

SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Monday evening, December 11th, 1876, His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER President, in the chair. There was a large attendance of Fellows and their friends.

Mr. FREDK. YOUNG, Hon. Sec., having read the minutes of the First Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, the PRESIDENT called upon the Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D., the reader of the paper, who introduced his subject by saying: I am so much attached to many Canadians, and so much interested in the progress of Canada, that I could not refuse the request made to me to read a paper on Canada to this Institute; but I must ask your kind consideration for what I say on the ground that I have not any very recent personal acquaintance with the provinces that are now embraced in the Dominion of Canada. I have called my paper

CANADA: AS I REMEMBER IT, AND AS IT IS.

A little more than 300 years ago, Jacques Cartier, in command of two or three French vessels, sailed up the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and made known the vast region now called Canada to the nations of Western Europe. The exact date is 1534, a year in which Henry VIII. of England was breaking with the Pope, and on the Continent, Loyola was gathering his first society of Jesuits, and Copernicus was deciphering the true system of the universe. It was an incident of that turbulent century which attracted little notice at the time, that far to the north of the track across the Atlantic made by the Genoese Columbus, and more in the direction taken by his predecessor Sebastian Cabot the Venetian, the French had discovered new lands of unknown extent, and proceeded to establish trading ports on great inland waters. We do not at present mean to relate, or even to sketch, the history of Canada from what is held on the American Continent to be quite a hoary antiquity—the sixteenth century; but that history would be worth telling, marked as it is by heroic endurance, stirring adventures, and even desperate conflicts. At one time French, at another English, torn by the bloody strife of the native tribes, assailed in the revolutionary struggle of the American Colonies 100 years ago,

and again attacked, but unconquered, in the American war of 1812, Canada has known vicissitude, developed a hardy people, and exhibited that capacity of giving and taking sturdy blows which indicates inherent pluck and vigour. It was brought vividly before the British public when, little more than a century ago, the gallant General Wolfe took Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island, and in his next expedition captured Quebec, defeating Montcalm, a foe as gallant as himself. Thereafter Canada was very much forgotten in England, except when the American wars of which we have spoken forced it into notice, until the year 1837, when an attempt at insurrection in Lower Canada, and a feebler movement of the same kind in the Upper Province, surprised our ill-informed politicians at home, and led to a more intelligent and careful estimate of these great Colonies. In fact, Canada never assumed a position of any prominence in our Empire, or in the world, till within the lifetime of many of ourselves.

The Canada that met my view when I first sailed up the St. Lawrence thirty-four years ago, was a country little advanced and sparsely peopled. Shortly before my visit, the two Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada had been united as one Province, having two parts—Canada East and Canada West. There was little intimacy or cordiality between those parts; but the Province was one, as having one Governor, one administration, and one Provincial Parliament. The Governor was also Governor-General of all British North America; but in time of peace this was no more than an honorary distinction. The region below Quebec, as seen from a ship inbound, made the same impression on a stranger that it does now on those who sail in swift steamers up the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. There were the same lines of whitewashed houses, the same parish churches, with their steep roofs of glittering tin, at regular intervals, and the same abundance of small schooners and other coasting craft laden with fish, staves, or sawn timber. This is the most unprogressive district of the country, and though the Grand Trunk Railway now runs along the south shore for more than 100 miles below Quebec, and many more steamers ply on the St. Lawrence than at the time of which I speak, the *tout ensemble* is really unchanged.

Quebec, too, was as it is to-day, indeed, rather more important, both as a commercial depôt and as a military stronghold. The timber trade—always the mainstay of that port—was in great prosperity; and as vessels of large burthen could not at that time reach Montreal, Quebec held large stocks of imported goods, which were forwarded in schooners and barges to the port of Montreal,

and thence despatched further into the interior. The citadel was occupied by a force of the Royal Artillery, and usually by two regiments of foot.

Montreal was a city of about 50,000 inhabitants, many of whom lived in long straggling suburbs, composed of small wooden houses. Its fine river wall and excellent wharves for shipping were already constructed, and gave to Montreal, then as now, a striking superiority in appearance over the port of Quebec; but there was no canal to connect the harbour with the navigable waters above; there were no railways; there was no bridge over the river; there was no university, not even a high school; and there were no manufactures of any consequence. Nevertheless, Montreal was then, as it continues to be, the chief seat of commerce and banking. Mr. Moffatt and Mr. Peter McGill were at the head of the mercantile community, and as fine specimens of the honourable British merchant as one could wish to see. The course of trade was the import of teas, wines, groceries, and manufactured goods from Great Britain, and of sugar from the West Indies; the export of wheat, flour, pearlsh, butter, and pork, bought in the interior by the merchants of Montreal, and shipped by them to Liverpool, Glasgow, and London, on advances made by their correspondents in those ports. We may add that Montreal, like Quebec, had a garrison of British troops, and that the military element was popular in society.

At the time of which we speak, the route from Montreal to the West was one of considerable difficulty. A passenger from Montreal to Toronto made his start in a heavy lumbering coach, which conveyed him no more than eight miles to Lachine. There he embarked on a small steamboat, which took him up Lake St. Peter to the Cascades. At this place he landed, and took a coach for about twelve miles; then another steamer on Lake St. Louis. Again a coach, or an open waggon, when the roads, always heavy, became almost impassable, and again a steamboat; till on the afternoon of the second day the passenger, with jaded limbs and battered luggage, arrived at Kingston, at that period the seat of government. This town, or so-called city, had about 11,000 inhabitants, and contained few buildings of any size or dignity. But it had an active business, chiefly in forwarding and transhipment of cargoes from and for Lake Ontario. It was also the military head-quarters for Canada West, and held a garrison second only to that of Quebec. Fortifications were in progress to protect the little capital.

At Kingston the traveller westward embarked on a steamboat of stronger build than those which had conveyed him up the river,

because compelled to buffet the often stormy waters of Lake Ontario. Skirting the northern or Canadian shore, and calling at several ports on the way, he reached Toronto in course of about fifteen hours. This town was the old capital of Upper Canada, as it is now again the capital of the province of Ontario. At the time we speak of it had only about 22,000 inhabitants. The harbour could never be an inferior one, because of its finely-sheltered bay, but there were only a few shabby wooden wharves for shipping. The town had but one important street—King-street, across which ran roads at right angles, *e.g.* Yonge-street and Bay-street, loosely and irregularly built. Toronto, however, had a manifest destiny to increase, having the support of a rich agricultural region in the rear, as well as an excellent position for commanding the navigation and traffic of the west. It also possessed educational institutions superior to those of any other Canadian town; although the principal institutions were at that time under a close ecclesiastical influence; and the great emancipation of public instruction from such control, which has been so advantageous to Western Canada, had not then been achieved.

Westward of Toronto stretched a sparsely settled region, with a good many small towns or ambitious villages. Hamilton was a place of wide roads and spaces, and a population of perhaps 9,000. Dundas, St. Catharine's, Galt, Guelph, Brantford, Woodstock, London, and Chatham, were quite small towns, connected by roads unblest of Macadam; dreary tracks of mud, patched with what was called "corduroy," or logs laid across its worst places,—roads over which even the Royal Mail could not make better speed than five miles an hour. It was easy to foresee, however, the future prosperity of this fertile district. Its annual yield of wheat was wonderful, and its mills turned out vast quantities of flour in barrels for shipment to Old England.

Let it be observed that the route westward which we have described was available only from May to November. During the remainder of the year navigation was closed by ice, and the traveller through Canada was obliged to journey in a sleigh over the snow roads and the frozen waters. The only piece of railway in the country was a very short line from La Prairie to St. John's, on Lake Champlain, to facilitate travel from Montreal to the United States. Indeed, the only public works of any consequence were the Welland Canal (on a smaller scale than now), connecting the Lakes Ontario and Erie; and the Rideau Canal, connecting, by the help of a chain of small inland lakes, the waters of Ontario with the river Ottawa—leaving the former at Kingston, the capital,

and entering the latter at Bytown, then quite a small town supported by the lumber trade, now transformed into the city of Ottawa, the capital of the whole Dominion.

