

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



**Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques**

**© 1983**

**TH**  
**to**

**THE  
po  
cf  
fil**

On  
be  
th  
sic  
ot  
fir  
sic  
or

- ☐ Coloured pages/  
Pages de couleur
- ☐ Pages damaged/  
Pages endommagées
- ☐ Pages restored and/or laminated/  
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- ☒ Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/  
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- ☐ Pages detached/  
Pages détachées
- ☒ Showthrough/  
Transparence
- ☐ Quality of print varies/  
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- ☐ Includes supplementary material/  
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- ☐ Only edition available/  
Seule édition disponible
- ☐ Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata  
slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to  
ensure the best possible image/  
Les pages totalement ou partiellement  
obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,  
etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à  
obtenir la meilleure image possible.

**THE  
SH  
TI  
WI**

**Ma  
dit  
en  
be  
rig  
rec  
me**

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

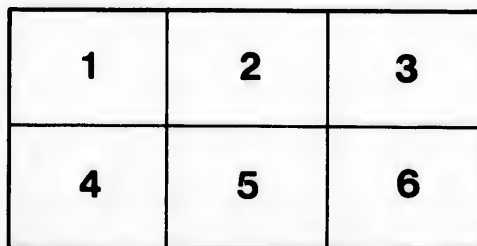
Hamilton Public Library

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol  $\longrightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

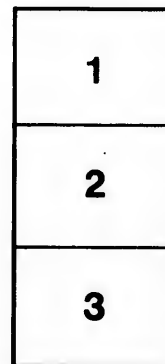
Hamilton Public Library

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\longrightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



rata  
o

elure,  
à

R

2

~~11~~

R 1.9  
W715u  
Cana

"None but a cynic would despise sentiment; none but a fool would build upon it."—GOLDWIN SMITH.

SECRET

# UNION

BETWEEN THE

## UNITED STATES AND CANADA:

Political or Commercial,—  
Which is Desirable and Which is  
Presently Possible?

A SPEECH BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

Brooklyn, N. Y., December 9, 1891.

NEW YORK:

314 Broadway.

OCT 11 1947

C

# UNION

BETWEEN THE

## UNITED STATES AND CANADA:

Political or Commercial,—  
Which is Desirable and Which is Presently  
Possible?

---

[From the Brooklyn STANDARD-UNION, December 10, 1891.]

The Union League Club, Brooklyn, N. Y., was recently addressed, on the question of Canadian Annexation, by Mr. Francis Wayland Glenn, who, though an American, was formerly a member of the Canadian Parliament, and is now a resident of Brooklyn. His principal contention was, that to promote Reciprocity between the United States and Canada would have the effect of postponing indefinitely the Annexation of that country. A political union, he urged, was the only desirable relation to exist between the two portions of the continent; but if all the advantages of a political union could be secured by reciprocity, there would be little or no possibility of a closer and intimate political relation existing for many years to come.

At the request of the Union League Club, last night Mr. ERASTUS WIMAN discussed the topic of the future possible relations between the two countries, and for the



purpose of broadly considering the whole question, stated the proposition as follows: "Union with Canada: Political or Commercial,—which is desirable, and which is presently possible?" Inasmuch as Mr. Wiman has given a great many years' study to this subject, and is perhaps more fully informed than any one else in the United States as to the conditions on both sides of the border, his deliberate conclusions on the subject of a possible political relation, merit careful consideration. It will be seen that he directly opposes Mr. Glenn's contention that Annexation is soon probable, and assumes a position somewhat at variance with the almost universal desire and expectation of this country, that a political union on this continent is an early possibility. He maintains that if annexation is ever found desirable by the Canadian people, it can only be achieved through a reciprocal union of the two countries, as a necessary condition of preparedness. Without an approach to each other through an intimate commercial relation, by the people of the two nations, there is no hope of any kind of a union, either political or commercial, which latter of all things is, he considers, for the moment the most desirable for both countries.

Mr. Wiman preceded his address by a brief description of the physical features of Canada. Among other things he said that Canada was larger than the United States; that, excluding Alaska, the area included within the United States was 3,036,000 square miles, while Canada included an area of 3,500,000 square miles. This area comprised forty per cent. of the British Empire, on which it was the proud boast of the Briton that the sun never set. The extent of the country might best be judged by the magnitude of her waterways, which are the most

magnificent of those in any country in the world, illustrated by the fact that Canada possessed within her borders more than one-half the fresh water of the globe. That in extent of resources, the Dominion was almost beyond comparison with any other country. Thus, she had more iron, of better quality, easier mined and nearer a market than any other country. That Canada alone possessed coal upon the Atlantic and upon the Pacific, a fact of importance in view of a possible foreign trade for the United States, while midway across the continent, she also had supplies of this fuel,—her coal area being over 97,000 square miles. That her supplies of timber were the best on this continent. Her resources in this respect were of inestimable value, in view of the enormous consumption, the destruction by fire and rot, and the steadily diminishing areas of forest lands. As for the fisheries of Canada, they were the greatest in the world, including a coast line of not less than 5,000 miles, possessing the potentialities for the sustentation of the human race, rivalling the resources of any other food supply. These, with numerous other assets, such as an ample supply of nickel, copper, silver, gold, phosphates, gypsum, asbestos and other minerals, Mr. Wiman set forth in glowing terms, as the possessions of his native land.

Returning to the area of Canada, he said, many people speak of annexing Canada, little dreaming of its future proportions. Even at the start, if all the Provinces and Territories became separate commonwealths, no less than eleven States would be added to the Union, several of them as large as New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio combined. Therefore, the question of a political union implied a comprehensiveness not generally attributed to it.

Mr. Wiman described the difference between a Political Union and a Commercial Union. A Political Union meant that the whole of the Dominion of Canada should become incorporated in the United States, and that the various Provinces should become independent and distinctive commonwealths. That the same relation should exist between these commonwealths as exists now between the States of the Union, and that the government of the entire continent should be vested in Washington, as it is now for half the continent. A political union was therefore clearly understood. A Commercial Union, however, might be of a varied character. It might, for instance, partake of the character of a Zollverein, as illustrated by the German Customs Union. This implied a uniform tariff all over the continent,—the tariff to be created by the largest party to the compact. In other words, the customs line that now runs athwart the continent would be lifted up and put right around the continent, so that the same duties would prevail at Vancouver and Halifax as at San Francisco, New York and other American ports. The revenue derivable from this uniform tariff would, under these circumstances, be pooled into a common fund, and divided *pro rata* according to population. No interference would be offered in the separate expenditure of each nationality, but trade should be as unrestricted along the 4,000 miles border line as it is now between the lines of the various States. The result would be a perfect unification, in so far as a commercial policy was concerned, though distinctive governments would still prevail.

