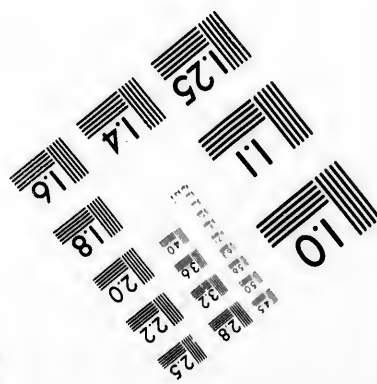
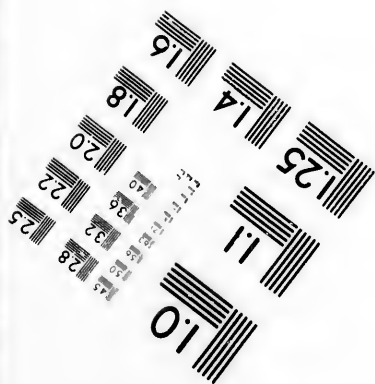
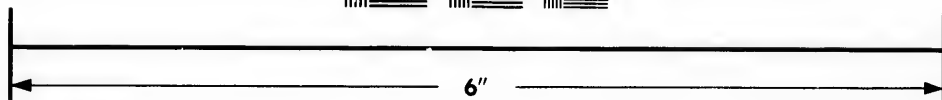
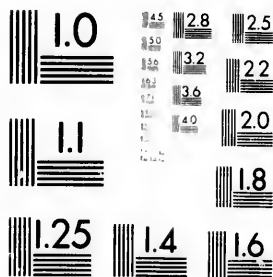


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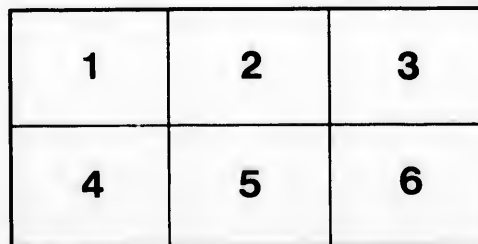
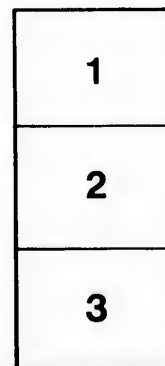
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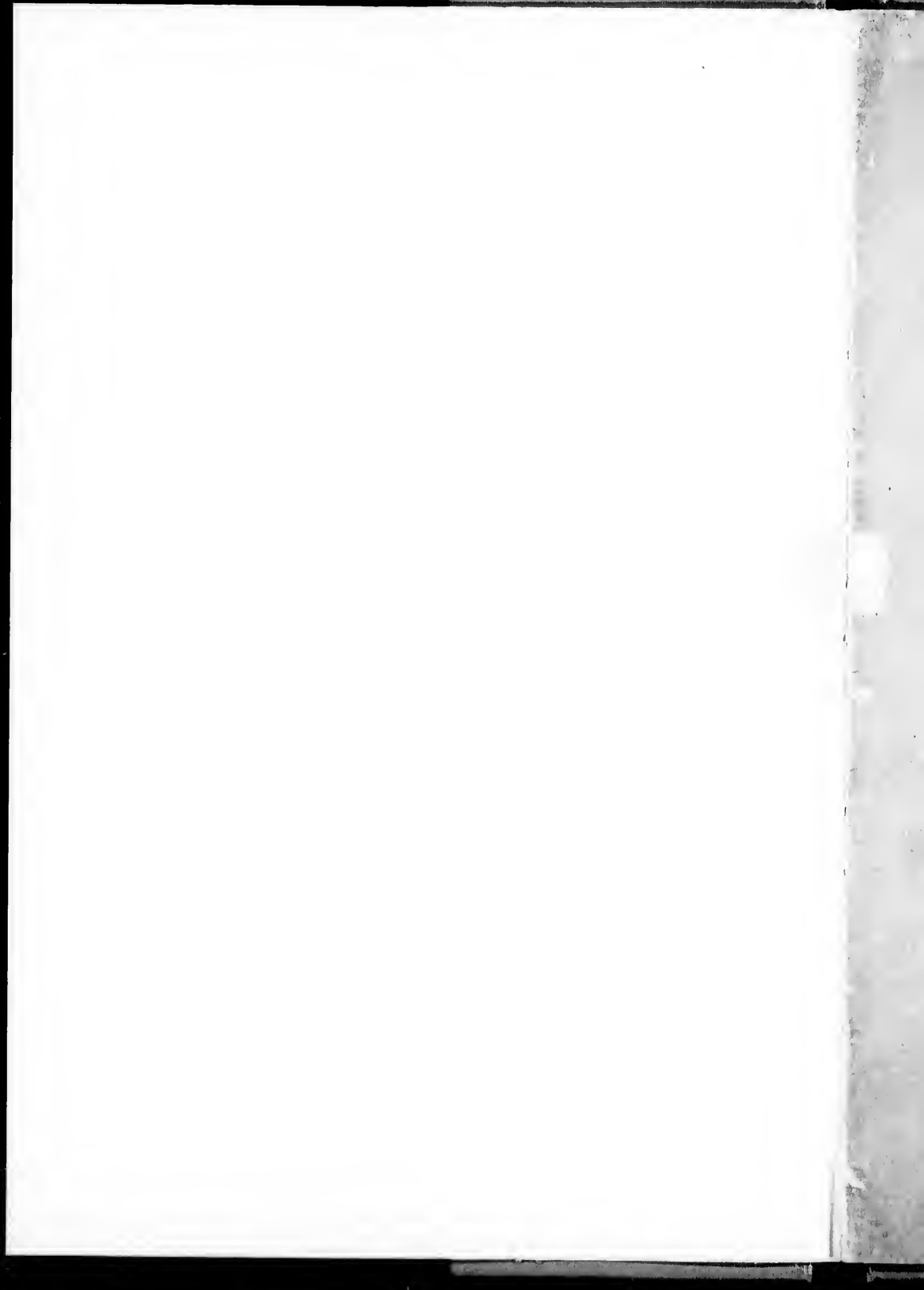
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LOYALTY.



