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# THE POLITICAL UNIFICATION

OF THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. WILLIAM B. ELLISON,  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE FORDHAM CLUB, AT A RE-  
CEPTION HELD AT THE CLUB HOUSE, ON KINGS-  
BRIDGE ROAD, FORDHAM, NEW YORK CITY, ON THE  
EVENING OF MARCH 14, 1891.

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*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen :*

It was with no inconsiderable diffidence on my part that I accepted your courteous invitation to address you this evening on a subject so comprehensive in its nature and so vitally important to the people of the United States and Canada as the political unification of their governments. You will also readily understand the impossibility of giving anything more than a mere superficial idea of the question in the short time warranted by an occasion like the present. Yet I may succeed this evening in placing the subject generally before you, and at least present for your after and more matured consideration some of its most important phases.

It may, to begin with, be conceded that such a union must promise advantages to both countries before it will become possible of consummation, and it is natur-

ally of great importance to us to ascertain the benefits that we would receive therefrom. That question has been given little or no consideration among us. It seems to me that if Americans were generally better informed in relation to Canada and her resources, the question of political union would at once receive greater attention and an impetus here that might be felt in Canada. At present it has, as we all know, little or no part in our affairs.

In considering what Canada could offer, in case of union with us, I may properly first refer to her natural mineral wealth, at present very slightly developed, and wanting but the capital we can so readily spare to produce it ready for use in almost unlimited quantities. I will speak only of the most important minerals to be found in Canada and make some brief allusion to their quantity and quality.

Phosphates, used largely in the manufacture of phosphoric acid, phosphorus and fertilizer of the soil, are found in vast quantities in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and they are considered the purest in the world. Cargoes exposed to analysis have run as high as 37 to 39 per cent. of phosphoric acid, equivalent to from 80 to 86 per cent. phosphate of lime. The mines in the valley of the Ottawa River have become famous and are now being worked.

Asbestos, that fibrous mineral noted for its power to resist fire and acids, is found and mined in the eastern portions of the Province of Quebec. Its uses in fire-proof cement and putty for joints and in the manufacture of fire and acid-proof blocks and bricks are now well known.

Antimony is found in the Province of New Brunswick in such quantities as to place that province among the great antimony producing countries of the world. Its analysis varies from 61 to 69 per cent.

Barytes of very fine quality have been found in the

Provinces of Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia. This mineral is as yet almost totally undeveloped.

Bituminous shales, from which oils can be manufactured, are found in very large quantities in Nova Scotia, but there is little or no market for them in Canada, and our tariff prohibits their admission into this country. The yield is about 60 gallons of oil from one ton of shales and 7,500 cubic feet of gas from the same quantity.

The coal area is 97,000 square miles, and both bituminous and anthracite coal are found in great abundance.

Copper is one of the most important of the mineral treasures of Canada. It has been found in almost all of the provinces, but the richest mines are along the north shore of Lake Superior.

Gold is also found in almost all the Provinces, but in Nova Scotia alone the gold fields cover from 6,000 to 7,000 square miles:

Graphites of the purest quality are also found in abundance. The Canadian product is almost identical with that of Ceylon, which is the finest in the world.

Iron in unlimited quantities is found in all the Provinces of the Dominion. These ores equal the Swedish and Russian in quality. They are in almost all instances located adjacent to the coal fields. The Haycock mine, situated near Ottawa, it is estimated could alone yield one hundred tons per day for one hundred and fifty years before it would be exhausted.

Petroleum, salt, silver, lead, gypsum, manganese, and mica, arsenic, bismuth, cobalt, lignite, nickel, pyrites lithographic stone, stones suitable for grindstones, marbles of various qualities, white, black, brown, gray, mottled, variegated, spotted and green, white quartz, soap stone, emery, agates, amethysts, jasper, garnets, topaz, bloodstone and opals, are also found in large quantities. As you will observe Canada has almost

unlimited mineral wealth, but you must not conclude that her natural resources are confined to minerals.