The political atmosphere of Canada, ever since I have known it, has been sharp and keen. At the period to which I revert, the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had been but recently united. There was little sympathy between them—the one being British and Protestant, the other French and Roman Catholic. Legislation could seldom be applied to the whole country. Indeed, it was not easy for the legislators to understand each other, the debates in the Provincial Parliament being conducted indiscriminately in French and English. The Governor-General at the time was Sir Charles Bagot, who had succeeded an abler man, Lord Sydenham. Sir Charles Bagot was followed by Sir Charles, afterwards Lord, Metcalfe, in whose days the seat of Government was removed to the city of Montreal. Political feeling ran high, and a strong agitation spread, especially through the west, on the subject of responsible government, or the transfer to Canada of the British system of Cabinet and Parliament, instead of the old Colonial Office, regime. The political leaders of that period are now dead; Draper and Viger on the one side, Baldwin and Lafontaine on the other. Sir Allan McNab was with the Draper party. John A. McDonald, of Kingston, and John Hilliard Cameron, of Toronto, were just beginning to be known on the same side. The late Sir George Cartier and Mr. Canehon were two Canadian lawyers entering on political life as supporters of Lafontaine. Sir Francis Hincks edited a newspaper in Montreal, and he and the late Judge Drummond were favourites with the Irish. George Brown had but just arrived in Canada, and was engaged with his father on a newspaper at Toronto. The present Chief-Justice Dorion, of Quebec, and Mr. Mackenzie, now the Prime Minister of the Dominion, had not yet become public men. McGee did not arrive in Canada for a good many years after the date I indicate. Sir John Rose was just at that time called to the bar at Montreal, and at once sprung into large practice; but many years passed before he went into the Parliament, and took a seat in the Provincial Government. Sir Alexander Galt was sitting at a desk in the office of the British American Land Company at Sherbrooke; and such now well known men as McPherson, Holton, and John Young were busy merchants in Montreal; none of these gentlemen having as yet given any sign of the active part they have all taken in public affairs. But the increasing range of political questions soon drew in all these and other men. Responsible Government was firmly

established; the Clergy Reserves were secularised, and all shadow of a Church Establishment removed; the seignorial tenure in the east was greatly altered; public education in the west put on a very efficient footing; and great public works—canals and railways—were accomplished.

The Lower, or Maritime, Provinces had in those days little connection with Canada. They had the parallel political and commercial questions, but there was little knowledge of these beyond their own borders. A single mail steamer—the *Unicorn*—plied during the time of open navigation between Quebec and Halifax; and a traffic in provisions between Quebec and what were called the Lower Ports was carried on in petty schooners; but long years passed before the great idea of federating the provinces took firm hold of the public mind.

We pass over a long and busy period. The Earl of Elgin, Earl Cathcart, Sir John Young (Lord Lisgar), and Viscount Monck in succession governed the country, and watched over its development. Canals were finished, railways constructed, and, with the help of a Government subsidy, ocean steamships began to run. The country piled up, it must be confessed, a serious public debt; but it is of some comfort to reflect that this has been incurred not for vanity but in connection with political expansion, commercial enterprise, and social improvement.

What is now called the Dominion of Canada is the whole region of British North America, Newfoundland only excepted; and if we were to enter into a careful comparison of the condition of that country thirty years ago with its condition now, we should require to array before you the statistics of all the provinces. But our purpose is a less elaborate one. We are content to lay before you a general view of the present aspect of the country at large, as it strikes an old friend on a new visit. And there is no sign or element of progress wanting to the survey. Let us take a few prominent points in order.

1. *The growth and distribution of population.*—The last census (1871) showed 3,576,655 persons in the whole Dominion. The great flow of emigration has been, as might be expected, into the western parts—Ontario, the new province of Manitoba, and the north-west territory; but all the provinces have increased their population in a fair ratio. In the year 1871, the distribution in the four leading provinces was as follows: 47 per cent. in Ontario, 33 per cent. in Quebec, above 8 per cent. in New Brunswick, and 11 per cent. in Nova Scotia.

In these provinces the facts as to religious persuasion are as follows :—

In Ontario the order is, or was in 1871—(1) Methodist; (2) Presbyterian; (3) Church of England; (4) Church of Rome.

In Quebec and New Brunswick the order is exactly reversed. (1) Church of Rome; (2) Church of England; (3) Presbyterian; (4) Methodist.

In Nova Scotia we find—(1) Presbyterian; (2) Church of Rome; (3) Baptist; (4) Church of England.

In the four provinces combined the order is—(1) Church of Rome; (2) Methodist and (3) Presbyterian, about equal; (4) Church of England.

If we include Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia, the result will not be materially altered. The proportion of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the four chief provinces is—Protestants, 57 per cent.; Roman Catholics, nearly 43 per cent.—their great stronghold being the province of Quebec.

2. *The extension of trade and manufacture.*—I do not know that there is any increase in the trade of Quebec, to which port large vessels repair in ballast twice a year, returning to this country with cargoes of timber brought down the rivers St. Lawrence, Ottawa, and Richelieu in rafts, and kept in timber cribs at Quebec. The ships which took general cargoes to Montreal, returning with produce, were always of a superior class. But they too could only make two voyages within the season of open navigation. Trade with the United States was much restricted by high duties on imports, and slow and difficult transit. In fact, commerce was almost dead for five months of the year.

Now the trade of all the provinces with one another, with Great Britain, the United States, and the West Indies, has much increased. A commercial connection is even being opened with South America; and the development of manufacturing industry and mining enterprise has provided articles of export unthought of thirty years ago. The facilities for the movement of goods have also wonderfully improved. The country is well supplied with railways—thanks to British capital—and these are kept open even in the dead of winter. A magnificent chain of canals allows the produce-bearing vessels of the lakes to carry their cargoes to Montreal without breaking bulk. During the months of open navigation, one sees at the wharves of Quebec and Montreal not merely sailing vessels, but steamships of large burden plying to Liverpool, Glasgow, and London. When the St. Lawrence is

closed, steamers from Portland in the State of Maine, which may be called the winter port of Montreal, keep the mail service and the commercial intercourse unbroken. The ports of the Maritime Provinces are also well supplied with steam communication. It is claimed that the marine of the Dominion is such as to place it third among the countries of the world, as respects the aggregate of its tonnage; and for the protection of shipping, 102 light-houses and beacons are placed along its shores. On the registry books of the Dominion two years ago there stood 7,274 vessels, having 1,256,726 tons.

In the first year of the Dominion (1868) the total value of exports is given as 57,000,000 dollars. In 1875 it approached 78,000,000 dollars. The imports rose at the same time from 78,000,000 dollars to 120,000,000 dollars.

3. *The promotion of public education, both elementary and advanced.*—A system of common school education, with good normal schools for the training of teachers, is in successful operation in Ontario and Nova Scotia. Quebec and New Brunswick are in a much less satisfactory condition as regards popular instruction; but they too exhibit signs of progress. The last census showed that in Ontario only 7 per cent. of males over twenty years of age were unable to read, whereas in the Province of Quebec 38 per cent. were in that position.

Superior schools are also in a fair ratio to the population. The Province of Ontario has a considerable number of grammar and classical schools fostered by the Government, and two universities, besides colleges in connection with religious communities. In the Province of Quebec the Roman Catholic majority have several colleges or boarding schools, and the University of Laval in the city of Quebec, now the capital of that province. The Protestants have a good High School, and the McGill University, at Montreal, besides denominational colleges at Montreal and Lennoxville.

In the Maritime Provinces the chief seat of higher education is Dalhousie College, at Halifax, an institution of well-established repute.

Canadians coming from these schools and colleges have taken no mean place in the Universities of England and Scotland.

4. *A widened area of political life and action.*—When I first knew Canada, its politics were almost ludicrously excited and perplexed. The interests and feelings of the two parts of the province were so different, the parties so balanced, the jealousies so keen, the East was so tenacious of its French language and usages, the

West so soon chafed at being restricted to the same number of representatives in Parliament with the less populous and progressive East, that political discussion became most offensive, the collisions and dissensions of public life became insufferable to men of honour, and the Government fell at last almost into a deadlock. All this has been in some degree corrected by the larger scope which the Dominion affords to a patriotic statesmanship. The splendid buildings which now occupy a commanding site at Ottawa accommodate with fitting dignity the Parliament of the Dominion, and provide room enough for the officers of a Government which holds sway across the American continent.

For a population of even 4,000,000 the political system may indeed be thought too large and too elaborate; but the extent of the country must be considered as well as the population; the autonomy of the provinces must be respected while yet their federal union is maintained; and in Colonial constitutions scope and margin must be allowed for rapid growth. It is not unwise to make clothes a little too large for a fast-growing child. And the political garments of Canada have very properly been made with an eye to its future. It is thus that we may justify such an apparatus as the following for government and legislation:—

For the Dominion, a Governor-General, appointed by the Crown, a Cabinet of twelve members, a Senate, and a House of Commons.

