

one side or the other can scarcely be depended on. It is tolerably safe to say, however, that they are 40 or 50 per cent. greater per head than those south of the line. Apart from their direct debts, the Provinces, following the Ottawa example, are taking to contracting indirect liabilities by guaranteeing railway bonds, a practice forbidden to all or nearly all the States by their constitutions. The amount of bonds guaranteed by the Provinces to date is \$40,000,000.

An answer to the question why we are spending so much more than the Americans is, I think, afforded in part by the following brief recital showing how we have enlarged the spending powers of the Provincial Legislatures, and incidentally of the municipalities, whilst the spending powers of these bodies in the United States have of late been greatly restricted.

#### THE INTENTION OF THE CONFEDERATION FRAMERS.

The fathers of Confederation started work in 1864. At that time the American Civil War was raging. Outwardly, it was a collision between State Rights and the tendency towards centralization or nationalization. The State Rights men of the South, who desired to retain human slavery, were driven by the exigencies of their argument to contend that each State was and had always been a sovereign body, and that the Federal authority was the creation of the States; consequently, to preserve their autonomy, the States had a right to nullify or refuse obedience to such Federal laws as they disliked, and, as a last resort, to withdraw from the Union. The framers of Confederation therefore determined to make our Provincial Legislatures wholly subordinate bodies by comparison with the American State. As Sir John Macdonald put it:—

“The United States commenced at the wrong end. They declared by their constitution that each State was a sovereignty in itself and that all the powers incident to a sovereignty belonged to each State, except those powers which were conferred upon the General Government and Congress. Here, we have adopted a different system. We have strengthened the General Government. We have given the General