A different system of Commercial Union, however, seems more probable just now, and that would take the shape of Unrestricted Reciprocity between the two coun-

tries. This reciprocal policy would mean a perfect exchange between the two countries of all natural and manufactured products. It would still, however, mean a tariff practically uniform, or at least, that the Canadian tariff should not be lower than the American tariff, and it would equally mean a row of custom houses along the border to prevent importations or smuggling from Europe, as through a back door in Canada. It would mean free admission into Canada of all American manufactures, and a duty upon all foreign manufactures, so that in a sense it implied a discrimination against Great Britain. Later on he would refer to this subject of discrimination. In the meantime a general view of a Commercial Union might be accepted as implied a free and unrestricted reciprocal relation. With these explanations, Mr. Wiman proceeded with his address. He spoke substantially as follows:

In all the history of mankind, no event has occurred of importance so stupendous as the discovery and development of the continent of North America. It would seem as if, in the evolution of the human race, that of all things the most essential to its happiness, was the possession of a continent of such vast proportions, and of such marvellous productive power. To imagine the world without North America, is to imagine a condition of population equalled only by the density of the population in China and in India, and in the most crowded of cities. The Malthusian theory that population would by and by become so great as to tax the productive power of the land occupied to supply it with food, seems to have been only rendered inoperative by the discovery of America. But aside from the physical and material advantages of so great an addition to the space for occupancy, and the

power to produce, a still greater and nobler purpose has been served by the intellectual and moral development which on this continent has taken place. The glorious principles of self-government, the abundance of opportunity, the ample rewards attendant upon industry, inventive skill, enterprise and unbounded energy, have had a demonstration in the United States elsewhere unknown. The influence upon the human race at large of the growth in this direction has been beyond estimate. All the world has watched with intense interest the rapidity of evolution on this side of the sea. The influence of the principles which have animated this people have not been confined to themselves, but have been universal in their effect. Perhaps no contrast to-day is more marked, as between two people, than that which can now be made between America on one side and Russia on the other. Notwithstanding great wealth, and productive power, one shudders to contemplate the horror of existence amidst that vast area presided over by the Czar, where famine, imprisonment, treason, Nihilism and hopelessness prevail. Compare the conditions affecting large sections of humanity in Russia with those universally existing in America! How free, how happy and how full of hope are the people of this fair land? What a grand past have they made secure! What a magnificent future seems equally certain! In Russia, with all the natural advantages of wide area, of great productive forces, of vast accumulations of centuries and ample experience, there seems more than the usual share of sorrow, suspicion and blighted prospects. In this country with the experience of only a century, with a government that was experimental, with capital that was inadequate, a progress and a degree of human happiness has been

attained at which all the world wonders. The result, therefore, to mankind at large of the development on the North American continent is more important and more far reaching, than the achievements of all the rest of the world within the same period. A greater degree of happiness, found in an almost unlimited number of homes, a self-reliance and growth in intelligence, a broadened opportunity, and a fuller life has been lived than otherwise could have been imagined, had not there been achieved on this continent this later development of humanity.

THE LINE OF DEMARCATION THE BARRIER OF  
PROGRESS.

With this consideration in view, does it not seem singular that only on the lesser half of the continent has this great work of development been carried forward? True, on the northern part of the continent a favorable condition has been created for happiness; but largely by the influence of the success of free government in the United States. Through the occurrences south of the border a liberal condition of government has been inaugurated on the northern half. But the development in natural resources, the growth in population, and the general progress of the human family has been far less marked within the British possessions on the continent of North America than within the Republic of the United States. The line of demarcation which the Revolution created across the continent, a little south of its centre, is as marked, so far as development is concerned, as if that line were a physical barrier such as a high mountain, a deep sea, or a wide morass. It is, therefore, a most interesting study in this last decade of a century that has achieved so much,

to consider the conditions that prevail north and south of that line. It is still more interesting to discuss the plans that can be adopted by which the line of demarcation can be practically obliterated, and thus help to heal the "Great Schism of the Anglo-Saxon race!"

#### OBLITERATING THE BARRIER.

Certainly if, by the Declaration of Independence, the whole continent had been included, instead of less than half of it, there would now be no justification for separating it into two portions. If under the influence of the Declaration of Independence, and the Republican form of government, trade had been as free over the whole continent as it is now between the States of the Union or between the Provinces of the Dominion, a movement to erect a high customs barrier across the continent would not be for one instant tolerated. Therefore, if by any policy which can be pursued, any commercial bargain which can be made, or any honorable negotiation carried forward which will obliterate this barrier, the time seems opportune for considering it. Surely there is no justification for the continuance forever of the barbed wire fence which runs athwart the continent, over which one brother cannot trade with another brother, a bushel of potatoes, for a bushel of apples, without paying tribute to two governments, equal to the cost of production. Certainly it is time to consider the propriety of extending the area of the trade of the United States when the production of manufactures far exceeds the consumption; when in order to eliminate competition, to regulate production and maintain a profit, there is a necessity for the trusts, consolidations, corners and combinations, which are now the striking economic feature of the hour. There-

fore, it is the bounden duty of all who are interested in the future of the country to consider this question, for without the drawing of a sword, without the shedding of a drop of blood, or the expenditure of a single dollar, the area of the trade of the United States can be doubled, and the opportunity of its people enormously augmented.

In discussing a possible Union with Canada, there are three great parties to be considered. The first of these is the United States, the second Canada, and the third Great Britain. It will be well to consider the question from the standpoint of each, in the order as here set forth.

#### FROM A UNITED STATES POINT OF VIEW.

So far as the United States is concerned, it is beyond all question that some form of practical union between the two countries is desirable. The general impression is that a political union is essential. Even those who are willing to admit that a Commercial Union is desirable, and now possible, look to it as the first step towards a Political Union. There are very few in the United States who regard the future of the continent as containing two separate great English-speaking nationalities. The general impression is that the manifest destiny of the British possessions on this continent is that they will be eventually included within the American Union, and that the American flag will prevail from the Gulf to the North Pole, as it now prevails from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This is flattering to the national pride, and is not an unreasonable expectation. The question to consider, however, is Whether this is a desirable thing; second, Whether it is a possible thing. Certainly, when one stands face to face with an increase of



territory to be governed, so vast as to equal that already possessed, the difficulties of the government seem greatly to increase. The overworked departments in Washington are already taxed to the utmost, while the new complications which would arise in so vast an augmentation of territory would demand machinery far in advance of what is already possessed. The fact that three Secretaries of the Treasury have dropped dead at their posts, and that a fourth is now seriously ill, is a circumstance of deep significance. A further instance of this pressure is shown in the matter of legislation.

