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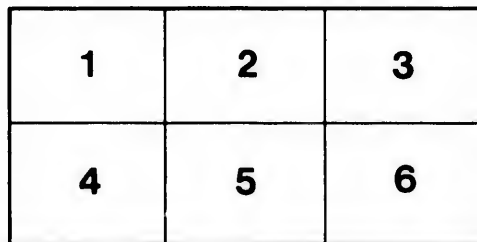
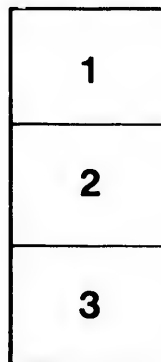
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SOME LIGHT ON THE CANADIAN ENIGMA.

OUT of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee two years ago came the knowledge that Canada was, in all things but name, an independent nation ; that Great Britain not only was not desirous to hold her children across the sea in tutelage, but encouraged them to assert their manhood and their independence and to manage their own affairs. This attitude of the British Government was as startling to the Administration in Washington as it was important. The relations between the United States and the Dominion of Canada had for years been unsatisfactory ; they had been a constant source of friction between the Washington and London cabinets ; and more than once they had nearly led to ruptures. Washington, having only a superficial knowledge of Canadian affairs, regarded Canada as an overgrown boy whose youth is a protection from a man's just vengeance, but who is too old to be summarily punished. As a self-governing colony, Canada had the power to make laws to suit herself, no matter how objectionable they might be to the United States : as an integral part of the British Empire, the protests of the United States had to be addressed not to the Canadian Premier at Ottawa, but to the British Premier in London. In other words, Canada enjoyed all the advantages of independence and none of its responsibilities.

This was a constant thorn in the side of Washington. It came to be believed by Presidents and Secretaries of State and Members of Congress that Great Britain, while compelled to defend her spoiled child publicly, yet secretly longed to use the rod ; and this belief inflamed the feeling existing against Canada. When, therefore, two years ago, Sir Wilfrid Laurier went to London, to bear Canada's tribute to her Queen, and, as a result of his visit, it was seen that Canada was ruled in Ottawa and not in Downing Street ; when Sir Wilfrid offered preferential trade to Great Britain ; and when, at his request, the Marquis of Salisbury denounced the commercial treaties with Germany and Belgium, it was notice to the world that Canada was no longer a ward, but had come into full possession of her heritage.

Nearly all Americans (and, curiously enough, most Englishmen) make the mistake of regarding the Canadians as a homogeneous nation, and of considering them, although separated by 3,000 miles of ocean from the mother-land, as British in thought and sentiment. It is this false impression which has kept friction alive, and rendered impossible a complete settlement of many vexatious problems. Fortunately, the High Joint Commission, for the first time in the history of Anglo-Canadian-American negotiations, approached the questions at issue with such mutual tolerance and with so great a desire to accomplish results, that it is confidently hoped that the relations between the great republic at the south and the republic (in everything but name) at the north of the North American continent will be much more amicable in the future than they have been in the past, and will result in an enlarged and more profitable trade for both.

The Dominion of Canada, the largest of all the British possessions, spreads from the Atlantic on the east to the Pacific on the west; embracing a territory of more than 3,800,000 square miles, and sheltering a population exceeding 5,000,000. Politically united, and nominally a nation, socially (ethnologically almost) Canada is nearly as unhomogeneous as Austria-Hungary. It is true the conditions in the Dominion are not so bad as in the dual Empire, because in Canada there are only two recognized languages and three races (broadly speaking); while in the Austrian Empire some half-dozen or more languages are used, each the speech of a race naturally antagonistic to all the others. To Americans who know Canada as a vacation-ground only, to Englishmen to whom Canada is an absolute mystery and who associate it with furs, ice-palaces, and, in these later days, gold-mines and tales of marvellous adventure, this may seem a remarkable assertion. Canada, partly on account of her past history and partly by reason of her geographical position, occupies a unique place in the British Empire. In India, an Englishman, whether on the frontier of Afghanistan or in Madras, is always an Englishman, and he always talks English. It is the same in Australia, in Africa, in Egypt—everywhere in Greater Britain, in fact, except in Canada.

