

self-defence on the part of those whom the Irish Parliament of James had doomed to confiscation and death by a sweeping Act of Attainder; whereas the French persecution, which exceeded it a hundred-fold in cruelty, was totally unprovoked: had the Protestants dealt with the Catholics as the Catholics dealt with the Protestants there would now be no Irish Catholics to complain of the Penal Code.

IS CONFEDERATION A SUCCESS?

IN a former article I endeavoured to show that no Province of this Dominion was gaining by the existing Confederation, and, in detail, explained the actual working of affairs so far as the Maritime Provinces are concerned. It will now be proper to speak of the position of Ontario under the Confederation, and see how the system of forced inter-Provincial trade affects her interests, and in what direction her true interests lie.

The latest Blue-books accessible at present are those giving the trade returns for the year ending June 30th, 1883. In that year the exports of Ontario amounted to \$32,890,000. Of this, \$26,234,000 went to the United States and paid heavy duty. Only \$6,347,000 went to Great Britain, with no duty at all. It is quite manifest from these figures that the adjoining States west and south of the Province of Ontario are its natural and best markets. Taking the matter more in detail, it is found that Ontario sent of lumber to the United States 445,304 M., of the value of \$6,092,576. All this paid a duty of \$2 per thousand feet. It is scarcely worth while to enter into a subtle disquisition as to who pays the duty: that is ruled in the main by the simple incident whether the export from the particular place is sufficiently large to materially affect the price in the consuming country. In general it may be safely affirmed that Customs duties are an injury and an impediment to both producer and consumer, exporter and importer, buyer and seller. But in this case it is tolerably manifest that the export of lumber to the United States from Ontario, or from the whole of Canada, does not materially affect the price in that country. If this be so, then Ontario paid a tax of \$900,000 for the privilege of selling lumber in the United States. Is that a sound policy? What would be the effect on the lumbering industry of Ontario if the duty were removed, and free access to the markets of nearly sixty millions of people at our own doors were afforded?

Ontario sent \$6,131,000 worth of barley to the United States, and paid a duty upon every bushel. Of agricultural produce Ontario sent to the United States \$9,844,000; to Great Britain, \$3,652,000. In the one case duties were paid; in the other none. Of animals and their produce Ontario sent to the United States \$4,108,000, and paid a heavy duty upon every animal and every article; to Great Britain she sent \$3,652,905, and paid no duty. Of the produce of the forest she sent to the United States \$7,821,885, and paid heavy duties upon it; to Great Britain, \$3,428, with no duty. It ought to be stated here that the official trade returns, on the face of them, do not probably exactly represent the actual exports of Ontario. Much of her produce, no doubt, is shipped at the St. Lawrence ports and credited to Quebec. But, making all allowance for this, it is still clear that the United States are, beyond all comparison, the greatest markets which the people of Ontario possess; that free access to them would be the greatest commercial boon which could, by any power or possibility, be bestowed upon them; and that want of such access is a tax and an incubus upon every productive industry of the Province.

Consider the Maritime Provinces as a market for Ontario produce. Flour is sent there and some manufactured goods; but in the great staples of Ontario—barley, lumber, animals and agricultural produce generally—how much is sent to the Lower Provinces? Let us thank heaven that no more is sent, for every dollar's worth of produce which Nova Scotia brings from Ontario she buys at a loss. In the nature of things, and by the eternal laws of trade, it is not the interest of the Maritime Provinces to buy from Ontario, for the obvious reason that they have nothing to send in return. The few articles which the people of the Maritime Provinces are forced to buy from Ontario they have to pay for in cash, and that cash has to be obtained by means of a fettered trade with the New England States. How much does Ontario buy from the Maritime Provinces? Scarcely anything; and whatever it does obtain it could buy with greater advantage from its neighbouring States. It is an axiom of trade that the people from whom it is advantageous to buy, in general, are they who purchase from us. Let this be applied to Ontario, and what moral is derived?