For the Province of Ontario, a Lieut.-Governor, a Provincial Cabinet of four members, and a House of Assembly.

For each of the Provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, a Lieut.-Governor, an Executive Council, and two Houses. Even the sparsely-populated region of Manitoba has the same provincial constitution. It is worthy of notice that the greatest and most populous of the provinces, Ontario, has the simplest political system—the smallest Executive Council, and one House of Assembly.

Altogether, there is, perhaps, too much government; but, at all events, it is self-government in liberty. One may smile at the extraordinary array of gentlemen in office, and as all members or ex-members of Executive or Legislative Councils have the title of Honourable, one cannot help thinking this sort of distinction rather overdone; but, as we have indicated, the country will grow up to its political equipment, and the various legislatures, involving many elections, and drawing out many candidates for public distinction, keep the political intelligence alive, and spread a knowledge of State affairs among the people.

The expansion of the political system has also an important and

beneficial effect on the aims and aspirations of public men. It is well that in all the provinces there are those municipal institutions which exercise public spirit, and occupy the energies of good citizens; but it is also well that a number of governments and legislatures give opportunity for the advancement, and scope for the activity, of men who are fitted to take wider surveys of what belongs to the common weal. Especially is it of advantage that the Government and Parliament of the Dominion, ranging over so vast an area, and dealing with such varied interests, should open to politicians a wider horizon of thought than heretofore, and call forth a higher strain of statesmanship.

To an observer from without, the tone of political conflict in Canada has always been unduly personal, and political criticism has often been singularly rude and vulgar, dealing freely in nick-names and the imputation of contemptible motives. At times we have had too much of this among ourselves; and the public life of the United States of America is full of this bitter and ignominious language. I do not think that anyone with the instincts of a gentleman will deny that politically Canada would be none the worse for milder manners, and even a more ceremonious style. A certain use of ceremony to preclude personal disrespect is by no means a mere frippery, or a thing to be despised.

In the past, indeed, there has been more than a rough, unceremonious treatment of prominent public men. Political opponents have freely charged each other with jobs, dodges, shuffles, and intrigues of the most discreditable kind. The connection of the Government with great public works and railways has led to many insinuations of favouritism and corruption. It is not for me to say what foundation there may have been for such charges, or for any of them; but, while holding as firmly as any man that when they are well founded the guilty should be exposed to severe disapprobation, I am sure that the recklessness with which suspicions are received, and allegations involving dishonour are bandied about, must have a deteriorating influence on the self-respect of public men.

Notwithstanding all drawbacks, there is one element of great promise in the politics of Canada. There is no lack of competent men for legislative and administrative work, and nearly all of those who are now carrying on the public business are natives of the provinces, born and bred Canadians. This applies even to the Lieut.-Governors. That officer, in Ontario, is a native of Ontario; in Quebec is a native of Quebec; and the recently-appointed Lieut.-Governor of the North-west is a native of Prince Edward's Island. The head of the Dominion Cabinet, or Prime Minister, however, is

a Scotchman. If he had remained in his native land, he could not have aspired to sit in our House of Commons, for want of money or family influence; but he fills in Canada a position that requires as much capacity and tact as would suffice for one of our chief Secretaries of State, and seems to lead the Parliament and the country with quite as much vigour and discretion as any of his predecessors.

Let me very briefly mention some of the questions of present public interest in Canada: *e.g.*—

(1) Whether free trade is suited to a country so situated. Many plead, as in the United States, for protection to native productions and manufactures by the imposition of heavy duties on imports. The policy of the Dominion Government may be described as one favourable to free trade, but laying on imports heavier duties than a pure free trader can justify, avowedly with a view to raise a sufficient public revenue. It is not easy to see that the manufacturers or merchants of this country have any right to complain of this, for surely it is a prime duty of the Canadian administration and legislature to secure an income that will pay for the interest and gradual reduction of the public debt, and defray the necessary yearly expenditure. There has been a serious depression of trade in Canada; but this is a misfortune which has at the same time befallen England and the United States, and there are symptoms of commercial revival. It is certain that a free trade policy develops enterprise, and discovers outlets and markets for products in a way that is unknown to a policy of protection. Canada is not without proofs of this, among the most recent of which we may mention the export of cattle and of dead meat to England, and that of manufactured goods to South America.

(2) Whether the Dominion can afford while building the Inter-Colonial Railway, which connects Quebec with the maritime provinces, also to proceed with the construction of the Pacific Railway to and through British Columbia. The former road is already in parts open to traffic; but it is being made for public safety, and as a means of military communication, quite in advance of what the commercial intercourse between the old provinces would have justified. It is, in fact, part of the price paid for the Federal union. It is a very grave question whether the country is able to pay a much heavier price for the adhesion of British Columbia, in the shape of a railway from Ottawa to the Pacific across the Continent. A pledge seems to have been given that this will be done as soon as possible; but the route is not yet definitely surveyed and decided on; and the Dominion Government evidently hesitate to plunge

into so enormous and expensive an undertaking. In the mere survey of the country through which the road must pass, between two and three millions of dollars have already been spent.

A good deal of disappointment and irritation has appeared in British Columbia, in consequence of the delay which has occurred in this business. A recent visit of the Governor-General has, however, had some effect in soothing and reassuring the minds of the Columbians. His Excellency, in the course of an admirable speech, made known the resolution of the Cabinet at Ottawa not to abandon the railway, but to proceed with the whole work as soon as it can prudently be done. Already one or two sections of the railway between Lake Superior and the Red River are under contract. There is an outcry on the part of speculators and contractors for a more active policy ; but to a friend of Canada, unconnected with these people and their interests, it would seem to be by far the wisest course to proceed deliberately, so as to keep down the first cost of the railway, and prevent the laying of an exorbitant burden on the finances of a young country, that has so much to do for itself in other matters as well as in making of railways.

(3) Whether emigration has been for the present pressed far enough, and ought now rather to be discouraged. It is certain that many have of late years been returning from Canada, as well as from the United States, disappointed in their expectation of finding constant employment and high wages. But much of this is due to the depression of trade already mentioned, and is not to be construed into a proof that Canada has lost the capacity of absorbing fresh population. The fact to be remembered is, that a new country does not present an unlimited supply of vacant situations. It has not capitalists who can employ hundreds and thousands of men, or gentlemen at ease who want a large retinue of attendants. For the banks, mercantile offices, and shops of the cities and towns, Canada can produce clerks enough without importing them. For agricultural labourers and for skilled mechanics there is room, but within limits. The recently opened territories, however, have ample accommodation for settlers who have a little money to support their families till their first crop is gathered, and who are willing to put their own hands to hard work. To such immigrants, Canada offers great advantages, and the prospect of an honourable independence.

We may put it thus. The days of indiscriminate emigration are probably ended ; but for selected emigration there is an unfailling demand. Hardy and thrifty men, accustomed to rural life—black-

smiths, carpenters, coopers, wheelwrights, saddlers, and harness-makers—all these will do well, because the very condition of a young country in course of settlement makes room and work for them. The resources of Canada for maintaining a population are to be found in its enormous territory—the vast wooded plains that still await the axe and the plough. The climate is not to be feared; it has just that amount of severity which draws out the energies of men, and gives to a northern race a vigour that no southern people can overcome. And the large proportion which the agricultural interest bears to other elements of Canadian prosperity will always give to the Dominion that most valuable constituent of national strength—a sturdy, independent yeomanry.

Our survey is fraught with good hope for the future. Canada is well grown and well-governed, enjoys inward tranquillity, and last, not least, stands in high credit in the money markets of London and New York.

It is matter of legitimate congratulation here that the Dominion, with all its self-reliance, shows no symptoms of alienation from the mother-country. On the contrary, after our troops have been withdrawn, and the Canadians have been required to provide their own militia, their allegiance to the Crown seems to be not at all weakened. Perhaps it is to be regretted that our redcoats have been so completely and absolutely recalled; but, at all events, that measure has had the effect of making more conspicuous than ever the intelligent and spontaneous loyalty of the North American subjects of the Queen.