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AN ADDRESS,

*Delivered before the Young Men's Liberal Club, Toronto, on
February 2nd, 1891.*

BY

GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.



Toronto:

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LOYALTY.

YOU have done me the honour, gentlemen of the Liberal Club, to desire that I should read you an address on the subject of "Loyalty." I gladly respond to your request. But you will allow me to address you on this occasion as liberal-minded men, not as Liberals in the party sense of the term. I have been asked, as I am with you in this struggle, why I do not join your party? I reply that I am with you and with anyone in a struggle such as that on which you are now entering against Commercial Monopoly and Government by Corruption, and hope with other citizens to do my best in the day of battle; but when I am invited to join a party my answer must be that I have always steadfastly set my face towards national government, and that I and others, if there are any, who think as I do, are more likely to be useful by being true to our own principle, and saying what there is to be said for it, than by compromising it in order to take a more active part in politics. Then I am not sure about my qualification for admission. A Liberal in England I was held to be, and even a thorough-going Liberal, though I always had a rooted abhorrence of violence and revolution. But I am not sure that I should pass muster with your organization. Perhaps as an Englishman I am biassed, but so it is that I believe the integrity of the United Kingdom to be essential to its greatness, and its greatness to be essential to the balance and the progress of European civilization. Therefore I could never take part in helping the enemies of British unity for the purpose of conciliating the Irish vote. I pleaded,

like John Bright, for justice to Ireland in days when the Irish vote was not so much regarded, but I am afraid I should be a bad hand at conciliating the Irish vote now. I think with sorrow of the thralldom into which the Anglo-Saxon communities have fallen. Again, while I am absolutely free from the slightest prejudice against the Roman Catholics, among whom have been some of my dearest friends, it would be impossible for an old European Liberal, a friend of Mazzini and Garibaldi, to enter into an alliance with Jesuits and Papal Zouaves, or to refrain from opposing priestly usurpation. I am conscious, too, that I am a Liberal of the old school, one of those who wish Government to mind its own business, who desire that at last man should have a chance of self-development and who are no more inclined to submit to the tyranny of majorities calling themselves the State than to the tyranny of kings. Perhaps the best reason of all is that at my time of life it is too late to put on new harness, and a man can only go on his own way supporting what he thinks right and opposing what he thinks wrong. With those who are fighting against Monopoly and Corruption no good citizen can hesitate to take part.

