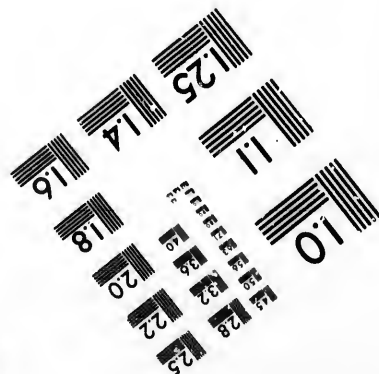
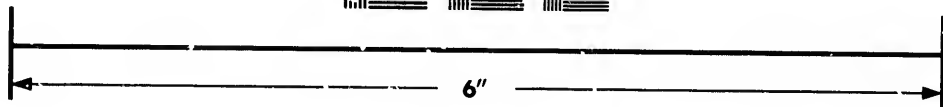
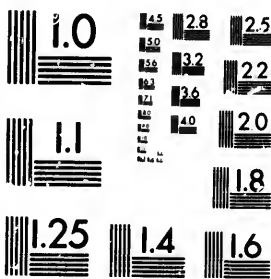


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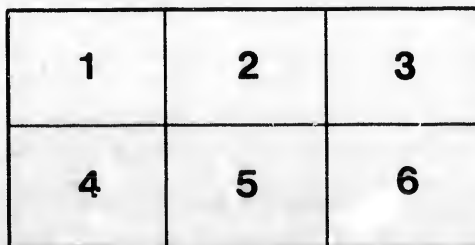
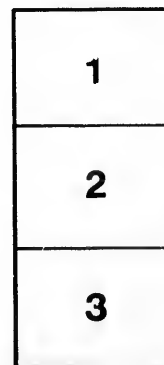
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THE PERFECT
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IS IT
INCONSISTENT WITH BRITISH WELFARE?

SPEECH OF ERASTUS WIMAN,

AT ST. THOMAS, ONTARIO, DECEMBER 3, 1887.

*"To prohibit a great people from making all they can of every part of their own produce,
"or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they may consider most advan-
"tageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind."—*
ADAM SMITH.

NEW YORK:
ERASTUS WIMAN, 314 BROADWAY.

1887

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THE PERFECT
DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA,
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At a meeting to discuss Commercial Union between the United States and Canada, held at St. Thomas, Ontario, on Saturday evening, December 3rd, in the course of his speech,

Mr. ERASTUS WIMAN said that he appeared before a Canadian audience for the first time since the allusions to Commercial Union had been made in speeches by the Right Honorable JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, who, as they were all aware, was the special representative of the British Government, on the Fisheries Commission now deliberating at Washington. It was true that in the speeches referred to, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN was speaking as a private individual, and that his utterances need not be clothed with any authority greater than that which should be attached to the utterance of any intelligent gentleman, representing the manufacturing districts of England. But Mr. CHAMBERLAIN was a very distinguished man; at the time he gave expression to the news referred to he was about to assume the very grave duty of endeavoring to settle a long standing difference between Canada and the United States; and and what he had to say in relation to the latter country had more than the usual significance. And this is what he did say:—

“The arrangement between the colonies and Great Britain is
“essential y a temporary one. It cannot remain as it is
“Already you have in Canada—the greatest of all the colonies—
“an agitation for what is called Commercial Union with the
“United States. Commercial Union with the United States means
“free trade between America and the Dominion, and a protective
“tariff against the mother country. If Canada desires that, Canada
“can have it.”

On a subsequent occasion, the right honorable gentleman further said, that :

“ Commercial Union with the United States meant that Canada was to give preference to every article of manufacture from the United States over the manufactures from Great Britain. If the people of Canada desired an arrangement of that kind, he did not doubt that they would be able to secure it. He did not think anybody in England would prevent such an arrangement by force ; but he remarked that in that case all the advantages of the slender tie that bound Canada to England would disappear, so far as England was concerned ; and it was not likely that the people of Great Britain would continue much longer to sustain the obligations and responsibilities of a relationship, all the reciprocal benefits of which had been withdrawn.”

