably been more energetic in spreading the sale of electric current in rural areas than any private concern would have been, and the people of Ontario are now among the world's heaviest consumers of current for domestic as well as public and industrial use. Only Switzerland and Newfoundland exceed Canada in *per capita* development of hydro-electric power, and only the United States in total development.

CHAPTER XV

A WORLD DRAWING NEAR TO WAR

THE long Liberal régime came to an end in 1911, as a result of patient waiting by the Conservatives under Sir Robert Borden and a wholly accidental combination of Imperialism outside of Quebec and anti-Imperialism in Quebec. In 1905 Laurier had created the two new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan out of that part of the North-West Territories lying between the United States border and the 60th parallel of latitude, and had provided, in the Act of creating them, for a system of Catholic Separate Schools. This was violently resented by some Protestant elements in the Liberal party, and Sir Clifford Sifton, one of the ablest and most powerful of Laurier's ministers, resigned; the resultant bitterness was lasting. At the same time there was a growing revolt among the younger French-Canadians against what they regarded as Laurier's Imperialism; and when in the strained international situation preceding the First Great War he proposed, in January 1910, the creation of a Canadian navy of five cruisers and six destroyers, to be under the control of the Canadian Government, the uproar in Quebec was terrific. A navy involved fighting away from Canada itself; it would be used to uphold policies in the shaping of which French-Canadians—"slaves of the English electors", as Mr. Monk, a Quebec Conservative leader, put it—would have no part.

Into this situation was precipitated a new element when in 1910 President Taft made an offer of reciprocity in natural products between the United States and Canada, and in January 1911 a completed reciprocity agreement was laid before the Canadian House of Com-

mons. The Conservatives, considerably fettered by their generation-old profession that their high tariffs against the United States were intended as a means to force reciprocity, at first offered no opposition. But Sir Clifford Sifton and others saw the possibility of combining the anti-British feeling of Quebec and the "no truck or trade with the Yankees" feeling of Ontario to the Government's destruction, and after an intensely bitter campaign in which the Conservatives left their Quebec allies to conduct the fight on their own lines, the result was as these astute individuals had foreseen. In Quebec there was still a Liberal majority, but, of 11 instead of 43; in Ontario the Conservatives had 72 seats to 14. The American offer of reciprocity had been rejected; but one Canadian industry was not affected by the rejection. The American newspaper publishers, faced with a shortage of domestic newsprint, had contrived that the American tariff item removing the duty on Canadian newsprint should go into effect whether the agreement was accepted or not; and the exports of Canadian newsprint, which were 2.6 million dollars in 1910, became 53.6 million in 1920 and 145.6 million in 1930.

The Conservatives and Quebec Nationalists, who had combined to throw out Sir Wilfrid Laurier, obviously could not combine to carry out any common policies, for they had none; and the Nationalists who at first entered Sir Robert Borden's Cabinet speedily dropped out; in the next general election in 1917 the Liberals had 62 seats in Quebec against three for the Borden Government; the Nationalists were extinct.

It was still three years before the First Great War when Sir Robert Borden took office, with a Cabinet which, apart from its French-speaking members, was able and united. There was still time to do something about the navy, and Sir Robert immediately alienated his French allies—whom he no longer needed, as he had a

majority without them, a situation which they had not foreseen when they made their campaign—by proposing a vote of 35 million dollars to build in British shipyards the three most powerful battleships in the world, to be incorporated in the British Navy until it should be decided, if ever, to maintain “a Canadian unit of the British navy”, when they might be recalled. The proposal was no doubt the most practical way of aiding Great Britain; but it took no account of Canadian national feeling, and it had the great weakness that no Canadian Government could ever dare to submit it to the people in an election. In consequence, when it was held up by the Liberal majority in the Senate, nothing whatever was done for naval defence until the war broke out. The Senate Liberals expressed themselves as quite willing to sanction the full 35 million expenditure if it was made under their 1909 Naval Service Act, but the Government took no action in that direction.

Nobody knew, of course, how imminent the war was, and a grave depression and a bewildering railway question speedily absorbed public and political attention. The new transcontinental railways were by now reaching their final stages, and their losses could no longer be charged up as construction costs. There were unfortunately two of them, one promoted by the oldest railway system in Eastern Canada, the Grand Trunk Railway, and one by a firm of construction contractors, Mackenzie and Mann. Both raised their funds almost entirely by the sale of government-guaranteed securities, but the Grand Trunk got its guarantees from the Dominion and planned its line as a unit, while the other group got its guarantees from the provinces and made itself into a transcontinental by linking up a string of local lines. Eventually it made no difference who were the guarantors, for several of the provinces, with their limited sources of revenue, were unable to make good

their guarantees, and the Dominion, unwilling to permit a severe blow to the public credit in war-time, took over the responsibility, and by the end of 1920 was owner of almost every mile of steam railway in the country except the self-sustaining Canadian Pacific Railway. The latter, having been financed almost wholly by stock instead of bonds, has had no difficulty with its creditors, but had yielded little to its owners for many years past. In 1922 the Canadian nationally-owned lines were consolidated under one management as the Canadian National Railways.

