

IMPORTS OF THE PROVINCES.

First Period	\$ 771,549,129
Second "	1,091,127,887
Third "	1,316,091,664

It will be observed that there has been a steady increase in the trade of the country, which rose in total bulk from \$1,400,000,000 during the reciprocity term to \$2,400,000,000 under that of protection. The annual average during the thirty-five years was as follows :—

Period.	Exports.	Imports.
Reciprocity.....	\$51,993,567	\$64,304,094
Revenue tariff.....	76,510,433	99,193,353
Protection.....	90,789,170	109,674,305

Of course the addition of new territory, the creation of fresh lines of communication, and the development of canal, river and lake navigation, as well as the increase of population, had a good deal to do with this progress in trade, but after making every allowance it remains obvious that the tariff change has been an important factor. The effects of this expansion in trade have been very great. Indirectly every individual has profited; farms have dotted the whole vast country with wide cultivated areas; artisans and manufacturers unite in building up the cities; the North-West is growing with a rapidity fully equal to that of the Western States of the Republic; comfort is everywhere visible and paupers almost unknown. Necessarily, the progress thus made does not contrast in flashiness with that of the United States. It has not the same "boom" element in its composition, but for all that the development of Canada has been one of sure, solid and beneficial growth; a progress which has ensured prosperity to the humblest citizen and success to all who wish to labour for it. The growth of the cities, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and other centres has been phenomenal, and if the National Policy of protection had done nothing else, it would have been fully justified by the industrial growth of the country. Mr. Erastus Wiman, the millionaire resident of New York, who for political motives affects a Canadianism which his policy and antecedents disprove, and a gentleman who is certainly not likely to deal too leniently with the results of any line of action carried out by the Government of Sir John Macdonald, said on the first of July, 1887, that: "In the splendour of her cities, in the multitude of her public works, in the perfection of her means of communication, in the completeness of her educational institutions, in the intelligence of her people, and indeed in all that goes to make up the greatness of a nation, Canada to-day holds a position of proud pre-eminence."

Over the great railroads of Canada there also rolls a yearly-increasing weight of freight and number of passengers; while the trade between the provinces, which can hardly be said to have had an existence prior to 1878, has developed under the protective policy with lightning rapidity, and is now estimated to exceed \$80,000,000 in value. This progress, it must be remembered, has been made in the teeth of the most strenuous opposition from within the country and the most bitter rivalry without. The party which has adopted the name of Liberal in Canada has unfortunately set itself to oppose all those great measures which the majority of Canadians believe to have built up the wealth and welfare of the country. The Canadian Pacific Railway, the enlargement of our canals and waterways, the development of our industries and protection of the interests of a youthful nation against the overwhelming competition of the American Republic, have all been contested most vehemently. The leaders have even gone to the extent of belittling the country, thus playing into the hands of the politicians and emigration agents over the border, who were only too glad to obtain aid of such a nature in misrepresenting the Dominion throughout Great Britain and Continental Europe, with a view to discouraging emigration in that direction. The tremendous magnet which a great nation of sixty millions offers has, however, not been sufficient to destroy the prosperity of the country, and although the recent census only shows an increase in ten years of half a million souls, still our people are satisfied as a whole that their time is coming.

The country has good reason for confidence. The rivalry of the United States for British emigrants and capital is nearing its end, and our golden North-West and great mineral resources are bound to be the coming centre of attraction for the British settler and capitalist. As Lord Dufferin so eloquently remarked some years ago in words which may be applied to-day with even greater force and directness :—

"It was hence that, counting her past achievements as but the preface and prelude to her future exertions and expanding destinies, she took a fresh departure, received the afflatus of a more imperial inspiration, and felt herself no longer a mere settler along the banks of a single river, but the owner of half a continent, and, in the magnitude of her possession, in the wealth of her resources, in the sinews of her material might, the peer of any power on earth."

It is, however, asserted by those who have but little faith in the future of the Dominion, excepting as an adjunct to the United States, and who have no sympathy with the national and imperial aspirations of statesmen like the late Sir John Macdonald, that this progress has only been made and this position attained by a vast and improper expenditure of public money, with the consequent undue taxation of the people. The following table will reveal the comparative position of Canada and the Aus-

tralian colonies, which, it must be remembered, have nearly two millions less population and not nearly so great natural resources as has the Dominion :—

PUBLIC INDEBTEDNESS.