The foregoing extracts implied that a persistence in the advocacy of Commercial Union, and success in achieving it, meant that it would be so inconsistent with British welfare, that the relation which existed between the Mother Country and Canada must cease. The advocates of Commercial Union were therefore put in a position hostile to British connection, unless they could show that British welfare was not likely to be seriously injured by the success of a trade union between the United States and Canada ; and also whether interests in Canada were not just as important to the British government and the British people, as those interests which it is claimed would be adversely affected in Great Britain itself. Mr. Wiman said he was glad of the opportunity to discuss the question, as to whether the most perfect development of Canada was inconsistent with British welfare. It was impossible to conceive of any combination of circumstances which would contribute in a greater degree to this most perfect development, than that of breaking down all the barriers to commerce between Canada and the United States ; and they were therefore to consider whether British welfare were likely to be seriously or permanently injured thereby, should this be consummated.

Mr. WIMAN, continuing, said that two great facts must always be present in considering the future of Canada—one was her highly advantageous geographical position, and the other was the potentiality of her productive powers and the enormous value of her natural resources. These two great advantages were assets in the inheritance of every Canadian, and of every resident of Canada.

They were as much his personal possession as the legacy left him by parents, or the accumulations which his own efforts had enabled him to lay by. Nay, the property possessed in the geographical and resourceful advantages of Canada was even a more sacred possession than that of money either inherited or earned. It was a trust with which Providence, in its divine foresight, had endowed every inhabitant of Canada, not only for himself but for his children's children—a trust for which his responsibility was just as clear as for any other blessing for the use of which he had to give an account. The Parable of the talents left by the Master is as applicable to the possession of national advantages unimproved, as for personal blessings which every night and morning we invoke a divine guidance to use properly and beneficially. It is well to consider whether, up to this period, there has been the fullest and largest use made of the vast riches with which this Canada of ours is endowed. On the contrary, may we not consider whether, up to this time, the smallest development, in proportion to our riches, has not been achieved. It is true that plans of the most comprehensive character for this development have been made, in public expenditure and the construction of means of communication. It may well be a subject of congratulation, that the foundations of a great future have been laid deep and broad; and the highest praise should be awarded to the statesmanship, energy, and patriotism, that had opened up vast stretches of most productive territory to settlement, and great regions of mineral lands to the possibility of development. But now that these facilities are afforded, are the existing conditions favorable to the progress which should follow their creation? Was the North-west likely to settle up as rapidly as it would if the emigration now pouring into the United States could be diverted in that direction under the influence of Commercial Union. Was it likely that the mineral regions rendered accessible on the shores of Lake Superior would be developed as fully, as if a near by market were afforded for these products. Was it not a fact that, in proportion to the productive forces of one-half of the continent, and in comparison with the growth and progress of the great nation on the south of Canada, the question may well be asked, has the most been made, up to this period, of the advantages with which a divine Providence has endowed the Dominion? Recalling the relative progress made in the last one

hundred years, of Canada on the one hand, controlling the best half of the continent, and of the United States on the other, there is food for reflection in the simple statement that while Canada barely retains a population of 5 millions, the United States are rapidly approaching a population of 65 millions. In every other comparison, of growth of wealth, of development of resources, of activity in manufacturing and the employment of all the forces of civilization, the United States stands to-day, the wonder of the world.

Why Canada should not occupy a relative position in all that goes to make up the greatness of a nation, is a question which every Canadian is bound to consider. It is not because Canada has not even a greater area of territory ; that she has not a free government ; that she has not liberal institutions, and is not possessed of the most marvellous resources. To some other cause must be attributed the comparatively slow progress by which Canada, to-day, is compared with any single State of the Union ; while the proper comparison, had she made a relative progress, would be to compare her to the Union itself.

THE DUTY OF EVERY LOVER OF HIS COUNTRY.

