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THE DOMINION OF CANADA HAS ALL THE ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL GREATNESS; LET US BE A FREE PEOPLE.

THE COMMERCIAL UNION OF CANADA WITH THE UNITED STATES MEANS EVERLASTING PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

A Monthly Review

DEVOTED TO



CANADIAN EMANCIPATION

AND

COMMERCIAL UNION

WITH THE

UNITED STATES.

MONTREAL:

J. X. PERRAULT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS,

44 St. Denis Street.

WE ASK THE SUPPORT OF EVERY TRUE CANADIAN.

CANADIAN EMANCIPATION

AND

COMMERCIAL UNION WITH THE UNITED STATES.

APRIL 1880.

Proposed Conference between Canada and the U. S.—The all important question of a commercial union between Canada and the U. S. is being considered by both Governments, and an agreement has been arrived at between leading men of both countries that a conference should take place without delay, to determine on what basis, mutually acceptable, this union should take place.

The *Journal of Commerce* of Montreal has published the statement that Mr. Wharton Barker, whose letter we have inserted in our last issue, has made the following very important declaration: "that both Sir John A. McDonald and Hon. Alexander McKenzie had written to him, and led him to believe that the Dominion Government are ready to appoint, on their side, members of a joint commission."

Mr. Barker has not confined his negotiations to Canadian statesmen. After conferring with the Hon. John Welsh, the late Minister of the U. S. to Great Britain; with the President of the National Board of Trade, Mr. Feely; and with leading members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, he has put the matter before the Hon. Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State, and has discussed with him the mode of forming a committee of five to meet five representatives of Canada.

The United States Government will be represented on the Joint Conference by Mr. Evarts, the Secretary of State, one Senator, one member of the House of representatives, and two citizens selected by the President. We have yet to learn who will have the appointment as representatives of the Canadian Government.

We have the greatest confidence in the practical results of such a conference between representative men of the highest eminence in both countries. The absurdity of erecting a Chinese wall between two countries whose interests are so intimately connected together is glaring. How it could have stood so long in this enlightened age and on this progressive continent of America will be the wonder of future ages. The idea of preventing all commercial intercourse between Canada and 50,000,000 of prosperous Americans, conveniently located on three thousand miles of our borders, is something like madness; but when this policy is coupled with the determination to deviate our trade from its natural channels to seek British consumers of our goods, three thousand miles away across the Atlantic, then no possible excuse can be found for our folly.

At last we are coming to our senses, and it is none too soon, for we are well-nigh driven to bankruptcy, both public and private, under what has been rightly termed the Imperial Policy, which consists in building up the Empire at the expense of Canada. To make things even, we must now be allowed to reverse the proposition and to build up Canada at the expense of the Empire. No true Canadian should be found adverse to this last proposition.

The N. Y. Herald favors Commercial Union with Canada.—The New York *Herald* publishes the following letter from Mr. Wharton Barker, the well-known Philadelphia banker, and the Executive of the United States Industrial League, the most powerful political organization in the neighboring republic.

PHILADELPHIA, March 8.

To the Editor of the New York Herald:

The action of the delegation from Boston, before the House Committee of Foreign Affairs, brings the question of a reciprocity treaty with Canada before the country with prominence. I do not see how any American, on either side of the border, can help feeling the relations of Canada and the United States to be one of the largest questions, for the consideration of each nation. Neither Canada nor the United States has any other neighbor so near or so important, and neither will permanently succeed in any arrangement to overreach the other, for both are fully awake to the substantial advantages and disadvantages of any arrangement that can be made.

That Canada is not satisfied with the present status of our relations seems sufficiently clear. There is similar dissatisfaction among those in the United States, whom either business interests or more careful reflections have excited to take an interest in Canada. We see with some concern that every point of contact between the countries is becoming a point of irritation, and that their relations, so far from improving by the closer acquaintance of this age of railways and telegraphs, are growing distinctly worse. The reciprocity treaty, the new Canadian tariff, and the fisheries settlement have all left behind them results of ill feeling.

Now the state of irritation, even apart from any worse results which might spring from it in a moment of political passion, is certainly an unfortunate condition of public sentiment, and I think all far-seeing and patriotic men on both sides of the border would be glad to have matters put upon a footing which would leave us no open questions to distract our mutual peace and confidence. Some Canadians and some Americans, I am sorry to say, look to the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty as an adequate adjustment. I regret this,

because I can see no prospect of the adoption of such a treaty, or of its permanence in case it were adopted. No reciprocity treaty could be framed which would put an end to the necessity of our maintaining a Customs frontier on our north; nor would any such measure involve a proper and permanent settlement of the fisheries dispute. If it were carried in our Congress it would be by a party victory, which any great change in the political situation would terminate, and it is not only the manufacturing and naturally protectionist portion of the United States which would help to terminate it, but also the agricultural States of the West.

Some few persons on both sides of the border suggest the political union of the two countries as the only adequate solution of the difficulty. I am far from agreeing with them that this is necessary, while I am sure Canada would be welcomed into the Union as an equal if she came. Without making the two countries one political sovereignty, perhaps without even rending those ties to the Mother Country which are dear to many Canadians, it would be possible to effect such a union of the commercial interests of Canada and the United States as would set aside all those occasions of dispute to which I have referred. If the two countries had a common tariff, with the seaboard line as a common and only Custom House frontier, and a distribution of Custom House receipts proportioned to their population, the question of the purely political relations of the two countries might be left to settle themselves.