#### CONGESTED LEGISLATION.

In the last three or four sessions of Congress, bills reaching the number of fifteen thousand have been introduced,—yet barely a thousand have been passed. It may be doubted if any one member of Congress could find time to read one quarter of the measures upon which he is asked to vote. If this legislative congestion is the result of a hundred years' administration in half a continent, what serious difficulties would confront the Congress, if a new and unknown region requiring legislative action, heretofore governed in a different manner, and requiring the greatest possible attention? Still further difficulties, however, of a practical nature, appeal to the politician, who would advocate a Political Union with Canada. Thus, an addition to the number of the members of Congress would completely and suddenly change the political character of that body. The political future of the entire country would be uncertain, unless the new members possessed an acquaintanceship with the questions of which, up to the time of their admission, they knew nothing, and were ready offhand to make an affi-

liation with parties. The combinations and calculations of politicians the country over would be entirely at sea if the Roman Catholic vote in Quebec on the one hand, and the Orange-Protestant vote in Ontario on the other were not accurately weighed and measured. The Senate of the United States, now equally balanced, would be swayed and controlled by the balance of power, which would rest in the new additions of twenty-two members from no less than eleven Provinces, which under annexation would become States of the Union. An addition of twenty-two Senators would be a serious matter to contemplate, and especially twenty-two Senators with an imperfect knowledge of the past in this country. Indeed, when one comes down close to the consequences in legislation, and administration, of taking over so vast an area, and with interests so complex and diverse, it would seem as if a condition of long and careful preparedness for this vast change should take place, not only in Canada, but in the United States. There are so many questions confronting the people of this country in the vast experiment of self-government which they are now endeavoring to solve, that to precipitate into the vortex of practical politics a totally unknown and foreign element, would be dangerous in the extreme. Thus, the question of the colored race; the question of the currency, as related especially to silver; the problems surrounding the banking system; the emigration problem, and numerous others, are all in a certain degree peculiar to this country, and have no relation whatever to the halt of the continent included in the British possessions. This is especially so in relation to the policy relating to pensions, to pay which Canada would necessarily be asked to contribute; also the questions as to treatment of

government lands, irrigation and such local matters. In a very little while too, the question of area might seriously disturb the balance of power between the different sections of the Union. Thus, the two Provinces of Ontario and Quebec are in extent equal to the combined areas of New York, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and the extent of their representation in half a century would change the complexion of the representative bodies of the nation.

#### ASSIMILATION UNDULY TAXED.

But, there are other considerations, and one of these is that of the ability of the United States to assimilate at once, and immediately, the diverse elements of which the British Provinces are composed. The faith of most Americans in the force of the assimilative process is unquestioned, and is based on marvellous results. Up to this period, notwithstanding the infinite variety and complicated nature of the yearly foreign additions to the population, the wonderful process of digestion into the body politic has gone forward without hesitation. But at one gulp to take in five millions of people, who have an experience of their own in self-government, and who are in some degree prejudiced, somewhat self-assertive, and more than usually self-reliant, would be an experiment of which there is no parallel. While it is true that these people are of the same lineage, speak the same language, have the same laws and the same literature, as of the United States, they are nevertheless sufficiently divergent to make the experiment somewhat hazardous.

But, whatever might be the result as to the English speaking portion of the new territory, there certainly would be serious and grave doubt as to how far the as-

similative process would apply to the French-Canadian portion of the country to be taken in. It is true that the large emigration of French-Canadians which has come in the direction of the United States, have shown a marked condition of contentment and apparent adaptation. Yet it is a fact that of all the races that have come to the United States, and who have taken part and lot in the great process of assimilation, this race is the only one that has maintained a distinctive nationality, and a distinctive language. Thus, in New England, the French people are to-day more French than any other race are distinctively national. The French language prevails in some New England towns to an extent almost as great as the English language. The single fact that at all the new railway stations in New England, a dual language has to be employed in the signs and directions to the public, indicates the force and strength of the separate French idea which prevails in this community. If this is the condition where the French people come as mere immigrants, and remain perhaps for only a brief period to earn money, how strong would be the sentiment if Quebec were a State in the Union.

#### THE INFLUENCES OF A STATE CHURCH.

Aside from this, however, one must always bear in mind the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec—an influence that to-day is greater in its force and influence than prevails in any other country in the world. It is true that the central power of the United States does not interfere with religious matters, and that any State in the Union can have its own church if it chooses. It is equally true that the majority of the people in each State can regulate their religious affairs without

let or hindrance, and that, if Quebec were admitted to a Statehood, it would not matter to New York, or any other commonwealth, what religious persuasion prevailed among the majority of a sister State, or what powers were imparted by that State to a religious institution. But it is a fact, nevertheless, that the forces which the Roman Catholic Church exercise in Quebec would have a most powerful influence upon the educational institutions of that commonwealth; and that from it would radiate an influence upon the common school system of the United States, which to many thoughtful minds would seriously threaten its existence. To those who believe the common school is the basis of free institutions, such an anticipation is full of significance. Even at this date, the Roman Catholic desire in Massachusetts for separate schools has acquired a force that is difficult to resist. The feeling of uncertainty in regard to the future in this respect has made many who have hitherto been advocates of a close political union with Canada, hesitate and closely consider the possible consequences.

This and other considerations show that the question from a United States view of a Political Union with Canada is one having results so stupendous that it should not lightly be considered. It is a fashion to say that Canada must fall as a ripe plum into the hands of the United States. It is a general impression that it is only necessary to use the proper means, and the whole continent will be included in the Union. But a reflection will show that a condition of preparedness on both sides of the border is essential. A careful inquiry into the possible results which would flow from so important an addition to the territory is essential. Meantime, in the process of this condition of preparation, there is no good reason

why a Political Union should not be promoted by those who desire it. If all that it achieves can, however, be brought about by a Commercial Union, without the dangers and complications which a Political Union would imply, why should there not be a Commercial Union?

