

kets for her manufactures: Canada could maintain customers who would take England's goods in exchange for the food that she requires. We have here conditions existing in one and the same Empire that would appear to need only a little directive energy in order to be mutually beneficial. It would seem most natural and proper that England's surplus population should be directed to England's colonies, there to build up and enrich the outlying parts of the Empire: that emigration should be a great national work under national supervision and control: a stream used to fructify her own land and not permitted to flow to foreign countries. That it has been so permitted to flow in times past is abundantly evident from statistics. In the twenty-one years from 1866 to 1886 (inclusive), emigrants have gone from the British Isles in the following numbers to the countries designated:*

To North American Colonies.....	444,811
" Australia and New Zealand.....	642,348
" Other places.....	221,800
Total.....	1,308,959
To the United States.....	2,749,213
Grand Total.....	4,058,172

So that, even assuming that the "other places" are British possessions, England has in that time sent to the United States more than twice as many emigrants as she has to her own colonies, and taking the capital value of an emigrant at \$1,000, the above figures represent the enormous sum of \$2,749,213,000, or \$130,915,000 per annum for the last twenty-one years, presented by England to the United States. Such a system of international generosity is little short of amazing.

During the same period, the population of the British Isles has increased from 30,147,755 to 36,707,418—an increase of 6,559,663—while the amount paid for imported food has grown from £67,897,571 sterling in 1866, to £112,919,287—about 560 millions of dollars—in 1886. Such figures as these show in the most convincing manner the extent to which England has to rely on foreign countries for food; and large though they are the sum for the year 1886 shows a considerable decrease as compared with previous years. In 1883, when England's bill for imported food was the highest ever known, it reached a total of £157,520,797, or about 785 millions of dollars! This is nearly as great as the total import and export trade of Canada for the five years 1876 to 1880:—\$49½ millions of dollars. And yet these figures do not give a true notion of the amounts imported: for owing to the fall in prices, of late years, a larger quantity of wheat is imported into England than would be inferred from a comparison of values. Thus: had the price of wheat been as high in 1886 as in 1866, England's food bill would have been seven millions sterling larger than the figures above given for the year '86.

These figures are sufficiently startling to lead us to enquire why England has not in times past paid more attention, and devoted more energy, to the development of her colonies, and why in times present she should still be so lax and indifferent. If, for example, large tracts of rich land, capable of producing grain, lay unused and unoccupied in the northern part of England, while the southern part was overcrowded with a busy population that had annually to import food for its support, would not some scheme very soon be devised for the removal of part of the population from the south to the north, where their labour might be productive and remunerative? And if this were desirable on a small scale with regard to one country, why not also on a large scale with regard to the whole Empire? The answer to this question shews the aimless nature of the Colonial Policy.

When an emigrant leaves the shores of Great Britain, his destination is, practically speaking, a matter of considerable indifference to the Home Government that he has left; that he has in so much relieved the pressure of the home population is the main fact of concern. Whether he goes to the United States or goes to the colonies is really not of much consequence to England; in the one case he goes to build up and enrich a foreign power, in the other to build up and enrich what may at any early date become a foreign power; in either case he is lost to England; he is no longer liable to taxation or amenable for enlistment in the army or navy; nor does his labour, by enriching the country whither he has gone, immediately benefit England. His case is quite different from what it would be in the case supposed of his transference from the southern to the northern part of his own country. If England were to expend money in some large scheme of National Emigration, how would she be recouped for the outlay? The growth and development of the colonies do not mean the strengthening and enriching of the Empire as a unity. As each colony progresses, its ultimate goal is—what? Certainly not incorporation with the Empire, for under the present colonial system the political conditions are wanting under which this could be accomplished. It becomes a rich and powerful appendage, with the possibility of becoming every year richer and more powerful, held to the Mother Land by a tie that is mainly sentimental. There is no unification of interests, hopes and aims—nor any prospect held out of such a unification—between the colony and the Mother Country. All is aimless, vague and undefined. At one time the colonies are told they had better go and shift for themselves, if they so desire; at another, a spasmodic endeavour is made to strengthen the tie by the appointment of Agents General for the Colonies, and a lavish distribution of Imperial titles. There is no such definiteness and unity as we see