At the same time, it is well to remember that a piece of mismanagement at the Colonial Office, or a continued indifference in English society to the progress and wishes of Canada, may easily hurt and alienate the feelings of a high-spirited people. Most useful, therefore, in view of such possible risks, most patriotic is the action of an Institute like this, which gives prominence to Colonial life and enterprise, and helps a Canadian, as it helps an Australian, to feel that he is not unrecognised or unfriended; that his country is not forgotten or ignored among the many causes and interests that are represented and fostered in this great centre of the mighty British Empire.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. ROSWELL FISHER, of Montreal, said: I can assure you I rise before you to-night with great feelings of trepidation. I am very little accustomed to public speaking, therefore I beg to ask for your indulgence during the short time I wish to address you. The

subject of the discussion to-night is, "Canada: as I remember it, and as it is;" and, as I happen to be in England at this time, it may not be out of place on my part to attempt to address you. I, my father, my grandfather, and my great-grandfather have lived in Canada for at least a century—(hear, hear)—therefore I think I have to a certain extent a claim to address you as a representative Canadian. I feel I am above all things and before all things a Canadian, and on behalf of a largely increasing number of young men in my country, I may say we feel essentially Canadian, not first Englishmen or Scotchmen, or whatever it may be, but Canadian. Nevertheless, I would not have you think that I am in any sense whatever hostile to, or wanting in affection for, Great Britain or her people. Dr. Fraser, in his most interesting address, has told you briefly—has given you a short sketch—of the past history of Canada, and he has given interesting statistics and particulars with regard to its present and immediate future. I will not take up much of your time in dwelling on the material prospects of Canada at the present time, but before going on to deeper subjects you will allow me to say that a few days ago I had the privilege of being present for a short time at the Philadelphia Exhibition. I went there especially to see what sort of appearance my own country put it in at that very great show. On looking over our department I was alternately depressed and elated—depressed because there seemed to be so little feeling that it was worth while sending every variety of our commodities; because it was impossible that their sale in the United States could increase while the American tariffs remained as at present; and I was elated, because I thought that what we did send were equal, if not superior, to any like commodities in the Exhibition. And I can say this not only on my own authority as a Canadian, but on the authority of many Americans, and also on the authority of an Englishman with whom I crossed the Atlantic—a gentleman who was sent over to the Exhibition by the British Government as an agricultural judge. The Americans acknowledged, and this gentleman was kind enough to say that, in agricultural produce, more especially in butter, cheese, cattle, and horses, Canada was at any rate equal, if not superior, to the United States. The English gentleman I have referred to said that, having travelled over a considerable portion of the United States and Canada, the only farms that came up to his view of what well-cultivated farms should be, were those of Canada, more especially those of Ontario. I also found at the Philadelphia Exhibition what I knew before—namely, that in several branches of manufacture

we were making great strides, and I hope you will all be as pleased to hear as I am to know, that in the near future we may be able not only to compete with the United States and the rest of the world in agricultural products, but that we may be independent of the mother-country for certain manufactured articles, such as tweeds, woollens, coarser cottons, and edged tools. Notwithstanding the increasing prosperity of the country, I trust you will bear with me when I say that all is not sunshine. We, as a new country, have disadvantages as well as advantages. I am almost sorry to say that when people are addressed in this country by emigration agents, politicians, or those who are interested in making everything appear *coulour de rose*, they hear very little about the disadvantages of Canada. I do not hide them, because, looking at the disadvantages we suffer under, you will give us all the greater credit for the progress we have made in overcoming them. The first disadvantage is the extraordinary extent and the situation—geographical situation—of our country. It is, as you are aware, the Northern half of the North American continent, and the greater part of it is absolutely useless, and I believe always will be useless, for purposes of cultivation and settlement. It is natural that the country should be thinly populated, as the settlers who first went there, instead of concentrating or spreading evenly in different directions, fringed the water ways with a long thin streak of settlements. This is one of our disadvantages. The next is the coldness of the climate, for no doubt, commercially speaking, the coldness is a great drawback. At the same time it must not be forgotten that, as Dr. Fraser suggested to-night in his paper, it is in consequence of this that we hope to keep up and develop still further those qualities that have made the British race so prominent. I should not like to dogmatise on the point, but I think that, if it were not for the vast fields of snow which collect every year in the North, and store up large quantities of moisture, it is possible that we should not be possessed of the great lakes and of the river St. Lawrence, of which we are so proud. These, I may say, are our physical disadvantages. No, there is one more. Though the soil of our country is inferior to that of no other country, at the same time it is in part covered with virgin forest. Notwithstanding that this forest is an enormous source of wealth, I can imagine no task seemingly more utterly hopeless, and none more formidable, than that which the emigrant finds before him when he goes into this forest country and knows that he has to hew himself a home. Under these circumstances, I am not surprised if your people prefer frequently to go to other countries where these difficulties are not to be met with, where the

climate is more genial, and the soil has not to be cleared in this way. Nor is it surprising that the Western States have been able to attract large numbers of emigrants by offering inducements beyond those which we could give. We have, however, our advantages, as I have already said. We have the advantage of being within easy reach of Europe, comparatively speaking; and on the whole this has been an important advantage. You will be surprised perhaps, that among our disadvantages, I have not mentioned our proximity to the United States. (Hear, hear.) Well, I do not consider that a disadvantage; on the contrary, I think being near so great a centre of wealth and intelligence a positive advantage. I am well aware that there are great numbers in Canada, and I believe there are many in other countries of the world, who think that patriotism consists in abusing other countries than their own. I am afraid that some Canadians would abuse the Americans and the United States; but I have no sympathy with the feeling. (Hear, hear.) I was asked the other day in London whether I did not think it probable, in the event of Great Britain being drawn into war with Russia, that the United States—reminding us of the fable of the wolf and the lamb—would rush into Canada, and annex us against our will. I answered, “Certainly not; and I do not believe that the United States has any such idea.” I would say more than this, at the cost of delaying you longer. I think there is no danger of this kind. The people of the United States are supposed to be a shrewd people. I think they are much too shrewd a people, having a large number of discontented citizens of their own in the South, to wish to add to their rule a large number of discontented citizens in the North. (Hear, hear.) I believe a Republic to be less aggressive, especially under a Federal Government, than any other form of constitution. The people of the United States, I believe, are in no way actuated by hostility to Canada; and, from what I saw at Philadelphia, the readiness of Great Britain with other countries to assist them in this great Exhibition has, for the present at any rate, very much lessened any feeling they may have had against Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) I think the Americans are all friendly towards Great Britain and Canada, and I believe in the morality of the people. Whatever we hear of the corruption of officials and the character of their State Government, I don't think the whole nation would be so detestably immoral as to endeavour to enslave a population allied in laws, religion, and language. I think the experience of America has been that, in any diplomatic transactions with Great Britain and her Colonies, they have always got much the best of it, and I

don't believe they think this is going to end. Therefore they would very much more readily attack us diplomatically through the English Government than by force of arms. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) I now come to a subject which I consider most serious, and which I feel a great deal of delicacy in approaching here to-night. I believe I lay myself open to the risk of being considered unpatriotic and wanting in reticence, and not careful enough to keep from washing our dirty clothes in public. However, I feel it my duty to say what I am going to say. We have certain political disadvantages in Canada. So far, the Dominion is yet young. The different provinces have not been cemented into absolute union; but in regard to the English-speaking provinces, I don't consider there is any danger on this head. We have a storm in a tea-kettle about British Columbia; but I don't believe much is thought of that. There is, however, a most ominous factor in our political situation. We have in the province of Quebec, situated between our maritime provinces and our interior provinces, a million and a quarter of people—more than twenty-five per cent of the entire population—alien in race, laws, religion, and language to us; and this in itself is an extraordinary difficulty. And I am sorry to say that there is no sort of sign that the French and English Canadians are approaching each other at all. Our hope might be that in time the English and French elements in Canada would, by intermarriage and seeking to approach each other, become united into one people. What is the fact, however? Why, I am sorry to say that of late years, instead of those who reside in the French and English quarters of the great town in which I reside—namely, Montreal—having more to do with each other, the contrary prevails. We have less to do with each other. I hope I am not offending anyone here in what I am stating. I have a great regard for many of the qualities of the French Canadians. They are a law-abiding, industrious, and ingenious people. They make good operatives and very poor agriculturists, but at present they are backward in education. With regard to their religion, they are abjectly subject to the influences of the Roman hierarchy. I am sorry to say—and I say it with reluctance—that since the Vatican Council, the hierarchy seems to have made a great attempt to make Quebec the stronghold of Ultramontanism in America. A certain statute was passed in one of the Legislatures in the province of Quebec recently, and there was a marginal note with reference to it, which contained words something to this effect: "Rearrangement of certain matters in accordance with the decrees of our Holy Father Pius IX." We were all very much astonished at it, but