To understand this, take the map of the Dominion and run a line on the seventy-ninth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, and another, bisecting Lake Superior, on the ninetieth degree. This divides Canada into three parts, leaving out, for the time being, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The eastern division, the Province of

Quebec—the New France of Louis XV, the theatre of some of the most glorious deeds of British valor—is to-day almost as French as it was when Bigot filled the coffers of the Grand Company and purchased the Pompadour's friendship by a share of the plunder. Between Louis and his mistresses on the one side, and Bigot and his pack of thieves on the other, the bravery of Montcalm was powerless. Wolfe, dying on the Plains of Abraham, saw the Fleur-de-lis trailed in the dust. But, though the white banner of France has bowed to the blood-red cross of St. George; though for a hundred and fifty years Englishmen and English laws have administered the Province of Quebec; though against the common enemy Quebec stood loyal when Montgomery, attempting to be a second Wolfe, fell as he gallantly led the attack for the revolting American colonists, Quebec to-day, in thought, in language, and in religion, is French. The population of the Province, at the Census of 1891, was 1,488,535, of whom 1,186,346 were French-speaking Canadians and 1,291,709 were Roman Catholics. In the whole Dominion there were only 1,404,974 French Canadians.

Leave Quebec for the time, and travel into the Province of Ontario. Here there is a different atmosphere. In the city of Quebec one hears more French than English: in Montreal the two languages are used with equal freedom. Following the sun, French is left behind. In Ontario, except on the border, French is seldom heard. Toronto, the chief city of the Province, the commercial capital of Canada, is neither French nor English: it is American. It is laid out like an American city; its buildings are planned on the American model; its people have the look, the manner, the nervous energy of Americans. Going west from Toronto, until the third division is reached, the traveller is constantly reminded of the United States. West of Lake Superior the scene once more changes. From the Lake to the ocean he sees England written everywhere. The men are English in appearance and manner,—they are not like the easy-going men of Quebec or the energetic men of Toronto. To Manitoba and British Columbia come the men, many of them the cadets of well-connected British families, who are engaged in farming and ranching, who lead healthy, vigorous lives spent in the open, and who have naturally good constitutions, or soon become hardy under the tonic influence of that bracing climate. They come direct from the old country. Home to them is always "across the water"; and London is ever the centre.

With the Quebecker it is different. He was born there ; he will die there ; and his world is his Province. The Ontarian is more often than not an *émigré* ; but it was many years ago he left his native country. Business relations bring him in close touch with the United States. American politics are almost of as much consequence to him as to his brother across the border : the fate of parties may mean the difference between a profitable market in the Great Republic and a Chinese Wall of Protection which he finds it impossible to surmount. In his view, Washington holds his fate—at least his material interests—fully as much as does Ottawa. Your Canadian of the West, however, is a different man ; and his interests are in London, rather than in New York or Washington or Ottawa. He is principally engaged in raising wheat or cattle, in mining, or in canning salmon. Liverpool or London furnishes him the quotations. It makes very little difference what the American tariff is ; whether there is a so-called Democratic Free-Trade Administration in Washington, or a Republican high-tariff one, or whether Laurier or Tupper rules in Ottawa. England must buy wheat and cattle ; British Columbia gold is at par the world over ; and tariffs worry him not in the least.

The pastimes of a nation are often the surest index of its character. I was forcibly struck by the fact that in Halifax the young men talked and played cricket ; in Quebec and Montreal the sport was lacrosse ; in Toronto, baseball. Athletic sports kept pace with national affinities. In Halifax, English sentiment prevails, and finds expression in the English game ; in Quebec and Montreal, where the sentiment is French-Canadian, we naturally find the national game of Canada ; and in Toronto, where everything is American, what more appropriate than that the historic twenty-two yards should give place to the diamond ?