Such an arrangement, I feel assured, would not be effected on our side by any purely partisan vote. It would be accepted by our whole people as a finality, and carried by universal consent. It would leave no fisheries question to settle. It would throw open our coasting trade to the people of the Lower Provinces. It would remove the line of demarcation across which capital now refuses to flow but across which emigration continues. Without infringing on the field of politics,

it would make us one people in the great work of developing the resources of a new continent, and building up free, prosperous, and happy communities in the New World. When the people of Canada express their desire for such a commercial union it can be; but the preliminary steps must be taken over the border.

(Signed,) WHARTON BARKER.

In answer to this most important letter, the New York *Herald* completely endorses the views entertained by the writer, in the following remarks: "We print a communication from a Philadelphia banker, advocating a better understanding between the United States and Canada in the matters of trade. We should be glad to see a new reciprocity treaty, but a better measure would be a customs union or zollverein, making the two countries one in commerce, although separated politically. Canadians might have to pay higher duties on imported goods than they do at present, but the advantages they would enjoy in our markets would more than compensate them. They have uses enough for increase of revenue in paying their debts and completing their public works. Both countries would escape the annoyance and expense of a long line of custom houses, and the evils of smuggling across the border. Commercially the advantage to the United States would be equivalent to the annexation of the Dominion, while either country would continue to enjoy the form of government which it prefers."

Our Custom House Revenue under Commercial Union.—The first objection made to a commercial Union of Canada with the U. S. is the loss of the custom house revenue, derived from the American importations, now yielding some \$5,000,000 annually. This would necessarily paralyse the Ottawa Government, already short of means to carry out the public works now in course of construction.

This objection, formidable at first sight, vanishes away after a short enquiry into the facts of the case. It

is proposed to abolish all custom house lines between the two countries, all entries of foreign goods being made at the Atlantic and Pacific seaports. The receipts would be pooled and a division made on the basis of population. Now, putting our population at ten per cent. of that of the U. S., what would be our custom house revenue at this moment?

We find that the custom house receipts of the neighbouring republic for the last year have been \$133,395,228. Ten per cent. on that sum would give Canada \$13,339,522. The trade and navigation returns for 1879 give us a total custom house revenue of \$12,939,540. So that, assuming that Canada would not contribute a cent, our share of the pooling would give us a net surplus of \$399,982. And admitting that our importations would continue as formerly, which is quite likely, the surplus thus obtained would give Canada a net total yearly increase over present custom house income of \$1,693,936. So that the objection of a decrease of revenue is not only without foundation in fact, but it is shown, on the contrary, that a considerable increase of revenue would be the result of a commercial union with the U. S.

What Kind of Protection we may Expect from Great Britain.—The Anti-Canadian party is constantly harping on the great advantages we are called to reap from British connection. In case of need, the immense treasures and power of the Mother Country would be at our disposal. The Imperial Government would not hesitate an instant in spending millions upon millions for our relief, regardless of the cost, however great.

Well! we know that no country in the wide world has the wealth and power which is accumulated in the British Isles. Several thousand millions of pounds sterling are represented by the wealthy population of Great Britain. It is well known that large land holders have for their private use a higher income than the whole revenue of the Government of Canada.

Now let us see how much of this great wealth is

being applied to help the starving Irish, their fellow-citizens. The private subscriptions in Great Britain amount to about \$500,000, and the Imperial Parliament proposes to lend money, on easy terms, for farm improvements. In fact, the United States and Canada are doing more, so far, to relieve the famishing population of Ireland than Great Britain herself, with her numerous millionaires and wealthy classes.

Although three thousand miles away from the heart-rending scenes of the starving Irish people, who are actually dying for want of food, we feel more keenly their awful sufferings than their very fellow-citizens, who are almost at hearing distance from these famine-stricken districts.

If that is the kind of relief that Great Britain gives to her own citizens, what could we colonists, across the sea, expect from the Mother Country? Our experience so far teaches us that the British Parliament never gave us a cent when any great calamity visited our shores. And at this moment, the very money which is being wrenched from the poor laboring classes of America to relieve their British relatives and friends in Ireland, will ultimately find its way to the coffers of the British treasury through the government tax-gatherer.

When the French Parliament met some weeks ago their first vote was a preliminary grant of five millions to relieve their poor. But the Imperial Parliament, more practical, is only willing to lend money on easy terms, trusting to the charitably-disposed persons all over the world to feed Ireland's starving people. This passing the hat round, by the wealthiest nation on earth, is the meanest sight which humanity has contemplated for some years. And, when we are told by gushing loyalists in Canada that Great Britain would, in case of need, help us with her hundred millions in men and money, we have a right to point to her own starving people, as the kind of treatment any Canadian in his senses can fairly expect from the millionaires and wealthy classes of Great Britain.

The United States are our best Market.—Under the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty Canada has been most prosperous. Every article produced by our farmers, from an egg to an ox, found a ready market in the neighboring republic at the highest market price. No ocean freight, insurance or duties were deducted from the profits of the farming community. American dollars and cents were to be found in the pockets of every working man in Canada. At one time we exported eleven millions of bushels of barley to the United States at \$1 and \$1.60. Oats, hay, cattle, poultry were exported in the same proportion.

With the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, we have been practically excluded from our best market. In looking over the following statement of our exportations in 1878, and the duties paid thereon, we find that the Canadian farmers have been obliged to pay nearly \$3,000,000 duty in a single year on 13 articles only, to reach the American market.

