

the protection of the British Navy; but if her desire for national life is to be satisfied, if she is to have a share in the Empire with England, it can only be by sharing with England the burdens of the nation. As there can be "no taxation without representation," so there can be "no representation without taxation." By whatever scheme Canada attained to national life, she would also have to assume national burdens. Independence would necessitate the maintenance of an army and navy, that, at great additional cost, would not give in any comparable degree the security or the prestige that is enjoyed under the Imperial flag. Annexation implies the sharing of the national burdens equally with the other parts of the Union. But under such a federation as I am endeavouring to sketch, Canada would, at a comparatively moderate cost, attain to the enjoyment of full national rights and share in the greatest Empire on earth; while the immense impetus that this federation would give to trade and commerce would more than reimburse her for the expenditure.

Much the same line of reasoning may be applied to the treaty-making power. To make treaties with foreign nations is the function of Government that perhaps more than any other is distinctly national in its nature. It is natural that Canada should wish to have this power. It is plainly to the advantage of a country that it should itself make treaties directly with other countries rather than that they should be made for her. Canada more accurately and precisely understands what she wants and needs than does any other country, and as Canada grows in wealth and importance her intercourse with foreign countries necessarily becomes more varied and intricate. But this treaty making is precisely that one sovereign act of national life that it is impossible to separate from the bearing of national responsibilities. If Canada wishes to make her own treaties she must also be prepared to enforce her own treaties, and this immediately and directly implies independence. The position is utterly untenable that Canada should make what treaties she pleases with foreign powers and then look to England for their maintenance, while Canada takes none of the risk or expense this entails. Canada must cease to be colonial before she can have a right to make treaties, and she can cease to be colonial only by separation from England or by Federation with England. Under Federation she would have her proper voice and share in making treaties—just as Scotland has her share with England—while at the same time she would bear her due proportion of the expense of maintaining treaties. It cannot be too often repeated as a sound political maxim, that national rights imply national burdens; and if Canada has now reached that period of growth when she feels herself entitled to the first, she must also prepare herself to submit to the second. Some in this country seem to hold that the right to make treaties can be as easily delegated to a colony as the right to tax imports; but analysis of the nature of the two rights must show how different they are, and how incompatible the first is with the colonial position.

Emigration is another matter that would be of Imperial concern, and to be dealt with by the Imperial Parliament. Under Federation we can at once see how it would be to England's interest to foster the peopling of the outlying portions of the Empire—to bring into cultivation the great wheat-growing lands that are capable of producing food and of sustaining large populations. The wheat lands of Canada could be the granary of the Empire. The overcrowded population, from poor and sterile lands of the old country, could rightly and with true economy be encouraged and assisted to move to those parts of the Empire where their life would be easier, and their labour productive and remunerative. Whether this assistance were given directly by grants of money, or indirectly by putting a duty on foreign-grown grain, would be a subject for discussion and arrangement. The advantage of a differential duty on grain in favour of the colonies would be that population would be induced to stay in the colonies, whereas at present the farmer of the United States has just as much benefit of the English market as has the farmer of Canada. But this question of assistance to emigration inevitably brings us again to the general question of trade policy. The two are inseparably tangled together. It would be impossible for England to take Canadian grain if Canada refused to take English goods, and if English trade was restricted by heavy Canadian duties, so likewise would the export of Canadian grain be restricted. The volume of one trade would be the measure of the other. If England expended money, either directly or indirectly, to aid her surplus population to leave her shores and settle in Canada or other parts of the Empire, she would need to be assured that she would be able to derive benefit from their labour when they were settled there. England requires to draw annually immense quantities of grain from countries beyond her shores to feed her population. It would be vastly to her advantage that these countries should be the colonial or outlying portions of her own Empire rather than foreign countries; therefore it is to England's interest to people and develop the wheat lands of the colonies. But England can only obtain the grain thus grown by exchanging her manufactured goods for it, and if the colonies, for any reason, are averse to trading with England, and keep out English goods, it is plain that by just so much England is prevented from obtaining Canadian grain. The volume of trade is restricted. In other words, the very object for which England had expended money in aiding emigration would be defeated by the imposition of restrictive Canadian duties on her manufactures.