But to the question. It is not wonderful that you wish just now to get all the information you can about loyalty. The air is full of loud professions of it, and still louder denunciations of disloyalty. The suspicion of disloyalty evidently entails serious consequences, extending in certain contingencies to being sabred by some loyal warrior on the street. What is, perhaps, of more practical importance is that the cry, by its effect on nervous persons, is likely to prevent the fair consideration of questions vital to the welfare of our people.

There certainly is something peculiar about this virtue. There is a species of it at all events which very happily coincides with self-interest. The loyal are sometimes like the Puritan Saints,

who deemed it their religious duty to inherit the earth. Conquerors and oppressors, for instance, always call submission loyalty and patriotism treason. Again, loyalty seems, unlike other virtues, to find a home in breasts in which no other virtue can dwell. No men ever were louder or more sincere in their professions of loyalty than were Scroggs and Jeffreys at the time when they were judicially murdering Russell and Sidney or going on the Bloody Assize. The carpet-baggers who governed and swindled the South after the Civil War in like manner overflowed with loyalty, and whenever they were detected in some gross act of corruption the defence was that they were always "truly loil." In the British Empire loyalty seems to have the peculiarity of being eminently colonial. It is like the reverence for the Papacy, the intensity of which was always found to vary in direct proportion to the distance from Rome. At the Plimsoll banquet the other night, after we had been regaled with the usual declamations on loyalty, a speaker remarked that Mr. Plimsoll might know he was not in England, but in Canada, when he heard so much about loyalty, of which nobody boasted in England. This remark was true as well as neat. In England you never hear a word said on the subject. Everybody takes it for granted that you are not in a plot to overturn the dynasty. Suppose a lady were to go about in society assuring everybody that her hair and teeth were her own, that her complexion was not paint, and that the lines of her figure were those laid down by nature, would she not be apt to create the suspicion which she was so anxious to avert?

What is the original signification of the word? *Loyauté* means respect for law and fidelity to obligation. Shakespeare uses it for fidelity to the marriage vow, to filial duty, to friendship, as well as for fidelity to the king. Milton makes Comus offer the lady the shelter of a "loyal" cottage, that is, a cottage true to the law of hospitality. The term especially denoted fidelity to those

feudal obligations which were the organic law of the time. Those obligations were reciprocal ; it was not only the vassal that owed duty to the lord ; the lord also owed duty to the vassal. If the lord did not perform his duty the vassal renounced his allegiance by a regular form, called defiance. De Montfort and the patriot barons thus formally renounced their allegiance to Henry III. Divine Right was not the creed of those days, nor was there any blind and spaniel-like devotion to the person of the king. The feudalists were rough, but they were not fools ; if they had been they could not have founded European society and the British Constitution. Edward I, the greatest of all feudal monarchs, was no fetich, but a noble man living in free and frank intercourse with his peers, foremost in battle and adventure, claiming loyalty by a right truly divine. It is not till we come to the Tudor despotism that the fetichism begins. Before Henry VIII, a bloated monster of selfishness and vice, steeped in uxoricide and judicial murder, his slaves grovel in the dust. They compare him to the sun in its glory and almost to God. Adulation well nigh equally extravagant is paid to his daughter, though in this case the baseness is redeemed by the generous illusion which saw the nation impersonated in its queen. Shakespeare, however, you will see, though thoroughly monarchical, is never slavish. But it is with the Stuarts that Divine Right appears as the courtiers' creed, and that loyalty arrogates the character of a distinct virtue. Bishops tell James I when he insults the Puritans that he speaks by the inspiration of God, and divines preach before Charles I the doctrine that there can be no such thing as justice between the king and the subject any more than between God and the creature. Now it is that the hearts of all who support Stuart despotism, in the words of the Cavalier song, are "crowned with loyal fires." We respect the tradition of the Cavaliers as we respect any tradition of gallantry and misfortune. Some of those men really sacrificed estate and life for what they sincerely

