A. M. D. G.

LORD DURHAM'S POLICY

Viewed in the Light

of

PRESENT DAY CANADA

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By

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When the writer of these pages arrived in Canada to take up the profession of teaching, her stock of knowledge regarding this country was very meagre. It consisted of stories of the Red Indians, of the Jesuit Martyrs, of the Conquest of Canada by the English. Hence she was obliged to devote much time to the study of Canadian history. This study soon became very fascinating, more so perhaps from the fact that as the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were about to be formed there was much discussion concerning the powers and rights of these twin children of Confederation. Full of interest, the writer consulted all available texts, only to find that in this department of History as in all others there were many contradictory statements. Then someone advised the reading of Lord Durham's Report as a means of getting at the bottom of things. The advice was carried out to the letter, but the bottom of things was not reached, at least not directly. The reading, however, led to the desire of finding out how much of the Report was reliable and how much, pure fiction.

As months and years went by it was the writer's good fortune to come into contact with many persons of the French Canadian nationality. The outcome of this acquaintance was the conclusion that the English lord who wrote in such a strain about the 'inferiority' of the French Canadians and of their disloyalty had not gone to the right source for his information. A second and a third reading of
the above document confirmed the first conclusion which the experience and study of years have only strengthened.

In what related to other topics, the statements of the Report seems fair enough, though it must be conceded that many of the suggestions had been made before the Commissioner set foot in Canada. Nevertheless, to this official may be given the credit of having summarized the chief wants of the Canadas and of having drawn the attention of the British Parliament to the need for reform in the methods of governing these provinces.

We who live at a time when Canada is in full enjoyment of Federal Government find it difficult to realize the condition of affairs that existed about a century ago.

In 1838 when Lord Durham was sent out from England as Governor General and High Commissioner to study the situation in the two Canadas, he found himself face to face with a state of things which was more than sufficient to discourage the ablest of statesmen.

So many vexatious and complicated problems were to be solved, that in reading of them one is forcibly reminded of the old story of a poor girl who has been given a room full of tangled silk of various colours to disentangle and to arrange in neat skeins according to colour and texture. Utterly discouraged at the prospect before her she was about
to give way to despair when suddenly a good fairy appeared with whose timely help the work was accomplished to the entire satisfaction of an exacting mistress.

No good fairy, however, came to assist Lord Durham in his still more arduous task of disentangling the knotty skein of politics which had been assigned him by the Imperial Government. His task as High Commissioner was "the adjustment of certain important questions respecting the form and future government of the two provinces."

The members of the said Imperial Government were not thoroughly conversant with Canadian affairs. For this they were only partly to blame. Communications between Canada and England were not at that time what they are now; many weeks had to elapse before detailed despatches could be exchanged, and even then, these despatches were often so untrustworthy that little reliance could be placed on them.

Is it, then, any wonder that in endeavoring to carry out the instructions given him, Lord Durham had the misfortune to break threads or to increase the number of knots? When such was the case his exacting employer, or shall we say employers, disavowed his acts, whereupon he handed in his resignation and returned to England towards the close of the same year, 1838.

Meanwhile he had begun to draw up the famous Report which he completed after arriving in his native country.
From the day of its publication until the present, this Report has been the object of widely varying criticism. Some writers laud to the skies the statements it contains and the policy it advocates; others can find no words strong enough to express their condemnation of everything connected with it. Between these extreme views there are as many degrees of praise and blame as there are critics agreeing or disagreeing with this English statesman.

"But Durham had a statesman's vision; he could look beyond the factious cries of the day into a future obscure to dullards. He could see on the one hand a Canada held down by fear and force, distracted by racial strife, with the French population held in subjection to the Loyalists, and all things under the arbitrament of irresponsible governors. Out of this he could see only chronic discontent, and armed and costly peace, and finally union with the United States. On the other hand he saw a fairer vision; A Canada governed by itself, A Colony where freedom should beget loyalty and where a profounder peace should be maintained by good will and consent rather than by the sword of the dragoon."

(Introduction to Lord Durham's Report, Methuen, London, 1902)

"The report of the noble lord is a sentence of death. He speaks without anger, he writes coldly....he is frank, loyal in his work of extermination. (of the French Canadians) (L'Union des Deux Canadas. L. O. David.)

