


*The* OXFORD COURSE *in*  
**CANADIAN  
HISTORY** 



*The* NEW DAY



THE MAKERS OF CANADA  
LIMITED  
TORONTO

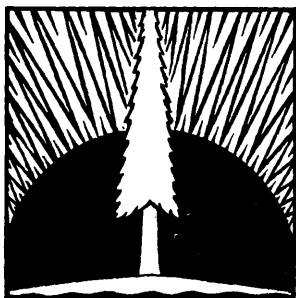


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CANADIAN HISTORY  
BOOK 11



NEW CANADIANS

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# THE OXFORD COURSE IN CANADIAN HISTORY

THE NEW DAY

## INTRODUCTION

**L**IKE the old explorers we have taken a voyage on the high seas of the Canadian Adventure, and our journey now draws to its end. Perhaps to some of our readers the journey has been one through hitherto uncharted regions. This study may be to such the beginning of a new and larger view of what it means to be a Canadian. Part of the fascination of the history of this young country lies in the fact that while, on the one hand, its history is an epitome in brief of most of the problems which have shaped the fate of the older civilization of Europe, yet, on the other hand, the history has a forward aspect. Like Milton's splendid image of the eagle, "mewing its mighty youth," Canada, to him who seeks to understand the meaning of its history, is but gathering its strength for such a flight as shall leave its past heights far

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behind. But whatever future greatness and prosperity may be in store for this country will depend wholly upon the intelligent co-operation of the individual citizen. Although great names tower above the stature of the plain man, yet the true foundation of Canada's achievement lies in the steadfastness of unnamed pioneers who fought the first battles with the untamed wilderness.

While much of the material wilderness has been tamed, there is still work for the pioneer in making new paths for the spirit of man, trails that may require a courage, even greater than the courage of a La Salle or a Fraser to blaze through the wildernesses of the spirit. In this final study we shall deal with some of the problems which are likely to occupy the attention of Canadian statesmen in the future. The Great War made many changes, both in men's minds and on the map of the world. One of the greatest changes that concerned Canada and the other dominions within the Empire was the nature of the relation between Great Britain and her daughter states. This we shall deal with first. Then there is the ever-present problem of immigration



## PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE

and settlement, and the need of a far-seeing and consistent policy in this respect. Next we shall touch on the somewhat delicate question of the relations between Eastern and Western Canada. The last two subjects will be the much-vexed bilingual question and the industrial future of Canada. There are, of course, many more aspects of Canada's future that might be discussed, but these are chosen as typical of problems that require some of the qualities of vision, courage and patience that have already been so signally displayed in the various stages of the Canadian Adventure.

The reader will still find many things in *The Makers of Canada* bearing on the problems of the future. Lord Selkirk's views on immigration, Elgin on the French-Canadian problem, the speeches of the Fathers of Confederation, and especially Sir Wilfred Laurier's speeches, will all be found to contain valuable material throwing light on the future of Canada. But in the main the reader will be obliged to extend his reading outside *The Makers of Canada*.

The last six chapters of Professor Kennedy's "The Constitution of Can-

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ada," contain a valuable discussion on the first of our subjects. A useful little book for the purpose of this study is "The New Era in Canada," edited by the Rev. J. O. Miller, late Principal of Ridley College. Another helpful book is "The Canadian Provinces, their Problems and Policies," by John Nelson.

### I. CANADA AND THE EMPIRE

This subject involves both the question of Canada's place in the Empire and the possible lines of development of its internal political structure.

It is not easy to realize how important have been the changes in Canada's relation to the mother country since the achievement of confederation. Fifty years ago, to quote Professor Kennedy's words—"The Dominion was still heavily shackled even in domestic affairs. Legislation was still liable to disallowance. The governor-general was specially instructed to reserve certain classes of bills, and he possessed the right of pardon, a prerogative which the Crown in England no longer enjoyed. There was no Canadian control over British immigration. The position of defence was still doubtful

## MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

with the presence of imperial soldiers and with an imperial officer in command of Canadian forces. There was no supreme court at Ottawa. Needless to say Canada had little or no voice in international affairs."

This lucid summary shows to what an extent Canada was dependent on the mother country. Her freedom of action was limited in all three branches of government, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial spheres of activity. Since 1875 when Edward Blake became Minister of Justice Canada has slowly acquired an increasing measure of freedom until the word autonomy, or self-government, has come to denote a reality in Canadian national life.