such was the condition of things in the province that a marginal note of that nature was allowed to be put upon a statute. We have had cases in which it has been sought to set aside certain elections in consequence of the priests from their pulpits anathematising those who voted for the wrong candidate, which means subjecting their flocks to supernatural terrorism. (Hear, hear.) It is with extreme reluctance that I go into this subject ; but it is important not only to Canada but to the Empire at large that this Franco-Canadian question should not be ignored, as it almost always is by our politicians and our practical men, so-called. Our Governor-General, when he was last over here, and other officials, have spoken as though the English and French Canadians were living in delightful harmony together. I wish it were so. I am sorry that the French party, in consequence of this unfortunate difference, are so extremely averse to any emigration of English people to, and any settling of English people in, Quebec. I say this as a Quebec man, because we are taunted with our slowness. If you saw our difficulty, you would think well of us for what we have managed to do, rather than taunt us for what we have not done. I wish to say in conclusion that, under these circumstances, we in Canada feel that we need time to consolidate our heterogeneous population and our straggling country into one harmonious nation. We are doing all we can ; but it lies very much with the people and the Government of Great Britain to give us this time. We have no desire whatever to cut adrift too soon from the British Empire, though I believe we shall eventually find it to our common interest to separate. (Cries of "No, no.") But if the state of things alluded to by Dr. Fraser goes on, it is probable we may be cut adrift, or may cut ourselves adrift, too soon. If a certain indifference and hostility on the part of certain journals in England continues, we may feel our self-respect so outraged—(laughter)—that we may absolutely find it necessary to cut ourselves adrift. (No, no.) We in Canada, nearly all of us, are conscious that your leading journal—I am sorry to have to mention any one journal in particular—has been for years very hostile to us. If we are from time to time to be scolded by the press, and the normal indifference of the people is to continue, how can our sympathy with the mother-country increase or even survive ? Have not our sympathies been sacrificed for the United States ? I say they have, and I am sorry to be obliged to say so. At the last Fenian demonstration against Canada we sent out our working-men to the front, and kept the English troops in the rear, so that if our men ran away they could support them. Well, when this invasion collapsed, the *Times*, in lauding the United States for the energetic

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steps they had taken to defeat the demonstration, said nothing, or next to nothing, of our efforts. This is not pleasant to Canada ; and, remember, that the other Colonies feel the coldness and indifference exhibited towards them by the mother-country. It is reasonable to ask this, I think, that if you cannot, from the multiplicity of your engagements, take an active interest in Canada and the Canadians, or in Australia and the Australians, and cannot make yourselves acquainted with us, at least do not talk and write against us when you know nothing of the facts. Only the other day another leading paper here actually told us that we must be taught to understand that Imperial interests must not be allowed to suffer in consequence of Canadian bad faith. Canadians smile at this. What, we ask, are Imperial interests in North America apart from Canadian interests ? The day that shall see the secession of Canada will see the annihilation of Imperial interests in North America. As I am reminded that I have already trespassed too long on your time, I will merely say, in conclusion, that if I have spoken somewhat strongly of British conduct in regard to my country, it is not that I love Great Britain less, but that I love Canada more. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. B. Brown : I have the pleasure of knowing Canada well. I first visited the Colony thirty-seven years ago. I remember my countryman, Dr. Fraser, there, and sat under him in his church at Montreal, and I have been much pleased to hear him deliver so excellent a lecture, and one that will interest all in Canada. I am very desirous at once to notice a few words which have just been uttered by the last speaker, and which have naturally produced some surprise if not emotion amongst us. I have just returned from Canada, and I believe in the same ship with Mr. Fisher, the Cunard steamer *Scythia*. I made the acquaintance of the gentleman whom Mr. Fisher refers to, who was selected by the Duke of Richmond to be one of the judges of cattle sent by Canada to the Philadelphia Exhibition, and I heard him with much pleasure speak so well of the farms of Canada. I travelled in both Eastern and Western Canada, and I cannot at all agree or sympathise with what Mr. Fisher has said about "cutting adrift." I was in Canada when the whole country, as it was said, was in the hands of a family. The "Family Compact" we all remember, and we all know the great services of Charles Buller and Lord Durham, to whom all honour are ever due, as men who have done more to cement our great Colony of Canada than any two other men, to my knowledge. It was said at that time that Canada was not fit for responsible government. There are certain people engaging

much attention now who are said to be so; but try a man and tell him that his prosperity is at stake, and when he has that responsibility thrown on him he will be able to manage himself. Charles Buller told the Canadians so, and Lord Durham told them so. Our Imperial Government acted on it, and there is now no more loyal country than Canada. I met gentlemen in high official position in Canada, and I also had the pleasure of meeting Lord Dufferin in Philadelphia, one of the best and most popular Governors Canada could wish to have, and I gathered from these and from many others belonging to all classes of society that the loyalty of the Canadian people is cordial and unquestioned. The tone of loyalty was everywhere unmistakable, from the highest to the lowest. American gentlemen have told me, "We never knew the loyalty of Canada stand so high." I believe the Canadians will never cut themselves adrift from the Empire if the Empire continues as true to their interests as it shows itself now. With regard to the Pope, and all we have heard about the Roman hierarchy from Mr. Fisher, it is all nonsense, gentlemen. (Laughter.) I know the Canadians well, and I am sure that it is all pure rubbish. With respect to the Hon. John Young, of Montreal, who was a Minister under Lord Metcalfe, I will tell you that in having accomplished the great work of deepening Lake St. Peter he has done a service to Canada which cannot be overrated. Mr. Young is one of the greatest benefactors of Canada's material interests she ever possessed, and whom Canada ought to be prouder of and more grateful than she is.* Some one man or other we always find in modern history does more for countries than centuries of time, or princes, or assemblies. It has been so in Russia, in Austria, in Prussia, in France, in England; and the United States and Canada have been no exceptions to this. I am delighted that Dr. Fraser has mentioned Messrs. Holton and

* Mr. J. B. Brown, referring to the debate on Dr. Fraser's paper, writes: "I regret that, owing to the limited time allowed to each speaker in the debate, I had not the opportunity (when referring to the distinguished services which the Hon. John Young had conferred on Montreal, and indeed I should rather say on all Canada, by the deepening of Lake St. Peter), as I had desired, to allude to an almost equally great public service which Mr. Young had rendered to the Colony, namely, his having originated and successfully realised the idea of the Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence. Both these great works have proved to be of the first importance to Canada, and more especially to Montreal. It is to be hoped that before it may be too late Mr. Young's distinguished services to his adopted country will be recognised in some public manner, much more than has hitherto been done. We so often find that after great benefactors have been taken away from us for ever, and when the little mists of envy and all other ill feelings have cleared away, which prevented these men being viewed in all their true and full merit, public recognition comes at last—but alas! in one great sense too late."

McPherson and others, coadjutors with Mr. Young, whose efforts have brought Montreal 200 miles nearer to the sea. When I was first at Montreal there were very few vessels in the River St. Lawrence, and those only of a small size, which sailed up to Montreal. Lake St. Peter was a shallow, half-way between Quebec and Montreal; it has been deepened, and is navigable for large ocean steamers. I left Montreal, twenty-six years ago, comparatively a small place, but it has now grown immensely. It is almost like an ocean port. I found Toronto benefiting in the prosperity of Montreal, brought closer to the ocean and closer to England, to which her ties perhaps have more than doubled. The little town of London, in Upper Canada, which thirty-seven years ago was in the woods, a little village with backwoods all round it, I saw a few weeks ago a large city, with a mayor, a dozen churches, a stately custom-house, and a population, including suburbs, of about 20,000. (Hear, hear.) When I formerly went up there in 1839 it took me some two days to reach it from Toronto, much of the journey in a lumbering stage-coach over "corduroy" roads, but during my recent visit I performed the journey by railway in a luxurious Pullman car in a few hours.

Mr. R. H. PRANCE: I have taken an interest in Canada since 1850, and having to a certain extent contributed towards its prosperity, inasmuch as I have had something to do with finding capital for the railways, I think I may say two or three words. When I hear gentlemen speak of the increase in the population, in the amount of traffic, and the general improvement of the Dominion of Canada, I wish to say it is owing to British capital that Canada is what it is. This has been found, because we hold the opinion that those who have become the inhabitants are men to be trusted. Now when I say this, I mean it is in the Scotch element and not in the French, in Toronto and not in Montreal, that the greatest power is to be found. (No, no.) I believe in Canada, because I believe that Canada as a nation is founded on Great Britain. Those who have gone out there are principally Scotchmen, and are remarkable for their honesty and probity.