These two extracts give a fair idea of the contents
of the report and of the policy which it advocated:

Responsible government for Canada—Extermination of the French Canadian race. Connected with these points were suggestions as to the means whereby they could be brought to a successful issue, and of securing their permanence. These means were: Union of the Two Canadas, and a possible union of all the British North American provinces; the establishment of local municipal government; immigration of English speaking people; construction of an intercolonial railway.

Let us examine this policy and these means in the light of present day Canada.


Regarding the advisability of granting responsible government the Report contains the following statements:-

"It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British Constitution, and introduce into the government of these great Colonies those wise provisions, by which alone the working representative system can, in any country, be rendered harmonious and efficient."

"The Crown must submit to the necessary consequence of representative institutions; and if it has to carry on the Government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence."

"The responsibility to the united legislature of all officers of the Government except the Governor and his secretary, should be secured by every
means known to the British Constitution. The Governor, as the representative of the Crown, should be instructed that he must carry on his government by heads of departments, in whom the united legislature shall repose confidence; and that he must look for no support from home in any contest with the legislature, except on points involving strictly Imperial interests."

The responsibility of the Executive should be limited to such legislation as does not "directly involve the relations between the mother country and the colony;"

Concerning this the Report continues:--

".....I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere with their (the Colonies') internal legislation in matters which do not affect their relations with the mother country............... The colonists may not always know what laws are best for them or which of their countrymen are fittest for conducting their affairs; but at least they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire."

The change which Lord Durham recommends is one "which would simply amount to this, that the Crown would henceforth consult the wishes of the people in the choice of its servants." From the above quotations it is evident that the English Lord strongly advocated the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislative body.
To speak of representation without such responsibility, he most emphatically declared to be nonsensical waste of words. This declaration was nought else than the upholding of the justice of the cause for which both Lower and Upper Canada had been struggling for half a century.

The course of events since 1839 has justified the statements made by Lord Durham concerning the advisability and feasibility of establishing responsible government in Canada.

In the first session of the united Assembly in 1841 the following resolutions were voted:— "Parliament should exercise a positive influence over the departments of the Executive." "The members of this Council should enjoy the confidence of the majority." It seems strange to us living in the twentieth century, accustomed as we are to take responsibility as a matter of course, that such words should have been spoken less than a hundred years ago. But in 1841 English statesmen in general, feared that responsibility would be but a step to the absolute independence of the Colonies. A perusal of the documents written about that time reveals an astonishing amount of ignorance and prejudice concerning such matters. In justice to Lord Durham, however, it must be said that he was ahead of his countrymen in his views. History has set the seal of approval on his statements as to the necessity and feasibility of a responsible Executive. Responsible Government is an accomplished fact.
Has it made us less loyal to the British Empire? On the contrary has it not drawn closer the bonds that unite Canada to Britain? Now that the daughter has attained her majority is she not both more able and more willing to support her mother, and are not both better off for the development of their mutual relations?

In Canada as in the other democratic self-governing Dominions, the corner stone of the Constitution is the responsibility of the Executive to the people. It was in Canada that the evolution from a colonial dependency to a self-governing nation was worked out first in the British Dominions. It was the development of responsible government that made Confederation possible; that made possible also the subsequent growth and expansion of the Dominion. In all that pertains to our domestic and external relations our Parliament now enjoys a freedom comparable to that of England. Step by step the people have advanced in the way of self-government, until at the present moment the Dominion holds a prominent position among the 'autonomous communities within the British Empire.'

However, when Lord Durham recommended the granting of responsible government, and of complete control over local affairs, it is probable that he did not accurately gauge the measure to which this control would extend.

Responsibility of the Executive once obtained, Canada could and did develop along national lines, as is shown by the fact that to-day she is a nation within a
nation, bound to England rather as a staunch ally than as a possession, paying allegiance to the same monarch, having similar government institutions, but as free to guide her own destinies as is the English Parliament to direct those of England.