Country.	1880.	1890.	Per Capita. 1890.
New South Wales.....	\$ 74,519,595	\$253,289,245	\$214.87
New Zealand.....	128,085,565	184,898,305	298.01
Queensland.....	66,245,430	129,204,750	333.46
South Australia.....	49,330,000	102,177,500	321.00
Tasmania.....	8,683,848	22,335,345	147.46
Victoria.....	102,538,500	179,614,005	161.63
Western Australia.....	1,692,161	6,509,736	150.23
	\$431,095,099	\$858,028,886	\$ 47.51
Canada.....	175,194,000	237,533,212	

Of course in Australasia the railways are largely owned by the State, and in Canada this is not the case, excepting in one or two instances. The amount, however, of \$110,000,000 spent on railways since Confederation cannot be considered unduly large when the construction of that stupendous work of engineering skill, and public as well as private enterprise, the C. P. R., is remembered. Nor has the annual expenditure been excessive. With all the vast extent of country requiring development, an area, indeed, of 3,315,647 square miles, extending north 1,400 miles from the great lakes, and east and west 3,500 miles, and with the amount of progress which has been already made, it can be considered little less than marvellous that the expenditure should have only increased from \$4 per head in 1868 to \$6.90 in 1890, while during the same period the revenue rose from \$4.05 to \$7.69. Compare this rate of expenditure with the Australian average of \$35 per capita, the British average of \$10.90, or that of Cape Colony at \$11.38, and it cannot be said that the Dominion has been unduly extravagant.

Such is the material record of Canada given to a very limited degree. Of its potential power no man can adequately prophecy, but one assertion may be made with safety and accuracy. It presents the most fertile wheat-fields, the most boundless prairies, the most beautiful scenery, alternating between the sombre, the grand and the lovely, together with the broadest liberty of action and freedom of Government to be found in any part of the world. Better, indeed, than any attractions the United States can offer, and it would be well for the British investor if he would realize this fact and cease putting his money in the hands of American speculators, or Argentine rogues; cease building up foreign nations and turn instead to the colonies. There he would find abundant means of making money in security, while building up not only a United Kingdom at home but a United Empire abroad, by the all-powerful, unifying and vivifying forces of capital and credit.

Here the British emigrant or capitalist is a citizen at once. In the States, as the *Chicago Tribune*, the chief newspaper of the West, told Mr. Scully—an Englishman who owns large tracts of land in Illinois—the other day :—

"Much as it may surprise him to learn it, aliens and citizens do not stand on the same footing. What the latter are entitled to as rights, the former can only enjoy as favours. A citizen has a constitutional right to hold land, but an alien has not. He can get it only by virtue of a treaty or a State law. And, as in the case of an alien holding land, it is a license instead of a right; it can be withdrawn whenever the power which grants the license chooses in the exercise of its sovereignty to withdraw it."

Turning, however, from this development of Canada, past and present, in the strict material sense, it would perhaps be well to glance very briefly at its political position.

Our Dominion boasts a history of which her people can well feel proud. Composed of two distinctive races who, a century ago, battled under the flags of their respective nations for the possession of a continent; with each branch of the people proud of its past, and glorying equally in the memories of historic greatness, yet merging sentiments, apparently antagonistic, in pride of a common country and labour for its unity and welfare. Serious troubles have arisen; leaders of one race or the other may act as fire-brands, and fan the embers of discord as Mr. Honore Mercier and others did during the Riel Rebellion in the North-West; but, taken as a whole, the French-Canadian people are loyal, not only to British Connection and the flag of a common empire, but loyal to the country of their home, and willing to aid in its upbuilding and in its progress. At the present time the position of affairs in the Dominion is peculiar, and might, if not handled with statesmanship and care, produce at least a temporary retrogression. The questions at issue are new, and yet they may be said to be old. Confederation is settled, but, some claim, not satisfactorily. The great railway is built, and yet a commercial and fiscal policy is proposed which would direct all trade to the south instead of east and west. The National Policy, or protective tariff, has been approved by popular vote over and over again, and yet the Liberal Party wishes to create free-trade with the States and adopt the American tariff, nearly twice as high as our own, against England. British Connection is undoubtedly in the present interests of the Dominion and its maintenance a matter of vital import to the Empire and the world, and yet there are some who would like to abrogate the union now or in the near future. For the sake of brevity and clearness, the people of the Dominion may be divided into three sections :—

I. The British element. This includes all who desire to maintain the Connection for the present, or who wish for closer relations with Great Britain in the future, and

also a certain small class who dream of a possible independence at some distant date. Of this great division of the people, which, with loyal Quebec, forms at present a large majority, Sir John Macdonald was the mentor, guide and inspiration. I believe that the existing Ministry has taken up the mantle of his policy, and are trying to bear out the traditions of his name.