Mr. TRELAWNY SAUNDERS said that the speeches which had been addressed to the meeting would not fail to convince them of the truth of the remark that the Dominion was not yet advanced to the degree of consolidation which involved unity. He hoped the time had now come when the whole of those vast possessions, and not part of them, would be bound together in English feeling. It was in that point of view, he took it, that the union of the Dominion with the mother-country was most usefully to be maintained. It

was well known that they saw farthest and most from a distance, and it was from viewing Canada from a distance that they could promote some of those interests which could not be seen by those who viewed it with their eyes close to the paper. He would wish to say a word with reference to the paramount importance of the union of the Pacific seaboard with the Atlantic by means of that railway which was under consideration. He would also like to speak about those parts of the Dominion which were deemed—according to the speakers they had heard to-night—to be inhospitable deserts. He did not sympathise altogether with what had been said, for he believed that some of those regions might become gardens under the influence of man. If they were not fit for one thing, the human intellect could prove that they might be tolerably fit for another. There were various things which were necessary to bring about the utilisation of different countries, and one was the united interest of the whole country in one Government, and that has been brought about by the far-seeing policy of the British Government, and the admirable unanimity with which the various provinces abandoned their individuality in favour of a common whole. Were they still to be content with seeing the different provinces remaining, in a sense, distinct, as they were before? No; and he would say, if Canada could be brought to see the vast problems that were under their control to solve, they would see that they held a far higher position in the world than that of Montrealists or Quebecists. There was one great man who came here some years ago, namely, Asa Whitney. He saw that Canada had the only great rivers running east and west in the whole of the continent of America, and he gave himself to the work of opening up that communication. Through the policy of the United States a communication had been opened up from the east to the west in the construction of their great system of railways; but for Canada or the United Empire to neglect the advantages offered by their rivers was to neglect a great gift given by God Himself. Where did this east and west road lead to? To communication across the American continent between the populations of Europe and America and the teeming populations of Asia. Whenever a tea trade was opened at Vancouver, it would be good-bye to the tea trade with England, except in a local way. They were dealing with a vast country, almost beyond the limits of their imagination, the greater part of which was in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. If Canada saw the great wealth which was to come out of that country by a proper and natural use of it, instead of such a greedy and limited use as the company of merchants made of it,

there would be a far more abundant amount of wealth coming from it. Who could say that such a state of things ought to exist as that in Mackenzie Valley, where, in a valley leading to some of the richest whale fisheries, there were no farms to be found?—nor would there be so long as the territory remained in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. (A GENTLEMAN in the room, interrupting, here stated that the Hudson's Bay Company had sold their property.) The Hudson's Bay Company had given up for a good price some portion of their territory—that portion of it which lay on the Saskatchewan River. He hoped the newly-acquired territory would be made use of, as the United States, if they had it to-morrow, would make use of it before the year was out. The remainder of the enormous estate remained in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. He would refrain from mentioning other topics which such an enormous area opened to him, but there was a use in viewing this matter in an Imperial sense. (Hear, hear.)

The Venerable Archdeacon HUNTER, late of Prince Rupert's Land, said: The only claim I can possibly have to address the meeting to-night, after the very able and exhaustive paper read by my friend Dr. Fraser, would be that it was my privilege to live twenty-one years in a portion of the territory which has now become part of the Dominion of Canada, and that I can speak of the country just referred to (the Valley of the Saskatchewan), having resided on its banks for ten years. It was in the year 1844 when I first went to Rupert's Land. Now, think of its isolated position thirty-two years ago. The communication with England was only open twice in the year—once by means of the Hudson's Bay ships in the autumn, and again in the spring of the year by the north canoes arriving at Red River and Norway House with Sir George Simpson, the Governor. Occasionally I only received letters from England once in the year, and during these ten years I never saw any money—(laughter)—I was able to dispense with the use of it. Red River Colony presented a very different appearance thirty-two years ago from its aspect to-day. It was a colony formed by Lord Selkirk, I believe, in the year 1812, by taking out some Highlanders from Sutherlandshire, and locating them in the very centre of North-west America. Hence we have such names there as McDonald, Ross, Gunn, and so on; and a Presbyterian church presided over by the Rev. John Black, named Kildonan; therefore we are thoroughly Scotch. (Laughter.) If any person had arrived in the colony in those days we should have looked in his face and inquired, "Where did you come from? How did you get here?" The settlers were scattered along the banks of the Red River for

about a hundred miles. Ascending from Lake Winnipeg, you would first arrive at the Lower Fort Garry. Another twenty miles farther up you would come to Upper Fort Garry, where, you know, not very long ago Sir Garnet Wolseley put down the rebellion. This country is an oasis in the midst of a wilderness, and surrounded by a vast territory for hundreds and thousands of miles. Now let us look at the progress made during the last few years. If I wanted to send a telegram to Red River, it would be flashed under the sea and across the Continent in a very few hours. The Red River settlement, although it was commenced when the present city of Chicago (which in Cree signifies "skunk," "shekak") was a fishing village on Lake Michigan, remained in an isolated state for many years; but now a marvellous change has taken place since it became part of the Dominion of Canada. In the neighbourhood of the Upper Fort a vast city is springing up called Winnipeg, Manitoba. Manitoba is the name of a lake, signifying in the Cree language "God's narrows," derived from the word "Manito" or "God," which, you will remember, occurs so frequently in the "Song of Hiawatha." A friend wrote to me the other day, and said: "If you paid a visit now to Upper Fort Garry, and walked through our city, with its magnificent shops, and streets, and side-walks, you would in all probability lose yourself in the place with which you were familiar ten or twelve years ago." I speak of this in order to show the great progress which is taking place. The land is most fertile and easy of cultivation. My own glebe extended four miles in length and a quarter of a mile in breadth, only requiring the plough to be put in and the poplar trees cut down for fencing, to convert it into a farm. There are thousands and millions of acres of land ready for cultivation without the labour of rooting up of trees as in Canada. All the settler has to do is to take his plough, put it into the virgin soil, turn it up, sow his seed, and produce the finest wheat crop that is to be found in the world. I do not believe there is any wheat anywhere which will be found to equal that of the Red River colony for weight and quality. In conclusion, I may be permitted to mention that I have travelled through a large portion of the country, and carried the sound of the Gospel to the Arctic Circle. I was the first minister who preached the Gospel in that district, and I can say, from personal observation, that the cultivation of the land along the Mackenzie River would be most difficult. I had the great satisfaction of reducing the Cree language to writing, and preaching the Gospel to the natives in their own tongue. I remember the time when there was not a bishop or a diocese in

the whole territory, and now there are four; two of which, the Saskatchewan and the Athabasca dioceses, were opened up by myself. I have a book in my hand which I think will show you the progress of the Red River. It is not the "London Post-Office Directory," but it is the "Manitoba Directory," and for the year 1876-7. Here you will find the names of professional and business men and other inhabitants of the Province, &c. &c. All this shows that our friends at Red River are going ahead. One of my very worthy schoolmasters is now an honourable M.P.P., the Minister of Public Works, receiving a very fair compensation. There is, I see, the "Pioneer Meat Market," and no doubt they will be having a cattle show shortly. (Laughter.) Bishop Machray, in a letter of July 14th, 1876, says, "The country looks at present a perfect garden." This will show what the state and character of the Red River is. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. BEAUMONT said he could not help thinking that, after the extremely interesting speeches they had heard from various Canadians, it would not be inappropriate in one who was not a colonist, though deeply interested in Colonial questions, to state what had occurred to him as to the line of the discussion. He would refer with great respect to what had fallen from Mr. Fisher. The various opinions of Canadians of the different provinces, however, only served to show that there was nothing absurd in the notion of a mother-country whatever. One gentleman said one thing, and one another. One said the future of Canada lay with the Scotch settlers; one said that if the present state of things continued, Canada would have to cut adrift from the mother-country; and another said that if it was not for the little garden in Manitoba there would be no hope for Canada at all. (Hear.) He was gratified to find a gentleman who had so much experience of Canada coming forward with an earnest desire to give them a true impression of the country which showed such interesting development, and he could not help thinking that that gentleman himself must have felt, after what had taken place, that there was something to be said for the view that England was not so forgetful of Canadian interests, and so absorbed in her own concerns. He could not help thinking that that gentleman's observations as to the probability of Canada cutting itself adrift is not to be answered merely by those who thought it ought not to be severed from the mother-country, saying, "It shan't be," or "It won't be." The indifference of Great Britain that Mr. Fisher spoke of was by no means a real indifference. The judgment as well as the feeling of the country really treasured the Colonial Empire, and the *doctrinaire* opinions of some of our news-