What though Canada, unlike Australia, South Africa and New Zealand has not the power to alter her written Constitution, the British North America Act, but must ask legislation concerning this from the Imperial Parliament: The latter will never refuse to act in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Canadian people. In other words, Canada enjoys absolute autonomy.

Yes, Canada, the 'group of huts', now a group of Provinces, has become a nation and as such, occupies at the present time a most advantageous position beside the other nations whose existence dates from several centuries back.

Her relations from various points of view, political, commercial and industrial are no longer simply national nor even inter-imperial but have become in the fullest sense of the word, international. Like the other British self-governing Dominions, Canada is associated with England as a member of the political society of English nations, according to the definition of the Imperial Conference of 1926.

As a free nation Canada took part in the Great War; as a free nation therefore she had her say in the Peace
Settlement. Throughout the political world our country is ever winning more recognition, as was strikingly manifested at the League of Nations. There we see a Canadian, yea, even a French Canadian, Senator Raoul Dandurand, presiding over the sessions of this great World Council.

In the Capital of the United States, Canada has an official representative to look after the interests of the Dominion in so far as the relations between the Republic and said Dominion are concerned.

Had Lord Durham devoted all his attention and energy to securing "the admission of the all-important principle that the ministry advising the Governor should possess the confidence of the representatives of the people", he would have avoided increasing the number of knots in the already much tangled threads, or rather he might have had the credit of having drawn order out of chaos.

Unfortunately, the High Commissioner was of a character too febrile to 'make haste slowly' and instead of seeking the causes of the existing evil where they could be found, he took the word of a few persons interested in hiding the real state of affairs and he made their statements the basis of his report. This is especially the case as to what refers to Lower Canada. Practically all commentators on this Report agree that its writer deals very unfairly with the French Canadians.
On reading his statements regarding them one can but draw the conclusion that he did not form his judgments from personal acquaintance with members of the race, but rather, as has been said above, gathered his information from a very unreliable source—the prejudiced assertions of the bitter opponents, not to say the sworn enemies of the French Canadian. This hostility is a stain on a policy otherwise replete with common-sense and insight into political affairs.

Lord Durham insisted on the necessity of continuing representative government; he insisted on the necessity of making the Executive Power responsible to the representatives of the people. Yes, he insisted on all this, but appears to have been concerned only for the English Canadians. Not only would he deprive the French of the benefits he would secure for the English, but he would wish to obliterate every trace of anything pertaining to the heroic pioneers of Canada. What are his statements in reference to this matter:

"Without effecting the change so rapidly or so roughly as to shock the feelings and trample on the welfare of the existing generation, it must henceforth be the first and steady purpose of the British Government to establish an English population with English laws and language in this Province (Lower Canada), and to trust its government to none but a decidedly English Legislature."

Further on he states:

"The only power that can be effectual
at once in coercing the present
disaffection and hereafter obliterating
the nationality of the French Canadians, is that of a numerical
majority of a loyal and English population."

He thought that the French Canadian population
could be completely swamped and he suggested various
infallible (?) means for bringing about this result.
Among the means to be employed was the encouragement of
English immigration. A constant flow of immigrants would,
Lord Durham thought, soon cause the French Canadians to be
outnumbered and thus slowly but surely, their race would die
a natural death.

Were the expectations of the High Commissioner
realized? Far from it! The French Canadian has not been
absorbed, nor fused, nor confused, nor wiped out of existence.
A race is not killed by the stroke of the pen, nor can a
people of such high moral stamina as the French Canadian ever
be destroyed as long as it is faithful to its noble
traditions.

"Ces gens sont d'une race
Que ne sait pas mourir."

Immigrants may enter the country in ever increas-
ing numbers, but the reverence which is cherished for family
life among the children of French descent in Canada will
suffice to counterbalance the lack of increase from a source
on which they cannot count.
What does present day Canada show us? On the banks of the St. Lawrence, from the Laurentides to the southern frontier, from the Peninsula of Gaspe to the banks of the Ottawa, there live about two million French Canadians, strong in the faith, the language and traditions of their noble ancestors.

From the banks of the St. Lawrence this race has sent forth its children to all the other parts of our immense Dominion so that to-day in every province the French Canadian population is comparatively large.