We have already seen in our studies on "The Political Development of Canada," and "The Fathers of Confederation," the steps by which Canada attained a full measure of responsible government. Before we speak of the main lines of advance which now lie open to the Dominion it may be helpful to give the reader a brief outline of the machinery of Dominion and Provincial government as it exists to-day.

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1. *The Dominion Government.* The Dominion government, like that of the mother country, consists of the threefold division into executive, legislative and judicial.

The executive consists of the governor-general, who now occupies precisely the same position in relation to Canada that the crown holds in Great Britain, and the cabinet of 18 members.

The legislative consists of the Upper House or Senate, with 96 members, and the Lower, or House of Commons with 245 members.

The distribution of members according to provinces is as follows:

	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House of Commons</i>
Ontario	24	82
Quebec	24	65
Nova Scotia	10	14
New Brunswick	10	11
Manitoba	6	17
British Columbia	6	14
Prince Edward Is.	4	4
Saskatchewan	6	21
Alberta	6	16
Yukon		1

## THE CONSTITUTION

Membership of the Senate is for life, by recommendation of the prime minister, subject to the formal approval of the Crown. No member of the Senate can sit in the House of Commons.

Membership of the House of Commons is, of course, elective, and the electoral districts are subject to revision every ten years.

The dominion franchise, which is now the same as the provincial, is open to all British subjects by birth or naturalization, irrespective of sex, of full age, not being Indians ordinarily resident on an Indian reservation.

The judicial part of the machine consists of the dominion judges of the Supreme Court, the Exchequer Court, and the Admiralty division.

The powers of the Dominion government, instead of being defined in detail, as in the Constitution of the United States, cover all departments not defined as belonging to the Provincial government.

The limits of the powers of the Provincial legislatures will be found in detail in Cap. VI. of the British North America Act, Sections 92-5. The text

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may be consulted in Professor Kennedy's "The Constitution of Canada," pages 474-8.

2. *The Provincial Governments.* In the main these are modelled on the same plan, except that the only provinces possessing Upper or Second Chambers are Quebec and Nova Scotia. the latter province is about to abolish its second chamber at the time of writing, (January, 1928). The provinces carry on their own internal affairs, and by their elected representatives have also a voice, proportionate to their population, in the affairs of the Dominion.

The subject of the working of the constitutional machine is too large to deal with here, but any reader who wishes to go further into it may pursue the study with the help of the Oxford Correspondence Course, particulars of which may be obtained from "The Makers of Canada, Ltd.," Toronto, the publishers of these studies.

## II. AUTONOMY

The goal towards which Canada has steadily been pressing since Confederation is autonomy, or complete self-

## THE QUESTION OF STATUS

government. Gradually she has acquired the right to make her own trade treaties with other nations, to settle matters relating to her own defence, to decide for herself whether she shall make war or refrain from it. She has her own Supreme Court to which appeals may come from lower courts. It is still possible to take appeals to the Privy Council and the Judicial Committee, but the tendency of the Home authorities is to discourage such appeals.

The most significant advances in "status," however, pointing to the direction in which Canada is moving, are:

- (1) The inclusion of Canada as an original member in the League of Nations, with a vote in the assembly of the League, and the right to be represented there by three delegates. A further and still more significant privilege is the right of Canada to have a representative chosen from time to time as a member of the permanent council of the League. While many constitutional points remain to be cleared up, the events following the war have thrown a

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fresh light on Canada's status as a nation.

- (2) The appointment for the first time of a minister, in the person of Mr. Vincent Massey, representing Canada at Washington.
- (3) The proposal to make similar appointments at Paris and Tokio.

Nothing could illustrate more clearly how far Canada has advanced along the road of nationhood since Confederation. Her place in the league indicates her recognition as a member of the "Commonwealth of Nations," possessing equal status with the high contracting powers whose representatives signed the Treaty of Versailles. The appointment of a minister to the most important capitals of the world indicates the full assumption by Canada of the right to control her own foreign relations. From the point of view of Canada's relation to the mother country each of these aspects of advance signifies not a greater degree of detachment but a fuller co-operation in the general aims of the Empire, a co-operation only the more weighty in that it results from Canada's complete autonomy.