To solve the Canadian enigma further, one must get from the blinding rays of royalty cast by the Jubilee, and examine more closely into social and racial conditions existing in the Dominion. It has already been shown that there are two separate and distinct races, and that, running side by side, there are three sentiments of loyalty—English, French, and American. One of my principal reasons for a visit to Canada two years ago was to ascertain the depth of Canadian loyalty to the mother-land and the British Crown ; to find out, from personal observation, whether the excitement of the Jubilee and the honors heaped upon Sir Wilfrid Laurier would leave any lasting impression, or whether, when the tinsel had been stripped

and the lights turned down, the beautiful thing called Canadian loyalty would be found to be merely fustian. I found a strongly developed anti-American feeling ; but the feeling of Canadians toward Great Britain was somewhat mixed. Canada at that time was anti-American (that was before an Anglo-American alliance had been suggested), because, in the minds of Canadians, America was supposed to be anti-British. Hence, one would say, Canada must be intensely loyal to the mother-country : it has almost the merit and force of a syllogism. This is all very pleasing on the surface ; but it is misleading. Members of a family will stand together against an outsider ; but between themselves they fight and resort to every expedient to gain their own selfish purposes. I do not mean to intimate that the Dominion has a grievance against England ; but I do assert that Canada is a great deal more loyal to Canada than she is to Great Britain, that Canadian statesmen consider Canada first and England afterward.

Of course, one must understand that, when I talk of Canadian loyalty to England, I refer to the Canada of the middle zone, which, unfortunately, is the only part of the Dominion the average American or Englishman knows ; and that knowledge is extremely superficial. He does not go to Quebec, and he rarely goes to the Far West ; consequently, he does not understand that there are three Canadas. The Western Canadian, as I have said, is loyal to the mother-country,—generally a little more loyal and ardent in his attachment to British institutions than he was when he lived in England. In the Province of Quebec, with the exception of the very small percentage of the English-speaking population, the people neither care nor know what loyalty means. Why should they be more loyal to England than to France ? In fact, speaking the language of France, professing the religion of that country, Gallic in habits, in thought, and in traditions, what more natural than that, in their secret hearts, they should loyally cherish the country of their forefathers ? And yet, curious as it may seem, France means, to the average Quebecer, nothing except a language and a religion, not even an emotion. I probed as deeply as I could to ascertain this. I found no habitant of the Province of Quebec who entertained a sentimental affection for *la belle France*, whose pulses were stirred by the recollection of Montcalm and the White Lilies, or who regarded England as the despot whose iron heel was on his neck, or to whom the blood-red cross of St. George was the symbol of the conqueror. No :

the man of Quebec is satisfied to accept traditions as he finds them ; and, apparently, he has not imagination enough to dream of the past or to hope for the future.

Englishmen flatter themselves that as colonizers they can learn nothing from the rest of the world,—that they have reduced to an exact science the art of assimilating outlying territory in the Great British Empire. But they have still something to learn from America. The United States denationalizes her immigrants by forcing them to learn and speak English. The German or the Hungarian or the Pole must understand English, if he would rise in America. He need not forget his mother-tongue ; but he must know that of the country of his adoption. And as the only language his children will hear in the public schools is English, it follows that the second generation, before reaching manhood, is, in thought and language, more American than foreign. Had England adopted this plan at Confederation, and made English the official language, Canada in general and Quebec in particular would be much better off materially, and the clash of two races and two tongues would not be a disturbing element in the situation. It is incongruous that an English lawmaking body should transact its proceedings in French and English, and that official announcements should have to be printed in both languages. I think no more important thing has been done in Canada since Confederation than the action of the Manitoba Government in refusing to recognize French as an official language ; and this means so much for the material welfare and advancement of the Province that no American, unless he be a close student of Canadian affairs, can appreciate its full significance.