Barley.....	6,498,444 bushels.	\$0.15 per bushel.	Duty	\$914,166
Wheat.....	588,514 "	0.20 "		60,630
Rye.....	404,207 "	0.15 "		53,758
Pease.....	716,255 "	0.10 "		27,575
Hay.....	15,400 tons	20 per cent.		79,958
Malt.....	614,199 bushels.	20 "		303,020
Wool.....	2,264,666 lbs.	0.10 per lb. and 11 per cent		65,650
Cheese.....	1,641,248 "	0.04 per lb.		31,346
Butter.....	783,650 "	0.04 "		121,820
Sheep.....	223,822 heads.	20 per cent.		61,712
Cattle.....	17,650 "	20 "		197,179
Horses.....	12,213 "	20 "		667,826
Deals.....	333,863 thousand ft.	2.00 per mil.		
Duties paid on 13 articles.....				\$2,896,243

The few who do not believe in reciprocity maintain that these duties are paid by the American buyers, as if the insignificant quantities of our exportations could in any way influence the value of the immense productions of the United States. On the 1st of January, 1879, the agricultural products of the neighboring republic amounted to \$2,113,001,889 for fourteen articles only as follows:

Wheat.....	420,122,000	bushels.	Hay.....	39,608,276	tons.
Corn.....	1,388,213,000	"	Horses.....	10,938,700	heads.
Oats.....	413,000,000	"	Mules.....	1,713,100	"
Barley.....	42,000,000	"	Cows.....	11,826,400	"
Rye.....	28,842,790	"	Cattle.....	21,408,100	"
Buckwheat....	12,241,820	"	Sheep.....	38,123,800	"
Potatoes.....	124,126,650	"	Swine.....	34,761,140	"

How can our small exportations affect the price of these immense agricultural products? It is evident that, whenever we sell a bushel of corn or a head of cattle on the other side of the line, the Canadian farmer has to pay the duty to get his goods there. Therefore we are now paying nearly \$3,000,000 on our exportations to the United States. The moment we conclude a commercial union with our neighbors we are the gainers for the whole amount, and probably for ten times more, for there will then be a demand for our products, which is now made impossible on account of the present prohibitive duties.

The Grievances of the Colonial System.—Gentlemen who have never thought of the embarrassing position in which they stand as colonists ask us what our grievances are. We will mention a few of them:

1. Canadians are mere subjects, not citizens, of Great Britain.

2. Canadian goods are prohibited from the foreign markets of the world, when English goods are admitted at a ten per cent. tariff.

3. Canadian interests are not represented in the British Parliament.

4. Canada can at any moment be involved in war against the unanimous will of her people, by the foreign policy of Great Britain.

5. Canada has no enemies, and nothing to fear for herself, but she may have to bleed and suffer through the numerous and powerful enemies of Great Britain.

6. In case of invasion, it is the well-known policy of Great Britain to leave Canada to its own defence and to the tender mercies of the invaders, at our own cost in blood and treasure.

7. We have to expend year after year millions of

money for a costly military establishment, fortifications and stores, to provide against the enemies of Great Britain.

8. Our railways and canals, through imperial influence, are built for military and imperial purposes, instead of following the shortest, cheapest and best route for the trade of Canada.

9. As long as we are a colony of Great Britain, we cannot have the very important advantage of free trade and commercial union with the United States.

10. As colonists we are powerless to attend to our own commercial treaties with foreign countries.

11. Our Governor-General, Privy Council, Senate and House of Commons are deprived of self-government, being placed under the immediate control of the Colonial office in London, where the solemn deliberations of the Canadian Government and Parliament are submitted to the consideration of a few departmental clerks for approval.

12. Our best military men are prevented, as colonists, from reaching the higher ranks in the army, specially reserved to British officers with no knowledge of the wants or habits of our country.

13. As long as we are a colony there can be none of that national spirit and freedom of action, so essential to the prosperity of a progressive people.

14. Canada now can offer no fitting reward to the devotion and ability of her most distinguished citizens, by their appointment to those elevated positions, in the gift of an independent nation.

15. After a century of Colonial System, we find ourselves a bankrupt people, with a huge debt. every year increasing, thus establishing the utter failure of the Colonial system in developing the boundless resources of this Great Dominion.

Perhaps these considerations will be considered sufficient, if not, others will be presented.

Imperial Federation is a Dream.—It is admitted by all, who have thought anything about the subject, that Canada can not long remain a mere colony, but that in the natural process of development and the filling up of the country, will come a demand for something broader and freer than a dependancy. Probably it will yet be shown that the best way to head off annexation will be to make Canada an independent nation.

At the same time there are those who look forward to Imperial federation as the remedy for colonial restlessness, although Imperial federation would simply mean that Canada, for the sake of sending a score or half a score of representatives to London, where their voice would be drowned from the opening to the end of the chapter, even assuming that they all voted the one way, must be ready to bear its share of England's foreign wars, in which the people of this country have no earthly interest, and must resign such freedom of commercial legislation as it already possesses; in a word, Imperial federation would make this country another knot in the Jingo tail.

That the Canadian tariff does not meet the approbation of the English people is well-known, and we may depend upon it, that the very first thing the British Parliament would do would be to repeal our semi-protective tariff, and make it conform to the principles of free trade. But in addition to this there is really no community of interest or of feeling between the various colonies which it is proposed to confederate. They have little or no commercial dealings with each other, and the people of New Zealand are certainly not yearning to be tied up in a bunch with the people of Australia, nor those of Canada with either.

We have plenty to do to take care of ourselves, and no one can consider the extent of the country, the richness of its soil, the salubrity of its climate, the unbounded mineral wealth awaiting development, and the hardy, vigorous races that form and will form its

population, without permitting the mind to dwell in pleasant anticipations of its future greatness. But if Canada is to become great it will not be by any scheme of Imperial federation, which would put the representatives of this country in the British Parliament relatively in the position occupied by the representatives of Prince Edward Island and British Columbia in the Dominion Parliament. Imperial federation is a dream in which some theorists indulge, and a dream the realization of which would dwarf and stint the growth and progress of our country, instead of expanding and developing it.—*Toronto Telegram*.