Under such circumstances, is it not the duty of every lover of his native country—of every sincere and thinking man—to stop a moment, and fairly consider the circumstances of our native land, and inquire whether the present is not a moment pregnant with the most golden opportunities for a momentous development of our best treasures? Should not every man, irrespective of prejudice or of trivial ties of party, think for himself how best he can promote the development of his native land, and most early accomplish the purpose of its high destiny? We are the inheritors of the best part of the continent of North America, which, as Emerson says, “is another name of Opportunity. Its whole history appears “like a last effort of the divine Providence in behalf of the “human race.” Let us address ourselves to the inquiry, whether there is not in the immediate future a better prospect of making the most of the inheritance which this Providence has bequeathed to us, and whether the opportunity of which North America is the name, is not now with us to a degree never before quite so palpable, and never hereafter likely to be quite so available now.

WOULD BRITISH INTERESTS BE INJURED ?

In the discussion of the question of Commercial Union between the United States and Canada, there has been urged as an objection that in the consummation of this proposal British interests would be sacrificed ; and the question now before a large number of the best people of Canada was, whether the perfect development of Canada was inconsistent with British interests ? It was clear that Commercial Union with the United States would solve a great many problems, and by bringing all the resources of the northern half of the continent within easy access of the energy, the capital and the enterprise of the American people, a development might be expected similar to that which had occurred within the United States themselves. The opening of a market such as the United States afforded, would, it was believed, stimulate the growth of every article which Canada could with advantage produce ; the productive forces, therefore, of her agricultural community might be enormously increased ; while her manufactures, with the abundant opportunity of natural raw material, cheap labor, and a wide market, would in a very short time become of great importance, so that, not only in natural resources, but in agricultural products and in manufacturing activity, there was the promise of a great and most beneficial change, should Commercial Union be consummated. In order, however, that the bargain between the United States and Canada for the freest intercourse could be brought about, it was necessary that the natural products, merchandise and manufactures of both countries should be freely interchanged, without duty. This was but a natural condition precedent to Commercial Union. Its operation would, therefore, result in a discrimination against the manufactures and merchandise of Great Britain. Not that duties exacted upon goods imported from England would be much higher for any length of time than they now are ; or that the barriers that now shut out from this country the products of the Empire of which we form a part would be permanently higher than they are now. But the difference would be that, while products of the United States now pay a similar duty to that of England, under Commercial Union no duty would be exacted. The question is, whether for the vast advantage which Canada can secure by the freest commercial intercourse with her great neighbor on the south, she is prepared to admit the products of that land

into her markets free, while she exacts a high rate of duty against products of the British Empire of which she forms a part, and into whose market she has the freest access? The question is a very serious one, and it is well that we should assemble to discuss it calmly and dispassionately.

CANADA'S GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGE.

Of the two great advantages which Canada possesses, in her geographical position on the one hand, and her vast natural resources on the other, the first named is necessarily most important because of her close contiguity with the best market in the world; and this makes it all the more serious in considering this question of our relations with Great Britain. Stretching along a distance of almost four thousand miles, the Dominion touches and interlaces with the great American Republic. Nature seems to have ordained that the whole Continent should be one commercially, judging by the distribution of natural wealth, of agricultural peculiarities, and of productive forces. To separate by a customs line right through the centre of the Continent the two English speaking nations that occupy it, would seem to be a most injudicious act. If trade can ebb and flow backwards and forwards from one end of the Continent to the other, and if the same relative progress could be made in the northern part of the Continent as that which has been achieved in the southern part, it would seem a great hardship that any final and permanent impediment in sentiment or in fact should be created. The growth of the United States, and the market which all along her border this growth affords, is one of the best assets that Canada possesses. Even in the face of a high tariff and numerous restrictions, more than one-half of her commerce is with the neighboring Republic. With all barriers removed, and a complete Commercial Union consummated, this commerce would increase enormously. The question is, whether this increase would help or hurt Great Britain. It is well to consider that, so far as Great Britain as a nation is concerned, nothing could happen so advantageously to her as a complete Commercial Union between the English speaking people of the north American Continent. But in speaking of the trade of Great Britain, the consideration has to be removed from talking about the government and the people of that country, to a considera-

tion of the individual interests affected. Thus, while we import about forty millions of dollars annually of goods from England, it is the English manufacturer and merchant whose interests we are promoting or injuring. These merchants and manufacturers perhaps aggregate five hundred in number; and for the sake of the interests of these gentlemen and their operatives, we must consider whether or not the future of this Dominion is to be free or restricted. Upon an importation of forty millions of dollars per annum, there is a possible profit to the English manufacturer of ten per cent., or, say, four millions of dollars. Whether for this amount of profit Canada is to remain forever in swaddling clothes, is a question for the people of Canada to consider.

