

that would be contrary to their doctrines and habits. They have a well-grounded aversion, strengthened by their experience of the difficulties of ruling the South after 1865, to the incorporation or control of any community not anxious to be one with them and thoroughly in harmony with their own body. Although they would rejoice over so great an extension of territory and resources, they are well satisfied with the present size and progress of their own country. Moreover, each of the two great parties has misgivings as to the effect which the addition of Canada might have on the political character of the electorate. The Democrats have feared that the people of Ontario and Manitoba would secure preponderance to the Republicans. The Republicans have been equally suspicious of the Roman Catholic French of Lower Canada. Both parties feel that a disturbing and unpredictable element would be introduced into their calculations. Hence, though neither can feel certain that it would lose, neither is sufficiently clear that it would gain to induce it to raise the question in a practical form.

The geographical position of Canada towards the United States, and particularly the increasingly close relations which must subsist between her Western provinces, Manitoba and British Columbia, and their Southern neighbours, may seem to suggest that sooner or later political union will come about. It need hardly be said that there is little difference between the populations, save that there is a stronger Scotch element in Western Canada than in Minnesota, Dakota, Montana, and Washington, where, especially in the two former, one finds far more Germans and Scandinavians than in Manitoba. The material growth of Canada would probably be quickened by union, and the plan of a commercial league or customs union which has lately been discussed might, if carried out, lead to a political union: indeed, it is hard to see how otherwise Canada could have her fair share in adjusting such tariff changes as might from time to time become necessary. But the present tariff arrangements are unstable in both countries; and, so far as a stranger can gather, the temper and feelings of the Canadians, and the growth of a vigorous national sentiment among them, do not at present make for their absorption into the far larger mass of the United States, which they have

hitherto regarded with jealousy. Their life, and that not as respects politics only, is doubtless less intense than the life of their neighbours to the South. But it is free from some of the blemishes which affect the latter. Municipal governments are more pure. Party organizations have not fallen under the control of bosses. Public order has been less disturbed; and criminal justice is more effectively administered.

This is not the place for considering what are the interests in the matter of Great Britain and her other colonies, nor the prospects of the schemes suggested for a closer practical union between the mother country and her swiftly advancing progeny. As regards the ultimate interests of the two peoples most directly concerned, it may be suggested that it is more to the advantage, both of the United States and of the Canadians, that they should for the present continue to develop independent types of political life and intellectual progress. Each may, in working out its own institutions, have something to teach the other. There is already too little variety on the American continent.

Fifteen hundred miles south of British Columbia the United States abuts upon Mexico. The position of Mexico offers a striking contrast to that of Canada. The people are utterly unlike those of the United States; they are bigoted Roman Catholics, more than half Indian in blood and preserving many Indian superstitions, listless, uncultured, making little advance in self-government, whether local or national, increasing but slowly in numbers,¹ unprogressive in all directions. They do little to develop either the mineral or agricultural wealth of their superb territory, much of which, in fact all the interior plateau, enjoys a climate more favourable to physical exertion than that of the southernmost States of the Union. The export and import trade of the ports on the Gulf and the Pacific is in the hands of German and English houses: the mines of the north are worked by Americans, who come across from Texas and Arizona in greater and greater numbers. Three railways now pierce Northern Mexico from the Union, one reaching the Pacific at Guaymas on the Gulf of California, two others

¹ The population of Mexico is 11,600,000, of whom 20 per cent are stated to be pure whites, 43 per cent of mixed race, and the remaining 37 per cent Indians.

crossing the great plateau from the Rio Grande as far as the city of Mexico. The mining regions of Chihuahua and Sonora (the northernmost States of the Mexican federation) are already half American, for the capital is theirs, communications are worked by them, their language spreads, their influence becomes paramount. As the mines of Colorado and Arizona become less and less attractive, the stream of immigration will more and more set out of the United States across the border. If American citizens are killed, or their property attacked, the United States Government will be invoked, and will find difficulties in dealing with a weak government like the Mexican, which cannot always keep order in its own dominions. It is far from improbable that the American settlers, as their numbers grow, will be tempted to establish order for themselves, and perhaps at last some sort of government. In fact, the process by which Texas was severed from Mexico and brought into the Union may conceivably be repeated in a more peaceful way by the steady infiltration of an American population. It is all but impossible for a feeble state, full of natural wealth which her people do not use, not to crumble under the impact of a stronger and more enterprising race. All experience points to the detachment of province after province from Mexico and its absorption into the American Union; nor when the process has once begun need it stop till, in a time to be measured rather by decades than by centuries, the petty republics of Central America have been also swallowed up and the predominant influence, if not the territorial frontier, of the United States has advanced to the isthmus of Panama.