believed to be the right, though there was also a larger element of what Carlyle calls "truculent flunkeyism." But nobody in England would think of bowing his head to the descendants of the Cavaliers or letting them settle the destinies of the nation. The grass has grown over the graves of Edgehill and Naseby, as it must grow at last over all graves. The other day, when on a visit to England, I found myself in the house of a friend who represented one of the Cavalier families. The relics of Charles the First's standard bearer at Edgehill hung on the walls, but the family were leading Liberals. However, it was under the Restoration, and especially at the evil close of Charles the Second's reign, that the Loyalists became a regular party, supporting royal usurpation and judicial murder, and being well paid for their devotion. North, himself a strong Tory, describes that party as the men that went about drinking and huzzaing. One of the loudest of them was Chief Justice Scroggs, of whom North says, "that he was of a mean extract, having been a butcher's son who wrought himself into business in the law," that he was "a great voluptuary, being a companion of the high court rakes," and "had a true libertine principle." "Scroggs," North tells us, "was preferred for professing loyalty, but Oates, coming forward with a swinging popularity, he took in and ranted on that side most impetuously." The same men, under the same romantic designation, combined to support the tyranny of James II and to help him in cutting the throat of national liberty. But when James II laid his hand upon the rich possessions of the Church, the other side of Loyalism was seen. We can understand the King's surprise and partly sympathize with his disgust. However, Loyalism soon recovered itself, and after calling in William of Orange to deliver it, it began to show its fidelity to principle by plotting against his Government and life. Presently it proceeded to signalize itself by betraying the nation at Utrecht, and afterwards by a series of half-tipsy intrigues and pot-valiant swaggerings

in the interest of the "King over the Water." A more despicable party than the Jacobites, who seemed to themselves and in a certain sense were, the very pink of loyalty, never appeared on the scene of history. It is needless to say how Loyalism repaired its golden fires under George III, how passionate was its devotion to the person of that excellent monarch, especially when he was out of his mind, and what services it rendered to the country by bringing on the American war and vetoing Catholic Emancipation. Places, pensions, bishoprics, deaneries, and sinecures without number were its reward.

In Canada loyalty was at its zenith under the Family Compact. But again it showed its peculiar character as a virtue. So long as the Crown was on its side, gave it all the patronage and emoluments, and protected it against reform, it was passionately devoted to the Crown and the mother country. But when with the growth of the Reform movement in England the Crown changed its policy, a change came over the spirit of Colonial loyalty also. When two Family Compact officials were dismissed for opposing the Liberal policy of the Government, Loyalist organs began to proclaim that their attachment to the Empire had received a fatal shock and that they would have to turn their eyes elsewhere. Afterwards we know what an exhibition of loyalty ensued upon the passage of the Rebellion Losses bill. The principle of the Loyalists upon that occasion, it must be owned, was severely tried; but it did not prove equal to the trial. Flinging rotten eggs and stones at the Governor-General was a singular display of devotion to the Crown. We need not insinuate that on that account loyalty was insincere. The African believes in his idol though he whips it for not giving him what he wants.

In the days of old the idol of loyalty was, at all events, a substance, not a shadow, as it still is in countries really under monarchical government, and in which the people look up, like children, for the maintenance of order and almost for their daily bread to

their paternal king. But how is it with us? Sunday after Sunday we solemnly pray to God that Her Majesty and Her Majesty's representative may be enabled to govern us well. Let Her Majesty or Her Majesty's representative presume to do a single act of government against the wishes of the Tory Prime Minister; let either of them veto a single job or bribe, and we know what would be the result. Yet we profess to believe that God is not to be mocked. This professed devotion to an empty name is, however, not without its substantial uses. By loud protestations of loyalty to the Crown, which he knows will never cost him anything, a man absolves himself from loyalty to the commonwealth. He feels himself perfectly at liberty to cabal and conspire as much as he pleases against the public good in his own interest, or in that of some exclusive order or sectional combination, because he is loyal to a Crown divested of all its power and to the name of a connection with the mother country which he has practically reduced to a mere shadow. I do not mean to speak disrespectfully of any feeling which is genuine, however out of date, but there are not a few cases in which loyalty to the Crown is a fine name for disloyalty to the country, and loyalty to British connection is a fine name for disloyalty to Canada.