In a previous article I shewed both how very small was the share of England's food imports that Canada contributed, and how very large was the total quantity that

England required. All that we could raise in this country in the way of food could be sent to England, provided we were willing to trade with her. Cattle, grain, cheese, butter, eggs and fruit, all these things that this country can produce in abundance, England can take; but as said before, England can only take them provided we take her goods in exchange. Trade between nations is barter; and we can therefore see how trade must be at once curtailed when one of the parties refuses to take the other's goods. But under Federation, when a system of national emigration would be intelligently directed; when a consistent fiscal policy would develop the trade for which emigration laid the foundation, the wants of one part of the Empire would be satisfied by the surpluses of the other. Population and trade would equally grow, and the growth of the one would increase the growth of the other.

And who shall say what would be the limits or the possibilities of such an Empire as this? It would be founded on peace, built by trade, and connected by the strongest bonds of mutual interest and advantage. No need in such an Empire for armed hosts to hold together unwilling partners. The naval and military establishments would be needed only to protect against foreign aggression, or to bring uncivilized lands into the world's grasp. And not only would material prosperity bind together far distant lands, but every sentiment of love for a noble past, every instinct of loyalty to glorious institutions. We are all of the same blood and lineage, we are all the heirs of the same grand traditions, we are all the outcome of the same heart-stirring history. To us England is always "home," the one spot on earth whither our hearts turn with common feelings of love and devotion. Much more would it be "home," when the greatest Empire the world has ever seen shall have been truly founded and established; when to the same centre whence we came, we would again return to take part in the work of government and control. Surely there is something in all this that touches loftier chords than do mere schemes of buying and selling; surely we find here a real force that needs but a guiding hand to work results of amazing power. Imperial Federation may be but a dream; but even to dream such a dream lifts one out of the dull and muddy track of common life, while its realization would be the grandest achievement of all time.

GRANVILLE C. CUNNINGHAM.

Toronto, March, 1889.

AMBITION.

AMBITION shot an arrow
Scarce heeding where it sped;
Quick flew the winged poison,
And lo! Content is dead.

Toronto.

ALME.

THE PROGRESS OF CANADA—III.

CANADA has of late years, in addition to its positive progress, made very great comparative headway and in fact, ranks favourably with any country in the world, not excluding the United States, in agricultural, industrial and general development. Some passing allusion has already been made to the subject of our agricultural progress, more especially concerning the rapidly growing districts of Manitoba, the North-West, British Columbia, and the "Great Lone Land" of a brief period past, the Mackenzie Basin. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the recent enormous production of wheat in the Territories and Manitoba, its superior quality to that of any grown elsewhere upon the Continent, or to refer to the immense possibilities of future production, but I would turn for a moment to Ontario, the greatest Province of the Confederation, the educational, intellectual, and most progressive portion of our fair Dominion.

According to the Annual Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries the total value of farm lands, buildings, implements, and live stock in this Province rose from \$882,000,000 in 1882 to \$989,000,000 in 1886, or an increase of \$107,000,000 in four years. In this connection the words of Hon. David A. Wells, the American author, are well worthy of repetition as giving a foreign estimate of our Province, when he says: "Nearly as large in area as New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio combined, and equal, if not superior, to those States as a whole in its agricultural capacity, it raises and grazes the finest of cattle, and its climatic conditions created by an almost encirclement of the Great Lakes especially fit it to grow men. Such a country is one of the greatest gifts of Providence to the human race, better than bonanzas of silver or rivers whose sands contain gold."

Mr. J. R. Larned, of the U.S. Treasury Department, said in 1871, in a report to his Government: "Ontario possesses a fertility with which no part of New England can at all compare, and that particular section of it around which the circle of the Great Lakes is swept forces itself upon our notice as one of the most favoured spots upon the whole Continent."