II. The French-Canadians. Loyal to a flag which represents to them freedom of worship and of local institutions, the French-Canadians may be depended upon, unless led away in a temporary gust of popular passion, to preserve the existing union, but will have to be educated to the appreciation of closer political relationship with the Empire. Until very recently the Premier of the Province, and head of the Local Government, was the product of that disastrous agitation which arose mid a wave of fanaticism after the hanging of the rebel Riel. Pretending that such action was taken because he was a Frenchman, Honore Mercier attained power in 1886 upon his platform of race and of revenge. As a member of the Liberal party of the Dominion, Mr. Mercier obtained the active support of Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the Liberal Opposition at Ottawa, and has, in return, powerfully aided him in subsequent Dominion elections. As an advocate of free-trade with the United States and discrimination against Great Britain, coupled with public declarations in favour of independence, and as the leading exponent of both racial and religious fanaticism in this Dominion, Mr. Mercier cannot but be considered one of the most dangerous of the troubles which Canada has had to endure, and which she has successfully overcome. The recent elections in Quebec have, however, proven a revelation of the innate honesty and genuine patriotism of the people, and have shown that that great Province is still overwhelmingly loyal to Canada and to the British Empire.

III. The American party. This is an element of great uncertainty. Mr. Goldwin Smith represents its literary features, and his recent work hardly leaves anything unsaid upon one side of what he terms "The Canadian Question." Mr. Erastus Wiman, of New York, is its mentor and American leader, while Sir Richard Cartwright, the practical, though not nominal, leader of the Liberal party is its chief representative in Canada. The principles of this section of the people are somewhat fluctuating and the numbers difficult to estimate. It includes those who follow Mr. Wiman in his policy of Commercial Union with the States and are willing to go the full length of tariff and internal revenue assimilation with a joint council to control the fiscal affairs of the two nations; it includes those who fear to go as far as this, but are willing to compromise by having free-trade with the States while expressing the hope of being able to retain our present tariff (30 per cent. lower than the American) against England. Needless to say no responsible politician in the Republic will support this policy of Unrestricted Reciprocity, or as the *New York Tribune* puts it, "the creation of a back-door 4,000 miles wide for British goods to enter the States." It includes besides a small element favouring almost immediate independence, which everyone who appreciates our circumstances knows would lead to annexation very shortly, and it also includes a still smaller number of avowed annexationists.

It will thus be seen that the Dominion in a political sense has still much to do, and that the work of its founders is not yet over, if a united British-Canadian nation is to be built up on this North-American continent. That such will be the end of their labours who can doubt? Canadians have in the past shown a strength and determination of character and a patriotism in principle which has enabled them to do much in the face of profound pessimism and of many obstacles, and so it will be in the future. Clouds may overhang the horizon of the national hopes, or injure the immediate fruition of some great aspiration, but in the end matters will mend themselves and truth and honour prevail in the nation as it does in the majority of its individual members. During the last session at Ottawa, charges of wholesale corruption were flung broad-cast, with a view to injuring the Ministry which was supposed to have been weakened by the death of its great leader. That result has certainly not followed. But it has been proved lamentably true that a number of civil servants have used their positions of trust to commit various irregularities, and in some cases perpetrate blackmail, while the department of Public Works has apparently for some years past been under the malign influence and control of a set of cormorant contractors. This however is all. Public opinion is sound, the Dominion Government firm and exemplary in its punishment of offenders—high and low—and with the new regulations coming into force, our Civil Service will soon regain its reputation for purity and efficiency. How different it has been, and probably will be in the future, from that immense band of 100,000 appointees with total salaries valued at \$100,000,000 who are removable every four years in the United States under the "spoils system," may be gathered from the following description by Senator Pendleton (Dec. 13, 1881):

"The name explains it. The name opens to every thoughtful man, nay, to every man who will see, even without thinking, a vision of wrong, injustice, brutality, wastefulness, recklessness, fraud, speculation, degradation of persons and of parties, which has driven from public life much of the cultivated intellect and refined morality of the country, and fills even the most hopeful mind with sadness for much in the present and grave anxiety for the future."