papers were not to be taken as the opinions of the people of this country. He was quite sure that Mr. Fisher and other Canadians who came there, if they would observe the feelings of the English people who took an interest in the Colonies—not merely for the sake of seeing the British flag waving over them, but for the sake of observing in the past and securing in the future what the glories of Great Britain had been and might be—they would feel that, after all, the unity of the British Empire was not the mere accident that was to be determined by cutting adrift here and cutting adrift there, but that it was a grand institution that was to be continued, because it was based on a true solidarity of interest. He fully agreed with everything that had been said on a subject on which indeed one's judgment was very infirm, because the information which they had was so slight; but there could be no question that the future of Canada must be so vast that the attempt to form it in one's mind was vain. But that was no reason why they should not think that with the great development of civilisation there would be a similar development of political organisation. Were they to look at the Chinese people, so wonderfully organised, and yet at such a disadvantage, without the help of Christianity, and what we called liberty, and without all those constitutional advantages which had brought us to our glorious present; were they to look at the Chinese and see them a mighty mass of active and industrious people for thousands of years, and to say they could not hit off such a plan in the conduct of Canadian and Imperial affairs as would maintain their union? In giving themselves a name and identifying themselves with any part of the Empire, they could not use words which would fit every part of the composition, but he only spoke of himself as English as he would challenge a native of Newfoundland or an Australian as an Englishman. Was there not the possibility of development such as had never been worked out before—development in the direction of consolidation, it might be in the first instance over scattered populations—but was there not the possibility of weaving the Empire into a closer texture of organisation, so that there might be an Empire more great, and prosperous, and useful than had ever yet been thought possible? Let the Montreal gentleman chaff the Toronto gentleman, and the Toronto gentleman chaff the Montreal gentleman, but when they were talking about such a vast subject could they not raise their thoughts to that level to say, "These things are trivial"? There might be great differences existing, but were they not subordinate to that vast career which might yet be achieved, and to which he had referred? He would call attention to this, and he had said it

once before in this room, that the phrase "Mother-country" was a grand truth, and the Colonies were simply so many members of a family. They were in truth children. When they were young, for a little time they wanted their heads knocking together, and it was afterwards necessary to exercise a judicious control over their movements. Later on they grew bigger and wanted more of their own way perhaps, but they must still submit to the authority of the parent. Later on they might consider themselves in some way as important as their fathers; but who of us was there, however rich and influential he might become, who did not in all the independence even of maturity still recognise the just rights and influence of his father? If there was a son who did not, he was unworthy of a father—in fact he did not deserve to have a father. (Laughter.) They had touched upon several points of interest and difficulty to-night, and he thought that they had done well in touching upon them, and hoped they would prove matter for thought. The great thing to his mind was that, after all, the British Empire is one country, and the man who talked of cutting the Colonies adrift talked in a manner unbecoming in an Englishman, whether of the mother-country or of the Colonies. (Cheers.)

Mr. SAMUEL HILL said that, as he had visited Canada in the year 1861, he might be allowed to make a few remarks. He would call their attention to the occupation of Canada by the French. He would ask them to go back with him to the year 1608, and would remind them that the French occupied Canada from that year until 1750, nearly a century and a half. From that date up to the present time, during a period of 117 years, the country has been in the possession of Great Britain. The French occupation, therefore, exceeded that of the English nation. He had seen in Canada a joint monument to Generals Wolfe and Montcalm; then surely these things pointed to a fusion eventually between the French and British interests. He believed that the great cause of estrangement that at present existed was the matter of creed. He did not know that he could better illustrate this than by relating what it was his painful lot to witness in Montreal. On St. John the Baptist's day, June 24th, in the year 1861, he was with his brother-in-law (who went out to Canada under the auspices of his cousin, Robert Stephenson, the designer of the bridge that spanned the St. Lawrence, and of that beautiful bridge, the Britannia, at Conway), when he saw a procession in which was carried a child representing St. John. The sight was very painful to him, and he thought at the time, if the child had been under its mother's care it would have been in its proper place. He was led to make these remarks

because the question of religion was affecting not only Canada but the United States. He would say that the question at the present was a question of religion. It was the question of voluntarism. There were many churches in the United States belonging to the denomination which the rev. lecturer so much admired he believed, but they were not conducted by regular pastors. The more they looked at the question they found that religion was the only cement that could bind Canada together, and it would prove an indissoluble bond of union. He hoped the members of the present Cabinet, aided as they were by Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General, who, in a former Administration, was Chancellor of his native county, the Duchy of Lancaster, would ever remember that "righteousness exalteth a nation." He would be very sorry if the legislatures of Canada ever attempted to introduce the French Sabbath. (Cries of "Question, question.") It was the question, and a question which affected the welfare of Canada. He had also had some experience of the United States, and he believed there was one feature which had been altogether overlooked. He was aware that he was speaking in the presence of Mr. Brown, but he had not had correspondence with the United States for a quarter of a century without knowing the feeling which existed between the United States and Canada, as indicated by the Reciprocity Treaty. It was the development of Canadian resources through the medium of lake and river navigation, importations of grain from Chicago having some time since been made into Liverpool by way of the Welland Canal. It was a moot point (he continued) whether the Home Government should not assist in the construction of necessary railways in Canada by guaranteeing to the investors interest, as they had done in India; and he would say that if the British Government would do this for a period of years—twenty-one, say—the Pacific Railway would be constructed, and Canada would be independent of the United States. He should be very sorry to see Canada in possession of the United States, and hoped it would never be severed from the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE said he would like to refer to the remarks of Mr. Fisher as to the Lower Canadians. He agreed with him as to their backwardness in many respects, but as his observations seemed to lead to the inference that they would be a party to the cutting adrift of Canada from the mother-country, he was obliged to dissent. He believed the feeling of loyalty among the French Canadians was as strong as that amongst any others. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Fisher had shown them fairly enough the reasons that would prevent their American neighbours as men of

sense from trying to annex Canada by force. Well, there were equally strong reasons to lead the Canadians altogether to repudiate any alteration in their present mode of government. If they were recommended to bring themselves under the Government of Washington, that would not be the means of giving them greater liberty than they had at present, but much the reverse. The feeling against the "Yankees" ever since 1812 had been very strong amongst the people of Lower Canada, and they would not do anything to bring themselves under the Government of the United States. Suppose they were to take the course suggested by Mr. Fisher as a consequence of some remarks made in the English newspapers and "cut themselves adrift," would they be in a better position than they were now? One-fifth of a population—the other four-fifths of which were of a different race and a different language, though not of different laws, as Mr. Fisher had said—would they be in a better position or have equal influence if forming one-fiftieth part only of the United States? Now they enjoyed equal privileges with other Canadians, and equal power in the government of the country; in fact, according to the views of some people, they possessed more power at the present time than they ever had. For all these reasons, he thought there was no fear of the French Canadians having any disposition to cut themselves adrift from the mother-country. Nor did he think that the feeling prevailed throughout other parts of the Dominion. He thought that the feeling of loyalty was so strong that a few remarks in newspapers, or a little coldness shown here and there towards Canadian individuals or interests, would not so offend the people of the Dominion as to cause them to cry out for separation from the mother-country. He had a far better opinion of the Canadians than to think that. With regard to what Dr. Fraser had said as to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, there were one or two points he should like to mention. Farther back than the time Dr. Fraser referred to—sixty years ago—the spring importations to Montreal were carried almost entirely by one vessel, the *Eweretta*. The two voyages that Dr. Fraser spoke of as being the customary rule in his time had not then been adopted. The vessel went up to Montreal, and then frequently struck her topmasts, stowed away her sails, and there stopped until the autumn, when she went off to sea again, thinking she had done very well if she had made one voyage in the year. This state of things was changed by greater energy and increased trade, and there came to be two voyages in the year regularly. The facilities for reaching Montreal were increased from time to time by not only deepening Lake St. Peter, but by the introduction of

steam, which enabled vessels to be towed up the strong current below Montreal. He remembered an instance before the introduction of steam in which two vessels came to the foot of that current. One vessel, which was slightly in advance of the other, made the passage of the current with a strong breeze, but the other could not follow, as the wind fell off just as she was about to enter the current, and she was obliged to come to anchor where she was. The first ship went back to England, took in another cargo, and on her return found her comrade still lying at the foot of the current, the wind having been continuously unfavourable. The steam-tugs had put a stop to this kind of thing, however. The facilities had so much increased, that instead of a vessel making one voyage a year, or the two voyages that Dr. Fraser had spoken of, two, three, and in some cases four, voyages had been made between Great Britain and Canada in the course of the short season that the ice allowed them. Dr. Fraser had said that the military element was very popular in Montreal. He thought the feeling was mutual, for he recollected seeing in a newspaper two years ago a list of officers in the army who had married Canadian young ladies during the previous ten years or so, and he thought they amounted to about fifty—(hear, hear)—so that the liking was certainly reciprocal. The Canadians liked the military, and the military liked the Canadians. In conclusion, he stated that the mails, which used formerly to be taken to Portland and sent through the United States, were now landed at Halifax, and taken entirely through British territory to Montreal and other parts of Canada.