In Ontario, whose soil was consecrated by the blood of the Blessed Jesuit Martyrs, there are over a quarter of a million persons of the same racial origin. Yes, such are their numbers in the very province whose leaders once dreamt of obliterating the nationality of the French Canadian, of wiping off from the face of British North America every trace of anything French.

Going farther west we find about one-hundred thousand children of old Quebec scattered over the immense Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Here as elsewhere they preserve their mentality, their language and their traditions, in spite of the fact that they are living among people whose mentality, language and traditions are totally different.

Crossing the Rockies we notice that even in the far distant province of British Columbia some hundreds of
French Canadians have settled, and are there as elsewhere a real asset to the region.

The above figures do not include the vast numbers of the same race who have made their homes over the borders of Canada, in the State of Maine, nor those who inhabit the Maritime Provinces. Truly the Canada of the present day shows that Lord Durham was far out in his calculations. The reason is not far to seek, Dr. J. C. Bracq in his excellent book "The Evolution of French Canada" has written some very interesting pages (Pages 14-17) concerning the prolificacy of the French Canadians. His statements are amply borne out in the Western provinces where the settlers from Quebec jealously guard the noble and sacred belief that a large family is a special blessing of the Creator. This glorious trait was quite recently held up for admiration and imitation by a non-Catholic clergyman of the West, in reply to certain misplaced remarks made concerning the great increase of the French Canadians in Saskatchewan. The said clergyman advised the complainants to take the proper means, the God-given means of increasing their own race.

In this connection it is interesting to read the following in 'L'Histoire du Canada' by the Reverend Brothers of the Christian Schools:-

"The French Canadians are called to become a great nation. From sixty-five thousand at the end of the eighteenth century, their number is
actually more than two (now three) millions, an increase not coming from without, not to speak of the million who live near them on the other side of the frontier, in the United States. May it not be inferred that, if the development of the race follows the normal course, New France, at the end of the twentieth century will count from fifteen to twenty thousand million French Canadians?"

A later writer, the author of "Le Bouclier Canadien" gives the probable figure as sixty millions. Should these prophecies be verified there is little likelihood that immigration will succeed in swamping the French Canadian race.

To Lord Durham it appeared of paramount importance to do away with the French language. He was wise in his generation—"Take away the language, and the rest will gradually disappear. In the present day Canada, there are persons who also seem desirous to destroy the mother tongue of the French Canadians as far as Canada is concerned. Such persons would do well to spend some months in the British Isles, for the purpose of studying the question of languages in the very heart of the Empire to which they are justly proud to belong. There if anywhere should be "One Flag, One Nation, One Tongue."

But what is the situation there? In the Channel Islands, an English possession since the eleventh century, the language of the people is French. In Wales,
conquered by England in the fourteenth century, the vast majority of the inhabitants speak no other language than Welsh. In the Highlands of Scotland, owing allegiance to the King of England from the seventeenth century, the only language of daily intercourse is Gaelic. So natural and so agreeable is this state of affairs that the members of the sitting in Westminster would be struck with amazement were a delegation of patriotic zealots to request that Parliament pass a law forbidding the use in the British Isles of any other language than English. The delegates would most likely be asked by the astonished members of the House of Commons if they had come to sow among the great British family the seeds of racial discord and hatred. They would most emphatically be told that the principle guiding the British Government was one of fair play and justice, that this same Government did not intend to drive from their country all peace and contentment by the introduction of a policy so far from true patriotism. If the above mentioned delegates knew how to profit by these lessons of simple common-sense they would return to Canada changed men, and would set about the dissemination of ideas hitherto quite foreign to them and to some of their compatriots. Then in this fair land of promise, a land which has a glorious future before it, all would live in a blissful harmony like members of one great brotherhood. With but a little goodwill and spirit of conciliation, life would be made very pleasant for all the
inhabitants of Canada, racial prejudice would vanish and would be replaced by the Christian spirit of mutual consideration engendered by fraternal love.