IS CANADA A GROWING MARKET?

It is claimed the interests, even of English manufacturers, would not be permanently adversely affected by an enlarged trade relation between Canada and the United States. It is clear enough to the close observer of the export trade of Great Britain to Canada, that for many years it has not been on a progressive and healthy basis. There has been but a slight, if any, increase in the exports to Canada; and in proportion to the possible growth of so new and so rich a country, the commerce in the direction of Canada has not increased in the same ratio that it has increased to other countries. The reason in the first place has been that the policy of our government has been towards the encouragement of home manufactures, which in no sense was regarded as disloyal; while the power to absorb goods and pay for them by increased population, and by growth in natural development, has been extremely limited. Recalling the number of persons engaged in Canada in handling British goods, their relative strength financially, and the growth of their distributive channels, is it not a fact that Canada has made really less progress as an absorbent of English manufactures in the last ten years, than any market which Great Britain enters? If, after the expenditure of vast sums of borrowed public money ceases; if, in view of the enormous taxation which Canada has to bear; if, also, in view of the low prices of agricultural products, and the scanty development of her natural resources under existing conditions, Canada makes no more progress in the next ten or twenty years as an absorbent of British manufacturers, as a market she

will possess but little attraction. Why, it already takes the surplus of the entire wheat crop of old Canada to pay the yearly interest on the public, railway, and mortgage indebtedness due to Great Britain. What hope is there of great gain in the country when the only crop that can be marketed in England is absorbed by the interest charge? How is it possible that importations can be absorbed and paid for profitably, unless the market for other products is enlarged and made free? English manufacturers, if they knew the whole situation, and really apprehended their own interest, would do all they could to promote the prosperity of Canada. Recent failures of importers in the vicinity indicated the necessity for the improved conditions which alone would be brought about by enlarged markets and greater ability to absorb and pay for goods.

On an equal basis of duty exacted from Great Britain and elsewhere, the United States will always be a competitor in Canada with Great Britain; while, with the growth of home manufactures, and the lack of development within the Dominion itself, no great hope can be entertained that Canada, without some new relation with the United States, can be anything like the advantageous market which she otherwise might be, with Commercial Union and an open market for every product which she possesses. With enlarged opportunities for the development of her resources; with a growth in wealth and ability to absorb and pay for goods which Commercial Union would bring to her, Canada could afford to buy and pay for \$2 of English goods where now she can ill afford to pay for \$1. During the last year the importations of foreign goods into the United States amounted to 720 millions of dollars, which, with a population of 60 millions, shows that, even in the face of existing high rates of duty prevalent in the United States, every person in the Republic was worth to the trade of foreign countries over \$12 per year. In Canada we imported 40 millions of dollars from Great Britain, which made Canadians worth to Great Britain about \$8 a head. If in the United States \$12 per head is absorbed of foreign goods, why should not \$12 in Canada be the standard if, with the same progress, the same growth in wealth, and the same opportunity presented for a development of natural resources?

It is true that temporarily there might be some hardship to English manufacturers in the discrimination against them in favor

of American goods, but in the long run the advantage would still be held by our British cousins. This certainly would be the case by a reduction in the tariff of the United States, which is sure to follow the growth of the enormous surplus which the revenues of the country now show in proportion to the expenditures. With the reduction of the public debt in the United States to a minimum, the cessation of interest or fixed charges which this implies, the amount required for the Government of the country will be so small that the tariff is sure to be largely reduced, so that in the event of Commercial Union, and a uniform tariff prevailing between Canada and the United States as against Great Britain, it would be a barrier so slight as to be easily overcome by the advantages which she possesses as the greatest manufacturing country of the world.