#### THE ADVANTAGES OF A SEPARATE EXISTENCE.

The chief objection to Commercial Union is, that under it Canada would make great progress and become a great rival. There is a feeling that it would be dangerous to the United States to permit a great country on the North to be built up. It is a bugbear which some statesmen raise, that a British colony having abundant success in development and growth, is a dangerous element so near to the Union. But this conclusion is hardly correct. The peaceable relations between the two countries, on the contrary, are rendered certain by the conditions that now prevail. Great Britain will certainly maintain her policy of peace with the United States under almost any stress, for she is constantly exposed to attack along a border line of four thousand miles. She will be constantly on her good behavior, if an area equal to forty per cent. of her entire Empire, can be within a week practically occupied and controlled by the United States. Equally would the United States be careful in their treatment of Great Britain, if the magnificent cities of the lakes, which it is impossible to fortify, are exposed at all times to attack by British gun-boats; or if in addition to attacks from two oceans in front, incursion from the land in the rear along so great a border line could be made. The system of defence which Great Britain has for years been perfecting is indicative of her strength in this regard. Armed and equipped at Bermuda is constantly a great

fleet, which can be strengthened at any time at Halifax, so that the whole United States Atlantic coast is, as it were, under surveillance. A great artery of land communication by the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific Railway runs athwart the entire continent to the Pacific Coast, on which powerful defences have been erected. In these harbors a navy constantly rides, that could make short work of the cities of the Pacific Slope. It may be said that it would be well to get rid of these menaces to the peace of the United States, but if they can be kept in check by the constant creation of a mutuality of interests, and the exposure of so great a portion of the British Empire to attack, a better purpose will be served towards peace than if the British Possessions were entirely to cease as such.

#### A GREAT NATION ON THE NORTH.

Thus, from a political point of view, as from a social, educational or religious, equally with the military advantage, it would seem as if it were better to leave matters as they are as between Canada and the United States. What is the danger resulting from the building up of a great nation on the North? The creation of such a nation as a customer of the United States would be highly advantageous to that country. Unless, indeed, it is intended that the United States shall be isolated from all others, and shall forever live within itself alone and seek no outlet, nothing but advantage would follow the creation of a group of great commonwealths on the North. Even as a great colony, such a growth and such a development could do no possible harm to the Republic. But if, instead of being a great colony, Canada became independent,—and having once become independent, assumed

a form of government which would unquestionably be Republican, as it must be in its scope and character, what better condition could prevail than this? A region as large as that of the United States itself, possessing resources of equal magnitude, supplementary in a remarkable degree to the resources of this country, why should not the creation of a sister republic on the North be infinitely more advantageous than the existence of numerous republics on the South? If the internal trade and commerce of the United States, which is so large as almost to be without comparison to that of other countries, can be augmented fourfold by the development of the northern half of the continent, what possible objection could there be should this development occur under a different and independent government? True, it would be better to have it within the Union itself. But supposing the difficulties to be overcome are so great, that time and a long series of circumstances are necessary, is it essential that there should be nothing done towards the creation of this trade and the development of these resources for the good of mankind, and especially for mankind in the United States?

#### THE NEED OF NORTHERN MARKETS.

If Political Union is a necessity for the growth of the North, the consequences of political union should be better understood than they are now. If, on the contrary, a Commercial Union could achieve all that annexation would create, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, then should Commercial Union in the shape of Reciprocity, or in some other form, be intelligently discussed and understood. Certainly, so far as the United States is concerned, no event, in the possible category of events, could



occur of more importance than that which would beget an enormous development in a country so nearly attached to her, and touching and interlacing at so many points the States of the Union. The productive forces of manufactures in the United States, stimulated by the protective policy, are far in excess of the local consumption. Boots and shoes for a hundred millions, collars and cuffs for one hundred and fifty millions, is the measure of many articles in output to serve a population of only sixty-five millions. Therefore a market outside of the Union is essential. This is being sought for in the South. But Southern nationalities are thousands of miles away, peopled by a class whose wants are few, whose average intelligence is meagre, and whose instability of government completely destroys permanency in foreign trade, or safety in credits. Heavily subsidized means of communication are necessary to reach this uncertain market, this limited demand. The best evidences of the limitation of this demand are seen in the fact, that in the last year, while the people of South America are fifty millions in number, the amount of goods they have absorbed is less than at the rate of \$1.50 each per capita. Meantime the people of Canada consumed American goods in spite of a high tariff at the rate of \$10 per head.

#### THE DIFFICULTIES OF A FOREIGN TRADE.

Aside from this, there are serious difficulties in the way of a foreign trade for the United States. Until a banking system is created, by which the exchanges can be effected in this country, England will levy a tribute upon every remittance that is made. Until a merchant marine is built by which goods can be conveyed in American bottoms, England will levy a tribute for every

pound of freight there is moved. Possibly lifting ourselves by our boot straps, we may by a process of subsidies, and of dead-heading dear goods to their destinations, create something of a foreign trade with the South. But it is a struggle against adverse circumstances, and it will take years to assume proportions commensurate with the output of American manufactories and the growth of American industries. Conditions entirely different and much more favorable prevail regarding the trade to the North. No subsidized line of steamers are needed, no distant markets require to be reached, no different people are found in this direction. On the contrary, at every single point along a border line, unparalleled in length, contact is had with this vast region, while means of lake and rail inter-communication throb and pulsate across the dividing line of every State and every Province of the two countries. The lakes and rivers that are now barriers to divide the people may become bonds to unite them. It needs only that the barrier between the two be broken down, that the barbed wire fence that now divides them be lifted up, so that emigration might pour into that Northern region, so that the development of its marvellous resources may take place, that trade should be created and a wealth produced, the extent of which no man can tell.

To-day, because of over-production, the feature of the hour is corners and combinations, trusts and consolidations, to an extent that begins to be almost alarming. There is hardly any department of activity in which competition can be eliminated, in which production can be regulated, and in which prices can be fixed, but is shifting itself into the control of a few men. There are other pressing necessities in the United States that make

essential an expansion of her borders, even if politically they cannot be enlarged. The whole equipment of the country is keyed up to a continued growth, the limitations of which are already reached. The railroad constructor, the engine builder, the agricultural implement maker, and all other producers, want room for future operations. But they want room not more than the people will want it. Within fifty years, at much less than the present rate of growth, the population of the United States will reach the enormous aggregate of 150,000,000 of souls! With no more new States to admit, with land already scarce,—and a land hunger already exists—with food products already so uncertain that within five years a crop failure would cause a cessation of exports: with all these circumstances impending, no question is quite so important as to consider how it will be possible to get free and unrestricted access to the thousand miles square of wheat and pasturage lands in the Canadian Northwest. To people these and all other agricultural sections of the Dominion with ready made customers for the United States, to enlarge the opportunity of every young man in the land, are the possibilities of the development of the rest of the continent. Until a larger market is afforded, until broadened opportunities are offered, and until a supply of free raw material is possible, these conditions must intensify. Hence, there is no question to-day before the American people, more important than that which will afford to the merchants, manufacturers and traders of the community, an early fulfilment and practical application of the prophecy contained in the familiar lines:—

“No pent up Utica confines your powers,  
The whole, the boundless continent is yours!”