The loyalty cry is now being raised, in default of any economical argument, to deter the country from accepting the benefits of Reciprocity and to scare it into acquiescence in a policy of which commercial atrophy and the exodus are the visible and inevitable results. Here we see how, with what curious exactness, the Loyalists' virtue follows, through all their windings, the lines of interest. To exclude British goods by protective duties is perfectly loyal. It is perfectly loyal to wage what in fact is a tariff war against the mother country. But to discriminate against the mother country is disloyal in the highest degree. The very thought of it is enough almost to throw a loyal man into convul-

sions. Yet discrimination would have no disloyal object. It would be not against England in particular but against all countries alike. It would evince no change of feeling towards the mother country, or towards the political connection. It would not take a penny from the revenue of the Crown or a particle from its power or dignity. It would hardly take away anything from the commercial wealth of the British people. The enhanced value of their Canadian investments which would result from free trade would probably make up to them for the loss which a few exporting houses would sustain. But the same measure would expose the protected manufacturers of Canada to continental competition.

The commercial unity of the Empire is at an end. It was formally declared to be at an end when an Australian colony claimed the right to lay protective duties on British goods, and the question having been considered by the Home Government was decided in favour of the claim. Great Britain has withdrawn all commercial privileges from the colonies, and by the same act she has conceded to them the liberty of doing the best they can commercially for themselves, each according to the circumstances of its own case. The commercial circumstances of Canada are those of a country placed alongside a great neighbour who is under the protective system, and whose policy it is impossible for her in regulating her own to ignore, as it is to ignore the physical features of her continent. The commercial unity of the Empire having been, I repeat, dissolved by the act of the mother country herself, which deprived the colonies of their privileges, there can be nothing disloyal in recognizing the necessities of our own case. Offer us free trade with the whole world, the mother country included, and there are some of us who will gladly accept it. Will the loyal men of the Red Parlour do the same ?

We are disloyal, it is said, because we propose to enter into a tariff arrangement with the United States, and by entering into a

tariff arrangement with the United States, we should compromise the fiscal independence of the country. Of course you cannot make a treaty without surrendering to that extent, and so long as the treaty lasts, your independence of action. But if the treaty is fair, where is the dishonour? Was there any dishonour in the Elgin Treaty? Was there any dishonour in the commercial treaty made by England with France? It is idle to think that in commercial matters we can be entirely independent of the United States. We must be beholden to them for our principal winter-ports. We must trust to their comity for the transmission of our goods in bond. Our railway system is bound up with theirs. What we call our great national road, the road which was to be the pledge of our eternal separation from them, not only has branches running into their territory, but actually passes with its trunk line through the State of Maine. If there is any disloyalty in this matter it would appear to be in maintaining a fiscal policy which is constantly driving the flower of our population over the line, and saves Canada from annexation by annexing the Canadians.

Does anyone want to be told what is really disloyal? It is disloyal to assemble the representatives of a particular commercial interest before the elections and virtually sell to them the policy of the country. It is disloyal to seek by corrupt means the support of particular nationalities, churches, political orders, or sectional interests of any kind, against the broad interest of the community. It is disloyal to sap the independence of provinces and reduce them to servile pensioners on the Central Government by systematically bribing them with "better terms" and federal grants. It is disloyal to use the appointments to a branch of the national legislature as inducements to partisans to spend money in elections. It is disloyal to use public works, which ought to be undertaken only for the general good, for the purpose of bribing particular constituencies. It is disloyal to make concessions to

public contractors which are to be repaid by contributions to an election fund. It is disloyal to corrupt the public press, and thus to poison the wells of public instruction and public sentiment. It is disloyal to tamper with the article of the Constitution respecting the time of general elections by thimblerrigging dissolutions brought on to snap a national verdict. It is disloyal to vitiate the national verdict by gerrymandering. It is disloyal to surrender the national veto on provincial legislation, the very palladium of nationality, out of fear of the Jesuit vote. All corruption is disloyalty. All sectionalism is disloyalty. All but pure, straightforward and honourable conduct in the management of public affairs is disloyalty. If it is not disloyalty to a crown on a cushion, it is disloyalty to the commonwealth.