It is singular if the growth of one part of the Empire of Great Britain, which includes Canada, should be injurious to the trade of another part of it. But even supposing it should be, is one part of the Empire to remain forever restricted and limited for the benefit of a few persons in the other? Hear what was said on this subject by the greatest writer on political economy that England ever produced—Adam Smith :

“To prohibit a great people from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they may consider most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind.”

INTERESTS OF ENGLISH INVESTORS.

But, aside from the interests of English manufacturers, there are other classes in Great Britain to whom the highest prosperity of Canada would be of the greatest advantage. There is of English capital invested in the Dominion of Canada hardly less than five hundred millions of dollars. This money is invested in governmental indebtedness, public works, railroad undertakings, farm mortgages, and a variety of other securities. Every one of this class of assets possessed by English capitalists would be enormously benefitted by the full development, growth, and perfect prosperity of the Dominion. If the traffic of every railroad could be doubled; if the productive force of every factory could be augmented; if

every farm could be forced to its fullest capacity of growth, and every resource which the country possessed fully developed, there is not a security of any class in the country but would be benefitted. Even supposing the profits of the English manufacturer should be reduced from four millions per annum to two millions, it would pay well for the government of the country to guarantee them against this loss, for the sake of benefitting every other class of the community, as well as the British investor in Canadian undertakings. Besides this, should the full development of Canadian enterprises follow Commercial Union, an opportunity for the investment of English capital in this country would be afforded such as the world has never seen. A better and a more certain return cannot be imagined than would flow from the establishment of manufactories, and mineral development that would offer, should an open market be found in the United States for all that Canada has to produce. The employment of British skilled labor, English money, and English experience in Canada, with such an opportunity as Commercial Union would afford, would create such a revenue for the English people as would make the supposed loss of the English manufacturer by Commercial Union a mere bagatelle. These considerations are urged to meet the objection that, so far as English interests are concerned, Commercial Union with the United States would be beneficial rather than hurtful.

Mr. WIMAN then made an extended reference to the strained relations which certainly would continue to exist between the United States and Canada, unless, indeed, all cause for irritation were removed by a union of commercial interests. In the language of Mr. CHAMBELAIN, things could not remain as they are. The conflict of interests between the two countries was illustrated by the fact that the United States had gone the length of passing unanimously a retaliatory act, which any day might be enforced, but which would be simply ruinous to the interest of every British investor in Canada. Even the abolition of the bonding system, by which American through traffic was alone possible to Canadian railways, was now threatened, because of the operation of the Interstate Commerce Act, and which under Commercial Union might be so adjusted as to be continental. The fact is that the Secretary of the Treasury, under the pressure of the American railroads, could any day obliterate the bonding system, and this would mean

bankruptcy to every Canadian railway, and bankruptcy to numerous interests dependent thereupon. The supposed loss of the English manufacturers yearly under Commercial Union, even at its worst, would be a trifle compared with the loss of the English investor, if even the simple bonding system now permitted by the United States were abolished. This was but an illustration of the dangers to which British capital is now exposed, and which under Commercial Union would be entirely removed.

THE PENALTY OF GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION.

The speaker said he had, in a very hurried way, endeavored to show that the interests of Great Britain would not permanently be injured by Commercial Union between Canada and the United States. It was true that, under this proposed union, the manufactures of the United States would have free admission to Canada, just the same as the manufactures of Ontario have free admission into Manitoba. It was true that English manufacturers would have to pay a duty, as they now have to do, to gain admission into Canada, and there was no new hardship complained of, except that the manufactured goods of the United States, it was proposed, should be admitted free of duty, because this free admission was the price paid by Canada for the free admission of her products and her manufactures into the United States. It was the penalty of the geographical position of Canada that, unless the barriers between her neighbor and herself were thus removed, she would never have the perfect development to which she was entitled. The question was a difficult one, and it did seem hard that, after all Great Britain had done for Canada, and in view of the responsibilities and engagements which she continued to assume for her defence and protection, there should be a proposition seriously discussed whereby the merchandise of a rival nation should have free admission to one part of her Empire, while her own products from another part of the same Empire were shut out by a high duty. But, so far as the interests of Great Britain were immediately concerned in this matter, the question had become one of mere dollars and cents, and not a question of dollars and cents to the nation at large, or to the government, or to the imperial revenues; but a question of dollars and cents to individuals. Now, if the question had narrowed down to that point, was it not fair to consider whether the interests