## FROM A CANADIAN STAND POINT.

Having referred so fully to the considerations of a union with Canada from a United States point of view, Mr. Wiman then proceeded to discuss it from the Canadian point of view. He said: So far as the material advantage to Canada is concerned, no event could occur at the present moment which would be more highly advantageous to that country than its political alliance with the United States. If the measure of development possible in the North is that which has been created by the union of commonwealths in the South, no lover of his country could desire a more glorious result in the shape of material advancement. Before the Senate Committee on Canadian Relations the speaker said he had been asked to estimate the increase in the value of Canada as a realizable and profitable asset, if she were part and parcel of the American Union. His reply was that Canada would be under such a condition worth one hundred fold more than she is to-day. Asked if he did not mean one hundred per cent., his reply was that he meant, not one hundred per cent. but worth one hundred fold in value greater to the world than she has hitherto been. So far as material advancement was concerned, the speaker's estimate of what would be the result of an equal development in Canada was as large as it could well be, if placed on an equal footing with the people of the United States. Therefore he could not be said to be an opponent of annexation, so far as material advantages were concerned. But his own position in the matter was of no importance whatever, comparable with the tremendous issues involved in the attempt to make one nation pervade this continent. No man can live in the United States and apprehend

the greatness of the country, the magnitude of the good to mankind that is here being carried forward, and be enamored of its people, without desiring to be a part and parcel of so great and glorious an aggregation of humanity. But it might be that even for the sake of the people of the United States themselves, and for the sake of the future of this great nation, that the line of demarcation running across the continent should continue, and that two nations instead of one should occupy it. The experiment of self-government which had been going forward here had revealed not a few weaknesses, and the experience of other countries, and under different conditions, had been found to be highly advantageous to the United States. This is shown even in the instrumentality used in performing the highest and noblest duty of the American citizen, viz., that of casting the ballot, and the incident that in order to do so effectually, fairly and safely, a system known as the Australian system, developed in a British Colony, had to be availed of. The Canadian banking system is now warmly commended by the best American bankers as the best adapted to this country. If it is a fact that the experiences in other nationalities are advantageous to the United States, would it not be possible that in Canada, under conditions so similar, with a people resembling this nation to such an extent, starting in a different way, that benefits of a separate existence should follow? Especially if Canada became independent, as she undoubtedly will in time, and should she assume a republican form of government, as she must, she would work out improvements and amendments highly advantageous to this country. Taking the best that has been here produced, and avoiding much that might be eliminated with advantage, a new republic

on the North, should it materialize, would be highly advantageous to the old Republic of the South in its governmental experiments. Even to-day the Canadian form of government is one of the best in the world. Avoiding an elective judiciary, her justices are far removed from the turmoils of party, and the ermine of her bench is as spotless as the snow, while the decisions of her courts challenge the respect of the world. It is true that in her politics Canada has, in common with other countries, an experience of boodlism recently developed, which is unfortunate, and follows closely that at one time developed here. But, with it all, Canada has yet to encounter the system prevalent in the United States of the government of the Boss, and by the Boss, and for the Boss. There are many other advantages the development of which this country could afford to let Canada promote.

#### WHY CANADIAN SENTIMENT IS HOSTILE.

So far as the sentiment of the Canadian people is concerned, it has been alleged that it is hostile to the United States. This is hardly fair, to designate a prejudice as hostility. It is a difficult matter to account for the prejudice, ignorance, and political hypocrisy which prevails throughout Canada in respect to this country. It must be borne in mind that not a few of the samples of the people of the United States which have reached Canada are those who left that country for their country's good. With noble exceptions, who have achieved success, and are deserving of the highest respect, the American who has abandoned the opportunities of this country, and contented himself with the chances in Canada, has not done much to commend the nation to the Canadian people. Further, it must always be remembered that the

origin of a large portion of the best citizens of Canada is that which sprang from the repudiation of republican principles. It must never be forgotten that the present stock of Canadians sprang first from that band of United Empire Loyalists that deliberately left the United States at the time of the Revolution. Sacrificing their firesides, their fortunes, and their future, they removed from this country to the wilds of Canada on the score of loyalty to the British Crown. The world has never yet afforded a proper estimate to the sturdy loyalty, to the strength of resolve, and to the high principle which actuated these men. They sacrificed enormously; they assumed tremendous risks, and they secured slender rewards for adhesion to the monarchical form of government and the love for British connection. Surprise may now well be expressed at this sacrifice. Some may even smile at the folly and the apparent senselessness of such a withdrawal from the grand chances opened in this country. But the fact remains that it is from a race capable of such sacrifices that a large body of the Canadians have sprung. Viewing the American Revolution as rebellion in the highest degree, their children have since been brought up in the nurture and admonition of loyalty, and the belief that the American republic meant a life-long treason to a right that they had been taught was the Divine Right of Kings. Was it any wonder that in England and in Canada, when the Civil War broke out there should be a sentiment prevailing that that rebellion was but the result of a previous rebellion? Was it any wonder that when men ignorant of what had occurred here in the shape of good to mankind, felt that, as it was said by the Manchester man, "If the devil don't get the North and South there was no use in leaving a devil?" It is difficult

for the American to put himself in the position of an English loyalist, and still more difficult for the Canadian of the same faith, whose distance from the source of loyalty lends enchantment to the view. It has been said that in Winnipeg, the newest of Canadian cities, there was more loyalty to the square inch than there was in London. The existence of this sentiment of loyalty on the one hand, and prejudice against the United States on the other, is an enormous factor in considering a possible union between the two countries, either commercial or political. It is a sentiment of apparent ignorance, a prejudice utterly inexcusable and unjustifiable. But the sentiment of loyalty and prejudice still exists, and it will only be by contact with the American people and by an enlarged view of their good and generous qualities that it can be mitigated and removed.