When we turn to the Dominion as a whole we find that the census of 1871 shows the total value of farm products to have been \$280,000,000, while that of ten years later reveals a total of \$371,000,000, or an increase of \$90,000,000. It is, however, asserted that our farmers are crippled by heavy mortgages, but the facts would seem to be very different. The return of mortgages on real estate throughout the entire Dominion as made to the Government by Loan Companies amounted in 1886 to the sum of \$81,000,000, or little more than 10 per cent. of the value of farm property in Ontario alone. A comparison in this respect

with the condition of American farmers will throw some light upon our position. The American Commissioner of Agriculture in his Report for 1886 shows that in New York State, the richest portion of the American Union, 30 per cent. of the farms are mortgaged to within 66 per cent. of their estimated value, and one in twenty of the farm proprietors is hopelessly in debt, and so it goes on. In Illinois 33 per cent.; in Kansas 50 per cent.; in Alabama 45 per cent.; in Louisiana and in Arkansas 75 per cent. of the farms are mortgaged. We thus see the great progress Canada has made in the past in the development of her agricultural resources and what may not be said of the future? With our 375,000,000 acres of good agricultural still unoccupied; with our 1,300,000 square miles of surface on which we can grow the best wheat in the world; with soil which produces the best barley upon the American Continent; with the adoption of some policy which would bring the capital and farmers of the mother-country to develop our vacant territory, it is not difficult to come to the conclusion that our progress in the future will be much greater than it has been even in our prosperous past.

Intimately bound up with the welfare of the agriculturist is that of the manufacturer. A large artisan and industrial population requires a proportionate supply of food and hence affords an increased market for the products of the farm. The manufacturers of Canada are yet in their infancy, but even in that condition show a steady and increasing progress. The census returns reveal the following figures of continuous increase in the industries of the country:

	1871.	1881.
Capital invested	\$77,324,020	\$165,302,623
Value of raw material	124,901,846	179,918,541
Total value of articles produced ..	221,617,773	309,676,068

and there seems little reason to doubt a recent estimate to the effect that since 1881 the increase has been at least thirty per cent. A partial investigation made in 1884 and 1885 in the five older Provinces of the Dominion, affords the premises from which to calculate that there had been in 1884 an increase over 1878 of 75 per cent. in the number of hands employed, of 75 per cent. in the amount of wages paid, of 93 per cent. in the value of products, and of 75 per cent. in the amount of capital invested.

It would then appear that we have as a people made a marked progress in the great work of building up a country containing those varied occupations which are so essential to the true development of a position of agricultural and manufacturing power, and that we are now directing our energies, under the beneficent action of our policy of Protection, towards a future well described by Mr. J. S. Jeans, an eminent English writer, when he asserted that "in a general way, it may be safely predicted that the nation which has the most varied industry is likely, all other things being equal, to be the most prosperous, powerful and contented."

Toronto.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PROGRESS OF CANADA.

To the Editor of THE WEEK:

SIR,—In his article on "The Progress of Canada," which appeared in your issue of the 15th inst., Mr. J. Castell Hopkins exhibits a commendable faith in the future of our country, a faith which, I think, is possessed by well-informed Canadians generally. Nevertheless, some of his statements, since they appear in such a journal as THE WEEK, should not be allowed to pass unchallenged.

He says: "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." From the amount named in the case of Canada, Mr. Hopkins must refer to taxation for other than local purposes. Now, while the average revenue of the central governments in the colonies of Australia is even more than fifteen dollars per head, it must not be forgotten that this revenue may be classed under three principal heads, as derived from taxation, from public services, and from the sale and rental of public lands, of which the first yields the least. In New South Wales the railways are almost entirely owned by the Government, while the telegraph system is altogether in the hands of the Government. The same, with some limitations, is true of the other colonies.

Again, in Australia, the municipal system has been only partially applied, and a very large proportion of works of improvement are executed by the general Governments.

It requires a very complete knowledge of all the affairs of two countries to justly compare their votes of taxation. Such a knowledge of Australia I fear Mr. Hopkins does not possess.

Yours, etc.,

Napanee, March 17, 1889.

C. FESSENDEN.

PROFESSOR KIRCHOFF, of Halle, estimates that the language most spoken on the globe for the last thousand years at least, is Chinese, for it is without doubt the only one which is talked by over 400,000,000 of the human race; the next language most in use (but at a very great distance behind Chinese) being Hindustani, spoken by over 100,000,000. Then follow English (spoken by about 100,000,000), Russian (over 70,000,000), German (over 57,000,000), and Spanish (over 47,000,000).