

posed of a few lawyers, who undertook, after a few days' discussion, to promulgate an almost entirely new constitution for the Dominion, and to propose a complete revolution of its fiscal and commercial policy. Undeterred by the ignominious failure of the Quebec resolutions to commend themselves to public approval or support, your contributor appears to be ambitious of endeavouring to effect, unaided, what he and his colleagues failed unitedly to accomplish. Mr. Longley very modestly professes to be not in any way associated with Dominion politics, and would feign convey the impression that his letters are those of an impartial and non-political spectator of current events. In proof of this impartiality, he plunges at once into a vigorous condemnation of the Government at Ottawa, of the Canadian people for supporting it, and of the National Policy under which the last general election was carried. Mr. Longley's letters contain much of exaggeration and misstatement, and of unwarranted conclusions. They are so decidedly partisan in their tone that they must fail completely in effecting any good results. The people are tired of this endless denunciation and recrimination, the suppression and exaggeration of facts, and inconsequential deductions. They want whole truths, not half truths; they desire to be put in possession of all the facts and figures necessary to the intelligent understanding of the questions discussed, instead of the partial facts and figures which politicians employ in favour of the theories or policy which they favour.

Mr. Longley denounces the Government for having, in what he calls an unwarrantable and unconstitutional manner, sprung the general election upon the country; he attributes their success to the enormous prestige of Sir John A. Macdonald; to their superior organization; to the use of larger means, and to the exercise of the vast patronage of the Ministry. He speaks of the verdict of the electorate as being that of a people utterly devoid of political intelligence or principle, actuated wholly by the expectation of gaining some advantage for themselves, their friends or their own immediate locality. If Mr. Longley had wished to present a true picture of the political position, he would have stated the further facts: that the Reform party professed their eagerness for an opportunity to try conclusions with their opponents; that they were thoroughly organized; that they claimed that the voters' lists in many ridings were unusually favourable to them; that they had an abundant supply of money from the Mercier-Pacaud fund, stolen from the Province of Quebec; that they had the active and unscrupulous co-operation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and the constant and formidable exertions of nearly all of the Provincial Governments and their small armies of employees. Apart from political principle or policy, the Reform party was the better equipped for the fight. Mr. Longley, as a lawyer, knows that the proceedings during the long list of contested elections conclusively established how extensively and frequently corrupt agencies were proved against Reform members, but he has not a word to say in condemnation of these practices. Mr. Longley affects to be unable to discern any principle upon which the election was determined. Probably there never was an election through which the dominant principle was so conspicuously displayed. This was the principle of a national as opposed to a Yankee policy; and until the Reformers recognize the real cause of their defeat, and conform their action in accordance with popular sentiment, they will continue to suffer defeat.

If Mr. Longley's first letter can be justly viewed as partisan in its character, his second letter is even worse, where he treats of the results of the bye-elections and their causes. Speaking of the alleged corruptions at Ottawa, he says: "The Langevin-McGreevy investigation had disgusted every man with honourable instincts in the country; Haggart was discredited; Chapleau smirched; the civil service shown to be rotten, and signs of general exposure and lack of confidence everywhere manifest." How differently he speaks of the Quebec exposures: "Justice compels me to say that nothing was disclosed in connection with the Baie des Chaleurs matter which directly affected Mr. Mercier or any of his colleagues. Mr. Pacaud made a haul, it is true, but he was not entrusted with any responsibility by the people, and it was his affair solely if he made clever bargains with contractors." In view of the corruption of the Government at Ottawa, and the innocence of the Reform Government in Quebec, Mr. Longley pretends surprise that the bye-elections last winter went in favour of the Dominion Government. He would leave it to be inferred that the people condone and approve of corruption. No, Mr. Longley, the people hate corruption, but they hate hypocrisy far more. It was not a question of purity versus corruption, but merely one of comparative guilt. If it were indeed true that the Government party had corruptly expended large sums improperly but voluntarily contributed by contractors and other beneficiaries of their policy, it was equally true that the Reform party had expended still larger sums which had been feloniously abstracted from the impoverished exchequer of the Province of Quebec; and the people showed very clearly which of the two acts they considered the greater crime. Mr. Longley endeavours to explain the success of the Government and the defeat of the Reform party by a variety of secondary causes. He might have done this in a few words: the people's lack of confidence in the persons and policy of the leaders of the Reform party.