When these new railways were projected the rate of population expansion (decade ending 1911) was 34 per cent. per decade. In 1911-21 it was only 22 per cent., and in 1921-31 only 18 per cent. Freight tonnage, which varies heavily with the crop yield, has in many years after 1920 been lower than in 1911; but railway mileage in 1932 was 67 per cent. more than in 1911. The financial results are what might be expected from these figures, and the losses fall on the shareholders of the C.P.R. in unpaid dividends, and on the taxpayers in unearned interest charges on the C.N.R. That some economies might be effected by still further amalgamation is admitted, but the amount is disputed and the public is afraid of a railway monopoly no matter who owns or controls it. The ultimate maximum railway mileage of the country was about 42,400 in 1932, somewhat reduced since by abandonment of duplicated lines; in 1901 it had been 18,140.

CHAPTER XVI

THE 1914-18 WAR, COMPULSORY SERVICE AND FRENCH CANADA

THE outbreak of the First Great War found Canada in a state of considerable economic distress, a circumstance which to some extent facilitated her prompt effective participation; for the enlistment of a volunteer force is easier in a period of widespread unemployment. This is not the place to narrate the achievements of the Canadian forces in that tremendous struggle, in which they came in the end to be commanded by a great Canadian officer, General Sir Arthur Currie, a native of Ontario and for many years a resident of British Columbia. The war developed, in the Western Front with which Canada was chiefly concerned, into a prolonged struggle of massive stationary armies, with consumption of munitions on a hitherto undreamed-of scale. So great a proportion of the man-power of Great Britain and France was under arms, and so great a part of Europe's iron-ore deposits was held by the enemy, that Canada was the recipient of immense demands for munitions as well as for fighting men, and by the third year of the war the Government concluded that it would be impossible to keep up the necessary reinforcements for the four Canadian Divisions by voluntary enlistment. At the beginning of 1916 recruiting was bringing in thirty thousand men a month, at the end only six thousand. The Government was losing ground as a result of many administrative weaknesses, some of them inseparable from the conversion of a highly peaceful country into a highly belligerent one; and in various quarters there grew up a demand for conscription and a coalition Government. On May 18, 1917, the day on

which the United States Select Draft bill became law, Sir Robert Borden announced that his Government would introduce "compulsory military service on a selective basis". Sir Wilfrid Laurier at once decided to oppose such a project. The reasons for his attitude are given by his biographer, O. D. Skelton, as the belief that conscription would not greatly increase the supply of men, and the feeling that Canada was in the war on a different footing from Britain and the United States. These countries "had entered the war as principals"; Canada "had gone in, not for its own sake, but for Britain's". Moreover, "Britain and the United States were not divided historically into distinct and compact racial groups,—except as to Ireland, and no English statesman had attempted to apply compulsion to Ireland—whereas in Canada this division was the most fundamental and enduring fact in political life". Eleven days later Sir Robert proposed to Sir Wilfrid a coalition Government with equal representation from the two parties, except for his own Prime Ministership, but conditioned on the acceptance of conscription.

In a letter of June 3 Sir Wilfrid explained to a friend the reasons for his inability to join such a coalition. Reciting the manner in which he had been assailed, and eventually defeated, in Quebec on his own naval proposals, which he had at all times backed with the assurance that "the navy was in no sense a first step towards conscription" and that he was opposed to conscription, he went on: "Now if I were to waver, to hesitate or to flinch, I would simply hand over the province of Quebec to the extremists. I would lose the respect of the people whom I thus addressed." In the Commons he moved an amendment for a popular referendum on the question, but a large number of English-speaking Liberals voted against him. Under the leadership of Sir Clifford Sifton, and under the pressure of a War Times Election Act which conferred the franchise upon the female

next-of-kin of all men in overseas service, disfranchised all citizens naturalized since 1902 whose ancestral language was German, and allowed the ballots of the men overseas to be allotted to whatever constituency the returning officer might see fit (thus making a Liberal victory quite impossible), three federal Liberal ex-cabinet ministers and seven provincial Liberal ministers joined a Union Cabinet, which swept the country in a general election in December 1917. The contest was marked by extreme racial feeling. The war came to an end before it was necessary to admit that the conscription measure was a failure, but it certainly did not provide anything like the number of men anticipated. Dr. Skelton records that out of 404,000 of the first class, unmarried men of 20 to 34, who were registered in 1917, 380,000 claimed exemption; by the end of March 1918, in Ontario 104,000 exemptions had been approved out of 118,000 applied for, and in Quebec 108,000 out of 115,000 applied for. By the end of March only 31,000 had been called up, of whom 5,000 defaulted. At the end of the war 83,000 men had been enrolled under the Act, of whom 22,000 were released on farm leave or compassionate leave. The cancellation of a great many exemptions, chiefly of farm workers, by an Order-in-Council whose legality was maintained only by a four-to-two division in the Supreme Court caused great indignation among the farmers, and was partly responsible for a wave of short-lived farmers' parties and (in the provinces) farmers' governments after 1919.

