

ness. We have arrived, then, at the greatest era of our history as a country, when it is the duty and the honourable privilege of every Canadian to join in laying the foundations of our great Dominion. It is a great task, an irrevocable task. As we lay our foundations so shall the superstructure appear. A nation that sacrifices the interests of the many to the few, must expect great monopolies and their natural reactions. If the members of a nation do not rise to their natural rights, they must expect tyranny and military despotism if it is a monarchy; and if it is a democracy they must suffer monopolies and misrule. Only when these latter insidious evils are overcome can a democracy be called triumphant.

To have the right to vote is not freedom unless the voter is enlightened, otherwise it means machinery and great national defects. It is the boast of the United States that they are free, but no country can be free whose members are not leavened by education in its true sense, for education is the only sound basis for democracy. A nation that taxes education, the books that convey to us foreign thought, is untrue to democracy; it simply means encouragement of ignorance. That artificial restrictions of trade can create wealth is a long-lived superstition. Taxes can furnish a revenue, and, within that revenue, can keep alive our industries, which would naturally grow but for American protected competition. Natural growth in manufactures is the best growth, but when this natural growth is jeopardized by an unnaturally created American competition to the south, there is no resource for us to keep alive our industries, but to shut out, to some extent, that unnatural competition so long as it remains unnatural. To tax the people beyond the needed revenue, and thus create surpluses, is to lessen the national prosperity: for in a new country the national debt largely represents its fund of development. By paying that off, we take from the country its only means of development. A protection that produces surpluses hinders the country's development, for they can only be used as a reduction of the national debt, which has been stated to be a national development fund. The less a government is forced to do for its citizens, the more they will do for themselves, and the better it will be done. To lean on something outside oneself smacks of the swaddling clothes. The reasonable citizen asks from his government an economic protection of his national rights at home and abroad, and the economic development of his country, and is willing to be taxed to that extent and no more. Beyond that, treasury surpluses indicate individual carelessness and negligence in a willingness to give over their capital into the hands of deputies, who are less interested in investing it in the most productive way, and who are more likely to make use of it for their own selfish gains. Taxes cannot produce wealth, they are simply taken out of the hands of those who make the wealth, and these three great classes are the owners of the land, the labourers and the capitalists. Capital is the produce resulting from the cultivation of land by labour. Afterwards, capital becomes differentiated into two great classes, capital employed in agriculture and capital employed in manufactures. Agriculture precedes manufactures, and is the demand for them. Nothing shows this so plainly as a failure in harvest, the consequences of which are depressing to trade. To discourage agriculture by drawing off its capital into unnaturally formed channels of trade, is to sap the very foundations of trade. To hinder the growth of agriculture is to hinder the growth of manufacture, to lessen agricultural products is to lessen the exchange for manufactures.

It is to be feared that our cities are growing at the expense of the country population. The fiscal policy should interfere as little as possible with the natural relations of land, labour and capital. A tariff is a national necessity, and should weigh as lightly as possible on the labourer and the farmer. The great advantage we possess, and which is the true secret of the success of democracy, despite its great attendant evils, lies in the comparative equalization of ownership by the majority of the land and the means of living. The Continent of America has had the good fortune never to have inherited the feudalism and centralization of European politics. But if we neglect this great fundamental fact of prosperity, as has been done in the United States, we shall have to face the evils of feudalism without any of its advantage. If we unreasonably tax the many for the few, we shall find ourselves

at the mercy of a plutocracy, lacking the great elements of honour and culture which aristocracy possess. By high taxation the United States have fostered great monopolies, have increased the cost of living to consumers, the majority of whom are labourers and farmers—and what are the fruits to-day? Great labour reactions, strikes, organizations, the doctrines of anarchy, and, in 1887, the Pension Bill! Our Canadian Tariff is a necessity, for by it only can we meet the obligations we have incurred in developing the resources of our country. Great railways have been built opening up our vast possibilities to settlement, and to bind the great provinces of confederation together. The older and more populous provinces have bound themselves to a great debt for the national sentiment of confederation. The great question now is will those younger provinces make an equal sacrifice in return for that great idea of confederation? The principles of free trade are sound in the assumption that all nations are pledged to its principles, but all nations are not, and especially in Canada must tariff taxes bear a relation to those of the United States. How can unprotected manufacturers compete with protected manufacturers on the Continent of America when railway competition is becoming so great? Cease to protect American manufacturers and the necessity of protecting Canadian manufacturers largely ceases; in other words, free trade in Canada means free trade in America. Supposing the States to throw off their high duties to-morrow we should not be in a position to do the same, for, as stated before, we have incurred the payment of interest on our national debt—which is largely the fund of our development; but the States will only do this by degrees, and with an increased expansion of our trade, bearing with it an increase of revenue, our taxes may be approximated to theirs. Protection within the revenue as long as necessary, but no protection that makes surpluses, for these mean decrease of our national development fund. Continental free trade is a misnomer—it is really continental protection. Commercial union with the States at present means commercial disunion with the Empire. It is more than a commercial question, it is a constitutional question. It means one step nearer annexation, and one step further from the Empire. The last step would come with the discontent of direct taxation. To have our trade regulated from Washington against the interests of the Empire in favour of the Americans is to ask the protection and prestige of the Empire, and at the same time, to adopt a commercial policy which shall aggrandize a foreign nation and injure the trade of the Empire. To discriminate between Great Britain and the United States equally is a different thing from discriminating against Great Britain and not against the United States. The only consistent, honourable and logical position of such Americanophiles would be to ask the protection of the American Republic; for it is both selfish and irrational to ask her the natural benefits of trade in favour of the United States. When we shall consider her interests more foreign to us than those of a foreign nation, will she not justly and naturally be inclined to leave the responsibilities to those who reap the benefits? The only hope for our future as a nation is in continued adherence to our present constitution. Until the provinces are thoroughly united into a national union, our present constitution is beneficial and necessary. Out of the Empire and with insufficient cohesion of the provinces, the only destiny for us is Annexation. Of the three possibilities of Canada, Independence is the most practicable. Imperial Federation, if it is chimerical, is no more chimerical than Annexation. For he must indeed be a democratical enthusiast who cannot see the weakness of Congress, and who would entrust the interest of a vast country to a larger centralized Congress whose interests are now sufficiently various and distant.

There are many great nations in Europe, and there is room for at least two great nations on this Continent. We have a great country, countless acres of land, great mineral wealth, splendid facilities for commerce, but without a good class of citizens these are only possibilities. Not the quantity of population so much as the quality, is needed. The greatest era in English history, the Elizabethan period, was the work of about three millions of people. The greatest era of the United States had its birth amongst about the same number of people.