#### THE DISCONTENT OF CANADA.

So far as Canada is concerned, her material advantage would be enormous if a Political Union were achieved. But those who understand the real sentiment of the vast majority of the Canadian people, see no immediate prospect of such a consummation. It is true, there is a growth of the sentiment in behalf of a political relation with this country. This arises from the conviction that Confederation as now carried forward is a failure; that the National Policy of Protection in a small country has not produced the results claimed for it; that the increase shown by the census is alarmingly small, and that the difficulties between the Provinces as to expenditure and terms of adhesion are full of complications. Not a few feel that all these problems would find a solution in annexation; while the permanency which would be found



in political union, the assured future which it would open up for the young men of the country now leaving it in droves, and above all, the freedom from future complications in trade and progress, make Political Union to some the most attractive of all possibilities. On the other hand, there are those who are believers in the motto of Horace, that "The space of life is too short to permit us to lay plans requiring a long time for their accomplishment." These believe that the constitutional means to achieve a Political Union are absent, and that to attempt to force a Political Union by denying a Commercial Union would be to defeat both for a period of time far beyond the lives of the present generation. The present need of the hour is a better relation. That better relation cannot be got by pressure, or even by the discussion of political alliance. The rank and file of the Canadian people do not want to admit that they are a failure as a self-governing people. They have deliberately chosen their present form of government. The men who have come from Great Britain to supplement the descendants of the United Empire Loyalist, or whose children succeed them, deliberately chose, in preference to the United States, this colonial existence. They may be disappointed in it, and seeking an independence, may desire to work out their own salvation. But these have not yet reached a conclusion of failure.

#### CANADIAN NATIONAL SENTIMENT.

Again, there is a growth, and a very perceptible and creditable growth, of a sentiment purely Canadian, a pride in their country, as well they may have pride, and hope for a future, even separate and distinct and isolated from the United States. A reliance upon their own re-

sources, a hearty friendship and hope of help from Great Britain, and, above all, a sturdy independence of character that even though it calls for sacrifices, they will be readily submitted to, rather than be forced or driven by any stress whatever into an alliance which is thus forced upon them, and is repugnant to them. One cannot but commend, and if he is a Canadian, glory in this growth of national sentiment. The speaker said it was difficult to be an advocate of annexation so long as a great number of young Canadians were imbued with a national feeling entirely their own, and with an independence of spirit that if left alone would work out for them a destiny just as good and just as noble as that which had been worked out in the great Republic.

#### THE THREE ESSENTIALS PRECEDING POLITICAL UNION.

There are only three ways in which a political alliance could be achieved between the two nations of North America. These three means are Revolution, Conquest or Purchase. There seems no other way in which Canada could be brought within the Union, even in the next century, except one of these three forces were employed, and for any one of these three there was not the slightest justification. There can be no revolution in Canada without a political discontent, and political discontent can never exist where there was liberty of the press and a free ballot. It was in the ballot that revolution would find its expression and its remedy. There was no political discontent in Canada. There may be dissatisfaction, but dissatisfaction was remedial by the exercise of the elective franchise. If Canada were administered by a despotic power—if she had a real cause for a political change—and if this was the universal sentiment and per-

vaded every Province, such a political revolution as would result in an application for admission into the United States might result. But no such cause for political discontent existed, nor was any likely to exist, and from this source no expectation might be indulged for application to admission into the United States.

As to the next mode, that of conquest, it was, of course, not to be thought of. The American people never for an instant dreamed of acquisition of territory by force of war. They had already a sufficient territory to govern satisfactorily, and the problems within it were sufficient to tax the ingenuity of their statesmen. No justification could be found for conquest. It would, of course, imply war with Great Britain, which would be the most disastrous event that could possibly occur, and this mode of begetting a political union may be at once and for ever dismissed.

As to the third, that of purchase, it, too, was not available. Great Britain could not and would not sell a foot of her territory. She would sacrifice everything in the world, except her honor, to maintain intact her empire. If the wish of her people in any part of that empire so expressed it, she would not, it is believed, object strenuously to a severance, for it is maintained only by a hearty assent of a vast majority of her subjects. To be moved by any monetary consideration to sacrifice her greatest of colonies is a possibility beyond all imagination. Once, in a moment of banter, Mr. Blaine had asked the speaker what was the extent of the Canadian provincial and national and municipal debt, and being assured that it was about \$600,000,000 he asked if Canada could be brought into the Union if all her debts were paid. In other words, if the United States should pay all their

public debts, would there be a disposition to enter the Union. The speaker had replied, that Mr. Blaine very imperfectly understood the disposition of the Canadian people, if he for an instant imagined any such consideration would have the slightest influence. To his credit be it said, Mr. Blaine admitted this to be the case, and it was only in a spirit of banter that the idea had been suggested. The United States have added to their territory to a greater extent by purchase than by any other instrumentality. Yet the close observer will be easily convinced, by conditions both in Canada and England, that this mode of acquisition for the balance of the continent is simply out of the question. It will therefore be seen that neither by revolution, by conquest, nor by purchase, is the absorption of Canada by the United States a possibility at present.

#### THE ABSENCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS.

The conditions that prevail in Canada are all antagonistic to a practical adaptation of the annexation idea. There are no constitutional means by which, within half a century, so great a country could denude itself of its semi-independence, and become incorporated into that of another. For instance, to come down to practical details, it would require an Act of Parliament, confirmed by the Senate of the Dominion, which would take the shape of an Address to Her Majesty, asking that the country be freed from its allegiance. Each Province would require to take on a Statehood and become part and parcel of the American Union. Now, to imagine a Parliament, elected with this in view, is to imagine a change so vital, so sweeping, and almost so incomprehensible, in the mind of the Canadian people, as to place it almost beyond the

point of possibility. For to advocate annexation for years to come would be the ruin of any politician, the ruin of any party. If it is found to-day possible to elect a pound-keeper, or even a constable, known to favor annexation, in half a dozen constituencies, there might be some hope that there would be in time a change in sentiment. But any political party, or any combination, who might form the nucleus of a party; even any candidate for Parliamentary honors, who adopted the annexation cause as the ground of confidence, could not just now summon a corporal's guard to his support. The speaker said that the American press were grossly deceived by the slight indications that here and there were afforded of a change in public sentiment. It was true that there was a growth of this sentiment, but it was not sufficiently rapid, or marked, an indication of a change vital enough to bring about any practical result in fifty years. It was almost painful to observe the avidity with which the newspapers in the United States snatched at every little item favoring annexation. The indications up to this time of a growth in that sentiment were extremely slight and unreliable, and it is almost a crime to deceive the public that it is otherwise, if that deception is made the basis of denying or delaying a reciprocal relation of enormous advantage to both countries.