Let us now study for a few moments the dimensions of Canada and incidentally the nature of its soil and its products other than mineral. We have been so long accustomed to see Canada figure on our maps as a narrow strip that it is difficult for us to realize that a rival nation with a territory vastly larger than the whole American Union (exclusive of Alaska) has arisen upon our borders. We are in the habit of laughing at the mistakes of English writers and tourists concerning the geography of the United States, but this ignorance about America is not half so great as the ignorance of the majority of our people respecting a country immediately adjoining them.

We can for the present leave out of consideration the beautiful Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, which may be known as Eastern Canada, and at once contemplate that vast region once known as the Northwestern Territory, purchased from the Hudson Bay Company in 1870 and now divided into four provinces: Assinaboia, containing 95,000 square miles; Saskatchewan, 114,000 square miles; Alberta, 100,000 square miles, and Athabasca, 122,000 square miles. We have in these four provinces an area of 2,665,252 square miles, a region larger than all Russia in Europe, while the United States is but 3,547,000 square miles. The world is beginning to find out that this great region, commonly supposed to be the unquestioned home of the beaver and the polar bear, really contains some of the finest wheat and grazing lands of the continent. I do not allude now to the comparatively well-known resources of Manitoba and Assinaboia, but of regions lying 400 miles north of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as far up as the Wild Peace River, where has been grown the No. 1 wheat that received the first prize at the Centennial Exposition held at Philadelphia in 1876.

Proceeding, let us look at the Province of Manitoba, with its 123,200 square miles of area. Here are 75,000,000 acres of wheat-growing land and estimated to be at least as good as any in the world. The average yield appears to be 18 bushels to the acre, of which 95 per cent. will grade No. 1 hard. In the Qu'Appelle Valley there is in successful operation a joint stock farm of 64,000 acres (100 square miles). The Manitoba wheat is well known as being extremely hard, yielding over 25 per cent. more than Minnesota wheat. There are physical causes for this. The further you travel toward the northern limit of its growth the finer the quality of the soil you meet. The sub-soil is kept moist in summer by the the slow melting of the deep winter frosts. Again, the sunshine is longer by nearly two hours each day in Manitoba than in Ohio between the 15th day of June and the 1st of July, whereby the grain obtains all the benefits of increased solar light.

The Province of Alberta affords the best grazing portion of Canada. It, while lying far to the north of the American line, has a temperature less severe than many of our Western States. The climate is more like that of England; it is cooler in summer and warmer in winter than in the plains below. The "Chinook" winds from the Gulf Stream of the Pacific Ocean, blowing through the expansive passes of the Rocky Mountains so temper the atmosphere during the winter that snow seldom accumulates to any great depth or severe cold weather prevails to any great extent; at any rate not to a sufficient extent to prevent cattle roaming all the year around.

Next and last we may refer to British Columbia, with an area of 341,305 square miles. It is larger than Great Britain and France combined, and five times as large as all of the New England States. It is a beautiful country, with fertile fields, rich mines and a perfect climate.

To the enormous wealth in mineral and grain produc-

ing lands must be added Canada's almost unlimited supply of timber. That this inexhaustible source of lumber would be of untold value to this country will probably be thoroughly appreciated by every one of us who attempts to build or buy a home.

Then again, we must not forget the Canadian fisheries that have been given so much of our attention during the past few years. It is along the shores of the Dominion of Canada that almost all of our sea fish are caught. Canada fully appreciates the value of her fisheries and has tenaciously protected and preserved them, greatly to our discomfiture at times.

It may occur to you, as some refutation of the kindly things I have said of Canada, that they are in some degree in conflict with the doleful pictures of Canadian distress presented to you through the medium of some of the political addresses made by Canadians in the past campaign. I can only say that in my opinion they were as badly overdrawn as were the statements of opposing parties who endeavored to impress the people with the fact that they were in a flood of prosperity. Nevertheless, you and I appreciate that disparaging remarks made by Canadians concerning their own country cannot fail to lower it in the estimation of others. Such a fault cannot certainly be attributed to Americans.