of the inhabitants of one part of Her Majesty's domain were not just as precious to her as the interests of those of another. It has always been maintained that the humblest British subject, in the most remote corner of the earth, was entitled to the same protection as the highest dignitary nearest to the throne; and it is the glory of the traditions which we all alike inherit, that justice to all, and favor to none, is the spirit that animates the Government of Great Britain. Well, now, is it fair to ask Canadians forever to sacrifice their most material interests for the sake of the manufacturers of Manchester or Birmingham? Has not Canada the same right to have her interests cared for as the interests of the manufacturers of these great centres? Indeed, without the slightest suspicion of disloyalty, she has already done so, and by the high tariff which her most loyal friends have enacted, she has developed manufactures of her own which have materially reduced the sales of English goods in this country. Strange it is, too, that the men who have thus contributed to shut out English goods are now most anxious on behalf of the English manufacturers, and whose loyalty to English interests knows no bounds. But with a liberty to regulate the tariff which England has granted to her Colonies, it is only a step further in the same direction of free trade in which she herself preaches, to admit free the products of a neighboring nation.

THE DUTY OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

It is a simple business transaction. If the free admission of goods into Canada from the United States benefits Canada to an extent far greater than the discrimination against English goods injures the manufacturers of England, what is the duty of the Government of England in the premises? Is it that the far greater interests of the five millions of people of Canada should be sacrificed for the limited interest of the five hundred thousand of Manchester or Birmingham? As was before stated, the net profit realized by the English exporter on the 40 millions exported, after deducting bad debts and other charges, amounts to about ten per cent.; so that the English manufacturer realizes from Canada about 4 millions of dollars a year. Supposing that Commercial Union should result in a decrease of one-half of the importation from England—which it is claimed it would not do, but rather in a very short time largely increase—the total loss to the English manufacturer would

be about 2 millions of dollars a year. Do you realize that this is about the amount which the Canadian farmer loses yearly by the duty levied on the barley which he exports? A letter in one of the papers last week showed that it cost the farmer at least 2 millions a year to market the barley crop of Canada in the United States. Is it possible that for the sake of so small a sum as 2 millions a year, Canada is to be forever tied up in her present isolated and restricted condition? Why, the simple, unobtrusive, unprotected hens of Canada bring as much revenue into the Dominion as this sum amounts to. From the exportation of 14 or 15 millions of dozens of eggs, upon which there is no duty levied in the United States, a sum very nearly equal to 2 millions is realized. Must it be said that, for the sake of a sum which these unobtrusive little creatures can produce, that Canada is to be shut out from the greatest market in the world for the absorption of her products? The triumphant cackle of the fowls in the barn-yard of every farmer is a protest against such statesmanship. It cannot be that, to compensate English manufacturers for a sum so insignificant, one-half of the continent of North America is to remain undeveloped. It would be better, indeed, for a subscription to be made in the country, or for the government of the land to enforce a direct taxation to pension English manufacturers, and all dependent on them, to the extent of the Canadian profit, rather than that forever their interests should interfere with the vast concerns of this continent.

A GREAT NEAR-BY MARKET.

Take the wide range of marketable articles which Canada produces now, and can produce under Commercial Union, and see the enormous measure which their production would reach, if a free market can be had among the greatest money-making, money-spending aggregation of humanity that the world has ever seen, and which in the goodness of Providence, is right at her doors. Next to being possessed of almost fabulous wealth in the productive forces of her agricultural regions, and in her natural resources, is the advantage which an abundant demand and a great market near by affords to her. The range of articles affected, and the resources to be developed under an open market, are so important and so full of potentialities of profit, as to make the loss to the