The question of our political relations is not now before us. We are dealing with the commercial question alone. But suppose the political question were before us, would there be any disloyalty in dealing with it frankly and honestly? I say frankly and honestly. There is disloyalty in any sort of intrigue. But who has intrigued? According to the Government organs, the country is a nest of conspirators. Everybody who goes to Washington goes for the purpose of conspiracy, as though real conspirators would not have the sense to keep their names out of the hotel book. I have myself been charged in the Government organ with going to Washington to sell the country. I go to Washington every spring on my way with my wife to a Southern watering-place, and at no other time, mainly for the purpose of seeing personal friends, the chief of whom was the late Mr. Bancroft. I have been charged by the same organ with being a party to bringing American money into the country for the purpose of influencing the elections, the evidence being that my friend, Mr. Hallam, to whom I never said a syllable on the subject of political relations, had proposed to raise a fund for the diffusion of knowledge about the tariff question. Treason is a great crime. If

anybody has been guilty of it let him be brought to justice. But it is time that people should know that to charge your fellow-citizens, men in as good standing as yourself, with treason and with trying to sell the country, without any proof of the fact, is a social offence.

There has just been a meeting of Imperial Federationists, of whose aspiration I desire to speak with all respect. The object of Imperial Federationists is to make a great change in our political relations. They seek to reverse the process of decentralization which, apparently, in obedience to the dictate of nature, has been going on for so many years, to take from Canada a part of her self-government, and to place her again under the authority of a central power. They fancy, indeed, that they can have an Imperial Federation without detracting from colonial self-government. But how could this be when each of the colonies would be subject certainly to military assessments, and probably to fiscal control; for it is hardly possible to imagine a federation with a multiplicity of tariffs, some of them hostile to others, as those of the protectionist colonies now are to the mother country? What the plan of the Imperial Federationists is remains a mystery. They tell us not to ask them for a cut-and-dried scheme. We do not ask for a scheme either cut or dried, but only for one that shall be intelligible and a possible subject of discussion. Readjustment of postage-rates is not confederation. However, it lies not in their mouths to say that a proposal of change must be disloyal. If they are at liberty to advocate centralization, "Canada First" was equally at liberty to advocate independence. "Canada First," in its day, was denounced as disloyal. I well recollect when you were told that to speak of Canada as a nation, was treason. We have got beyond that point, I suppose, since the National Policy is now the height of loyalty. "Canada First" was started by Mr. W. A. Foster's pamphlet before I settled here and I never belonged to the

National Association; but I regarded the movement with cordial sympathy, if only because it had drawn into it, as it seemed to me, some of the best and most generous spirits of the country. If there is any question of loyalty in the matter it might be thought that they were the most loyal who desired for their country a higher position than that of perpetual dependence. Whether their aspirations were feasible is another question. They hardly took into account the French difficulty, nor did they or perhaps anybody at that time distinctly see what effect the enormous extension of disjointed territory toward the West would have on the geographical unity of the nation. But their aspiration was high; they were responding in fact to the appeal which the authors of Confederation themselves had made to the heart of the country, and never was the name of loyalty more traduced than when they were called disloyal.

There are men living, high in public life and in the Conservative ranks, who signed a manifesto in favour, I do not say of annexation, which is a false and hateful term, but of political union with the United States. Nothing is more irrational or ungenerous than to taunt people with opinions which they once honestly held and have since not less honestly renounced. It is not for any such purpose that I refer to the Montreal manifesto. But such a manifesto could not have been signed by such men if the question were not one which might be entertained without disloyalty, provided always that those who entertain it remain firm, pending its solution, in their dutiful allegiance to their own country. For my own part, being not a politician, but a student, and restrained by no exigencies of statecraft, I never conceal my opinion. I have always deplored the schism which divided our race a century ago. I hold that there was wrong on both sides, and not less on the side of the American Revolutionists than on that of the British Government. I hope and steadfastly believe that some day the schism will be healed, that there will be a moral reunion,

which alone is possible, of the American colonies of Great Britain with their mother country, and a complete reunion, with the hearty sanction of the mother country, of the whole race upon this continent. Great Britain will in time see that she has no real interest here but amity and trade. The unity of the race, and the immense advantages of a settlement which would shut out war from this continent and make it an economical whole, will prevail, I feel convinced, in the end over evil memories and the efforts of those who cherish them. That the consummation will come in my time is unlikely, though a Government of monopoly and corruption is driving it on apace. At all events, I have no more personal interest in it than in any astronomical event. Nor would I wish to see it hastened by any means which would impair its perfect spontaneity. On the other hand, nobody who believes in ultimate union can wish to see the earnings of the people wasted in desperate efforts to perpetuate separation. A hundred millions of public money or money's worth, at least, have been spent on this great national road by which the triumph of the Separatist policy was to be secured forever. Not a Yankee was to have a cent in the enterprise or to have anything to do with it, and the road was to run entirely over our own territory, not touching the accursed Yankee soil. The road has been built partly with Yankee money; it has had a Yankee politician for its vice-president; it has now a Yankee—and an unmistakable Yankee—for its president; it runs through the Yankee State of Maine, and connects our system with the Yankee system at more points than one. It is, in fact, half a Yankee road. So much for the wisdom and hopefulness of a fight against nature.