Captain COLOMB wished to make a few remarks with regard to the matter contained in the last page of the interesting paper which had been read to them. In the very last paragraph there was an allusion to this Institute. "And," it said, "gives prominence to Colonial life and enterprise, and helps a Canadian as it helps an Australian." In the same paper there was a reference to the Pacific seaboard, and to intercolonial railways. It was not out of place at such a time as this to take a wider view of the interests of the Empire, and to attempt, if possible, to show that they could not rely on principles which were to govern a part of the Empire, and which did not touch the whole of it. With regard to the intercolonial railway, he should like to draw the attention of members and visitors present to the fact that that railway had in the future a very direct reference to Australia. He would tell them why, but would first offer them a suggestion. He was very seldom at their meetings, residing as he did a long way off, but he would suggest that when any paper referring to a Colony was read in that room,

there should be a map of the world hung up for reference. His reason for making the suggestion was that he found it difficult to explain and bring home in a simple way to those present why these railways were of interest to Australia, because he had not a Pacific seaboard before him. He would endeavour, at all events, to explain himself without a map. As a matter of finance and commerce, it was a question, he supposed, whether the railway would be satisfactory to Canada itself. The lecturer seemed to think that a young country like Canada should not be burdened with the cost of making a railway across to British Columbia. He agreed with that, but he wished to lead others to see that it was not a question only for that young country, but was a question of the future with regard to our Empire. He thought he should be able to explain that. Far to the west of British Columbia was another land bordering on the Pacific Ocean. In the year 1850 the nearest military post of Russia was 2,300 miles from the seaboard. She had no defended seaboard on the Pacific. In the year 1851, up the Amoor, a port was established, and in 1854 a military station was formed. An attempt was made to claim the island of Saghalien for Russia by a Russian officer in 1805. Objection was raised to the step by certain Powers, and the Russians said they did not mean to take it. The fact, however, was that Russia held it, and it was well to bear in mind that on a seaboard exactly opposite Vancouver Island, Russia had got 1,500 miles of seaboard. 2,300 miles up the Amoor steamers were built, the river was deep and wide, and, having built steamers, Russia pushed her way down and built a dockyard. Finding that N. vsky was shut up by ice for a large part of the year, and having acquired the island of Saghalien, she had moved her dockyard, which was now so much nearer Vancouver Island. In the *Times*, the other day, there appeared an article in which considerable alarm was expressed with regard to the defence of the Colonies, and that was the reason he was taking up so much of their time on this subject. The places on the coast had been named after the French commanders, who, above all the people in the world, had given us the greatest trouble. She had a seaboard, a dockyard, and a mass of coal, on the island he had mentioned, opposite Vancouver Island. Down the Amoor the current ran very fast, and there were numerous military posts there. She had constructed railways pushing out from St. Petersburg towards the Amoor, and had put up a line of telegraph posts between her capital and Nikolaiivsky, and any information from St. Petersburg could be made known on the Amoor in the course of a few minutes. There were extraordinary facilities for pushing troops down the Amoor, and when

they got down the river what protection was there for British Columbia? They might take it that there was some ground for alarm with regard to British Columbia. All these things had been carried out in Russia for Imperial purposes. She did not say to Siberia, "You are a little place, and a railway will not pay, and therefore you need not make it." She made the railway for the sake of the whole Empire, and, having made it, could concentrate a force in British Columbia which we should find it hard to contest. There were at present only two ways of reaching British Columbia in order to check an attack upon it, and one was by way of the Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean, and the other was by way of Cape Horn. In 1854, it must be remembered, we were beaten in that quarter of the world. He thought they would agree with him that what he had said was worth consideration, and that it would be seen that, unless the Colonies were protected from attack in this quarter, they would not be able to answer for Australia in the future. The intercolonial railway was a matter of importance to the whole nation and Empire. (Cheers.)

The Duke of MANCHESTER: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I certainly regret that anyone here should entertain the opinion that it is desirable, or even possible, for the Dominion of Canada, of which we are all so proud, to be cut adrift from Great Britain. I do not complain at all of Mr. Fisher expressing his opinions. We are very glad to hear all opinions of the kind stated; in fact, in this instance I think what Mr. Fisher said was very useful, because it gave opportunity for reply, and the expression of very loyal sentiments and gratifying hopes also. Still, I am sorry that Mr. Fisher should entertain these opinions, and I hope that the replies he received may have some effect in checking them. Dr. Fraser alluded to the fact that emigrants had lately been returning from America—especially from the United States, but also from Canada, This, I believe, is correct. He attributed it to the slackness of trade at present, but he also intimated that he thought it possible that emigration might be overdone, and that it would be desirable to give time to the Dominion to absorb the emigrants before there was any further great pressure of emigration to it. But I am happy to say that, though there may not be such facilities at present for the absorption of labour on account of the slackness of trade, another description of emigration has been originated, and as it was partly suggested by myself, I hope it will be successful. It is a system which some of us have been working, and I think successfully, in New Zealand. I suggested it to Mr. White, emigration agent at Glasgow, and he has on a large piece of ground near one

of the lakes put up small cabins ready for the emigrants when they arrive. They find they have shelter, and have the land cleared of timber, and can at once commence working. They find also that the employers of labour are able to give them work at satisfactorily remunerative wages. This system has worked well in New Zealand, and I hope it will work in a satisfactory way in Canada, because there is no limit to the amount of emigration that can be introduced in that way, except as regards the capital that can be employed in bringing the people. There is another point which struck me very much when I was in Canada, and I should have been glad if some one better acquainted with the country had touched upon it. As you are all well aware, the subject of local taxation has been very much referred to of late in Parliament and in the public press, and several attempts have been made to deal with it. I have never seen any public reference, however, made to the system in force in Ontario. It seemed to me to be a simple, logical, and practical one, and I should have wished that someone better acquainted with it than myself had attempted to describe it; but perhaps you will allow me to take this opportunity of making some reference to it. I have been informed that the townships have an elective assembly, presided over by a reeve, and I think in some cases where the townships are large there is also a deputy-reeve. These reeves and deputy-reeves of the townships form the council for a county. Is that so? (A VOICE: Yes, that is right.) And then the province transmits the precept to this council for any sums that are required for provincial purposes, and the county transmits the precept to each township for its share *pro rata* of the provincial expenses plus the county expenses, which are levied by the township as a rate on property and income. In that way all classes of property and income contribute equally and fairly, as it seems to me, to the different expenses of the country. (Hear, hear.) I mentioned that subject to a society in England, called the Local Taxation Society, but they don't seem to take much notice of it—they don't seem to introduce it into England. Some mention was made of the farms in Ontario. I am glad to be able to bear my testimony to the excellence of the farming there—about Hamilton especially. A most valuable country it seemed to me. I will not trouble you with any further remarks, but in your name will thank Dr. Fraser for his very able and interesting paper. (Hear, hear.)

REV. DR. FRASER, in acknowledging the compliment, said he had come at some inconvenience from Liverpool to read the paper, and he earnestly hoped that the little effort he had made to bring the subject before the meeting would be kindly accepted. He had not

done justice to the subject, and he did not profess to be *au fait* with the present aspect of Canadian affairs. He made a point of reading the Canadian papers every week, and kept up a close correspondence with Canada, and he rejoiced unfeignedly in every evidence he saw in public men in England of awakened interest in that very important part of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

The HON. SECRETARY said for the future there should be in the room in which their meetings were held a map of the world, with the Colonies distinctly marked on it.