If the United States were a monarchy like Russia, this would certainly happen, happen not so much from any deliberate purpose of aggression as by the irresistible tendency of facts, a tendency similar to that which led Rome to conquer the East, England to conquer India, Russia to conquer North-western Asia. But the Americans are most unwilling that it should happen, and will do all they can to prevent it. They have none of that earth hunger which burns in the great nations of Europe, having already dominions which it may take a century to people fully. They are proud of the capacity of their present population for self-government. Their administrative system is

singularly unfitted for the rule of dependencies, because it has no proper machinery for controlling provincial governors; so that when it finds regions which are hardly fit to be established as States, it nevertheless gives them a practically all but complete self-government as Territories. Administrative posts set up in a dependent country would certainly be jobbed, and the dependent country itself probably maladministered. Nearly all the work which the Federal authorities have had to do of this kind has been badly done, and has given rise to scandals. Hence the only form annexation can with advantage take is the admission of the annexed district as a self-governing State or Territory, the difference between the two being that in the latter the inhabitants, though they are usually permitted to administer their domestic affairs, have no vote in Federal elections. If Chihuahua and Sonora were like Dakota, the temptation to annex these provinces and turn them into States or Territories would be strong. But the Indo-Spaniards of Mexico have, in the seventy years that have passed since they revolted from Spain, shown little fitness for the exercise of political power. They are hardly more advanced in this direction than the Moors or the Samoans. They would be not only an inferior and diverse element in the Union, but a mischievous element, certain, if they were admitted to Federal suffrage, to injure Federal politics, to demoralize the officials who might be sent among them, and to supply a fertile soil for all kinds of roguery and rascality, which, so far as they lay within the sphere of State action, the Federal Government could not interfere with, and which in Federal affairs would damage Congress and bring another swarm of jobs and jobbers to Washington. Eight millions of recently enfranchised negroes (not to speak of the Anglo-Americans to carry on their shoulders without the ignorance and semi-barbarism of the mixed races of the tropics.

One finds in the United States, and of course especially in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, many people who declare that Mexico will be swallowed, first the northern provinces, and the whole in time. It is "manifest destiny," and the land and mining-claim speculators of these border lands would be glad to help Destiny. But the general feeling of the nation is strongly against a forward policy, nor has either party any such interest

in promoting it as the Southern slave-holders had fifty-five years ago in bringing in Texas. It is therefore not a question of practical politics. Yet it is a problem which already deserves consideration, for the future in which it may become practical is not distant. It is a disquieting problem. The clearest judgment and the firmest will of a nation cannot always resist the drift of events and the working of natural causes.

I have already observed that the United States Government formerly desired and seemed likely to acquire some of the West India islands. The South had a strong motive for adding to the Union regions in which slavery prevailed, and which would have been admitted as Slave States. That motive has long since vanished: and so far as the South has now an interest in these isles it is that they should remain outside the line of American custom-houses, so that their products may not compete free of duty with those which the South raises. All the objections which apply to the incorporation of Northern Mexico apply with greater force to the incorporation of islands far less fit for colonization by the Anglo-American race than are the Mexican table-lands. One islet only, Navassa, between Jamaica and San Domingo, belongs to the United States.

There is, however, one spot beyond the limits of the North American continent in which Americans have, ever since 1843 (when there was for a time a risk of its being occupied by England), declared that they feel directly interested. This is the island group of Hawaii, which lies 2000 miles to the southwest of San Francisco. Great as this distance is, the Americans conceive that the position of these isles over against their own Western coast would be so threatening to their commerce in a war between the United States and any naval power, that they cannot suffer the islands to be occupied by, or even to fall under the influence of, any European nation. No European nation has of late years betrayed any design of acquiring such an influence, while Great Britain and France have expressly renounced it. However, the United States Government, wishful to provide against emergencies, has endeavoured to purchase land at Pearl River in Oahu, reputed the best harbour in the group, with the view of establishing a naval station there.

To forecast the future of the Hawaiian Isles is by no means easy.