Before leaving Quebec and her French population, there is one factor in the sociological equation which is of tremendous consequence, and which I approach with extreme diffidence. With a profound appreciation of all that the Catholic Church has been to the world in the past, and admitting that it is to-day a great instrument of civilization, humanity, and charity, the facts cannot be controverted that Quebec is priest-ridden, and that the Church is largely responsible for the lack of energy and enterprise which so conspicuously distinguishes the Province. The power vested in the Church—the legacy of two centuries—is so great, and ecclesiastical, civil, and feudal laws are so interwoven, that in Quebec a man must either be a Catholic or else see burdens of taxation, impossible to bear, imposed upon his property. A gentleman of the highest standing, with

an international reputation, explained to me how it was possible to discriminate against the property of a non-Catholic ; but I need not elaborate that point here. I am firmly convinced that, so long as Quebec remains French in speech, and renders spiritual allegiance to Rome, it will be many years behind the rest of the Dominion.

Englishmen have been led to believe that Canada's loyalty would make the Dominion buy British goods, and give the preference to British wares, even if it involved some sacrifice on her part. That might have been true half a century ago, it might even have been true before Confederation ; but the Act which transmuted a series of scattered Provinces into a Dominion gave birth to a policy which was a political necessity. The Members of the first Canadian ministry after Confederation were Protectionists, moved by the same reasons which influenced Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists. In Canada as well as in the United States, it was the belief of statesmen that, unless domestic manufacturers were protected by a tariff against foreign competition, native industries would be crushed. The United States erected a barrier against England : Canada barred her southern border to check American imports. This policy worked fairly well for seven years ; but the Liberals were forced, as a party expediency, to advocate Free Trade in opposition to their political opponents. In the Dominion, even more than in the United States, the tariff is a party question. In Canada, unlike England, a man cannot be a Liberal or a Conservative on the question of the surrender or control of Egypt, or of the reversal or perpetuation of a traditional foreign policy, because Canada does not concern herself about international statecraft. There is no Silver question in the Dominion. The practical politician must rally his forces around the standard of Protection or of Free Trade.

The Conservatives having raised the banner of Protection, the Liberals, *nolens volens*, planted themselves in the citadel of Free Trade. Their policy was the antithesis of their rivals. The Conservative *raison d'être* for Protection was fear of American competition ; and, if incidentally Great Britain was discriminated against, it was unfortunate, but a minor evil compared with the beneficent results following from "Canada for the Canadians." The Liberals, on the other hand, maintained that, if Canadian products could find a market in the United States, the Canadian farmer and the Canadian manufacturer would profit thereby. It followed naturally that, when the Liberal Government came into power, in 1874, the Liberals

negotiated a reciprocity treaty, which caused American public men to regard them as more friendly to the United States than the Conservatives. But Reciprocity did not prove the success expected. To this day it is often referred to as "jug-handled Reciprocity," and Canada is supposed to have had all the outpouring; while in the Dominion the Liberal Government was soon overthrown, and, with its downfall, the first chapter of Reciprocity was closed.

Sir John Macdonald came into power for the second time in 1878, with a mandate from the people to repair the breach made in the wall of Protection by the Mackenzie Ministry, and to buttress the foundation. The Free-Traders in the United States, who regarded Canadian reciprocity as one step in the direction of the realization of their hopes, could expect nothing from a Conservative Government; and, as the economic policy of the Conservative party was directly antagonistic to the United States, it followed, as a matter of course, that the entire policy of the Dominion under Conservatism was interpreted as being anti-American. It is true that, from time to time, Reciprocity was talked about: it was looked upon like some of the virtues—theoretically excellent, but extremely difficult of accomplishment. No really serious efforts were made to secure a reciprocal arrangement with the United States. Nor is this surprising, when one remembers what I have already said about the Americanization of the Province of Ontario. That Province, the richest, the most densely populated, and wielding the greatest influence of all the Provinces of Canada, was strongest in its opposition to Reciprocity, because the manufacturers looked upon it as merely the entering wedge for Free Trade. Under Sir John Macdonald's *national policy*, they had established themselves, and adjusted trade to existing conditions: a disturbance of the economic policy might produce serious consequences.

For thirteen years—in fact, up to his death—Sir John Macdonald held power. He has been well called the "Bismarck of Canada." Like the great German Chancellor, he had the same creative force and the same masterly genius for government. He found a disjointed set of Provinces, with hardly any connecting ties; and he welded them into a closely linked federation recognizing one central authority and having the germ of a national spirit.