The Pacific Railway is a purely Imperial Work.—

If the leaders of the Opposition had in them Liberal or National principle as a grain of mustard seed, there would be a field on which, not only might they give battle with advantage, but it would be alike their interest and their duty to fight again and again, till they had thoroughly impressed their case upon the public mind. The British Columbian Railroad built for the purpose of annexing to the Dominion politically a Province with which it has, geographically and economically, no connection, is a purely Imperial work, undertaken solely in the interest of the Imperialist party in Great Britain and here, of whose ambition it is the most extravagant offspring. A British work it is not, for of the people in Great Britain, not one in a hundred thousand have a wish or a thought on the subject, and if they understood the project they would know that it was a part of a general policy which is at this moment taking the bread out of their mouths, and against which the coming election will see them in arms. To Canada it means a great increase of an already large and growing debt without profit or advantage of any kind. Here then, we repeat, is the battle ground for a patriotic Opposition.

But the patriotic Opposition is not less deeply committed to the Pacific Railway than the Government,

though it is committed more by want of moral courage than by conviction, and has shown its consciousness of the real character of the undertaking by a halting feebleness in the prosecution of the work. The late Finance Minister has received knighthood virtually for his co-operation in the Imperialist scheme.

The *Bystander* in the above remarks has exactly appreciated the situation. Knighthood is invariably the reward of services rendered not to Canada, but to the Empire at the expense of Canada. And it will be so as long as our public men must look to the Imperial Government for advancement, and a fair recognition of their services. Canada, as a colony, has nothing to give, either in money or honorific distinctions. An independent nation alone can have them.

Sir Richard Cartwright and our Relations to the Empire.—In answer to the budget speech, Sir Richard Cartwright, referring to the national policy of Sir John A. Macdonald's government, said: "I believe, sir, that no one thing could have been introduced into Canada more likely to foster and encourage a spirit of annexation than these hon. gentlemen's policy. (Hear, hear, and cheers). I believe nothing could have occurred which would have given greater leverage to every man who desires to break the connection between this country and Great Britain. I say no possible reply from an economic stand-point can be made to the arguments of these people so long as we preserve a protective system; and I know perfectly well that not a few of these hon. gentlemen's advisers support and aid them in their course because they believe that will be the inevitable result. (Hear, hear.)

I warn them that if the next harvest should prove to be an unfavorable one they will run a great risk, for which they alone will be responsible, but which it will be impossible for them to control. It is possible that good may come out of evil. It may be that the conduct of these hon. gentlemen in excluding British manufactures, in practically setting at defiance the

whole policy of the Empire, may lead to a consideration of the better terms of our relations to the whole British Empire. (Hear, hear.)”

No doubt the question of our relations to the British Empire must be considered without delay. Canada has out-grown the colonial system, and requires the full and unrestricted control of her own interests. The prevailing imperial policy, which has overshadowed the free action of every Canadian administration to this day, has landed us in bankruptcy and financial disaster. What the people will insist upon now is a vigorous national policy, with no other interests to advance than those of this great Dominion. As colonists, we shall always be the “white trash” of free America.

We must have the Markets of our own Continent.—In discussing the new tariff and all other fiscal questions, we subscribe, under protest, to the principle upon which the whole of our commercial policy is based. We assume that the commercial interest of Canada is capable of being separated from that of the continent of which she forms a part, and that it is possible and desirable permanently to treat the people on the other side of the line, not only politically but commercially, as a foreign nation. This is the creed of both the political parties, and those who dissent from it are denounced by both. We dissent from it, notwithstanding their denunciations, believing it to be at variance with the laws of nature. It is our conviction that Canada never can hope to enjoy her full measure of prosperity, devise what fiscal systems you will, till she is freely admitted to the full inflow of its capital, till its commercial life runs unimpeded through her veins. As to a system of commercial isolation, whether it suits other countries or not, it assuredly will not suit her. Her climate is too severe, and unvaried, her range of production is too limited, her markets are too contracted, her frontier is too long.

The United States are not a country, they are a continent, so vast in extent, and embracing such a variety of climate, soil and products, as to be almost an economical world in itself. Manufactures are now highly specialized, and without a large market they cannot succeed, while some are so costly and scientific that only a great and wealthy country can be their seat.

A motion in favor of reciprocity, made by an individual member of Congress, has created the impression that the new tariff has brought the United States to their knees. We are convinced that this hope will prove unfounded. To a complete measure of reciprocity, such as would abolish the Customs line and constitute a commercial union, we believe the people of the United States are perfectly ready to accede. To a partial measure of reciprocity, such as has already been tried and has broken down, we believe that they are resolved not to accede. But the present experiment must be fairly tried. It is the logical outcome of the general principles of policy now established, embodied in a tariff framed evidently with care and in honest fulfilment of the election pledges of the Government. If it fails, the main question between Commercial Isolation and Commercial Union will present itself with renewed force, and any one who pretends to the name of a statesman will have to be prepared with a distinct answer.—*Bystander*.

The Canadian Plantation.—The continent of America has now a total population of very nearly 100,000,000 of free people, enjoying the greatest possible liberty, under seventeen distinct republican governments. The Dominion of Canada stands alone, the dependency of a distant land, three thousand miles away, across the stormy billows of the Atlantic.

As long as Canada is a crown colony, placed under the departmental administration of the London Colonial Office, it is simply preposterous to claim that our people are in the full and unrestricted enjoyment of self-government.

