

so as to take in all reasonable motives, and to embrace the future as well as the present. That he is sacrificing, and deliberately sacrificing, the present advantage to larger gains in the future, is the position of the American Protectionist; and, whether the belief as to the future profit be well or ill-founded in his case, we must meet him in argument on his own ground. For my part I see little prospect of a change in the American tariff except through the reduction of the debt, which will diminish the need of revenue. The Protectionist fights hard, the Free Trader is apathetic. I have noticed this in speaking to Western farmers, who would seem to have the greatest interest in Free Trade. The proportion of dutiable articles used by the farmer is not large; he does not spend much in clothes, for his machinery he has paid protection price, but then he has bought it, and the thing is done. Seeing the finances flourishing the people think the system must be good. The promise that by encouraging home manufactures it will draw emigration and provide the farmer with customers on the spot, instead of sending the workman's dinner to him across the Atlantic, seems to them to be sustained by the results. After all, we must remember that the United States are not an ordinary country, they are a continent, producing almost everything in itself. The Americans, in fact, have free trade over a vast and diversified area. It seems better to point out this, and to show how it saves them from consequences which would attend protection applied to a small territory, than to tell them they are a ruined people, when they know that, instead of being ruined, they are about the most prosperous people in the world. There is talk of an Imperial Zollverein, which means, I suppose, free trade between England and her colonies, with protection against the rest of the world. Canada would always be willing to meet the wishes of the mother-country, but she could hardly enter into an arrangement of this kind. Her case is essentially different from that of Australia and New Zealand. She is bound up commercially as well as territorially with the United States, which are her natural market. She has, moreover, a frontier of 3,000 miles, and to keep out American goods she would have to employ a considerable proportion of her population in guarding the

Customs line. As it is, there is smuggling on a large scale.

This paper is unavoidably miscellaneous; and there are two things more which perhaps ought to be briefly noticed. One is international copyright. Literary men in the United States have always been in favour of international copyright, both on general grounds of justice and because, under the other system, they are placed at a manifest disadvantage, a publisher not being willing to pay them for their work while he is at liberty to take the work of British authors without paying. But the publishers have hitherto resisted. Now they have come round, and are pressing the Governments to make a treaty. It is too late. Cheap publishing has received an immense extension in America during the last few years. Not only light literature, but literature of all kinds, including science, and philosophy, can now be bought at amazingly low prices—prices so low that the necessity of public libraries, except for purposes of reference, appears likely to be almost superseded. The American people have entered into a paradise of cheap reading, from which, depend upon it, they will not allow themselves to be shut out. I doubt whether Congress could ever pass the law which it seems would be necessary to give effect to a treaty. Copyright altogether received a severe blow when a large English-reading public came into existence on the other side of the Atlantic beyond the pale of English law. There is nothing for it now, as I believe, but to get, if possible, free trade in books, and in publishing to give up etiquette, and come down to commercial principles. We must print our books, as we would make our cottons, for the market, and not expect the public to give an etiquette price for reading matter more than for any other article. I fear this sounds coarse advice. But, after all, the soul is yoked to the body, and if literature is ethereal, publishing is a trade. It would not be surprising if the question raised by this international difficulty about copyright were some day to extend to the case of patent right also.

The last word I have to say is about emigration, and on this subject I wish to be cautious. I do not want, as a citizen of a country which courts emigration, to understate its advantages; at the same time I feel the responsibility of encouraging anyone to emigrate. I