I would not, however, feel justified in closing this portion of my remarks if I did not speak a few words for the Canadian people. We have within the United States about 1,000,000 native-born Canadians, and it cannot be disputed that there is no element among us who so readily assimilate themselves with us and our institutions. They are thrifty, energetic and law abiding. They readily naturalize and become good citizens. The educational facilities of Canada, its standard of commercial honor and its excellent system of government, place the country in an enviable position among the nations of the earth.

It has become a comparatively well-settled conviction in the minds of the American people that Canadians generally are desirous of allying themselves and their country with the American Republic. That this is not consistent with the facts has been very forcibly shown by the general elections held throughout Canada on the fifth of the present month, the result of which was to continue in power, by a large majority, the "Conservative" party, who made their loyalty to the British Crown the distinguishing feature of their campaign, while on the other hand, the opposition, known as the "Reform" party were vigorously scored for their alleged intention to further the political union of Canada with the United States. Yet it would not be safe to conclude that even the larger portion of the so-called "Reform" party advocated or were in sympathy with a policy looking toward union with this country; on the contrary, they with great vigor disclaimed any such desire. That there is, however, an element within or in sympathy with the "Reform" party, not unfavorable to the political union of Canada and the United States, cannot now be fairly disputed. Never before was the issue so fully and forcibly brought before the Canadian people as in the recent contest and never before was there produced such evidences of strong and vigorous elements favorable to political union with this country, if such union should become necessary in order to obtain the free and unrestricted entrance into the markets of the United States and obtain the use of our abundant capital to develop their natural resources. The Canadian people have considered and are now considering the advantages that they believe would accrue to them from freedom of trade with this country, and the attractiveness of the prospect has with many proven much stronger than their affections for Great Britain. It seems to me that since the late campaign it is too late to deny that many of Canada's ablest and best men believe that her interests will be best conserved by un-



restricted trade with the United States; in fact, I think it is the overwhelming consensus of opinion that such would be the case. The difficulty, however, is the price to be paid for the desired privileges. Some go so far as to openly advocate political union, if such freedom of trade could not be otherwise obtained; while others, and they at present are largely controlling in numbers, are still wedded to the British connection. How long that affection for the mother country will resist the apparent benefits incident to the freedom of our markets and the use of our capital remains to be seen. That it has already succumbed with many has been made apparent, and that it will with others is not improbable. It does not seem unreasonable to assume, if Canadians believe that our markets and our capital will be largely conducive to their prosperity, that the desire for that prosperity will materially lessen in the minds of the commercial public their present disinclination to closer connection with their neighbors on the south.

Time alone will prove to the Canadian people the advantages of union with this country, while a greater degree of information about Canada and her resources will surely incline our people in the same direction. The natural markets for Canadian products are those of the United States, and the demand in Canada for those markets will so increase that political union will not be permitted to stand in their way. No union other than political will have sufficient assurances of permanency to ever thoroughly or satisfactorily warrant the people of the two countries trading unrestrainedly and no trade other than the most unrestricted will ultimately satisfy either. The movement is well started in Canada and will further develop, and a little more consideration of its merits by our people will certainly prompt them to keep pace with their Canadian cousins.

There is one thing for us all to keep constantly in

mind and that is, that the Canadian people are proud of their country, they believe in its future, and will not bear with the idea of being simply absorbed. That they will ultimately be willing to join us under fair and equitable circumstances I have no doubt; but that they can be driven to seek our protection by any acts of oppression on our part I consider absurd. In my mind, threats of "non-intercourse" discrimination against them in tariff measures or any other act that occurs to them as an imposition upon them, or a denial of their just claims or rights, will hinder and retard political union for ages to come, if not forever. No encouragement will be greater or bear better fruit than that of an apparent desire on our part to deal with them equitably and justly.

In conclusion, I trust that I can say that the invitation given Canada a century ago to join her fortunes with the American Republic is still open, and that the child is born who will see it accepted.