Yes, we are a much governed people. First we are subject to municipal government, including township, town, city and county councils, all fully equipped with complete sets of officers. Next we are saddled with provincial governments, comprising a brilliant staff of distinguished and costly governors, ministers, legislative councillors and members of Parliament. Above these again is the federal organisation with even more brilliant and more costly governor, ministers, senators and commoners, both useful and ornamental.

One would naturally suppose that such a formidable array of talent, wealth, influence and science would be ample to superintend the administration of this great Dominion, with its four millions of inhabitants.

But it is not so, for, over and above this complicated political machinery, reigns the supreme and uncontrolled power of the Colonial Office. Whatever our municipal, provincial and federal magnates may decide to be in the interest of Canada, they don't amount to a row of pins if the Colonial Office is unwilling to grant the demand. The whole people of Canada may pray and cry over the refusal, but they are powerless, as they are not a free people, as they do not enjoy that privilege, which is everywhere recognised as the undeniable right of manhood: self-government.

A few years ago we had occasion to visit the Southern States, when slavery was the law of the land on the shores of the Mississippi. Going through the plantations, we saw to what state of degradation the colored people had been reduced, by the curse of American bondage.

There were so many fellow-beings of all ages, clad with a few yards of soiled cotton, living on the coarsest of food, and under the constant dread of the superintendent's whip. They had been bought at a neighboring market like so many beasts of burden, husbands and wives, fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, cruelly separated, never to meet again.

Once on the farm, new associations were made

between men and women, so as to secure the largest possible increase of the breeding stock, each new head having a marketable value. They toiled and worked from early morning to late at night, with no other prospect than the possible relief of an early grave. The more intelligent would sometimes conspire to redeem their liberty, but the distant sound of the master's whip would scatter their councils. The most determined agitators would bow the lowest, smile the sweetest, and speak the loudest of the blessings of slavery, whenever the master came in sight.

This was a great crime, perpetrated under the eye and with the countenance of the government of the United States. Why! even the word of the Gospel, in the hands of unworthy ministers, was distorted with the intention of justifying the crime of slavery. Under these powerful influences the colored people of the South without education, means, organisation or brains, remained in their degraded position, till the war of emancipation made every one of them a free man. They could not help themselves.

But what can be said of the white population of this Great Dominion, men of brains, education, means and influence, the descendants of the two proudest nations in the world, and who nevertheless have not courage enough to emancipate themselves from the degrading bondage of colonial dependency. True, our slavery is not that of the Black of the Southern States, but it is a moral servitude, and a subjection to the dictates of the colonial department of a foreign country, over which we have no possible control. Although for centuries we have been proprietors of the soil of Canada, still, as a people, we are not in possession of our own territory. Canada does not belong to the Canadians, but to the people of Great Britain and Ireland.

We, the inhabitants of the Dominion, we are part and parcel of the chattels of this great plantation. The master's whips, placed in the hands of a superintendent, disguised under the pompous title of governor-general, is heard plainly enough, during the delibera-

tions of the Privy Council, over which he presides. And the well-known subserviency of his ministers to his supreme will, however injurious to Canada, can only be explained by the fear of its vigorous lashes.

Just as in the southern plantations of old the more intelligent will sometimes conspire to redeem their liberty, but the distant sound of the master's whip will scatter their councils. The most determined agitators will bow the lowest, smile the sweetest, and speak the loudest of the blessings of colonial dependency, when ever the master comes in sight.

No, as long as Canada will submit to imperial supremacy over its free deliberations and the best interests of its people, we cannot pride ourselves on the noble prerogatives of self-government. We have seen the emancipation of the Black in the United States, but we have yet to see the emancipation of the White, in the crown colony of Canada.

The Rock of Imperial Customs Union.—It is scarcely credible that Sir Alexander Galt can be going to England to run his financial reputation on such a rock as an Imperial Customs Union. How can a Customs Union be practicable without an identity both of commercial interests and of financial situation? These communities not only are scattered over the whole globe, but differ from each other as widely as possible in their productions, their commercial and industrial circumstances, and their financial requirements; New Zealand, for instance, having the largest public debt for its population in the world, while other colonies have scarcely any debt at all.

Besides this, there would be difficulties of principle at the outset; Victoria being Protectionist, while New South Wales is Free Trade. What would Canada individually gain by any such arrangement? She would, of course, be called upon to repeal her tariff and to admit English manufactures free. This would be the very first condition of the agreement. On the other hand, is it conceivable that the English people

would consent in the special interest of Canada to deprive themselves of American food, or even of Norwegian pine? What but altercations and misunderstandings could be expected to arise from such an attempt? The bond of nature which connects us with our Mother Country will remain unbroken for ever, if the politicians will abstain from entangling it with their artificial ties.

The Cause of Emigration from Canada.—The *Toronto Globe* in a late article says: "Last Tuesday morning an emigrant train left Ottawa, and by the time it reached Cobourg there were four hundred and forty-seven persons on board bound for Dakota and only three for the Canadian North-West. Canada is losing the very flower of her hardy young men."

The *Globe* appears to ignore that this emigration from Canada has only just begun, when it is well known that for years the older Provinces have been the breeding grounds of the United States. There are at this moment one million of our fellow country men who have been driven out of Canada for want of a patriotic policy, based on the sole interests of the Dominion, and irrespective of sentimental considerations for the empire. Last year 31,000 left for the U.S.

The *Globe* with its mighty influence has always been hostile to such a policy, and is mainly responsible for the misery which is forcing the people from their homes, in search of remunerative employment in the United States.