In connection with this part of the policy of Lord Durham, the following quotations are of interest. They are taken from an address delivered by Sir George Etienne Cartier during the campaign which preceded the Confederation of the Canadian Provinces:

"Some parties--through the press and by other modes--pretended that it was impossible to carry out federation, on account of the differences of races and religions. Those who took this view of the question were in error, it was just the reverse. It was precisely on account of the variety of races, local interests, etc., that the Federation system ought to be resorted to, and would be found to work well, (Hear, hear.) We were in the habit of seeing in some public journals, and hearing from some public men, that it was a great misfortune indeed that there should be a difference of races in this colony--that there should be the distinction of French Canadian from British Canadian. Now he, (Hon. Mr. Cartier) desired on this point to vindicate the rights, the usefulness, so to speak, of those belonging to the French Canadian race."

"We were of different races, not for the purpose of warring against each other, but in order to compete and emulate for the general welfare. (Cheers.) We could not do away with the distinctions of race. We could not legislate for the disappearance of the French Canadians from American soil, but British and French Canadians alike could appreciate and understand their position relative to each other."
They were placed like great families beside each other, and their contact produced a healthy spirit of emulation. It was a benefit rather than otherwise that we had a diversity of races."

But the High Commissioner would make sure of his work, he would not trust to immigration alone. The means of means suggested by the High Commissioner for the extermination of the French Canadian, of the race against which he was so prejudiced, was the union of the Two Canadas. Of the grounds of his desire for the formation of such a union he makes no secret—the destruction of the French element in Canada. His Report reads as follows:

"I believe that no permanent efficient remedy can be devised for the disorders of Lower Canada except a fusion of the Government in that of one or more of the surrounding provinces.....I find in union the only means of remedying at once and completely the two prominent causes of the present unsatisfactory condition."

".....I believe that tranquillity can only be restored by subjecting the Province to the vigorous rule of an English majority, and that the only efficacious government would be that formed by a legislative union." (227)

Even the Federation that at one time entered into his plans was impregnated with the notion of formation of a homogeneous nation. He writes as under:-

"I thought it would be a tend-
ency of a federation sanctioned and consolidated by a monarchical government gradually to become a complete legislative union; and that thus, while conciliating the French of Lower Canada by leaving them the government of their own Province and their own internal legislation, I might provide for the protection of British interests by the general government, and for the gradual transition of the Provinces into a united and homogeneous community."

But why was this statesman so anxious to crush and annihilate this race? Because, like many of his fellow countrymen he did not know them personally; because as has already been remarked, he judged them to be what their bitter enemies declared them to be—disloyal to the British rule. After insinuating this doubt concerning their loyalty in the passages quoted above, he gives expression to it in clearer terms:—

"I cannot doubt that any power which they (the French Canadians) might possess would be used against the policy and the very existence of any form of British government."

Had Lord Durham really known that race, he would not have entertained the slightest doubt concerning their loyalty. The French Canadians were simply struggling for their rights, but then as now, they did not for a moment lose respect for lawful authority, be that authority religious or civil. On the contrary the great body of the population of French Canada ever upheld the authority of the legitimate
rulers, and the Canada of the present day owes much to the intelligent patriotism and keen sense of justice of those of her children who claim descent from the race of Champlain.

Only when those wielding power abused of it, did the French as well as the English raise their voices in protest against the flagrant injustice of their oppressors. In so doing, the sons of New France did but stand up for the principles for which the whole English nation had carried on a struggle of three hundred years against the rule of despotic monarchy.

This very race which the English Commissioner looked upon with such disdain and whose loyalty he doubted, were to be foremost in helping to secure for Canada the complete enjoyment of the responsible government he so strongly advocated. By a singular irony of fate the very means intended by Lord Durham to work out the destruction of the French was made use of by them, to secure their own well-being and political freedom.

When responsible government was in danger the French Canadian, Lafontaine, struggled with might and main for ten long years for the rights of his fellow countrymen whether French or English and demanded the popular control of the executive power. It was the wholehearted and noble support of such men as Lafontaine that enabled Lord Elgin to realize his desire of firmly establishing responsible government in this country. Far from disloyally opposing every-
thing British, Lafontaine, like the vast majority of the French speaking statesmen of Lower Canada recognised what was good in the British system and determined to see it carried out to its full extent. By his conduct he proved that the French Canadian was ever ready to co-operate to the full extent of his ability with those who were combattting for justice. He had learned the real meaning of represent­ative and responsible government and knew how to give others the benefit of his experience.