Whether Commercial Union would accelerate political union or retard it, who can say? The Elgin Treaty manifestly put off political union by removing discontent. But railway union and social union and the fusion of the populations by the exodus all manifestly tend to political union, and who thinks it disloyal to con-

tribute to these? If a man makes himself prominent in cultivating loyal antipathy to Americans, you are as likely as not to find that he is in the service of an American railroad company and helping, honourably enough, to send Canadians to the States. The other day I was myself reviled in the most unmeasured language for my supposed American proclivities. Soon afterwards I heard that my assailant had accepted a call as a minister to the other side of the line.

On this continent, not in Europe; in the New World, not in the Old; the lot of Canada and of Canadians is cast. This fixes our general destiny, whatever special arrangements of a political kind the future may have in store. This sets the mark of our aspirations and traces the line of our public duty. This determines for us what is genuine loyalty. That course of action which leads to the happy development of man on our own continent is for us loyal. To say that loyalty consists in keeping this community always in dependence on a community three thousand miles off and condemning it to be without a life of its own, is to set loyalty at fatal odds not only with nature but with genuine sentiment. Nature sets us not only the more practicable but the nobler part.

It is irrational to rail against British aristocracy. British aristocracy is an historical institution; it had its day of usefulness in its own country; and perhaps in its own country, if it faces the crisis gallantly, it may do some good still. But it can do no good here. It can breed and does breed nothing here but false ambition, flunkeyism, title-hunting, and sycophantic Resolutions. It draws away the hearts of wealthy and ambitious Canadians from their own country to Downing Street and May Fair. Let it retire to its own land. To sacrifice Canada to its policy and make her a perpetual engine in its hands for preventing the triumph of democracy on this continent is to put her to service which loyalty to her and to humanity as well as good

sense abhors. Let British aristocracy, I repeat, do the best it can and live as long as it can in Great Britain: it has no business here. It is said, I believe truly, though it was not reported at the time, that when the Mulock Resolution was put one very eminent member of the Opposition uttered some manly words and went out of the House. He carried true loyalty with him and left something that was not loyal or true behind. Let British aristocracy withdraw with grace from a world for which it has done nothing and which has never belonged to it. The Governor-Generalship surely would not be a great loss to it. How can any man of mark or spirit wish to play the part of a figure-head, or, worse still, by the exercise of his mock prerogative to help in loading the dice for a gambling politician?

There might be danger and there might be disloyalty in touching this question if there were on the part of Americans any disposition to aggression. But there is none. I have lived a good deal in the States during the last twenty-five years, and have had every opportunity of learning American sentiment; I have a number of family connections in the States; I have resided at an American University and held intercourse with the young men, who are generally the frankest indicators of national feeling; I was in the States at the time of the Civil War, and when the people were most exasperated against England; and I can truly say that I never detected the slightest desire of aggression upon Canadian independence. The desire of bringing Canada into the Union at all has always appeared to me very weak, and not a few of the politicians are averse to it, fearing a derangement of the party balance. Most of the people with whom I have come into contact have, like the American Press, shown almost a mortifying indifference on the subject. If the Americans meditated annexation by force, why did they not attack us when they had a vast and victorious army? If they meditate annexation by pressure, why do they allow us bonding privileges and the use of their

winter-ports? The McKinley Bill was eagerly hailed by Separatists here as an act of American hostility. Its object was simply to rivet and extend protection, at the same time catching the farmer's vote, for which politicians fish there with the same bait with which Sir John Macdonald fishes here. Of course as there are paper tigers on our side of the line, there are tail-twisters on the other side. One of the most valiant of them, in the person of Senator Ingalls, has just bitten the dust. The tail-twisters have as much influence there as the paper tigers have here, and no more. These suspicions when unjustified are undignified. They expose us to ridicule, while they prevent us from seeing in its true light and settling wisely the great question of our own future.