When Mr. Wharton Barker addressed to the Hon. Geo. Brown the remarkable letter published in our late number, and proposed to Canada, in the name of the United States Government and people, all the advantages of a Commercial Union, that proud Senator did not even condescend to insert in his daily paper this most important document. Instead of manfully meeting the issue, he had the unfairness of refusing to this letter the light of publication, so that Ontario should not be perverted by the diffusion of such a per-

nicious doctrine, as the Commercial Union of Canada with the 50,000,000 mighty and prosperous people in the neighboring republic.

But truth will out, whether the *Globe* and its managers like it or not. The people of Canada are not to be led to bankruptcy by designing men, whose only ambition is to promote to our detriment the interests of a foreign country. We want and shall have Canada for the Canadians. Let those who are ashamed to own themselves as Canadians return from whence they have come. They have kept us back long enough, and it is full time we should be left to ourselves, to work out the great destinies of this proud Dominion, untrammelled by its worst enemies. Let the Empire take care of itself, but we Canadians are bound to look to Canadian interests alone.

The Commercial Game called Loyalty.—We have surely not come so far without learning the rights and duties of citizens with regard to matters of opinion. We are all bound to render loyal obedience to constituted authorities and existing laws, but we are all at liberty, and even, to the extent of our knowledge and capacity, called upon to discuss established systems and suggest needful change. Ancient institutions rested on the divine right of kings, heaven-descended or priest-anointed, or upon some other superstition which naturally shrank from the light. Modern institutions rest on the assent of public reason, and the test of that assent is free discussion. Decisive experience has shown that the modern foundation is stronger than the ancient, and that liberty of thought and speech, instead of being the promoter of violent revolution, is, in fact, its surest antidote.

What constitution has been more freely debated than that of the United States or is more rooted in the attachment of the people? For what constitution were greater sacrifices ever made than were made for this in the Civil War? That people who frankly advocate change must be bent on bringing it about by violence

or intrigue is not only not true but precisely the reverse of truth. Under despotism everybody is tongue-tied, and everybody conspires.

That the commercial policy of Canada must be discussed nobody will deny, and it is impossible to discuss her commercial policy to any purpose without taking into consideration her external relations, actual and prospective—trying, in a word, to forecast her destiny. The policy which is being pursued by the present government in extending the Pacific Railroad to British Columbia assumes at every step the truth of a hypothesis as to the ultimate destiny of the country which very few men in private maintain, which some men who affect to maintain it in public, in private very frankly discard.

In the debate on this point the Canadian press of all shades of opinion has, on the whole, been faithful to liberty, though the traces of a long reign of literary terror have not disappeared. The results of Liberal effort would not be very grand if the prejudices and the interests of any self-constituted censorship were to be the rule and the limit of our debate on the subjects most deeply concerning the public welfare. Whenever one of these ridiculous attempts to gag a nation is made we are sure to be told, with more or less distinctness, that some commercial enterprise requiring British capital is on foot, and that Canadians must hold their peace about their own destinies for fear of frightening away the birds. Let people play their commercial game and call it loyalty if they please; but they will not be allowed, for their selfish ends, to prevent the consideration of any policy which may seem likely to bring wealth, happiness, and the virtue which is their attendant, into the homes of the Canadian people.

Must Annexation follow Commercial Union.— What are all the far-fetched and super-subtle reasonings in favor of an artificial system compared with the solid fact that Canada is economically a portion of this Continent, and can look ultimately for a full

measure of prosperity only through free participation in its trade, its resources, and its commercial life? Does not this irresistible argument pierce the flimsy tissue of sophistry at every point? Where can be the wisdom of putting us, laboriously, and at the cost of immense sacrifices, on a track which no man of sense imagines that we can permanently pursue.

We are told that the abolition of the Customs line must be followed by Annexation. Would the abolition of the Customs line between France and Spain, between Holland and Belgium, be followed by any consequences of the kind? Did the Reciprocity Treaty, which was a partial abolition of the Customs line, produce any effect whatever on political relations? If Canada is drawn politically towards the Union, it is by the identity of the people, and of all their fundamental institutions in the two countries; by the interlacement of the territories and the absence of any natural boundary; and by the apparent advantages of a continental union which would give freedom of internal traffic, and immunity from war. Nothing can contend against the force of these attractions but nationality; and to kill nationality with poisoned weapons, if fair weapons would not do it, has been the special aim of those who now charge commercial unionists with plotting Annexation. The two nations are being actually fused by the constant flow of Canadian migration into the United States; and what causes that migration but the commercial atrophy to which the policy of Imperialism, extended to economical questions, condemn- this country?

America for the Americans.—Latest despatches indicate the possibility of complications between Great Britain and the United States, arising out of the claims made by the latter in conformity to the provisions of the Monroe doctrine. The following resolution has been introduced in the United States House of Representatives, and referred to the Committee on the Inter-Oceanic Canal:—“Whereas a Special House

Committee on the proposed Inter-Oceanic Canal have agreed to resolutions affirming the declarations of the President's message; now therefore be it resolved, That the President be requested to inform the Government of Great Britain that the convention between the Governments, commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, under which the Government of the United States admitted Great Britain to a joint protectorate with itself over any canal, water way or communication to be thereafter established over or through any States of Spanish America, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, has ceased to be binding or obligatory on the United States."

We notice in the leading English papers the bold pretension of Great Britain having the control of the Panama Canal, in opposition to the United States. This intervention of Europe in American affairs is rather cool. We on this continent have no ambition to be embroiled in European complications. We are willing to let England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, with their 8,000,000 of armed men, have all the fighting they like. But we are well determined not to allow any one of them to play the rowdy on this side of the Atlantic.