Would not the father-in-law of this Governor have been astounded had he witnessed his own plans being carried into execution by the help of "the inferior French Canadian race", and that within ten years of the writing of the famous Report?

Would he not have been astounded had he lived to see the brilliant French Canadian Sir Wilfrid Laurier guiding the destinies of the Dominion of Canada for the long period of fifteen years?

What, then would have been his amazement had he learned that the day would come when a French Canadian would preside over the modern Assembly known as the League of Nations? Not only that, but as President of that noted gathering, speaking most fluently and eloquently the very language which according to Lord Durham was to disappear from Canada within one generation? Here was a French Canadian addressing in his mother tongue the represent-
atives of many nations, and being understood by the majority of his hearers. Here present also was one of the members of the Dominion Parliament, the Honorable Charles Dunning, who according to his own declaration was obliged to attend extra sessions of the League where the discussions were interpreted for the benefit of those who were ignorant of the French language. This gentleman recently expressed in public his keen regret for the ignorance which caused him much humiliation, besides being a real drawback to him. He declared most emphatically that his children would learn the French language, and he strongly urged the French Canadians to guard most closely their mother tongue, so that they might hand it down as a precious heritage to their posterity.

Lord Durham, as we have noticed, had once entertained the idea of a federal union, which would result in a close legislative union. Modern Canada, however, presents the spectacle of a legislative union giving birth to a federal union on a far wider scale than was ever dreamed of by the English lord when drawing up his report. There is, one may say 'unity in diversity'. The provinces actually form a united, but not 'a homogeneous community.' There is 'harmony', which is generally preferable to 'unison'. Happily for Canada the French element has not been obliterated. Its obliteration would have been a real calamity for the country. Picture a Canada without a trace of its heroic pioneers, without a trace of the glorious traditions which
are a part of its very existence: A Canada without a "Canadien".

As was aptly remarked at the time of the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation two years ago, the French Canadian is the only race that looks upon Canada as its native country; others style themselves English, Irish, Scotch Canadians, and so forth, and speak of going Home across the Atlantic. The reason for this is obvious. The greater part of the English population are the descendants of emigrants from the British Isles, and they have learned from their parents or grandparents to look upon Canada as their adopted country, whereas, the French Canadians have been practically cut off from Europe for over two centuries. Canada has become for these children of New France 'their own their native land' and they therefore style themselves simply "Canadians."

How this same Lord Durham doubting of the loyalty of the French Canadian would have opened his eyes at the beginning of the Great War had he seen a Doctor Mignault writing as under to the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Robert Borden:

"I, the undersigned, named joint secretary of a committee of French Canadians counting about fifty citizens representing the two political parties, and as such, telegraph to you to ask you to fix a day and an hour, as soon as possible, on which a delegation can meet you in Ottawa."
The purpose of this delegation is to ask your government for authorization to raise a Canadian contingent, composed of French Canadians who will enroll themselves for active service of Great Britain."

Surprise would have been added to surprise if he had listened to another distinguished gentleman of the same nationality, Sir Wilfrid Laurier appealing to his French compatriots in the following eloquent words:—

"If in the veins of the Canadians who compose this assembly there still flows some drops of the blood of Dollard and his companions, you will enlist in great numbers, for the cause is as sacred as that for which Dollard and his companions sacrificed their lives."

On the battlefields of Europe the heroic 22nd performed deeds of such valour as to win the admiration of friends and enemies alike. Would that the spirit of Lord Durham could have heard the noble and enthusiastic cry of these sons of the old New France, these sons of present day Canada: "Pour le Canada! Et pour nos freres Canadiens anglais!" Do such words and such deeds spring from hearts that are otherwise than staunchly loyal?

Nor do we need to turn from the immediate present to justify the assertion that the French Canadians are among the most loyal subjects of the British Empire. This nationality affords us many examples of this true patriotism, a patriotism which, while cherishing its own country
and nation with the tenderest love does not exclude from its heart's affection those of its fellow men who spring from a different race and speak a different language.