Macdonald's personality was an inspiration to the cause of Protection, even as Napoleon's presence on the field of battle was worth more to his troops than a dozen additional regiments. It is idle to

conjecture what might have happened, had Sir John's life been spared for another five years ; but no one will deny that, the more firmly Protection became entrenched, the more active and determined became the efforts of its opponents. It is invariably the case in every great movement. A cause is either worth fighting for with all the vigor and zeal and devotion of which men are capable or else it arouses no enthusiasm, and at once ceases to be a question of the first magnitude.

The stronger the tendrils of Protection grew, the more necessary its opponents felt it to destroy the tree, root and branch. Protection, from the standpoint of Liberalism, was the handmaid of corruption, both in private and official affairs. It debauched the manufacturers by giving them a bonus which came out of the pockets of the people : it vitiated the public service by inviting extravagance and providing the means for scandalous jobs. From time to time the tariff was tinkered with,—even a rabid Protectionist may sometimes cater to public sentiment and profess to “lighten the burdens of the people,”—and Reciprocity was played with. At heart, however, Sir John was neither Free-Trader nor Reciprocist : in fact, as he declared in an interview about four years before his death, he was an Imperial Federationist, a firm adherent of “Greater Britainism.” He looked forward to the day when, “With England as a central Power, with Australia and South Africa as auxiliaries, we (the Confederated British Empire) will control the seas ; and the control of the seas means the control of the world.” I have been told, and I can well believe it, that Sir John Macdonald looked far enough into the future to see the time when the United States would be the great commercial competitor of England. Surely, Sir John Macdonald, with his sturdy Imperialism and his devotion to the interests of Greater Britain, was not the man to help his great rival in the race for commercial supremacy. His entire policy was perforce anti-American, because, from his view-point, the interests of his country were antagonistic to those of his southern neighbor.

Up to the time of Sir John Macdonald's death, the Liberals talked Reciprocity : with his demise, they went a step further and advocated “commercial union,” which soon became translated into annexation to the United States. A recent English writer has truly said that the Conservative party, after the death of its great Premier, collapsed because of a series of incompetent leaders and their blunders. But, while the Conservatives were dancing over a mine, there was no man

in opposition shrewd or bold enough to fire the fuse. "Commercial union" was taken up as a rallying cry, and advocated with a good deal of persistency and ingenuity on both sides of the border, only to be cast aside as a half-way measure when annexation was the logical outcome and was as easy to be obtained as the other. I do not wish to be misunderstood. The Liberal party, as a party, or through its responsible leaders, did not advocate annexation, but Liberals were in favor of Free Trade, Reciprocity, Commercial Union, Annexation; party men, from the present Premier to Prof. Goldwin Smith, running the scale.

Had the Conservatives relinquished power at that time, the relations between the mother-country and her American colony might have been to-day entirely different from what they are. Events in the United States during the past few years have made Canadians—whether of Quebec or Ontario or the West, Liberals or Conservatives—regard annexation from another standpoint. At one time there was a glamour about annexation; and it looked like a short cut to prosperity. Now it has been stripped of its artificial coloring, and appears to be a thing to be avoided rather than embraced. There are, of course, some irreconcilables (Prof. Goldwin Smith, I believe, is one); but the bulk of the Annexationists of a few years ago are to-day perfectly content to forget that they figured as such.

But, while the Annexationists have dropped that cry, they still believe in the virtue of Reciprocity; and, so long as the United States offers a market for Canadian labor, there will always be a political agitation in favor of closer commercial relations between the two countries. Thousands—perhaps hundreds of thousands—of French Canadians have emigrated from the Dominion, and taken up their residence in the mill-towns of New England. Lowell, Lawrence, Nashua, in fact all the manufacturing towns of the Merrimac Valley, are thickly populated with French Canadians. Dr. Joseph Nimmo, formerly Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, testifying before a Senate committee in 1890, quoted Sir Richard Cartwright as having declared, in the Dominion Parliament in 1888, that there were then about 1,000,000 persons of Canadian birth residing in the United States, and that, during a period of twenty years, three-fourths of the foreign immigrants into Canada, or nearly 400,000, had crossed the line and settled in the United States. While I believe these figures to be exaggerated, the French-Canadian population of the mill-towns of New England is undeniably very large.