English manufacturer sink into utter and complete insignificance. If it is true that one part of the British Empire is just as precious to the British Government as another part of it ; and if it can be shown that immensely greater profits and earnings can be realized by a liberal policy, as against a penny saved for another part of the Empire by a restrictive policy, then clearly is it the duty of the government to decide in favor of the greatest good to the greatest number, and the largest profit to the largest number affected. Starting at the smallest and most trifling fruits of the orchard and of the garden, through the barn-yard of the farmer, in the eggs and poultry which the Americans absorb to such an extent, the sheep, horses, and cattle, and out into the open fields, producing all the small grains and roots, such as barley, oats, and potatoes, there is hardly any article which the agriculturist of the country, on whom everything now depends, but would have an increased value and an increased possibility of profit. When one recalls the fact that upon the farmer, and upon the farmer alone, depends the success of Canada in its present condition, is it not the supremest folly to sacrifice his interests for a manufacturer three thousand miles away ; while the manufacturer himself would be benefitted by the progress in wealth of the one class on whom ability to pay for goods now imported solely depends ? But, aside from agricultural products, look at the vast field of development which an open market in the neighboring Republic would give. The forests of timber in Canada are yearly burning and rotting away, and are realizing only partially the great profit which this source of wealth might produce if the duty against Canadian lumber did not exist in the United States. The Canadian lumber dealers alone could almost afford to guarantee British manufacturers against loss for the free admission of lumber into the United States

MARVELLOUS MINERAL WEALTH.

It is in the marvellous mineral riches of the country, however, that the greatest source of increased wealth would be found, if a development took place therein, which it is believed commercial union with the United States would promote. Canada is one of the richest countries in the world in the matter of iron, and yet her products thus far in her history amount to a mere bagatelle. It is

impossible to export iron to England; it is equally impossible to export it with a profit into the United States, so long as a high duty shuts it out. The development on the south shore of Lake Superior within the United States, in iron and copper, is of the most remarkable character; has produced millions upon millions from the earth, populated vast stretches of territory, and created a commerce greater than the entire transactions between Canada and England. The mineral resources of the north shore of Lake Superior are even richer, and yet the development amounts to nothing whatever. Why is it that within British territory mountains of iron lay silent, and dormant, and dead, while within American territory the greatest activity prevails? It is because there is a market for the product. The demand for iron in the United States has increased in a greater ratio than the demand for any other article. In almost every province of the Dominion there is an abundance of iron. Side by side with it in several places is an abundant supply of coal, with excellent means of transportation to a near-by market, with cheap labor, and every facility for manufacturing. Are these conditions to remain forever unimproved, because the manufacturers of Manchester and Birmingham would be deprived of a profit of 2 millions a year? Are the richest and best portions of the Continent forever to remain a silent wilderness, because their products are shut out from the market that would best absorb them? The duty of three cents and a half a pound in the United States on copper as completely shuts out that product of Canadian mines as if a Chinese wall were built up between the two countries. Break down that wall, and there will be more money made in copper, nickel, and other mineral products in the next twenty-five years, than would be realized in 150 years by English manufacturers. What is more, the men who mine the copper, the iron, and the nickel would be the consumers of not only American and Canadian, but also of English goods. It is said that Canada has 97,000 square miles of coal lands, and she alone has coal on the Atlantic and on the Pacific; yet her marvellous supplies of this product, not only on both Oceans but mid-way in the Northwestern Territories, are shut out from the great consumptive markets to the south.

OTHER NATIONAL ASSETS.

In the matter of Canadian fisheries, ten times the activity might prevail, and ten times the wealth be reaped from the harvest of the sea, if there was complete and perfect freedom between the great productive regions of fish wealth in Canadian waters, comprising five thousand miles of coast line, and the great consumptive demand for it which could be created among the sixty millions of people in the United States. What extremity of folly does it seem to be that, as between these vast sources of wealth on the one hand, and an equally vast absorbing power for their consumption on the other and profit on the other, a trifle should stand in the way? In many other things besides those enumerated is Canada rich by nature, but poor by policy. The policy that would open up the markets of the United States for her products, is that which will in the greatest degree enrich her, enabling her to realize, at as early a period as she can, from the enormous riches with which Providence has endowed her. Up to this period Canada has been treated with great liberality by Great Britain, and it has been often said that had the colonies in 1776 had a freedom equal to that which Canada had since enjoyed, there would have been no justification for the American revolution. The very freedom thus far enjoyed leads to the hope that, while Canada still heartily desires to remain a British colony, and while nine-tenths of her people are still devoted to British institutions, there certainly ought to be no barrier to their full and complete development of the resources of the country, and a perfect enjoyment of the wealth which they should produce.