Supposing that the annexation sentiment did grow, so that at every five years, at the general election, a half a dozen members of Parliament were elected, it would take half a century to bring about a result at all justifiable to the United States, to entertain the expectation of a Political Union. For it must be understood that in order to effect a perfect change in the political complexion

of the country and to alter entirely its allegiance from one government to another, a substantial uniformity of sentiment must prevail. A bare majority in favor of changing any form of government would not suffice. The people of the United States would repudiate a half-hearted consent, and of all things would abhor the idea of forcing even a respectable minority into an alliance with them. There is no desire on the part of the United States to have on the North a Poland or a Hungary. Unless there is a hearty and almost unanimous desire on the part of the Canadian people to take part and lot in their future, there is no disposition on this side of the border to adopt them. To contemplate a Parliament sufficiently unanimous to ask Her Majesty for leave to sever the connection that is prized beyond that of almost any other blessing, to expect a Senate which is appointed for life to deliberately and collectively extinguish itself, would be to expect something that it seems next to impossible will happen in our day and generation. When it is recalled how strongly intrenched is the Roman Catholic Church in her guarantees from Great Britain, and the danger that the French priests would feel, even if a majority of votes in their own Province should prevail against them in a changed relation; when one recalls, on the other hand, the vehement protestations of loyalty by the Orangemen to British connection—how difficult does it seem that a change in sentiment is likely to prevail, sufficiently strong to effect a political revolution so violently opposed to the existing conditions. American editors, and even intelligent American observers, are constantly misled from the want of accurate knowledge as to the strength of the desire for British connection. How could it be otherwise than that there should be a

deep and lasting affection between the mother and the daughter, so long as the mother treats the daughter as she has hitherto done? The influence of the American Revolution was to change the policy of Great Britain towards her colonies. Canada has been as free, her institutions as elastic, her political autonomy as perfect as if she were an independent country. Not a dollar of Imperial revenue reaches Canada; not a dollar of Canadian revenue reaches the Imperial treasury. Canada taxes British goods the same as she taxes the goods of the United States or any other country. Great Britain admits freely the products of all other countries on precisely the same terms as she admits the products of her colonies. The social relations between Great Britain and Canada are extremely intimate. The commercial and financial ties that bind them together are of the closest character. Thus between \$800,000,000 and \$900,000,000 of British money is invested in Canada, and the amount of interest which Canada pays to Great Britain absorbs almost her entire agricultural export. The purchases of her merchants, the credits granted to her traders and manufacturers, and all the thousand and one inter-communications between so great an empire and so great a colony, are of a character to make it almost impossible to contemplate a sudden cessation of them, and the transfer to another country. Certainly not unless a condition of preparedness precedes the transfer, and the gradual weaning and changing of relations occur. This can only be brought about by an intimate connection between the United States and Canada. It will never be brought about by retaliation, by isolation one from the other, or by pressure, or by the withholding of the natural results of a geographical connection, such as should produce a

close contact one with the other. If by Unrestricted Reciprocity a mutuality of interests can be created so that the two nations may come to understand each other, and secure all the advantages that would flow from a political connection, in time even this might be brought about. As to that, the future must take care of itself. It may be that a trade connection would postpone annexation. There are some who hope it may, because of the reasons before referred to. There are others who consider that the best way to procure a political alliance is to precede it with a commercial intimacy, so that it will be only one step further, by the glad consent of all parties, in order to make the continent one and undivisible.

#### DILENMA OF GREAT BRITAIN.

There are circumstances however which might change completely the sentiment in Canada regarding British connection. These circumstances might be shaped and moulded by the United States to a degree that is now little imagined. If, for instance, through its Congress the United States should tender to the people of Canada, a free admission into this great market for all their products and manufactures, in exchange for an equally free admission into Canada of all the products and manufactures of the United State, a boon would be offered which Canada could not refuse. A Parliament that would refuse it would not be returned a second time. The late election shows that while this question was in the air, and the intention of the United States was hardly known, the Tory majority was reduced one half. If, for instance, such an offer were definitely made, in the present session of Congress, especially in view of numerous bye-elections



now impending, a majority in Parliament for the Liberal party would be created, and, the Liberal party once in power, this offer would be accepted.

It is an interesting and significant study to follow what would be the result of such an offer and such an acceptance, as the result of such a change in the political complexion of affairs. Let us consider it. Supposing that the offer was made by the Congress of the United States, and accepted by the Parliament of Canada, this acceptance would imply the free admission of American manufactures, and equally imply a continuance of the high duty now prevailing against manufactures from other countries, including Great Britain. While Parliament is ordinarily free to regulate the fiscal affairs of the Dominion, and all its proceedings up to this time have been consented to by the Governor General on behalf of the Queen, it is hardly likely that so great a measure as discrimination against British manufactures would be assented to without reference to the Imperial Government. The question, therefore, of permitting the greatest British colony to discriminate against British goods, and admit those of a commercial rival free, would be the dilemma in which the Imperial Government would find itself. To some loyalists such a proposition almost equals the desire for commercial freedom which led to the American Revolution and resulted in the Boston tea party. Because it is so regarded the importance of pressing it to an issue seems paramount even by those whose only desire is either the independence of Canada or its annexation. If the consent of the Imperial Government was given, permitting Canada to thus trade freely with the United States, and by discrimination largely diminish trade with Great Britain, the tie that binds the two together would be materially lessened, not

only immediately, but as time wore on. If, on the contrary, this Imperial consent to trade with whom she chose was denied to Canada, it would beget a very serious strain in the relations of the two countries. If a majority of the Canadians, comprising the farmers, the fishermen, lumbermen, miners, and shippers, felt that they were denied access for their products to the greatest market under the sun, for the benefit of the English manufacturer, they would likely resent such a denial very promptly. Inasmuch as the exports to Canada comprise only three per cent. of the British exports, it will be seen for how slight a percentage a sacrifice so great would be demanded of Canada, were she forbidden to trade with the United States on the terms offered by that country.

#### A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION.

It will therefore be seen that in order to test the strength and force of the relation existing between Great Britain and Canada on the one hand, and the willingness of Canada to have a free and unrestricted intercourse with the United States on the other, it will only be necessary for Congress at its present session to pass a resolution which was recommended in the last Congress by its Committee of Foreign Affairs. That resolution is in these words:

*“Resolved, that whenever it shall be duly certified to the President of the United States that the Government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to enter into such commercial arrangements with the United States as will result in the complete removal of all duties upon trade between Canada and the United States, he shall appoint three commissioners to meet those who may be designated to represent the Government of Canada, to consider the best method of extending the trade relations between Canada and the United States, and to ascertain on what terms entire freedom of intercourse be-*

tween the two countries can best be secured, and said commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress."