Those who have resolved that inter-Provincial trade shall be forced by the iron arm of the law have attempted to decree that Ontario shall buy her coal from Nova Scotia. How has the experiment worked? An enormous tax has been imposed upon the people of Ontario for coal, while no market of any practical value has been created for

the coal of Nova Scotia. God and Nature have decreed that the people of Ontario shall obtain their coal from Pennsylvania; and if prodigious and burdensome tariffs ever succeed in overriding this high decree, the people of Ontario will pay the penalty as bitterly as the people of the Maritime Provinces are paying the penalty of being compelled to buy their flour from a country with which they have no natural trade.

This reasoning will apply with equal force to Manitoba and the North-West. Their interests are inexorably bound up with the cities of St. Paul, Minneapolis and other American towns. Their being compelled to trade with Ontario is a perpetual burden, and their forced expulsion from the markets of the American States south of them is paralyzing their industries and impeding their prosperity. It is impossible to name any two sections of this vast Dominion which have any natural commercial interests with each other. And all the sentiment, all the fine talk about this "Great Dominion," "this Canada of Ours," cannot permanently affect the ultimate logic of these tremendous facts.

If Canada was surrounded by savage races, or even by an alien race with whom it could have nothing in common or could not amalgamate, the attempt to bind together the English-speaking people of British North America would be worthy of great effort; indeed, it might become a political necessity. But the fact is we are simply part of a great civilized, enlightened, well-governed and progressive English-speaking continent. The population of Canada is about five millions. Beside us are fifty-five millions of just such people as we are. Is Ontario a great, free, self-governing State, foremost in education, social refinement, and moral elevation? Is not Ohio the same? Is not New York, Pennsylvania or Illinois equally progressive, enlightened and well-governed? Is there not as large a moral element in—say, political matters—as in Ontario? No reason worth a moment's consideration can be given for the erection of commercial barriers upon the mere artificial and imaginary boundary lines which separate the two countries.

One of the tests of commercial interest between countries is the intermingling of the people. How does this affect the argument as to the commercial unity of the various portions of this Dominion? In Nova Scotia there is scarcely a family which has not a son or a daughter in some part of the New England States. Tens of thousands of our young men and women go thither every year. It is said, on fairly good authority, that there are more Nova Scotians in Boston than in Halifax. How many Nova Scotians ever go, or ever dream of going, to Ontario? The idea would be regarded as pure nonsense. Not because Ontario is not as fine a country as Massachusetts, but simply because there is no natural commerce or connection between the two Provinces; whereas between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts there is a natural connection. Tens of thousands of Americans visit Nova Scotia every year. Hundreds of them are settled here, working our mines and operating our lumber fields. How often have we the pleasure of beholding a fair specimen of the genuine citizen of Ontario? The same reason is applicable in the case of the Upper Provinces. Tens of thousands of the sons and daughters of Ontario have gone to the Middle and Western States. Tens of thousands of Americans flock to Ontario every summer. Quebec has sent out hundreds of thousands of its French population to the States, and the hotels of Montreal are crowded with American guests. These things prove clearer and more eloquently than all the orations which empty sentiment has inspired where each portion of this great Dominion finds its natural complement. It is not too much to say that the New England States are more to the Maritime Provinces than the rest of the world. Blot out the trade of New England from Western Nova Scotia and the result would be despair. Give free access to the markets of New England, and remove all barriers to trade, and prosperity follows instantly. The brightest page in the history of the Maritime Provinces was between the years 1854 and 1866. Then there was progress and abundance. The darkest page—and sooner or later every sane man will see it—dates from 1879, when special efforts were made to crush out the best and most profitable trade the Maritime Provinces ever had or ever can have. It is not too much to say that the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois are more to Ontario than the rest of the world. Blot out the trade of those States from Ontario and the result would be despair. Give free access to the markets and remove all barriers to trade and the value of every farm in Ontario is increased within one year.

Geography alone makes the formation of a consolidated nation within the boundaries of Canada impossible. If a man should start from Halifax for Toronto in a straight line he would make three-fourths of the journey through the territory of the United States. He would traverse the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York. If he should start for Montreal in a straight line two-thirds of the journey would be on