Sir Robert Borden in his memoirs expressed the view that Sir Wilfrid could have won Quebec over to accept conscription. "Sir Wilfrid Laurier was then, in his seventy-eighth year. If he had been ten or fifteen years younger, I am confident that he would have entered the proposed coalition. He held an unrivalled position in the affection and reverence of the French-Canadians; and he was convinced that he would lose this pre-

eminence if he should commit himself to a policy of compulsory service. I am convinced that he underrated his influence and that Quebec would have followed where he led." This is almost certainly an error. Sir Robert probably never realized fully to what an overwhelming extent the Liberal defeat in Quebec in 1911 (which as we have already seen had nothing to do with anti-Reciprocity or any policy advocated by the Conservatives) was a revolt against Sir Wilfrid himself on the ground of his Imperialism, moderate though it was; it would have been repeated on an even greater scale in 1917 if Sir Wilfrid had espoused conscription.

A word must be said also on the charge that the French-Canadians gave inadequate support to the war. It is admitted that the matter of securing their co-operation was very incompetently handled. The Minister of Militia in the Borden Cabinet was Sir Sam Hughes, a prominent leader of the Ontario Orangemen—members of a society of Irish origin whose chief object is to combat Roman Catholicism in the political sphere. Sir Sam, although an energetic, determined, and capable organizer, was not the kind of man who would be chosen to direct a nation's military efforts in time of war; but the Militia portfolio is not a major one in time of peace, and Sir Sam, having possession of it at the outbreak of war, could not be separated from it until November 1916, when Sir Robert demanded his resignation. In the meantime, he had done much to make recruiting difficult in French Quebec, by placing the campaign for stimulating it in charge of a Protestant minister of religion. Other factors contributed to French dissatisfaction at the time, among them being the treatment accorded the French language in the schools of Ontario. But the objection to conscription was, and remains, far too deeply rooted to be much affected by things like these; it is the objection—the natural objection—of a permanent minority element to being sent out to fight

in wars which can be started without their consent. It is not a matter of any particular war; the French members of the House of Commons were not opposed to Canada's sending troops in 1914 (they were not asked at that time whether they were opposed to Canada's entering the war, which was assumed to follow automatically on the declaration of war by Britain), and they were not opposed to the declaration of war by Canada in 1939. But they have always realized that war *could* be declared and carried on by the English-speaking majority in face of the solid opposition of French Canada; and to accept conscription in principle means accepting the possibility of French-Canadians being compelled to serve in a war of which they disapprove, and possibly under a draft system more burdensome to them than to their compatriots.

Since the election of 1917 it has been practically impossible for a Conservative to secure election in any constituency with a French-speaking majority, either for the federal or the provincial House, and when the Liberal provincial Government of Quebec fell from power in 1936 it was replaced by a Government which professed to have no connections with the Conservative party. It was in the hope of effecting a reconciliation between this party and the federal Conservatives that the latter in 1938 chose for their leader the Hon. Dr. Manion, an Ontario Irish Catholic married to a French-Canadian; but the manoeuvre was entirely unsuccessful, and Dr. Manion retired after the complete defeat of 1940. Both party leaders in this election gave pledges against conscription; but Dr. Manion professed a desire for Union Government, and on the analogy of 1917 this was widely regarded as a means of obtaining conscription.

CHAPTER XVII

NATION IN COMMONWEALTH

THE war of 1914-18 effected great changes in the constitutional structure of the British Empire. Canada had put more than 600,000 men under arms, and sent overseas in her own forces some 418,000, not to mention a great number of Canadians who served brilliantly in Imperial forces and especially in the British air forces. She had 60,000 dead and 218,000 casualties. Her men held their ground against the first gas attack of the war, in April 1915, and in 1917 had attached the name of Canada imperishably to the soil of Vimy Ridge.