It may be doubted if upon a dozen lines introduced into Congress ever depended consequences of more far reaching character than on these, should it find favor with that august body.

Some expectation is indulged in that by negotiation between the existing Canadian Tory government and the United States, a treaty of reciprocity may be reached. It is believed by some that by diplomatic action between Great Britain on the one hand, and the United States on the other, a better relation with Canada can be created. There is not much hope, however, in diplomacy, which, so far as Canada is concerned, must originate with Great Britain. It may be assumed that the latter country will not advise any discrimination against her own manufactures, and without a uniform tariff and a free admission of American goods, there is no hope of a reciprocity between the two countries. On the other hand, where diplomacy fails because it commences at the top, concurrent legislation will succeed, because it starts at the bottom, and emanates directly from the people. Action by the Congress of the United States, concurred in by the Parliament of Canada, is the only mode by which a permanent and satisfactory basis can be reached for an unrestricted relation between the two countries.

#### HOW GREAT BRITAIN IS AFFECTED.

This allusion to the attitude of Great Britain brings to mind the fact, that this Great Empire is the third party to a consideration of the relations existing between the two English speaking peoples on this continent. When

Americans speak of annexing Canada, they very rarely consider the effect on Great Britain of such an event. It is seldom realized to what an extent this vast empire consists of outlying dependencies and colonies, and how important it is that these should remain intact. Therefore, to consider that Great Britain would willingly, or with any complacency, view a transfer of an area that comprises forty per cent. of her Empire; if that transfer is to be made to a Republic, against whose independence she struggled so vigorously, is to consider a great improbability. If the region which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the North Pole to the forty-fifth parallel, and which is larger than the United States, can be suddenly or even gradually parted with, what might not follow in other parts of the world? There are those who consider that if Great Britain were to lose control of Canada, she would cease to be a first-class power. The moral effect of so vast a territory, of resources so under control, though even latent, so full of promise for the future of the British race, is of great importance in the government of the world. In India, for instance, where an English population of 180,000 shape the policy of over two hundred millions of people, will be seen the power of moral force. To lessen Great Britain's power in Canada might readily be followed by an equal loss elsewhere. The great Continent of Australia, and a hundred other colonies and dependencies, might lessen in their allegiance if Canada, the greatest of colonies, found it necessary for her happiness and success, to ally herself to the Great Republic of the United States. Besides these, there are numerous other considerations which would make Great Britain very reluctant to part with Canada.

The new route to her Eastern dependencies, across British Territory over the Canadian Pacific Railway for troops and merchandise, is a revelation to the military and commercial powers of Great Britain. The need for food supplies and the steady movement towards an Imperial Federation, which contemplates shutting out by duty, the products of foreign countries, including those of the United States, and the free admission of Colonial products, shows the tendency that exists towards strengthening the ties that bind such countries as Canada to this great centre of power. A close commercial and monetary relation with Canada, the investment of eight or nine hundred millions by English capitalists, a long series of social and personal relationships, would render it very difficult to contemplate a sudden cessation of the intimate connections hitherto existing between the two countries. It is needless to pursue this subject further. The struggle that Great Britain made to maintain the American colonies under her control, the enormous sacrifices that she makes in foreign lands to assert her supremacy and maintain her power, the magnitude of her revenues from her outlying territories, in the shape of interest and profits, all point to the impossibility of a cheerful rendering up of the brightest jewel that adorns the British Crown.

#### WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Having at such great length reviewed the attitude of the three great parties to a possible compact of union on North America, viz., United States, Canada and Great Britain, it remains only to say that, the magnitude of the subject, the enormous consequences that may flow from its assuming practical shape, are only equalled by the

difficulties in the way of a political alliance. In comparison with the difficulties and remoteness of a change in political conditions, the simplicity and early possibility of a Commercial Union, through the creation of a reciprocal arrangement, are obvious. Those who desire above all things a Political Union will find that a commercial bargain between the two countries will best promote it. Certainly their desire will be indefinitely postponed if a policy of pressure, which finds its harshest interpretation in the McKinley bill, is persistently pursued. If such a pressure, or any other form of threat is indulged in, in order to force the Canadian people, the purpose of that pressure will be defeated. There is not on the face of the globe a people willing to make greater sacrifices than these for principle. Those who intimately and closely understand the question, feel that a postponement of a reciprocity is an indefinite postponement of Political Union. It is by no means certain that annexation will follow reciprocity. It is possible that as so much is granted under that wise and liberal principle, there will be no necessity for annexation. But it is a poor compliment to the free and liberal institutions of the United States to believe that they are not sufficiently attractive in the advantages they offer to draw a nation so much needing an alliance with them as the Dominion of Canada, without the necessity of a policy of force. If the Canadian people do not want to come into the Union willingly and cheerfully, and after a condition of preparedness on both sides, which a reciprocity alone will bring about, then the United States would be better off without them. If, on the contrary, after many years of the closest social and commercial intimacy, supplanting to a considerable degree the intimacy of the relation that now

exists between Canada and Great Britain, there is found to be still greater advantages, and a great desire on the part of the Canadian people to become incorporated, in the shape of a dozen distinctive commonwealths, into the glorious constellation that within the Union illumines the Western hemisphere, it would seem a natural and desirable result. Meantime if, in anticipation of or even to indefinitely postpone annexation, a practical Commercial Alliance is made, an achievement will be accomplished, taking rank in its consequences to mankind at large with such events as the Reformation, the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation of the Slave.

In the grand procession of great events which in this world shape and mould the destiny of nations, some form of union between the English speaking people of this continent may be not the least significant. While Europe, even in times of profound peace, is an armed camp of warriors, and incurring an expenditure for defence far exceeding that of a great war, in this free America, by the creation of a mutuality of interests, in an honorable alliance, greater good can be done to mankind than is possible to all the combined armies of Europe. The growth of wealth by the development of resources now latent, the broadening of the opportunity for the coming generation, the provision for the food of the world, and an ample reward for industry, inventive skill and energetic effort, are all possible by the creation of a universal reciprocity on this continent, which will give the best and noblest illustration that has ever yet been afforded of the motto that "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than War."

ad  
ne  
in  
ne  
ne  
le-  
to  
ial  
ed,  
th  
de-

his  
me  
of.  
mile  
ned  
for  
ree  
in  
to  
s of  
of  
nity  
l of  
tive  
tion  
will  
yet  
ries,