We have no love, no disposition, no time or no money for war. We are busy in the peaceful development of the wild lands and boundless resources of the new world, and woe to the European nation that would attempt to introduce bayonet rule in America. We wish to be let alone in the settlement of our own affairs. If France had to withdraw from Mexico at the bidding of the United States, if Great Britain was not a match for 1,200,000 colonists during the war of independence, where is the power on earth to dictate to the mighty American Republic on its own continent? Luckily our big brother is a match for the whole of them; and we may rest assured that he will not be scared by any amount of bragging from the other side of the ditch. Let us have peace.

There are two Commercial Policies for this Country, of which every statesman, if he wishes to have firm ground under his feet, and to be consistent in his utterances, must chose one. You may either determine to keep Canada economically apart from the continent to which geographically she belongs, and to connect her artificially with England, and with more remote countries; or you may determine to follow the course of nature, and identify Canada economically with her own continent.

In the first of these policies, mingled with economical element, there is a large measure of social sentiment. It is closely connected with the desire, cherished by the aristocratic party in England and its allies here, of erecting the northern part of this continent into a great outwork of the English aristocracy, so as to prevent the final triumph of democratic institutions in the New World.

The second policy, on the other hand, is congenial to those who either are democratic in their own sympathies, or hold that the triumph of democracy in the New world is inevitable; and that Canada, if she is made the instrument of a desperate struggle to prevent it, will herself be brought to ruin. The first policy is pursued by the present Government, in perfect consistency with the antecedents of its leading members, though it is already involved in the perplexity and inconsistency caused by the expensiveness of the Imperialist system, which compels its champions to cross and compromise their own main purpose by levying duties, for the sake of revenue, on English goods.

The second would be the policy of the Opposition, and the flag under which it would march to attack its enemy, were its Liberal element predominant and able to direct its movements as a whole. But, instead of this, the ruling element is one, if not more anticontinental, more violent and vituperative in the expression of that sentiment than the Tories themselves, who have not gone to Washington for a Reciprocity Treaty and come back forlorn.

By the ravings of the leading Grit organ against American connection, which of course are daily scattered over the States, the door of commercial negotiation with American statesmen is being fast closed against the party. It would be easier at this moment for Sir John Macdonald to approach the American Government on the subject of reciprocity than for the lieutenants of the *Globe*.—*Bystander*.

The Formation of a Naval Reserve force in Canada for the protection of the Canadian mercantile marine is suggested. The suggestion is not one likely to be adopted, although, in the event of war between England and Russia, the North American squadron would be withdrawn, and the Canadian mercantile marine, which is the fifth in importance in the world, would be at the mercy of Russian cruisers. But the truth is that Canada could not afford to go to the expense of supporting a naval force, nor, so far as Canada herself is concerned, is there any need of such a force. There would not be the remotest danger of any foreign power interfering with Canada if Canada were a nation by herself and minded her own business. The only danger to which this country is exposed is on account of England, which may involve Canada in the consequences of a bloody war without a day's notice. It is probably fair to say that England must be prepared to abide by the consequences of her own acts, and that, in event of her becoming involved in war with a naval power, if she desires to retain Canada as a colony she must be ready to defend it.

Since Confederation the whole burden of the defence of Canada against the enemies of Great Britain has been thrown on our shoulders. What with repairs of fortifications, the late purchase of 200,000 lbs. of powder for Quebec, an order for \$50,000 of rifled guns being now executed in Montreal, clothing and stores of all kinds, millions of the people's money are being uselessly spent for the defence of Great Britain in America, and still the anti-Canadian party

will pretend that the greatest advantage derived from our colonial position is the defence of the country by England, without cost to Canada. Why! the reverse is the plain fact. Canada is actually spending millions for the defence of the Empire.

The Commercial Policy of the British Nation is to keep for herself the whole trade of her colonies, and to discourage rather than foster colonial manufactures. And that is the only sensible policy for the people of England to adopt. Looking at the exportations of manufactured goods from Great Britain to her colonies, where is the man of business who will be blind enough not to see that her best customers are to be found among her 250,000,000 of colonial subjects?

Why should the people of England develop manufacturing interests in the colonies, to compete against their own goods? How can we expect a sensible and practical community like that of Great Britain to give up all business considerations to rush in a sentimental policy, which would necessarily bring ruin to her home population? Why! the whole history of England is there to show that the Imperial interest has always been first considered, and that the colonies have always been sacrificed to the Mother Country. Take our own experience; every treaty with the United States has been paid with Canadian rights or territory. And so it should be!

The people of England would at once fall from that high pinnacle of sound judgment in which they stand in the eyes of every nation in the world, if they acted otherwise; if they gave up their characteristic business way of dealing with matters of State, to adopt the sentimental policy of ruining their own trade and industry, for some high-toned philosophical or other consideration; a policy, by the way, which has been pretty much in favor with Canadian politicians of all parties, but which, under the present state of depression and bankruptcy, is fast dying out in Canada. How far have we got since the last five years in our negotiations with

the French Government with regard to ship-building alone? We have not advanced a single step, and at that rate how many centuries will it take the whole influence of the British Empire to get through the full list of our prohibited articles, not only with France, but with every nation in the world?

Let us not be deluded any longer by what we will politely call *diplomatic* delays, which are nothing else than an imposition on the innocence and good nature of a confiding people. Let us remember that the commercial policy of the British nation must be to keep for herself the whole trade of her colonies, and to discourage rather than foster colonial manufactures, for she knows full well that, under the most favored nation clause, our foreign trade would be a serious competition to her own, in a number of Canadian specialties. In the interest of the Empire, as well as of Canada, political and commercial independence is the only practical solution to the situation. It is not in the interest of the Empire that ruin and depression should reign supreme through the length and breadth of the land, that every Canadian interest should be jeopardised through our colonial position, till every man in the country should look to annexation to the United States as the only remedy to existing evils.