The best and clearest account of the



### INTERNAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE

growth of Canadian autonomy will be found in the concluding chapters of Professor Kennedy's book, "The Constitution of Canada." Chapter XXI. is specially important, and the book itself is indispensable to anyone who wishes to understand the subject thoroughly.

### III. INTERNAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE

It is not necessary to regard the internal political structure of the country as exempt from the same process of growth and development that we have seen at work in its relations to the Empire. In a general sense the main lines of change have followed the direction of development in Great Britain. There has been the same steady broadening of the basis of the franchise, and in all probability universal suffrage is not far ahead. In England the old party lines have become blurred, and there is a tendency toward the French system of *blocs*, or groups, a system to which the constitutional machinery will not adapt itself without considerable change. In Canada there are signs of a similar change. Indications are not wanting that a Labour

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party is slowly forming. The farmers of the West tend to constitute a group that does not fall into the old lines of party cleavage. The effect of such changes is difficult to foresee, and in Canada there is the added complication of a dual parliamentary system, the federal and the provincial, so that, for example, we have a Liberal government in power in Ottawa and a Conservative government in Ontario.

A condition which applies both to political and municipal institutions and which is very hard to eradicate is the lack of interest in the responsibilities of citizenship. This is demonstrated by the small proportion of the population exercising its right of voting in dominion, provincial or municipal elections. In a country whose population is bound to contain a large portion of foreigners unfamiliar with Anglo-Saxon ideas and methods of government, there is only one remedy, education. An increasing amount of instruction in the significance of Canadian history and of the institutions which Canada has inherited is the greatest need of our public system of education to-day. In his essay on "The

## THE IDEAL STATE

Foundations of the New Era," Sir Clifford Sifton has well expressed the ideal to be aimed at—"The foundations of the New Era should be the best electorate we can get, the cleanest elections that we can get, the best constitution that we can get, and the freest political thought that we can get. The ideal State is that in which all the citizens, without exception, have the opportunity of living a sane, clean and civilized life, partaking of at least all the necessary comforts provided by modern science, and enjoying the opportunity of spiritual and intellectual improvement. To build such a State should be the ambition of the young men of Canada. To achieve success there must be sober and earnest combat with every false economic standard which militates against the ideal. There must be a determination to force political parties to get out of the ruts of the past forty years and initiate constructive legislation. None of the evils which affect older countries has, as yet, secured a firm hold upon Canada. They can all be uprooted and destroyed. We are still masters of our own destiny. May that destiny be a great and noble one."

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### IV. PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

The area of the world's surface available for settlement by inhabitants accustomed to a temperate climate is rapidly shrinking. Canada is one of the countries still containing vast uninhabited tracts. During the years immediately preceding the war, immigration rose to nearly half a million per annum. The system of bonussing the steamship companies led to the dumping upon Canadian shores of a large number of aliens who were mentally and physically defective and who have since constituted a serious burden upon the community. Moreover, while a large number of the admitted aliens have proved excellent settlers, nevertheless the presence of a numerous group ignorant of the language, laws, and customs of the country in which they have settled, constitutes a very serious problem. Hence the two main aspects of immigration to which the attention of the Canadian citizen should be turned in the future, are admission and assimilation.

## IMMIGRATION POLICY

Under the head of problems of admission come the following:

(a) The need of proper disinterested inspection at the various ports of embarkation to secure a definite standard of mental and physical fitness and an assurance of economic adaptability.

(b) The need of regulating the proportion of races. A rigid quota system has been shown to work great hardship and injustice in the States, but some means of securing a preponderance of British immigrants of good quality is greatly needed.

(c) An adjustment of the classes of immigrants to industrial needs. An increase in city population is not the real aim of a sound immigration policy. It is the filling of the unsettled parts of the country with suitable settlers. The earlier years of immigration brought in from central Europe a large number of unskilled labourers. As long as railway and canal construction were proceeding these could be absorbed, but any sudden cessation of public works is liable to produce an excess of unemployed men. This aspect of the admission problem is

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also part of the problem of assimilation. The latter involves:

- (a) The necessity of educating foreigners who are admitted, in the English language, and in the political and social customs of Canada.
- (b) The proper distribution of the new settlers.
- (c) The right length of time necessary to acquire citizenship. This should not be granted too soon, since an uneducated citizenship is the easy prey of political manipulators.

