

nor is it likely that letters embodying scandals of this kind would be preserved. But it is a wide step from this admission to saying that Pitt, whose character was unquestionably pure and whose aims were undeniably patriotic and high, behaved like a blackguard and destroyed documents in order to suppress the evidence of his own crimes. Does Mr. Gladstone think that the inducements held out by Pitt, in what he and Cornwallis deemed the interest of the State, to Irish borough-mongers to surrender their power were more immoral than the pressure which he is himself putting upon the consciences of members of Parliament through the caucus machinery managed by his henchman, Mr. Schnadhorst? If he does, I confess that my moral perceptions differ from his. GOLDWIN SMITH.

COMMERCIAL UNION.

THERE was a time not very remote when THE WEEK not only advocated Commercial Union, but enunciated in clear and convincing terms the principles which render this policy the true and necessary solution of our present difficulties. Now its energies are expended in trying to prove that it is all wrong, and that Canada should adhere to the present policy of commercial isolation. It is to be hoped that an avowedly independent organ of public opinion will not be adverse to a fair discussion of the question in its columns, and, on that assumption, I venture to offer some ideas in support of the movement.

There is nothing in the consideration of Commercial Union with the United States which involves the questions of Free Trade and Protection in the abstract. Both the Free Trader and the Protectionist can consistently support it: the latter, because it is contemplated that North America should have a common and high tariff against the rest of the world; the former, because unrestricted trade over a whole great and prosperous continent is an enormous step in the direction of Free Trade. Personally, I would regard absolute Free Trade as a better solution of our difficulties. But this seems not to be a practical question at the present moment. The most sanguine public man would despair of being able to induce the Canadian people to accept the broad doctrine of commercial freedom, and a revenue derived chiefly from direct taxation. This solution then having to be rejected for the time, it remains to be seen what is the best practicable course for us to take.

The theory upon which the advocacy of Commercial Union is based is that our present condition of affairs is intolerable and cannot last. The opposition to it goes upon the assumption that everything is all right in Canada; that the National Policy of Sir John Macdonald is working well, and that all parts of Canada are not only prosperous but contented. This is denied in the clearest and most emphatic manner.

Granting, for the moment, that under ordinary circumstances the National Policy is sound—in other words, that in a new country like Canada it is the true policy to build up domestic industries by imposing high tariffs against the products and manufactures of older countries, still, upon a careful examination into the peculiar circumstances of our position, it must strike any mind that is not prejudiced or dull, that such a policy is simple madness, and must sooner or later collapse. A political union of the several Provinces of British North America was effected in 1867, but not a commercial union, and the twenty years that have elapsed have only served to demonstrate how utterly impossible a commercial union between the several Provinces is.

I take the solid ground that naturally there is no trade between Ontario and the Maritime Provinces whatsoever. Without the aid or compulsion of tariffs scarcely a single article produced in Ontario would ever seek or find a market in Nova Scotia, or the other Maritime Provinces; in like manner, unless under similar compulsion, not a product of the Maritime Provinces would ever go to Ontario. Twenty years of political union and nine years of an inexorable protective policy designed to compel inter-Provincial trade have been powerless to create any large trade between these two sections, and what it has created has been unnatural, unhealthy, and consequently profitless.

To illustrate, Ontario sends about \$7,000,000 worth of barley to the United States, and pays fifteen cents per bushel duty on it. How much does she send to the Maritime Provinces? She sends an equal value of the products of the forest to the United States, and pays heavy duties upon it. How much to the Maritime Provinces with no duties? She sends over \$4,000,000 worth of animals and their produce to the United States with heavy duties. How much to the Maritime Provinces? Let us reverse the picture. Nova Scotia sends nearly \$2,000,000 worth of fish to the United States. How much to Ontario? She sends of the produce of her mines \$600,000 to the United States, and pays large duties. How much

to Ontario with no duties? She sends \$500,000 worth of agricultural products to the United States, and pays heavy duties. How much to Ontario? She sends some hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of produce of the forest to the United States, and pays heavy duties. How much to Ontario?

Of the genuine natural products Nova Scotia sends practically nothing to Ontario. If the exports from Nova Scotia to Ontario are carefully studied, it will be found that they consist chiefly of refined sugar and manufactured cotton, the product of two mushroom industries called into existence by the protective system, and which do not affect one way or another the interests of five hundred individuals in the entire Province of Nova Scotia.

Does any one ask why this state of things exists? The answer is simple. God and Nature never designed a trade between Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. If I have a barrel or ton of any commodity produced in Nova Scotia, and I desired to send it to Toronto or Hamilton, the cost of sending it thither would (unless it were gold) probably be more than the value of the commodity. But I can at any moment put it on board of one of the numerous vessels or steamers which are daily leaving every port in Nova Scotia for Boston, and send it to that city for 20 or 30 cents. If I desired to go to Toronto or Hamilton to sell it, I should have to mortgage my farm to pay the cost of the trip, whereas I can go to Boston and back for a few dollars.

Will some one be good enough to rise and explain how it happens after all the boasted results of the National Policy, after the glorification we hear in the party press when a car load of sugar leaves Halifax for Ontario, that at this moment all the trade relations and all the social relations of Nova Scotia are with the New England States, and all the trade relations and all the social relations of Ontario are with the people of New York, Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and other large American cities? How happens it that Manitoba, where millions of the people's money have been lavished in the attempt to engraft a mad system of forced inter-Provincial trade upon the Northwest, is to-day on the brink of insurrection—over what? Simply the right to have railway connection with the United States. Sir John Macdonald and the Canadian Parliament have decreed that the people of Manitoba shall sell their wheat in Montreal or Toronto, and trade with Ontario and Quebec. God and Nature have decreed that they shall sell their wheat in and trade with St. Paul, Minneapolis and other contiguous western cities. Whose decrees are most likely based upon wisdom, and which are most certain to prevail? Will some enthusiastic advocate of the present system please rise and explain why, after twenty years of Confederation, a Nova Scotian is never seen in Ontario except as a traveller or a delegate to some denominational convention, and why with the exception of the "drummer" an Ontario man is as great a curiosity in Nova Scotia as a South Sea Islander? There must be something generally wrong with a system which, after twenty years of enthusiastic gush over the Confederation and the building of a National sentiment, has for its product complete isolation between the several Provinces: which sees the merchants of the Maritime Provinces making constant visits in the way of trade to Boston and New York, and none to Toronto: which sees the business men of Ontario going daily backward and forward between that Province and the American cities about them, and coming to Halifax in the way of business once in a century. In all seriousness is there not material in these facts—undoubted facts—to cause sensible men to reflect upon the prosperity and permanence of the existing conditions of things in Canada?

If any moral can be gathered from the incidents already referred to, it is this: That the Maritime Provinces have no natural or healthy trade with the Upper Provinces, but with the New England States: that the Upper Provinces have no natural trade with the Maritime Provinces, but with the Central and Western States adjoining them: that Manitoba has no natural trade with the larger Provinces of Canada, but with the Western States to the south of her: that British Columbia has no trade with any part of Canada, but with California and the Pacific States. In other words, that inter-Provincial trade is unnatural, forced, and profitless, while there is a natural and profitable trade at our very doors open and available to us. Does not this suggest Commercial Union with the United States as the supreme solution of our present difficulties in tones so clear, so unmistakable as to be apparent to the dullest? The remedy is simple: strike down the unnatural and absurd barriers between this country and the United States, and let trade flow freely in its natural channels from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The difficulties and objections to this policy which are being so industriously raised and magnified at present, I would be glad to deal with in another article with your permission.

J. W. LONGLEY.