Most of these operatives have done better in the United States than they would have done, had they remained in Canada ; and they believe that commercial union would be to the advantage of their compatriots across the border. These American French Canadians, in the general election of 1896, not only made money contributions to the Liberal cause, but many of their best speakers went into the Province of Quebec and raised their voices in behalf of the Liberal party and of the man of their own nationality. Undoubtedly, these speakers exercised considerable weight, and contributed not a little to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's success.

Sir Wilfrid promised the country, in case of his election, to revise the tariff and to endeavor to bring about closer commercial intercourse with the United States. Promptly, in accordance with his ante-election pledge, a new tariff was enacted,—not quite so radical in its reduction of duties as some of his supporters expected ;—but negotiations with this Government were found impossible. His overtures rejected, Sir Wilfrid turned to England, who, at the Premier's request, denounced her treaties with Germany and Belgium. This was hailed in England as a long step toward freer trade within the British Empire. It has since been discovered that this is a mistake, and that the economic policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is Canadian and not Imperial. Concessions are made to England because she opens a market to Canada ; but similar favors from Germany or the United States would meet with an equally ready response. In other words, Canada throws her market open to the highest bidder, and displays no foolish sentimentality in preferring a British sovereign to an American eagle. Sterling, dollars, marks, or francs—she will take them all.

British manufacturers, not knowing the facts, and deluded by the talk of Free Trade, believed that the markets of Canada would be thrown wide open to them, and that they had nothing more to fear from American competition. They have since been disillusioned. The Canadian market Canada guards ; and no more favors are extended to the English than to the people of any other nation. In fact, Canada to-day is more anxious to secure trade concessions from the United States than she is concerned about the British market. That market she will always have until England's traditional Free-Trade policy is reversed. So long as the wheat of Manitoba can compete in Liverpool with the wheat of the Dakotas and of Argentina, Canada need have no fear of not finding an English market. But it is different across her southern border. There is a natural outlet for

many Canadian commodities, precisely as the Dominion offers a great field for the products and wares of the States lying along the border. Sincerely desirous as the Dominion has been to secure trade concessions from the United States, she cannot, as so many American public men imagine, be coerced into a suppliant or be driven to come to Washington with outstretched hands, ready to accept any crumbs that may fall from an overflowing table. A tariff framed to harass Canada, the passage of irritating Labor laws, interference with the bonding privilege—in short, a systematic policy of “pin pricking” has had the result diametrically opposite to that hoped for by its supporters. Plenipotentiaries who approach Canada with a treaty in one hand and a club in the other, who say to the Dominion, “Accept our treaty, or you will feel the weight of this club,” seem to forget they are dealing with people of the Anglo-Saxon race—a people whose motto has always been, “Nemo me impune lacessit.”

Evidently, the belief exists among certain American politicians that the short cut to the Canadian market is political union, and that political union can be accomplished by making life so uncomfortable for the Canadians that, as the only means of escape, they will throw themselves into our arms. I repeat, this is a mistake: it is a conception of Canadian character totally unwarranted. Canada is not to be won by the method pursued by the Romans toward the Sabines. If she is to surrender, it must be to gentler wooing. It is idle to expect that the Dominion will provide a market for American manufacturers at the expense of her own people: it is absurd to think she will close her custom-houses so long as the United States clings to the policy of Protection. Canada can manage to get along very well without the United States. Thanks to the beneficent effects of Sir John Macdonald's national policy, Canadian manufacturers are able to supply the wants of their own people. Practically, the Dominion need import nothing except those articles of luxury which the American continent cannot supply. But reciprocity between the United States and Canada would mean a trade large and profitable to both countries; a trade which we can have for the asking, if our statesmen will realize that Canada is a nation to be approached as an equal and not as an inferior; a trade which the present Premier, with far-seeing genius, has, on more than one occasion, shown his willingness to share with us.

A. MAURICE LOW.