Again, it would be disloyalty ever to think of anything less than an equal and honourable union, such as that between England and Scotland. But who does think of anything less? Nor need there be any alteration of character, any obliteration of memories, any sacrifice of cherished associations. Canada in the Union might be Canada still, as Scotland in the Union is Scotland still. I have done my best, for one, to help those who were trying to make Toronto an independent centre of literature, feeling that whatever course political events might take, such a centre would retain its value. By building up the greatness and the moral independence of the community, we surely give more substantial proof of loyalty than we should give by any amount of frothy and rancorous declamation.

Those who say that the country is suffering from a bad fiscal policy and from the corruption of government are branded as disloyal. They are charged with decrying Canada by telling this unpleasant truth. Truth, pleasant or unpleasant, can never be disloyal. But let the accusers look back to their own record before 1878, when the opposite party was in power. What pictures of national distress and ruin were then painted! What pessimism was uttered and penned! What jeremiads rung in our

ears! Soup kitchens, some thought, were opened, not so much for the relief of distress as to present in the most vivid and harrowing manner the state to which Liberal policy had reduced the people. Is it the rising flood of prosperity that is sending so many Canadians over the line? It was disloyal to say that railway monopoly was keeping back the North-west. What do they say about that now?

Is it loyal to turn our Public Schools into seedplots of international enmity by implanting hatred of the Americans in the breasts of children? The Public Schools are maintained by all for the benefit of all, and it is a gross abuse of trust to use them for party purposes. Nor does it seem very chivalrous to be inveigling children instead of appealing to men. Celebrations of victories gained in bygone quarrels over people who are now your friends are perhaps not the sort of things to which the bravest are the most prone. Wellington and the men who had fought with him at Waterloo used to dine together on that day. This was very well, especially as those victorious veterans did not crow or bluster. But it forms no precedent for swaggering demonstrations by us, who did not fight at Queenston Heights or Lundy's Lane. And when this war spirit is got up, whom are we to fight? The one million of Canadians and their half-million of children now settled on the other side of the line? All the British immigrants who have been pouring into the United States during the last generation? Literally, when we take away from the population of Canada the French and other nationalities, there would be as many men of British blood on the enemy's side as on ours. "Bombard New York!" said a Canadian of my acquaintance; "why, my four sons live there!"

Is it loyal to threaten us with settling questions on horseback in other words, with military coercion? The English people would not endure such threats from the commanders of the army which won the Alma and Inkerman. I heard one of these

tirades read out at a Commercial Union meeting by a tall farmer, who when he had done said, "Now we want no nonsense"—whereat a number of other tall farmers with deep voices cried, "Hear! hear!" I suspect there is force enough in the country to vindicate its own freedom of deliberation and its power of self-disposal. The only effect of menaces such as are sometimes heard will be to make our people more deaf than ever to the appeals of British Imperialists who exhort us to maintain a standing army as a safeguard for our independence. Our independence is safe enough from any hostile aggression, and our liberty is safer in our own hands than in those of warriors who propose to decide political questions for us on horseback.

Loyalists appeal to the memories of those who fought and fell at Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane. We also appeal to those memories. Honour to the brave who gave their lives for Canada! As they did their duty to their country then by defending her against unjust invasion, they would now, if they were alive, be doing their duty to her by helping to rescue her from monopoly and corruption. Honour, once more, to the truly brave! Let us build their monuments by all means. We are all as ready as any Loyalist to contribute, if only we may be allowed to make the memorial, like the joint monument to Wolfe and Montcalm at Quebec, a noble and chivalrous tribute to heroism, not an ignoble record of a bygone feud, and to grave on it words expressive not of perpetual enmity, but of the reconciliation of our race.

Let us be true to the country, keep her interest above all other interests, personal, partisan, or sectional, in our hearts; be ready to make all sacrifices to it which a reasonable patriotism demands; be straightforward and aboveboard in all our dealings with public questions, and never, out of fear of unpopularity or abuse, shrink from the honest expression of opinion and the courageous advocacy of whatever we conscientiously believe to be good for the community. So long as we do this, depend upon it we are loyal.

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