The only other point in the letters which remains to be noticed is the denunciation of the National Policy, which

Mr. Longley disposes of in his own peculiar manner. He claims that its failure is established by what he calls the "astounding returns" of the census. He says: "Increase in bank deposits and all other evidences of comparative prosperity count for nothing"; "the most absolute test of success in any country is numbers"; "the increase of the population is conclusive proof of prosperity"; "the falling off of population is final evidence of deadened misrule"; no one, therefore, can seriously argue that the result of the census was not a knock-down blow to the policy of restriction in Canada; "it is a failure"; "the census settled the matter, and put it out of the range of serious debate." Mr. Longley furnishes a few figures to illustrate the disappointing character of the census returns. From premises which are partly true, he draws a conclusion which he does not even attempt to establish, but simply assumes and asserts that because the National Policy was co-incident with the ten years which transpired since the previous census, therefore the disappointing character of the census was the consequence of that policy. He might, with equal warrant, assume that any of the events of the last ten years were the consequences of that policy. The census returns show that during the ten years referred to there was a very large and gratifying increase in the numbers of the population engaged in manufacturing; in the number of industries at work; in the capital employed; in the value of the products manufactured, and in the amount of and rates of wages paid. This proves that, but for this, the census returns of population would have been still more unsatisfactory. This must have been the case, unless it can be shown that it was the means of throwing out of other occupations a greater number of workmen than its own increase shows; or, as some contend, that the taxation incident to protection imposed such burdens on agriculturists, etc., as to render these occupations so unprofitable as to reduce the numbers employed.

Much exaggeration and misrepresentation are employed in trying to establish the latter point. Farmers are told that their difficulties arise from the heavy impositions they labour under in the shape of customs duties and in exorbitant prices charged by Red Parlour monopolies and combines and in the goods produced in Canada. There may be, and doubtless are, some defects in the Canadian tariff, as there are in all customs tariffs, whereby consumers are made to pay more than fair value for some articles, but these cases are few and the remedy is within easy reach. The writer has had many years' experience in selling to and buying from farmers, and is familiar with the classes and values of the goods which farmers purchase and the relative cost of the imported and Canada-manufactured merchandise. The furniture for his house, the blankets, flannels, tweeds, plain cottons, boots and shoes and many other articles of Canadian manufacture are generally of better material and are sold at as low prices as like qualities could be imported and sold free of duty. Tea, sugar and coffee are free of duty. All the customs duties paid by the farmer's family are on such articles as fancy groceries and dress goods, and on a few articles used in manufacturing the farm implements. It is very doubtful if there are many farmers' families who contribute as much as \$25 per annum towards the customs revenue. If it is not owing to excessive taxation or to high prices for family goods that the decrease in agricultural prosperity or in rural population is due, what has caused this decrease, especially in the old-settled townships?

The causes are many: (1) The constantly declining value of farm produce owing to the annual increase in the number of countries producing a surplus of cereals, etc., for sale. This depression is not confined to Canada, but is common to all agricultural countries; (2) The continuous increase in the use of agricultural implements in the place of manual labour; (3) That every year, especially in old townships, all needed improvements, such as new houses, barns, fences, etc., are being completed, and fewer of the farmers' sons are required at home; (4) The gradual but extensive decrease in the acreage sowed to grain, and its more general application to pasture and dairy purposes, by which change of method the amount of annual labour expended on the farm has been greatly reduced.

What are farmers' sons to do? The prospects of successful farming for the future are not of so promising a character as to induce many of them to undertake the hardships of bush life on even free grants of land. Apart from this, many of them, with the superior education which they have obtained, have a natural ambition to enter upon a broader field of labour; many of them have natural or acquired talents and tastes for occupations more congenial to them than work on the farms. If Canada cannot offer to these young men that diversity of employment for which they consider themselves adapted, they will go abroad in search of the openings which they cannot find here. The object of the National Policy was to create this required diversity of employment. So far from having failed it has succeeded wonderfully well. That it has not achieved even greater success is not because of any inherent defeat in the principle on which it is based, but because it has not been prosecuted with the firmness and vigour, and to the extent necessary. Free traders in Canada are continually making disparaging comparisons between the progress and prosperity of the Dominion and the United States. If the prosperity of the latter country is of so desirable a character, why do they so strenuously oppose every step proposed for the adoption of the policy which is there accomplishing so much? Canada, they say, is poor, and yet Canada imports annually foreign merchandise of the value of \$24 per head, while the richer country, the United