In British Columbia the admission of Orientals constitutes an immigration problem peculiar to that province and calls for special consideration and legislation. The report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment, deals with all these immigration questions and contains very valuable recommendations.

## V. EAST AND WEST

The East is old, comparatively speaking, while the West is young. The cities of the East are the great manufacturing and banking centres of Canada. The main interest of the West at present is agriculture. Hence the questions at

## EAST AND WEST

issue between the East and West arise—

(a) From the fact that the credit of Canada is concentrated in the East and that the western farmer finds credit costly to obtain.

(b) From the fact that the vital link between West and East is formed by the railway, and the western farmer has reason to believe that the railways are administered in the interests of eastern manufacturers and shareholders rather than in the interests of cheap and rapid transit of his farm produce.

(c) From the fact that the tariff policy of Canada seems to the western farmer to be dictated by the same eastern interests.

Anyone from the east who visits the prairie provinces will quickly become aware of the state of feeling prevalent there. In all probability the exploitation of the mineral resources of the West and North-west will in time redress the balance and bring capital and manufacturers to the West. But the great task for the present is the removal of misunderstanding. The history of the great American republic shews what disasters may arise through want of

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timely understanding. The great cause of misunderstanding is want of full knowledge. One of the chief aims of this course is to serve the growth of nationhood by distributing as widely as possible the knowledge that removes misunderstandings.

In "The New Era in Canada," a very able article by the late Sir Edmund Walker, entitled East and West, discusses with great insight, and the sympathy born of knowledge, these problems that exist and which must be solved in the knitting together of East and West into "one great commonwealth from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes and the 49th parallel to the Arctic Seas."

The reader is specially referred to this valuable discussion of these vital problems, while he will also find in the life of Laurier, Vol. XI. of *The Makers of Canada* abundant material throwing light on the growth of these problems.

### VI. THE BILINGUAL QUESTION

In various parts of Canada, especially in the West many different languages may be heard, while settlements in



## THE BILINGUAL QUESTION

Manitoba and the other prairie provinces speak Ruthenian, Galician or Ukrainian. In certain quarters of the larger cities the passer-by may hear voluble conversations being carried on in Italian, Yiddish or even Chinese. But none of these languages create a bilingual problem for Canada. Some of the districts where Central European immigrants have settled may be bilingual for a generation, but the next generation will speak English, and the third generation will have forgotten the tongue of their origin. The bilingual question is of deeper origin. As we have seen, its roots go back to the first settlement of Canada by the French. When the treaty of Paris gave Canada to England the French with their language, religion and social customs had occupied the country for a century and a half, a period almost as long as the subsequent British occupation.

The French settlements were not confined to Quebec, but, as a glance at the map of racial distribution will show, occupied extensive regions in western Ontario and in Manitoba. When Canada passed into British possession the French were secured by the Quebec Act

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in full enjoyment of their language and religion, rights which subsequent legislation confirmed. The act which consummated the great achievement of confederation, the British North America Act of 1867, placed French and English on a footing of absolute equality in the transaction of public business in the federal parliament and law courts. Federal laws were to be published in English and French. But as far as the provinces and their administration were concerned, Quebec was the only province recognized as bilingual by the Act. When the province of Manitoba was created and constituted a part of the Dominion in 1870, it also was recognized as a bilingual area. In the course of time it came to be accepted as a fact that Quebec was a French-speaking province with an English-speaking minority while Ontario was an English-speaking province with a French minority. Gradually certain historical situations arose which stirred up racial and religious differences in Ontario, and the belief grew up that the French were seeking to capture Ontario for their language and religion. The statistics shewing what a small proportion of

## THE BONNE ENTENTE

Ontario's population are French, demonstrate the groundlessness of such a belief.

But the appearance of Regulation 17, in 1912, by which the Ontario Board of Education ordered that all pupils in Ontario Government Schools, or Separate Schools must learn English, and that French should be limited to the first form, and apparently providing that no new schools should teach French, raised a violent storm of protest. The situation was strained to the utmost by the war, and the part played by certain Quebec nationalist politicians in that crisis.