The population is at present (census of 1890) 89,990, of whom 34,000 are native Hawaiians (besides 6000 half-castes), 15,000 Chinese, 12,000 Japanese, 8600 Portuguese (recently imported to work the sugar plantations), and about 12,000 persons of European or American origin. Among these the Americans stand first in number; Englishmen come next and Germans third. The control of affairs has been practically in the hands of the whites, American and British, though Portuguese as well as native Hawaiians enjoy the suffrage. Things went on well since, from the time when, in the days of the late King, an unscrupulous Prime Minister was expelled by a sort of bloodless revolution, until the rising of 1892, when (apparently with the connivance of the person then representing the United States) Queen Liliuokalani was with equal ease dethroned. The provisional government then offered the islands to the United States, and even concluded a treaty providing for their annexation, which President Harrison submitted to the Senate.¹ Before the Senate acted upon it, a new President came into office and withdrew the treaty, intimating his disapproval of any "acquisition of new and distant territory," a disapproval in which public opinion seems to have joined. At present, though nothing has been constitutionally settled as to the future form of government, peace and order are not seriously disturbed. The ruling white population, which is of a good type, and has hitherto kept free from scandals such as gather round the politics of San Francisco, may well, either under a restored monarchy or a republic, continue to administer the islands with success. But as the native race, which Captain Cook estimated at 300,000, has sunk since 1866 from 57,000 to 34,000 and is likely to go on declining, it would have been difficult, even had no revolution intervened, to maintain a native dynasty, or indeed a monarchy of any kind: and the tendency to seek annexation to the United States must in any case have been strong. There may not, however, be in the future, any more than now, a preponderating wish in the United States to

¹ It has been doubted whether the President and Senate are entitled under the treaty making power given by the Constitution to acquire for the United States territories lying far away from the North American continent.

acquire the islands and admit them to the Union as a State or Territory. Their white population is at present far too small to make either course desirable—the registered voters were (in 1893) about 1800 persons of European or American stock, with 9554 natives and half-castes;—the presence of a large Asiatic population would, in view of recent Federal legislation against the Chinese, raise serious difficulties; and in case of war with a naval power the obligation of defending them might be found burdensome, although they are not quite so distant from the American coast as some of the Aleutian isles, acquired when Alaska was purchased. It is, however, certain that the Americans would not stand by and see any other nation establish a protectorate over them.

The fate of Western South America belongs to a still more distant future; but it can hardly remain unconnected with what is already by far the greatest power in the Western hemisphere. When capital, which is accumulating in the United States with extraordinary rapidity, is no longer able to find highly profitable employment in the development of Western North America, it will tend to seek other fields. When population has filled up the present territory of the United States, enterprising spirits will overflow into undeveloped regions. The nearest of these is Western South America, the elevated plateaux of which are habitable by Northern races. It may be conjectured that the relations of the vast territories in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia,¹ for which the Spaniards have done so little, and which can hardly remain for ever neglected, will one day become far closer with the United States than with any European power.

¹ These three countries have a total area of about 1,500,000 square miles, with a settled population not exceeding 5,500,000, besides an unascertained number of uncivilized Indians.

CHAPTER XCV

LAISSEZ FAIRE

A EUROPEAN friend of a philosophic turn of mind bade me, when he heard that I was writing this book, dedicate at least one chapter to the American Theory of the State. I answered that the Americans had no theory of the State, and felt no need for one, being content, like the English, to base their constitutional ideas upon law and history.

In England and America alike (I pursued) one misses a whole circle and system of ideas and sentiments which have been potent among the nations of the European continent. To those nations the State is a great moral power, the totality of the wisdom and conscience and force of the people, yet greater far than the sum of the individuals who compose the people, because consciously and scientifically, if also by a law of nature, organized for purposes which the people indistinctly apprehend, and because it is the inheritor of a deep-rooted reverence and an almost despotic authority. There is a touch of mysticism in this conception, which has survived the change from arbitrary to representative government, and almost recalls the sacredness that used to surround the mediæval church. In England the traditions of an ancient monarchy and the social influence of the class which till lately governed have enabled the State and its service to retain a measure of influence and respect. No one, however, attributes any special wisdom to the State, no one treats those concerned with administration or legislation as a superior class. Officials are strictly held within the limits of their legal powers, and are obeyed only so far as they can show that they are carrying out the positive directions of the law. Their conduct, and indeed the decisions of the highest State organs, are criticised, perhaps with more courtesy, but otherwise in exactly the same way as those of other persons and bodies.