One of the results of these achievements was a great increase in the autonomy of the Dominion. Sir Robert Borden, though he acted during the war as a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, emerged from the war period with a profound conviction that, in the words of the historian, George M. Wrong, "Canada must not be drawn into any centralized union. Relations with Great Britain must be based on Canada's equality with her as a nation, co-operating freely as occasion might arise, but always as opinion in Canada might decide". He therefore insisted on Canada's separate signature on the Treaty of Versailles, and on separate membership in the League of Nations for each self-governing Dominion. The situation thus created was formally recognized and defined in 1926 by a Declaration of the Imperial Conference, and was registered in law five years later as the Statute of Westminster. This Statute declared that "the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegi-

ance to the Crown" the assent of all of them should be necessary to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles. It prohibits the extension of any United Kingdom law to any Dominion "as part of the law of that Dominion" without its consent; and it confers full legislative power on the Dominions, including the power to make laws with extra-territorial operation. By an express exception, the Statute does not apply to the constitution of Canada (the British North America Act), which remains unamendable except by the British Parliament. As already noted, the British Parliament acts automatically to carry out the petition of the Canadian Parliament in this matter; but what it would do if the petition of Canada were opposed by a counter-petition from Quebec or British Columbia, for example, is somewhat uncertain. It has already refused to receive a petition from an Australian State for separation from the Australian Commonwealth; but that is not a parallel case, for the Commonwealth constitution expressly makes Australia responsible for its own constitution, while the Canadian constitution leaves the responsibility with the British Parliament, and the Statute of Westminster expressly preserves that arrangement.

The other important power of complete nationhood, the power to declare war, remained in some doubt until 1939, when the neutrality of Eire (whose position is that of "Dominion Status"), and the entry of Canada into the war by resolution of Parliament several days after the declaration by Britain, seem to have put the answer beyond doubt. It had long been admitted that Canada could not be compelled to fight by any action of the British Government, but many authorities had maintained that she became technically in a state of war as soon as Britain declared war. That theory is now disposed of.

Since the King cannot be personally present in all his

Dominions at once, the functions of the Crown, are performed for Canada by a Governor-General. In matters within the competence of the Dominion Parliament he can act, and for many years has acted, only on the advice of Ministers who possess the confidence of the House of Commons. So long as the competence of the Dominion Parliament was limited, he was, as regards matters outside of that competence, an official of the British Government, acting under its instructions. The Imperial Conference of 1926 declared that he was to hold "the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion" as the King holds in Great Britain, and was not the representative or agent of the British Government or any Department of it. The Imperial Conference of 1930, largely as a result of the extraordinary constitutional impasse in Canada in June 1926, when Lord Byng refused to grant a dissolution of Parliament on the recommendation of Prime Minister King, implemented this declaration by a series of statements to the effect that the appointment of a Governor-General is a matter for the King and the Dominion concerned and that the King in this matter is advised by his ministers in the Dominion concerned.

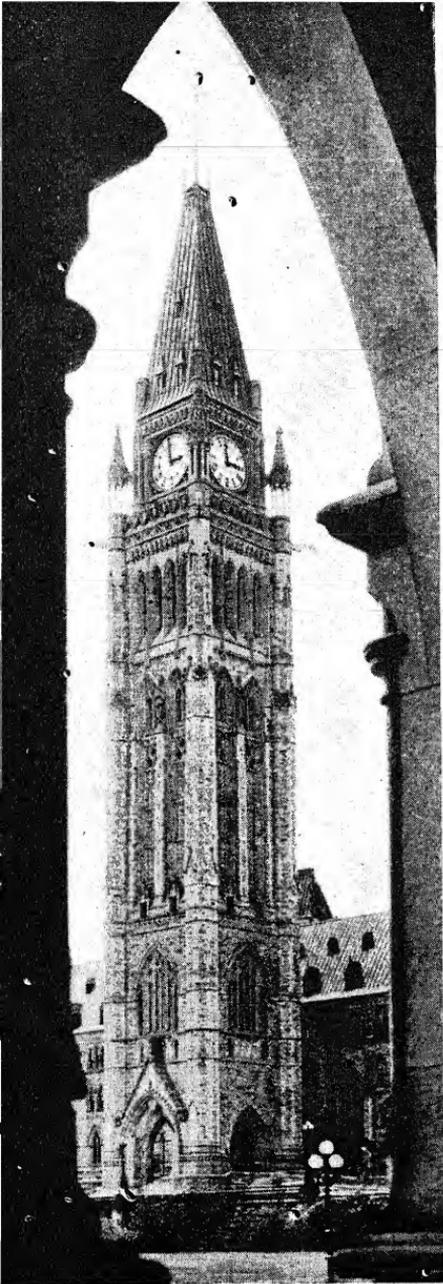
Canada is now, therefore, a completely independent nation except for three points. The first of these, common to the other Dominions, is whatever constitutional relation is implied by a "common allegiance" with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions to the Crown—and that "common allegiance" does not at present include any necessary common action in war and peace. The other exceptions—the power to amend the constitution, and the power to interpret the constitution—are special to Canada. These powers remain with Great Britain by Canada's desire, for the time being; but the fear of French-Canadians that Canada would be less scrupulous about their ancient rights than Great Britain is rapidly diminishing. In the words of Professor Wong,

"the fear is probably groundless; the French are too powerful for any government to tamper with their guaranteed rights".