existing under our Canadian Federation, where the North-west, as a matter of course and of right, is represented in the Federal Parliament whenever it has attained to sufficient population and importance. And there never will be any such unity until the colonies are accorded the right of representation in the Imperial Parliament; there never will be any such unity except under Imperial Federation. Then it will be to England's advantage to see to the developing of her colonies; then she will use every endeavour to direct the stream of emigration to her own land; not leaving it, as at present, unheeded. Would Canada have expended the energy and money she has in the development of the North-west if the ultimate destination of that great country were vague and uncertain? Would she strain her resources to bring provinces there into being if, their growth being attained, their incorporation with the Dominion were a matter of doubt or impossibility? But Canada's political system being what it is, she has done wisely to lay out money in the development and populating of those new lands; their enrichment means her enrichment; their goal is complete incorporation with the Dominion. Just so would it be with the colonies of the Empire under Imperial Federation. At present their growth and expansion is towards separation from England; there appears no other way of attaining to complete national life. The discussion of such propositions as Commercial Union, Annexation, Independence, etc., shews the restless feeling that stirs the people in this country; shews how real and active is this desire for national life. And the fact that this discussion is coincident with a strong love for the Mother Land; a strong desire to remain attached to the Mother Land; shews that it is the outcome, not of a dislike to England, but of that capacity for complete self-government that is inherent in the Anglo-Saxon race, and that demands its satisfaction. But under Imperial Federation these feelings would have perfect scope for their adequate expression. Colonial life would be fulfilled in the higher Imperial life. The enriching of the colonies would imply the general enriching of the Empire. The emigrant would not be lost, but would remain amenable for service in the Imperial Army and Navy, while by his increased wealth he becomes, in his taxable capacity, a source of revenue to the Empire.

In the foregoing argument questions of revenue, taxation, and trade have inevitably suggested themselves; and though too large to be fully discussed in this series of articles, whose size is necessarily limited, must at least be touched upon.

Under a Federation of the Empire the trade position ultimately to be assumed, whatever intermediate position it may be necessary or expedient to assume, is that of freedom of exchange of commodities. Recently there has arisen in this country, mainly induced by the restriction of Canadian trade brought about by the high Canadian tariff, a clamour for Commercial Union with the United States. Would not Commercial Union with England be much more for our benefit? a union that might be obtained at any time simply by the removal of barriers that we ourselves have raised. Canada is mainly an agricultural country and every year becomes more so, as her forests are cut and the land cleared up. Out of a total export trade of \$78,000,000 (excluding coin and bullion and foreign products) in the year 1887,* the products of the farm showed a total of \$43,000,000, or more than one half. If we had Commercial Union to-morrow with the United States it would not help us to get rid of this surplus produce, for the States themselves raise a surplus of, and export, similar farm produce: we would still be dependent on the English market in this respect: the States could not take from us that which they already have in over-abundance. But the English trade is capable of being almost indefinitely extended, and Canada has at present only a small, and that a decreasing share of it. The total wheat imports into England in 1887 amounted to 149,272,776 bushels†, and out of this Canada contributed only 6,776,929 bushels,‡ while in 1880 the amount is almost the same. Indeed, going back to 1871 we see that in that year Canada's share of the total wheat imports into England was 8.52 per cent. of the whole, but in 1886 it had fallen to 6.20 per cent.; in the same time British India's share of the wheat imports had risen from 0.50 per cent. to 17.75 per cent. of the total amount.§ How much of this difference is due to the fiscal policies of the two countries? Canada has the land and the capacity to produce a very much larger part of the wheat consumed in England than she at present sends there; but in order to do this she must be willing to trade with England and to exchange commodities; Canada injures herself and checks her own trade when she tries by high duties to prevent English goods from coming into her country; England finds that she can trade more advantageously with other countries and therefore obtains all the food she can from them. Canada's natural market is with England; England needs and can take all the produce that Canada can raise, and England can in exchange send Canada the manufactured goods she requires. What a wrenching and turning of things from their natural courses it seems, then, to force Canada to deal with a country that has no need of, and would not take, her surplus produce! If tariffs were removed to-morrow, how would the great stream of trade flow? Undoubtedly between England and Canada; not between the United States and Canada.