The situation has now become easier. The formation of an association called the Bonne Entente intended to promote understanding between the French and English-speaking people of Quebec and Ontario has done much to remove friction. But the true remedy, as in the case of the causes of friction between East and West, lies in fuller knowledge. A complete understanding of the history of the two races in Canada can only lead to an appreciation of the gifts and qualities of each and to a recognition of the contribution that each race has made, and can make in the future, to the growth

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and prosperity of Canada. The reader will find a full and sympathetic account of the causes of the bilingual dispute in the life of Laurier, in Vol. XI. of *The Makers of Canada*. An excellent summary of the history of the bilingual question will also be found in the article by Professor G. M. Wrong, in "The New Era in Canada," entitled, "The Bilingual Question."

### VII. THE INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF CANADA

At the present time of writing all the financial experts unite in predicting an era of unprecedented prosperity for Canada now beginning. The world is slowly recovering from the wounds of a great war, a series of bumper harvests have given confidence to the West and stirred the sluggish veins of national credit. The ill-omened term "enemy-nations" is disappearing and the purchasing power of Europe is slowly returning. The discovery and exploitation of Canada's natural resources is proceeding apace. At the present time there is a movement in mining stocks such as has never been

## WARNING BEACONS

known before, and this is not due to market manipulation but corresponds to a real and immense increase in actual development of new sources of supplies. Trade figures shew a marked and steady increase in production.

It is, of course, beyond our scope to predict the industrial future of Canada, and it belongs to the province of economics to analyze the conditions upon which Canada's future prosperity depends, but the historian's main interest is to discern and point out the possible dangers that lie in wait for any nation entering upon a career of industrial greatness. Some of these we have already seen by implication, sectionalism, provincialism, and all narrow and partial views arising from ignorance.

But there are two beacons, warning fires, to which everyone whose horizon extends beyond his own individual life and its concerns will not fail to take heed. One is provided by the present burden under which the Mother-country is labouring, the other by the United States of America. The general strike was only a symptom, serious enough, of an evil in the body politic which threatens to in-

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volve the whole civilized world in a catastrophe more fatal than the Great War. It was the abortive culmination of the long struggle in England between Labour and Capital. The English way of muddling through, of applying palliatives, has brought the national situation to a dangerous pass, and we are not concerned here with the measures that may be necessary to go to the root of the trouble. For us in Canada the main point is that the country is sufficiently young in industrial development to avoid being brought to the same pass. The Labour party in Canada is in its infancy and a definite class-consciousness has hardly arisen. But it cannot be too soon to take thought to prevent the disastrous cleavage between the two essential elements of prosperity in the country that we can see in Europe.

Here again knowledge is imperatively demanded. The industrial history of England is full of lessons for Canada.

In the United States the warning is less obvious, and the danger more insidious. The general prosperity, high rate of wages, absence of unemployment, and a greater measure of humanity in

## THE FUNCTION OF HISTORY

the relations between employers and employees, have prevented, as yet, any sharp cleavage between Capital and Labour. But in the judgment of discerning American critics vast and rapid accumulation of wealth beyond imagination in so short a space of time, distributed among a heterogeneous population with little cultural tradition of spiritual values, has produced effects in the body politic which they view with alarm. In their judgment it has distorted values, produced false standards of life, a material criterion of success, which must in the end lead to decay.

It is no business of ours to judge another nation, only to watch and learn the lessons written large for those who have eyes to see.

In the end the function of history, one of the most valuable aspects of human knowledge, is to provide a basis for the formation of true standards of judgment, to teach men what is good and what is evil in the long sure judgment of time.

## EPILOGUE

We have come to the end of our course. But we hope it may prove the beginning

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of study to many who will use it. *The Makers of Canada* is the material offered for study, a truly fascinating story of the growth of a nation. We venture to hope that with the help of trails blazed in these booklets many readers may be induced to venture further afield, and either singly, or better still in groups, follow up lines of study suggested by their reading. There are many fascinating fields, further historical and political studies, the immensely important study of Economics, Anthropology, specially interesting to Canadians as a study of their own aborigines, Geography and Geology in their modern applications, literature and a thousand other delightful adventures. In many of these directions those responsible for the correspondence courses which we hope may grow out of this historical course will be only too glad to provide guidance and assistance. For information regarding these courses the reader may apply to *The Makers of Canada, Ltd.*, Toronto, the publishers of these studies.

*The Editor.*