It is not without significance, as Professor Wrong has pointed out, that the "Declaration of Equality" of the Imperial Conference of 1926, of which the Statute of Westminster is merely a legal embodiment, took place exactly 150 years after the "Declaration of Independence" at Philadelphia which took half a continent away from the British Empire, and started it towards becoming one of the greatest and most powerful nations in the world. This policy of progress towards equality has been going on with almost unbroken continuity from the time of the Durham Report (1839) until today. The extent to which it has contributed to—nay, has made possible—the present profoundly sympathetic relations between the British Commonwealth nations and the other great nation of British origin which broke away from them in 1776, is simply incalculable.

The process of movement towards equality is now complete. As a result, there is a new situation in the British Commonwealth and new duties and fields for service before the Dominions. What these are can hardly be better stated than in the words of R. MacGregor Dawson, in his *Development of Dominion Status*, 1900-36.

Dominion and Mother country now stand as equals, and their contacts must take place today in the most trying field of human intercourse, that of international co-operation. If the British Commonwealth fails in this field, then the future outlook for it, and probably for the civilized world, is indeed dark; if it can achieve even a partial success, it will not only advance its own cause, but that of international society as well. . . . The Dominions cannot now ask favours, they are no longer dealing with a superior, and they cannot continue to ask for everything and concede nothing. The rôle of martyr which they frequently assumed in the past has become outmoded; . . . demands which



VIII. CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE

1. PARLIAMENT BUILDING, OTTAWA
(Fox Photos)

2. CHATEAU FRONTENAC, QUEBEC
(Fox Photos)

3. ORTHODOX CHURCH, WINNIPEG
(Paul Popper)

formerly might have been construed as the legitimate aspirations of a subordinate but ambitious Dominion may now be regarded as the greedy acquisitiveness of a nation which invariably places itself first. In short, there is good reason to fear that a Dominion Nationalism, bred upon successful aggressiveness, may fail to realize that the new status involves not only new responsibilities but also an entirely new attitude and feeling towards the other Dominions and particularly Great Britain.

This was written in 1937. It may be held that it was partially answered when two years later the Parliament of Canada with only two dissenting voices voted for the free participation of Canada in the Second World War.

CHAPTER XVIII

WE ARE MADE BY GEOGRAPHY

SINCE the character of the Canadian people is unquestionably affected to a great extent by their geographical position, a brief glance at the important factors in that position is necessary. Little has been said of it hitherto except in relation to the effect of the Great Canadian Shield, incapable of sustaining any dense population, as a barrier between the agricultural-industrial area of the St. Lawrence Valley and the agricultural area of the prairies. This divisive factor has been only slightly mitigated by the rise of the pulp and paper industry on the fringe of the Shield and the discovery of gold, nickel, and many other valuable minerals at isolated points in its area. There continues, and must continue, to be an immense belt of very sparse settlement north of the Great Lakes, from the Georgian Bay arm of Lake Huron to the Lake of the Woods on the border of Manitoba. The running of three trunk railways right across this unproductive gap is a major cause of Canada's heavy interest burden.

From Winnipeg westward the area capable of agricultural settlement becomes steadily broader, until at Peace River it extends up to seven degrees north of the United States border. So remote, however, is much of this territory from world markets that a fairly high world price for its most transportable product, wheat, appears to be a necessary condition for its successful exploitation; and the future of the prairie provinces must depend to a considerable extent on the restoration of free exchange of commodities over a large part of the earth's surface. A world in which the majority of nations are aiming at economic self-sufficiency and

raising their own wheat at much greater expense is not one in which a country heavily specialized in wheat-growing can flourish. Wheat and wheat flour have together been Canada's greatest export ever since the beginning of the century until very recent years, when owing to drought and low prices they have had to take second place. In 1930, perhaps the last normal year, they totalled 261 million dollars out of 1,120 millions of domestic exports; newsprint and wood pulp totalled 190 millions; lumber 50 millions; copper ore 38 millions; automobiles (to British preference countries) 35 millions; fish 35 millions; raw gold 34 millions. Other items exceeding 10 millions each were: whisky, nickel, cheese, aluminium, lead, silver, asbestos, vegetables, pulpwood, rubber tyres, meats, cattle, farm implements, and barley, with fruit (chiefly apples) just below that mark. In 1939 wheat and wheat flour had fallen to 100 millions, and came after newsprint, with 107 millions.