In October last, there passed away from this world a typical French Canadian whose long life was a continual example of the kind of patriotism mentioned above. The late lamented Most Reverend Olivier Elzear Mathieu was born in Quebec, and spent fifty-eight years of his life in his native province. None more than this venerable prelate loved the faith, the language and the traditions of his French ancestors. Was he for that less loyal to British institutions? Was he even in the least degree antagonistic to anything English? No person acquainted with the late Archbishop, would dare answer in the affirmative. From coast to coast, yea, from continent to continent, Archbishop Mathieu was proclaimed a citizen whom any country might be proud to claim as its own, a citizen who represented all that is signified by good, loyal, broadminded citizenship. This good pastor ever urged "la bonne entente" between the various racial elements in Canada and lost no opportunity of demonstrating in word and deed the immense advantages to be reaped from this cordial understanding and co-operation. "With a little good will on the part of each race", he would say, "life would be so easy and so pleasant. We are all on earth striving to please the Good God, Whose children we are, so why should we not strive to
live as children of the same family. As all the colours blend to form white light, so all the nationalities may blend to form a bright Canadian nation, loyal to God and to country."

The late Archbishop was a type of the true French Canadian, as he exists to-day, as he existed at the time of Lord Durham. Had this English lord taken the trouble to judge for himself in this matter, his Report, as to what concerns the French race, would have been couched in very different language. His picture of that race would not have so belied the children of New France; his ideas about their want of loyalty would have radically changed. The nation that produces such men as the deceased Archbishop of Regina could never have been otherwise than deserving of the highest esteem and consideration.

Lord Durham advocated the establishment and development of local municipal self-government, as an indispensable aid to the practical working of the Provincial Legislature.

"The establishment of a good system of municipal institutions throughout these Provinces is a matter of vital importance."

The general Legislature would thus be relieved of very heavy burdens, not to speak of the saving of valuable time and of money formerly spent on the consideration of affairs of a purely local nature. At the same time the Local Council would afford an excellent means of training men to become efficient members of the Legislature by initiating
them into the workings of responsible government. Time has set the seal of approval on the plan of thus coming to the aid of the Legislature. That municipal government would render invaluable service was the opinion of all thoughtful men. Hence the Assembly were quick to act upon the suggestion contained in the Report. At the very first session, the Union Parliament endorsed the scheme by passing the Municipal Act, which must be considered the most notable first fruit of responsible government in Canada.

The municipal system exists in all the provinces to-day, with the sole exception of Prince Edward Island, whose limited area renders unnecessary the separation of municipal from provincial legislation. Though the organization and powers of these municipalities differ widely in different provinces, they have all very considerable powers of self-government.

On account of the vast extent of territory and the scattered population in Saskatchewan and Alberta, the municipal system in these twin provinces is somewhat different from that prevailing in the East. Soon after the formation of these provinces the question of municipal self-government became of such importance that to deal satisfactorily with it, a special department of the Provincial Government was created.

The municipalities in the West play a very important part in the government of these comparatively new settlements.
They perform not only certain local services, such as providing water supply, fire protection, public light, drainage, constructing and maintaining roads; but they also provide more general service, including administration of justice, police protection, poor relief, education, and care of public health.

The marked increase in the powers and responsibilities of these self-governing institutions is well worthy of attention, while the results of this development are full of interest for those persons who have the welfare of the community at heart.

Lord Durham's idea of utilizing this system for training men in the methods of representative and responsible government has worked out well in practice. The working of the various branches of municipal government, be it in county, city, town, village, or rural municipality is readily understood by the average inhabitant, for besides being made to feel that he has a voice in the management of affairs he is also made conscious of the fact that he must bear his share of the responsibilities attached thereto. In consequence, citizens are now taking increased interest in the affairs of their district. In other words there has developed a civic consciousness that has opened up the way to vast improvements in the management and carrying out of everything connected with the municipality.