And while Canada is indifferent, or even averse to the great English trade—a trade that only requires to be taken up to increase almost without limit—she yet endeavours

to make trade with other countries—Bermuda, the West Indies, the Argentine, etc.—where no traffic naturally exists. The fatal and certain result of such an obstinate policy as this, is that Canada's foreign trade is at a stand still, and exhibits no such growth and expansion as it ought in a young and developing country, rich in latent resources. The value of imports and exports for 1887, (\$202,408,047) is less than it was for 1873 (\$217,801,203) or 1874 (\$217,565,510) and the value in 1885 and 1886 was less still. The value per head of the population is 17.85 less in 1887 than it was in 1873. The total value of Canadian imports and exports with the value per head of the population, in five year periods, is as follows:*

	Total value	Average annual value per head.
1868 to 1872.....	\$774,642,086	\$44.47
1873 to 1877.....	985,704,111	51.14
1878 to 1882.....	925,440,707	43.50
1883 to 1887.....	1,028,407,134	43.87

In regard to Canadian manufacturers, for whose benefit trade with England has been restricted by high tariffs, the showing is even more unsatisfactory. The value of Canadian manufactures exported has never been so high as it was in 1876, when it reached \$5,953,367; in 1887 it was only \$3,079,972. In the three years 1876-8, the total value exported was \$13,586,544, while in the three years 1885-7 the total value was \$9,085,610.†

Such figures as these, taken from trustworthy official sources, are surely sufficient to convince the most sceptical that Canada's fiscal policy has been in past years a strong obstacle to her progress. The results they proclaim are just such as those acquainted with the theories of trade prophesied would follow on the adoption of high tariffs. If trade is restricted it cannot grow. "Trade follows the Flag," is a saying often quoted of late; "Trade follows the lines of least resistance," is a saying much more in consonance with fact. If Canada wishes to develop she must be prepared to trade with those countries that are able and willing to trade with her; and of all countries in the world, that most willing and most able is England.

Canada had in recent years an opportunity for commercial advancement such as falls to the lot of few nations. With the great country to the South of her walled off from other nations by high restrictive tariffs, had Canada maintained low rates of duty, and done all in her power to develop trade with England she would have progressed with leaps and bounds. Unfortunately other counsels prevailed. Trade with England has been prevented by high duties, and the country has stagnated.

GRANVILLE C. CUNNINGHAM.

Toronto, February, 1889.

THE PROGRESS OF CANADA.—II

WITH the birth of Confederation commenced a new era for Canada and we see presented to our view a picture of prosperity. A united Dominion, spreading from ocean to ocean, with five millions of the freest, most loyal and prosperous people that can anywhere be found; with an iron road stretching across the continent from Halifax to Vancouver carrying the trade of the East and the West; with a national policy of protection to native industries which has done much to develop our industrial capabilities; with a militia which has proved its metal and won its spurs on well fought fields; with an educational system second to none; and with a gradually developed unity of sentiment, of feeling and of purpose, which, I believe, only requires aggressive pressure from without to concentrate into that genuine patriotism which should be the possession of every true British subject.

Well may the words of the poet be applied to Canada and Canadians:

Love thou thy land, with love far brought
From out the storied past, and used
Within the present, but transfused
Thro' future time, by power of thought.

The position of the Dominion compares very favourably with that of other countries. While the average taxation of the United Kingdom is ten dollars per head, and that of our Australian fellow-subjects is fifteen dollars per head, ours only averages six dollars. Mulhall, the distinguished statistician, calculates that the national debt of the United Kingdom is eight per cent. of the Australian Colonies twenty per cent. and of Canada only six and one-half per cent. of its national wealth. Our total trade has increased from 131,000,000, in 1868, to 202,000,000, in 1887. Here we contrast most favourably with the United States. That country's foreign trade amounted in the latter year to twenty-three dollars and forty-seven cents per capita while ours amounted to forty-one dollars and fifty-two cents.

No words can better describe the comparative progress of Canada than the language used by Mr. Erastus Wiman, a couple of years since. He spoke as follows: "This development within the Canadian lines has gone forward with a rapidity quite equal to that of the United States. The growth in all material respects of Canada, in her splendid cities, in the extension of her railways, the improvement of her public works and in the steady progress of all that goes to make up a great nation, make her to-day a very attractive field for the extension of business."

While our population has only doubled since 1868, our export of the produce of the mine has increased nearly three-fold, and that of our fisheries has doubled. Of animals and their products we sent abroad in the first year of Confederation \$6,890,000, in 1887 we exported \$24,240,000. Of Agricultural products we sent away in the

* Whittaker's Almanac, 1888. P. 615.

*Canada: Statistical Record, 1887, p. 208-9. †Canada: Statistical Record 1887, p. 226. ‡Ibid p. 221. §Ibid p. 223.

*Canada: Statistical Record, 1887: p. 199. †Ibid p. 209.