Barring a small part of Nova Scotia, the only part of Canada extending south of 44° is the Ontario peninsula south of a line from Cobourg to Lake Huron above Goderich, the only densely settled area of the province. The whole of Quebec, even the densely populated part, is north of 45° , and the whole of the West is north of 49° . It is true that 45° is the latitude of Bordeaux and 49° of Paris; but the climate of these places is much moderated by the Gulf Stream, and the east coast and interior of a continental mass are much colder in winter and somewhat warmer in summer than the west coast. The only part of Canada which can be described as having a moderate climate is British Columbia, which has a Pacific current corresponding to the Gulf Stream. Prince Rupert, its most northerly port, is hundreds of miles north of Quebec but is open all the year round.

Inland water transportation, for which the Great

Lakes afford splendid facilities, is therefore available in summer and autumn only, thus concentrating most of the heavy traffic movement in those seasons. On the other hand, there are various important operations, especially in the forest industries, which can be performed only with snow on the ground. In consequence there is a great deal of purely seasonal employment. Agriculture itself is much more seasonal than elsewhere, except in Quebec, where diversified farming and a tradition of handicraft combine to keep the farmer's family busy in winter while he himself is often engaged in lumbering. In the western wheat areas there are long periods when nothing can be done on the farm, a fact which is held to account in part for the western farmer's intense interest in politics.

Even in the St. Lawrence Valley the air is drier than in England, and on the prairies it is extremely dry, with an intense clarity due to the elevation, which rises from 1,000 feet at the edge of the Shield to nearly 5,000 feet near the Rockies (Calgary 3,439 feet). This greatly modifies the discomfort of the extreme cold, and is stimulating to outdoor activity. No part of Canada except the southern British Columbia coast lends any encouragement to the sybaritic life, and the reputation of Canadians for rugged energy is well deserved. No part of the country is more than fifty miles from a wild area offering excellent sporting facilities; even the prairies, where the settled area is deepest, are intersected by coulées and hill ridges which man has not yet sought to dominate. Lakes and important rivers are everywhere; if the lakes on her boundaries are included, Canada has half the fresh water of the world. The fact that her water routes are heavily cut up by rapids and waterfalls which cannot be navigated led the Indians to invent the canoe, a light vessel easily carried over the portages past these obstacles, and it has been taken over for sporting purposes by the new inhabitants. Modern

civilized man has dealt with the same obstacles by means of innumerable canals.

The life of the English-speaking population of Canada is a pretty close counterpart of that of the Americans of the Northern States. Social distinctions are based very largely on wealth, though there is some racial discrimination, such as that against Jews and Negroes, which even a considerable amount of wealth will not always overcome. Education is theoretically equally available to all; the tax-supported schools are open to all children resident in the district, tuition fees are nil or nominal and in some cases even textbooks are provided free. But in practice this does not work out to a purely democratic result, for in school districts where there are several schools under one authority there is a tendency for the better buildings and staffs to be in the wealthier sections, and wealthy suburbs are quite likely to maintain a school authority of their own and to spend much more per child than the poorer districts can afford. The number of "private" schools, supported by pupils' fees and endowments, is not large, and attendance does not confer anything like the same social prestige as at the corresponding or "public" schools of England; nor is the tuition greatly superior to that of the tax-supported schools if the results of university matriculation examinations are a valid test. While the tax-supported schools are largely financed by the local districts (of which there are far too many—5,000 in Saskatchewan for less than a million population), they draw 15 per cent. or more of their revenues from the provincial government and their operations are rigidly controlled by it, with constant inspection by government officials, and uniform examinations all over the province. It is charged that this system tends to encourage mechanical methods of teaching and the "cramming" of examination-paper facts, and in recent years there have been widespread efforts to diminish the importance of the examinations.

The spread of cheap electrical current and the mass production of electrical appliances have led to an astonishing mechanization of the process of household management, which in recent years has extended even to the farming population in the more prosperous areas. Ontario, with a rural population of 1.3 million, had 46,000 farm customers for electricity in 1938. Current for domestic consumption is extremely cheap, especially in the districts served by public-ownership enterprises, and the rates are usually so graded as to encourage consumption beyond the amount required for lighting alone; hence electricity is much used for laundry work, cooking, refrigeration (very necessary in summer), supplementary heating, and many other purposes. Domestic servants are not numerous, and are beyond the reach of many families with an income which would easily provide a servant in England; there is no social discredit, especially for young married couples, in doing one's own housework, and many of the newer houses and apartments, even quite expensive ones, are planned for no help except a possible woman-by-the-day. In urban areas, and to some extent even in the country, the home has lost much of its importance as a social centre; motoring, the "movies", public dancing places, and restaurants provide the occasions for people to meet their friends.