Take for instance the matter of Town Planning.
Cities from East to West at present are taking a keen interest in the question and are giving it the consideration it deserves. Although in the case of the older cities this attention comes rather late, in the case of the rising cities of Western Canada much can still be done in this matter. An excellent article entitled "The Better Government of Our Cities" has been written by Mr. J. O. Miller in "The New Era in Canada." (J. M. Dent and Sons, 1917).

We have seen that the High Commissioner planned immigration on a large scale, but if this plan was to meet with success, means of communication would be absolutely necessary. Up to Lord Durham's arrival most of the immigrants had settled along the banks of rivers or near the sea coasts. New comers would inevitably have to make their homes in the inland districts. The construction of railroads connecting these out-of-the-way places with the water-ways was the only solution to the question. Hence in the Durham Report much stress is laid on the necessity of an intercolonial railway.

From 1846, when the suggestion was first seriously acted upon, until the present day, there has been a steady increase in the railway mileage of the Dominion; the figures are little short of marvelous. The forty miles at the earlier date, has stretched to nearly fifty-thousand miles in 1929. The intercolonial railroad suggested by Durham has developed into three trans-continental lines connecting places 3000 miles apart. Present day Canada has a railway
system which for mileage and efficiency can compare favorably with that of any country in the world.

The above figures do not include the many miles of suburban and interurban electric railways now in operation in several parts in the Dominion.

In addition to this extensive system of railways, Canada has its 'highways' and 'skyways'. There are nearly half a million miles of highway, almost a necessity now that the automobile has ceased to be a luxury. These highways are gradually being improved by graveling. Airways connecting remote districts are now in full operation and wonderfully supplement the other ways of communication and transportation. Successors of Lord Durham followed up his ideas, and sought for the means of carrying out his suggestions; but these statesmen could have done very little had it not been for those enterprising men who devoted themselves and all that was theirs' to the solving of the railway problem. The history of railway construction reads like a romance into which are woven all that there is of struggle, of defeat, of success, of despair, of hope, and of glorious victory. When Lord Durham pointed out the necessity for this means of communication, did he foresee the dawn of the never-to-be forgotten day, November the Seventh, 1885, when Sir Donald Smith drove the last spike on that road which connected the Atlantic with the Pacific? Did he foresee the dawn of another era when 84 hours would suffice for
the railway journey from Quebec City to Vancouver? It is scarcely probable that such foresight was granted him, for the achievements of present day Canada have far surpassed the most sanguine hopes of the last generation.

Some persons may deny to Lord Durham the credit of this extensive railway system, but these should bear in mind that the Report drawn up by the High Commissioner made a great impression on the politicians of his day. As a consequence much more consideration was given to the contents of the Report than would be the case to-day with similar documents written by an English official.

Thus we see that Lord Durham's policy, as set forth in his Report, has been carried out by his successors in so far as seemed expedient for the well-being and progress of Canada. The responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature is fully recognized and established in Dominion, Province and Municipality. The Legislative Union so strongly advocated has developed into a Confederation of all the British North American provinces, and this Federal Union has in turn led to Canada's recognition as a nation.

Municipal self-government too, has been established throughout the Dominion, and even though there remains much to be done to bring it to the perfection desired, especially in the newly settled districts, it has in its own sphere accomplished a marvelous work. Local self-government has
not only relieved the Provincial Legislatures of much labour, but it has facilitated the introduction of local improvements and has been the means of preventing much of the misunderstanding and unfairness almost inevitable when purely local affairs are administered by a body of persons hundreds of miles from the scene of action.

Then again, the means of communication, the necessity of which was so much stressed by Lord Durham, have developed beyond the most sanguine expectations of that official. There is a vast network of railways covering practically the whole Dominion; graded highways have opened up a very convenient mode of intercommunication; in addition, if all predictions are fulfilled, there will be a regular air traffic connecting coast to coast and penetrating places otherwise inaccessible to man.

In one particular, however, the Governor General of 1838 was happily a false prophet. The French Canadian race is not exterminated. On the contrary, this people 'destined to disappear' are continually increasing in numbers, and are continuing to make the influence of their high ideals felt by fellow citizens of other descent and of other beliefs. Hand in hand with their compatriots they are working loyally and steadily for the Canada of the present day, truly, but also for the CANADA OF THE FUTURE.