States, only imports not quite \$13 per head. Herein is to be found the solution of the whole problem. If Canada desires to keep her young men at home, and to attract settlers and capital from abroad, she must cherish her existing and aid in establishing new manufacturing industries. One illustration will suffice. Free traders contend that under unrestricted reciprocity, there would spring up an immediate and extensive demand for the iron and other ores which Canada possesses in great abundance and of great richness. Would the mere mining of these ores provide employment for the farmers' sons and that class of well-educated young men whose exodus the country deplores? Not one in a hundred would accept such employment. The supporters of the National Policy maintain that Canada with its iron and coal supplies should at once adopt a policy which shall carry on the iron trade from the ore to the finished implement, and that the rolling mills, foundries, machine shops, etc., brought into operation will give employment to thousands who would otherwise have to go abroad. Unfortunately Canada is cursed with a lot of pessimists who have no confidence either in its enterprise or prosperity. They say that the home demand is too limited to admit of successful iron-manufacturing. Let these despondent croakers turn to page 312 of last year's Trade and Navigation returns, and they will find that Canada imported of steel rails alone, in value \$3,197,280. Here alone is the nucleus of a great iron trade. Adopt the policy of ample protection, either by customs duties or bounties, or both, and the work is accomplished. Thirty-five years ago American steel rails cost \$55 per ton more than English; ten years ago, the difference had been reduced to \$22.23 per ton; in 1890, the difference was reduced to \$5.23 per ton (the tons in all cases, 2,240 lbs.). In 1890-91, Canada imported from the United States steel rails of the value of \$429,812, or nearly one-seventh part of the entire imports, and this in open competition with English rails. Where, then, is the difficulty in manufacturing our own rails? And if rails, why not numerous other articles?

ROBERT H. LAWDER.

A HALF CENTURY OF CONFLICT.*

THESE two volumes complete the series of seven distinct works, in which Mr. Parkman sets forth the long-continued, sometimes confused and savage, struggles between white and red men, between colonists and colonists, and especially between Great Britain and France, for the possession of North America. Though the last of the seven to be written, this part occupies the sixth place in the series, as "Montcalm and Wolfe," though published earlier, comes later in the order of events, and winds up, on the Plains of Abraham, what seemed to successive generations a never-ending, still-beginning conflict. These last written volumes lack the unity and the sustained personal interest that lend such an extraordinary charm to almost every other part of the series, but they have a fascination of their own from the very extent of the canvas, so suggestive of the greatness of the prize for which the foremost nations of the Old World were contending, and from the unity of the underlying principles that determined the issue of the conflict, and which are always discernible under every variety of form. They deal with plots and counterplots in courts and petty legislatures and round Indian Council fires, with sieges, surprises and massacres, with petty details and great expeditions all animated by the same thought and executed with the same strenuous effort, and extending from the rough and foggy Atlantic coast, dominated by the great batteries and massive bastions of Louisburg, all the way across the Continent, past the keys of the great lakes to the great plains where the gallant Verendryes built their rude forts on the Saskatchewan as they toiled through interminable wildernesses to seek for the Pacific. Even when the story deals with mere border raids that determined nothing, raids that were only one remove from the work of the nameless burglars or midnight assassins of modern days, or with boundary disputes in places still obscure and that involved the possession of only rocks and tarns and tangle that neither side need have grudged the other, when so much that was infinitely more valuable lay unclaimed or at any rate not yet possessed, we are not allowed to forget the magnitude of the prize that was always at stake, or the greatness of the hopes and fears and ambitions that gave dignity to the failures and the successes alike. But, we have stories, too, dealing with great persons and involving far-reaching consequences, the interest of which can hardly be surpassed, and that are not likely to be forgotten. Such among others are the founding of the beautiful city of Detroit; the occupation of the mouths of the Mississippi; the adventures, the success and the heroism of the Verendryes, and their shameful requital by His Excellency the Governor La Jonquiere and the Intendant Bigot; the dashing winter march of Coulon de Villiers and his men along northern Nova Scotia and down to its heart in the valley of Grand Pré, ending in one of those complete victories which, by the strange fatality that seemed to attend France, accomplished nothing; and, above all, the story of the taking of the Gibraltar of the New World, which might be written either as an epic or a farce. A lawyer draws up the plan of campaign, selects a New England merchant as general, and sends him off with a motley

* "A Half-Century of Conflict." By Francis Parkman. Boston: Little, Brown and Company; Toronto: Williamson and Company. 1892.