All these last-named factors also provide increasing competition for the church as a social organization. Forty years ago the majority of the population belonged to religious bodies which frowned upon the theatre, then the chief form of secular entertainment. The cinema came into being just as this hostile expression was beginning to be softened, and was itself never placed under any kind of religious ban—though the French Catholics discourage it for children under sixteen, chiefly because of its Americanizing influence. According to the census returns there has been a diminution of both the "no

religion" and the "pagan" classes since 1911; but in the absence of any reliable statistics of church attendance it can be stated with some confidence that the number of persons whose attachment to the church is for baptism, marriage, and burial only has increased in all denominations except the Roman Catholic. It may be added that a purely civil marriage is impossible in Ontario and Quebec, where only the clergy of recognized churches are authorized to perform the ceremony. Sunday observance laws are still very strict in all the English-speaking provinces, but in Quebec the French disposition to regard the day as available for recreation after noon is predominant.

Canadian literature, so far as it is recognizably Canadian, is a regional literature—a part of the great body of North American literature, only slightly differentiated from that part produced in the Northern States. The differences arise chiefly from the much greater political and social maturity of the United States; Canadian literature is in most respects about where American literature was in the 'nineties. It has barely begun to show signs of a critical attitude towards Canadian institutions and their workings, and its finest achievements are in lyric poetry and in studies of nature and of primitive life. Canadian painting has recently achieved a more definitely national (or regional) character, by attaching itself very strongly to the particular type of scenery characteristic of the Great Canadian Shield or Laurentian Plateau already referred to—a type which is not quite duplicated anywhere else, and which has to be drastically simplified in order to render it pictorial. The basis of this scenery is a rather violently distorted rock surface, swept clean by glacial action, and having little or no soil upon it except where glacial débris has accumulated in troughs too deep to be scoured out. Its area is heavily dotted with lakes and muskegs, the latter a sort of forest marsh-

land, and covered, wherever the cracks in the rocks provide roitage, with a close growth of evergreens and small deciduous trees. It is a landscape which owes nothing of its character to human occupation, and it seems to have diverted the interest of the more specifically Canadian painters away from human subject matter, though since the depression began there have been signs of a movement towards pictures of "social significance".

The depression indeed will probably be found, in due time, to have done more to bring Canada to a state of mental maturity than anything else. It has abolished the attitude of smug satisfaction which prevailed too widely before 1930, and which assumed that the Dominion had no serious problems except those of reconciling French and English views as to its destiny and reducing the burden of the interest cost on unprofitable railways. It is now realized that the condition of a large part of the wage-working and agricultural classes is deeply unsatisfactory through no fault of their own, that the system of extensive seasonal employment with little or no effort to correlate winter and summer jobs is extremely wasteful, that excessively specialized farming such as that of the heavy wheat-producing areas of the prairies is destructive to the soil and risky for the agriculturist (especially when combined with heavy mechanization and a consequent large fixed charge for capital equipment), and that the nation has for years been living largely by the consumption of irreplaceable natural resources—forests and virgin soil—which it required centuries to produce. That these weaknesses are merely the reflection of similar ones in the United States economy is not much consolation. The United States, owing to the much greater percentage of its production consumed within its own borders—U.S. external trade is three times Canada's, its population twelve times—is much better

able to control its own economic conditions, and less at the mercy of world conditions.

The great difficulty of the Canadians at all times has been the linking up of their isolated settlements by adequate transportation; and still, with all that has been achieved and is being achieved towards that end (including airways with a volume of freight traffic unrivalled by any other nation, and serving areas which would otherwise be dependent upon dog-teams), there is too little contact between the different parts of the Dominion. There is a belt of very sparse settlement between the Maritimes and Quebec. The majority of the population of Quebec is cut off from Ontario by language. Ontario's populated section is many hundreds of miles from the prairies. The vast bulk of the Rockies intervenes between the prairies and the Pacific coast and valley settlements. From Quebec to Vancouver is one-seventh of the way round the world—as far as from London to the Volga.

And this brings up a final point. Every populous portion of Canada is nearer to a populous portion of the United States than it is to its neighbour population centres in the Dominion. In one sense the people of Canada are a fringe along the northern edge of the United States. Boston is a metropolis to the Maritimes; New York to Quebec and Ontario; Minneapolis and Chicago to the prairies; Seattle and San Francisco to British Columbia. The resultant influence of American habits and thought upon Canadians is immense. Nowhere in the world is there a boundary which represents so little division other than that of political institutions. American newspapers and magazines load the Canadian news-stands, and must be admitted without duty as part of a trade agreement effected in 1935. Tourist traffic is heavy across the border in both directions. Entertainment of all kinds in Canada is largely of American origin. Book publish-

ing is to no small extent a branch of the United States industry.