NORTHWESTERN DEVELOPMENT.

The burden of taxation which Canada has voluntarily assumed for the creation of great means of communication, and the opening up of vast stretches of territory, demands that she should make the most ample provision, not only for her own development, but for the creation of a great traffic. The English money which has been spent in the last ten years in Canada amounts to an immense sum. The ability to earn interest on it rests with the creation of a business commensurate with the expenditure. The development of the Northwestern portions of Canada, for which she has sacrificed so much, is an essential element to her progress, and her

ability to respond to the engagements she has assumed. No one thing would contribute in a greater degree to the enlargement of the population of the Northwestern Territories, than would Commercial Union. The enormous emigration which is now reaching the shores of the United States could with very little effort be diverted to a large extent to these Northwestern Territories, if the barrier between the two countries were sunk so low that it could hardly be observed, and if the commerce of the United States and that of Canada should ebb and flow across this border line so freely that its existence would be no more known than the existence of the line between the States themselves, or between the Provinces themselves. The rich and fertile plains of the Red River and the Saskatchewan, which this year have produced such enormous results, would be an attractive field for a half a million emigrants that enter the port of New York every year, if there was perfect freedom of communication between the two countries. Minnesota, Dakota, and Montana have progressed in the most marvellous degree, because they have had Commercial Union with the rest of the country. Give the enormous stretches of fertile, productive land in Manitoba, Arthabaska, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta the same freedom, and the same development would follow. A very short time would witness such a growth in those regions as the world has never seen, for their productive forces are simply enormous. As wheat formed the most important element in sustentation of human life, and from the delicate nature of the plant is the truest test of climatic advantage, by it should be judged the ability of a country to produce.

That a handful of people now residing in Manitoba this year could produce a surplus of twelve millions of bushels of wheat, of seven millions of bushels of barley, and a million of bushels of potatoes, is a most marvellous revelation of the forces that underlie that vast region. When it is recalled that there are two hours more of sunshine every day for the wheat crop; that underneath, by the presence of frost, there is an exudation of moisture which feeds the tender roots of the wheat plant, and that the soil is so rich, that for twenty years consecutive wheat crops can be grown upon it without rotation, there are in this region the potentialities of a growth almost beyond conception. There is said to be a larger wheat area in these regions than in the whole of the United States;

and, according to Lord Selkirk, on these plains alone there is abundant room and abundant facility for the sustentation of 30 millions of people. Is all this region to remain an undeveloped empire because of an illiberal policy on the part of the government? A market could be created in this region for English manufactures, Canadian and American goods, far greater than that which now exists in the Dominion. A profit could be realized by Canada on her lands and on her investments in this direction, greater than by any other means; and a more certain development take place by a Commercial Union with the United States than by any other event that could occur. Taxation could be largely reduced by additions to the population, by the growth of wealth in her agricultural, mineral, and other natural resources, and the future of the country could be enormously benefitted by a policy that would beget the largest development, because the largest market was provided for it.

In no part of the British Empire is loyalty more pronounced or more fervent than in Canada to British institutions, pride in British traditions, or personal devotion to the Sovereign. If there is any one sentiment that universally pervades the Canadian people it is this sentiment of loyal adhesion to British connection. There is nothing in a business transaction known as Commercial Union that will weaken this devotion to the British Empire. But Canada is a part of that Empire, and her interests are just as sacred to the people of this country as are the interests of any other part of the Empire to the residents therein. The speaker said he had made an attempt to show that the perfect development of Canada was not inconsistent with British welfare, and the more broadly and closely the proposed scheme of Commercial Union is looked into, the stronger would be the conviction that England would be benefitted, and the interests of Canada enormously advanced. While, therefore, the true Canadian who advocated a commercial bargain with the United States did not impair British connection, he indulged in the sentiment of the poet who said—

“Such is the patriot's boast wherever he may roam,
His first best country ever is his own!”

