

which can be given by a rational legislation and one which does not, like the Scott Act, outrage right and justice, we rely much less on legislation than on other agencies. We rely above all on the agency of medical science, whose calm and authoritative teaching, unlike the vague and overstrained rhetoric of the pulpit and the platform, exerts a powerful influence, first, upon the habits of the most educated, and then, through the force of example, upon those of the people at large. The penalties which physical science pronounces against excess are always just and their infliction sure. An immense effect has already been produced in this way among the people of England, and there is no reason why the same effect should not be produced here.

NATIONAL POLICY.

EVENTS in the past history of Canada exemplify how rapidly and thoroughly changes in policy are brought about, when either any considerable number of leaders or the mass of the people are affected by a common interest.

In 1866 delegates of four British-American colonies met together in the city of Quebec and agreed upon terms of confederation, which resulted in uniting all the Provinces in one general government—the Dominion of Canada.

The motives influencing the Provinces in adopting this important measure have been variously stated; but it cannot be denied that Confederation was, by the majority of our politicians, an expedient for bridging over the difficulties which developed themselves in working the respective Provincial Governments.

Confederation, however, became an accomplished fact; but not until 1878 had any party in Canada raised the tariff question as a distinct issue at the polls. Then for the first time the people of Canada had the opportunity of pronouncing on this question, and they, by overwhelming majorities, decided in favour of a National Policy, overthrowing the Ministry of the day, who opposed it; and the reins of power were transferred to their rivals, who had at a previous election been almost extinguished as a party by the Pacific Scandal cry.

The want felt to-day by every industry in Canada for a better system of interchange with other countries is as positive as the influences which forced the results referred to, and will prove as potent to bring about the necessary changes. But the present issue is more difficult of solution. The former movements were confined within narrow lines, and the forces put in operation secured a comparatively easy adjustment, while the present necessities are of a character that can only be provided for by agreement with conditions and interests outside of the Dominion; and which must be discussed and reconciled with the opinions and interests of parties whose sympathies and views have been formed under influences different from those of Canadians.

Imperial Federation was a term that when announced appeared to give promise of a solution of the difficulties which surrounded and hampered the energies of many of the industries of Canada, in common with other countries; but the more it is discussed the less favour it secures, and a suspicion gains ground that it is a sort of mock orange, having no pith to it.

The English nationality was born and developed under aggression and resistance—despotic and lordly dominance on the one hand, progressive assertion of rights and liberties on the other,—until the franchise has been brought within earshot of manhood suffrage. Her people no doubt look to this euphonious phrase as possessed of some bearing upon national greatness. With an ancestry invited to possess a new country, and encouraged in the formation of a free government, Canadians, with but ephemeral traditions of ancestral martyrdom or prowess—reserved for saints' days and late after-dinner speeches—but permanently and intensely true in their fealty to the Dominion, turn from any scheme, however splendid from a point of national glory, unless it offer increased facilities to convert natural products and native labour into current value. Imperial Federation appears for the present to be relegated to the arena of theoretical economics involving the harmonious unification of widely dissimilar and remote colonies, while the present necessities of Canada must find solution in an agreement between herself and some other responsive Governments, and then depend upon the advantageous working of the system to commend its extension to other provinces and nations.

The Anglo-Saxon race has taken the lead in the development of the commerce of the world; the first to utilize the manufacturing and commercial powers of steam, and its handmaid, the electric telegraph—ever ready to venture money and labour. Hitherto the foremost in every new field, the time has come when its different members must adopt a trade policy more consistent with their opportunities than the lines of national organization within which they have been hitherto working in conflict.

The discussion of Imperial Federation thus far has lacked centralization as a starting point, and has lacked the trade advantages which commerce demands. A thorough knowledge of the difference of conditions between ourselves and other confederations of this producing and trading race, and a liberal consideration for those differences, must be secured before any progress can be made in the direction desired.

It may not, therefore, be out of place to state the points that must be respected from a Canadian point of view in any agreement to which she will be a party—and the main issues in Canada and the United States at the present time are practically akin, the latter country being, in order of time and in importance, in advance. With extensive agricultural territory, the largest possible immigration being desirable; and finding that even the most inviting conditions of agriculture were not sufficient to secure it, and further, that manufacturing could not be successfully prosecuted in competition with imports from abroad, the United States was prompt in accepting the issue, and her people with wonderful and persistent unanimity adopted Protection, and hold by it as the rock upon which they base their material progress. Whether the Democratic or Republican party is voted into power, the men who control the ballot-box hold by "a fair day's wages for a full day's work." Canada accepted the principle more recently, and the men who legislate in Congress, and in the Dominion Parliament likewise, either by personal experience or their immediate surroundings, are fully alive to the necessity of preserving this essential for the influx of population that finds such a hearty welcome on this side of the Atlantic. "To buy in the cheapest market" cannot therefore receive any response either in Canada or the United States, excepting as an equivalent in labour is secured by export for the brother who must buy as his services will permit. Protection is manifestly the power of the majority over the minority. Free Trade is the power of capital seeking to place all points of supply in competition to get the most for the least, and bearing with cruel competition against home labour. Fair Trade will prove the just mean between interests, avoiding monopoly on the one hand and on the other securing to home labour a fair equivalent in demand, to the extent to which foreign competition is admitted; each party to the compact producing that which it can do to the most advantage, and thereby its industry will be secured fair scope. Neither Canada nor the United States adheres to Protection in the interest of capital or monopolies, although those interests throw their influence on that side. The one idea that governs the tariffs of both countries is the determination to secure diversified employment to the mass of the people. Protection is not regarded by many as the best consideration, but accepted as a necessity to limit the imports to the capacity to pay, by the export of products of the country, and the expedient is not so expensive as the economists of Great Britain assume. To illustrate this point I will give an instance from the United States, and another from Canada.

The decay of American shipping is often referred to as one of the sad effects of Protection. The United States never had a tariff that could in any sense be considered an encouragement to foreign trade, and yet before the War the American merchantman and the American mariner held no subordinate place in the world's commerce. At the close of the War, railroad extension, manufacturing interests, and the general enterprise and activity developed throughout the Union, invited capital and talent rather to the land than to the sea. The class of men that made the American sailor's reputation being no longer permanently available had more to do with the abandonment of the trade than the enhanced cost of shipbuilding caused by additions to the tariff.

The adoption of a protective policy in Canada unduly stimulated manufacturing, notably in cotton and woollen fabrics; and the result is pointed to by Free Traders as an exemplification of the futility of the principle. The judiciously constructed works are all again in active and, it is said, profitable operation. They will average in value the capital invested in them, and every town in Canada can point to houses and families maintained for years by, and now enjoying, the employment those factories afford.

Captain Colombe, writing upon the trade question, says: "Our commercial prosperity is in direct proportion to the freedom with which we can carry on trade with our colonies and other countries." The principle is a sound one, and in the opinion of the writer can best be promoted by a fair trade compact, beginning with England, if she will, as a centre, and extending as the policy is adopted by other nations.

M.

THE Czarina is said to rule her husband, and in her turn to be ruled by the Princess of Wales. If this be so, the turn affairs are taking in Russia does not redound to the credit of the two Royal ladies, though they have doubtless a rough team to drive.