But these factors have been in operation ever since there was any English-speaking population in Canada, and they have not prevented the steady growth of a strong Canadian national spirit. They influence the social and personal habits of Canadians very greatly, their political feelings scarcely at all. Canada is a North American country, deeply influenced by most of the forces—excluding the old and vanishing tradition of hostility to or distrust of Great Britain—which have influenced the United States. But Canada is still, and now more than ever, simply a very friendly and intimate neighbour of the United States, not a candidate for absorption into that great nation.

It follows from all this that the attitude and feelings of Canada in regard to the present war are the attitude and feelings of a North American country. They are not, and cannot be, the attitude and feelings of a "colony" of Great Britain, for Canada has long ceased to be a colony. Before the fall of France they were the attitude and feelings of a country desirous of "moderate participation" in the war. That phrase was quite frankly used in French Canada, and extensively though less frankly in English-speaking portions where there is a large non-British racial element; but even though it was not used in more definitely British areas, there was a widespread feeling that participation should be limited to what Canada could "afford", in the orthodox economic sense of the term. It was much too readily assumed that the British Isles were impregnable, and indeed that the Maginot Line was equally so and that the war would therefore be ultimately won by the slow constriction of Germany by the British blockade. The ideas were those which prevailed in the United States; the resultant feelings were not unlike those of the Americans, except that they included a much livelier

appreciation of the civilizing mission of the British Empire in the world. It was this appreciation, together with a sense of the moral obligations arising out of membership in the British Commonwealth, which led Canada to declare war while the United States contented itself with "measures short of war"; but it did not at first lead to a general national desire for the utmost possible effort.

But the fall of France, and the danger that the French fleet might fall into the hands of the enemy, swiftly awakened in Canada a totally different feeling. Canadians then realized that of all the territory of North America, theirs was the portion which was most exposed to enemy attack, and even possible enemy conquest. The United States made the same discovery, and began to exhibit the liveliest interest in the defence of North America as a unit, with a special eye to the most exposed portions of Canada, whose security was as vital to them as to the Canadians themselves. But there was a great difference between the Canadian and the American approach to this question of continental defence. In the United States the interest in continental defence was largely based on lack of faith in the ability of the British Isles to defend themselves, and was stimulated by elements which sought to dissuade their fellow-citizens from sending any further assistance to the British. In Canada there was no such element, and as the British Isles continued to maintain their heroic defence against the German *blitzkrieg*, Canadian interest and enthusiasm rapidly turned from problems of purely North American defence to problems of maximum participation in the fight for the safety of London, and of the bases from which the British fleet and air arm will ultimately achieve the re-liberation of enslaved Europe. For Canadians are in the main convinced that only by the safety of London and the British Isles can the safety of liberty be ensured in Canada and in the

Americas generally. In the United States a strong and energetic minority refused to accept this view, and maintained that the United States (and therefore Canada) could remain happy and free in a world in which the Germans were undisputed masters of the whole continent of Europe.

No part of Canada now insists that Canada's participation in the war shall be "moderate". French Canada, while profoundly sympathetic to the Pétain Government, and critical of the Republican Governments which preceded it, is aware of the extent to which the Pétain policies are conditioned by France's military helplessness in the face of Germany. Indeed, French-Canadians, who have before their eyes the spectacle of their mother-country dismembered, her capital occupied, her rulers compelled to come and go at the bidding of an insolent conqueror, have probably a more realizing sense than most North Americans of the true meaning of German conquest. They have accepted conscription for home defence, and while they still maintain their objection to conscription for overseas service, it is far more as a matter of general principle for future possible wars than because of dislike for service in this one. For the point must be borne in mind that conscription can always be enacted in Canada by a parliamentary majority in which there is not a single French-Canadian member. It was enacted in almost those conditions in 1917. It could conceivably be enacted for the purposes of a war of which French-Canadians emphatically disapproved. It is their intense consciousness of their minority position, and of the possible difference of attitude between themselves and the majority in the subject of "Imperial" wars, that leads them to maintain that conscription is on general principles an improper method of raising troops in Canada for service outside of the Dominion.

And in English-speaking Canada the dominant ele-

ment is that which traces its ancestry back to some part of the British Isles. No Revolution has ever interrupted the continuous allegiance of this element to British political ideals and governmental methods. There have been, quite naturally, different degrees of esteem for different British Governments, and different degrees of confidence in different British foreign policies. But there has never been the slightest wavering of faith in the integrity of the British people or in the validity of the ideals of international relationship for which they stand. And today, as they contemplate the incomparable unity, the indomitable courage, and the unlimited self-sacrifice of the British people in their resistance to the forces of barbarism, Canadians of every origin know that the island where that resistance is being maintained is the front line of the common defence of all civilized peoples, and are one in their determination that that defence shall not fail.

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