Canada for the Canadians.—If you look over the Parliamentary Companion you will see that the majority of the members of the Dominion Parliament, as well as of the Local Legislatures, are Canadian born. As the years lengthen and the older members go over to the great majority, the young men of to-day, who are coming to the front and taking an active part in the discussion of public questions, will fill the places occupied by men from over the water, and by-and-by the Canadian Legislatures will be truly and thoroughly Canadian, and will look at all matters affecting this country from the national point of view. As it is at present, there are in the House of Commons men from another continent, who cannot be expected—nor would

it be fair to ask them—to lay aside all feeling for their native land, and who therefore cannot look at questions affecting the colonial tie in the same light as Canadians look at them.

So, too, there are a number of aged Europeans in the Senate, imperial pensioners in semi-public life, and commercial adventurers in the press, and, so long as these people can restrain Canada from becoming anything greater than a mere knot in the tail of a European kite, just so long will they put forth all their efforts to that end. But they cannot live forever. They will have their day, such as it is, and then they will pass away and make room for men who are racy of the soil, men who would have Canada something better than a mere cow pasture, and who believe that the day must inevitably come when Canada will cease to be a mere appanage of the British Crown and take her proper place among the nations of the world.

Already, as we have said, the great majority of our representatives are natives of the soil. The number will go on increasing; the political parties will be led by Canadian statesmen; the public journals will be written by Canadian writers, and the feelings, the aspirations, the sentiments, of the whole people will become Canadianized. The idea that Canada must always remain a mere dependency of the Mother Country is a dream in which none but foolish old men indulge. They live in a past age; they do not see that the country is expanding, that it has come of age, and that the great bulk of the people of to-day are not immigrants and foreigners, but native born. No sane man, either on this side of the Atlantic or the other, believes that Canada has no future save that of a mere colony. The severance of the colonial tie must come sooner or later.

It may not come this year, it may not come in the next; but come it must. And then? This is the question, of all others, Canadians are most concerned in discussing; but it is also the very question of all others that they are, by strongest warnings, forbidden to discuss. Surely it is better to know if our course

tends to the sea than to drift languidly with the current, heedless of what may be our destiny.

To be sure, it is the habit among the aged Europeans in Parliament, the imperial pensioners in semi-public life, and the commercial adventurers in the press, to denounce every man who thinks about the future of his country as an annexationist and a traitor in disguise. But the vapid mouthings of these senile old men cannot sweep back the rising tide, nor choke off the aspirations and ambitions of the people. They may trouble the waters if they will, and stir up the mud from the bottom; but the stream will flow on as before and the tide will come in just the same. Perhaps, while they are with us, we should use these old men kindly, for they have done the country some services which it would be ungrateful to forget. But at the same time it is too much to expect that the people of this age will tamely submit to a limitation of their right, not merely of free action but of free speech—a right which has come to them as a heritage bought with blood.

Whatever the future of Canada may be we should be prepared for it, and we cannot be prepared for it unless we discuss it. The views of the aged Europeans are naturally European rather than Canadian. But the aged Europeans have almost had their day, and the day of the Canadians is dawning; and when it comes, we may rest assured that whatever is best for Canada will prevail, despite the efforts of fossilized politicians or the mud-throwing of libellous journals.

The Adjutant-General calls on Canada to Protect Great Britain.—Those who believe in the eternal connection of Canada with Great Britain indulge in the extravagant idea, that in case of war, the whole British army would at once be marshalled out of barracks to fight our battles, and, says Sir Francis Hincks, without the expenditure of a cent on the part of Canada.

Well! General Selby Smyth, a British Major-General, sent here by the Horse Guards, as the Commander-in-

Chief of the Canadian forces, slightly differs from Sir Francis Hincks' opinion on this defence question. And, although we must have the greatest respect for the gallant knight's opinion, on all financial questions, after his brilliant career as a banker and a finance minister in Canada, still, on military matters, we beg leave to prefer Major-General Selby Smyth's opinion to his own.

The Major-General's report, now before Parliament, distinctly affirms that, not only must Canada prepare for her own defence, on a most costly and expensive scale, but the Dominion is called upon to protect Great Britain abroad, in her European wars, with our men and money. What will the loyalists of the *Globe* say to this proposition? The absurdity of our present position is fully illustrated in this official report to Parliament by our military authorities.

The Toronto *Journal of Commerce* refers to the report as follows:

“The Adjutant-General of Militia, Lieutenant-General Selby Smyth, in his report for 1879, sketches more than an ambitious scheme of national defence from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. The office of Adjutant-General of Canadian militia can only be held by a British officer; and it is natural that this functionary should look at the position of Canada in the Empire from an Imperial point of view. It is within the recollection of everybody that one Government lost power in the endeavor to increase the militia expenditure, in accordance with Imperial ideas.

The Adjutant-General is of opinion that the withdrawal of the Imperial troops has devolved on Canada the duty of providing for ‘the efficiency of the military establishment.’ Has the Imperial government, then, no longer any duties in this connection? Among the means of forming an efficient military establishment, the Adjutant-General ranks a Canadian army, ‘men whose business it is to study the art of war as professionals.’ To facilitate this study, he would have us establish three training schools for cavalry and infantry. The people of Canada will, he thinks, rise gradually

from the militia stage, and 'shortly accomplish entire self-reliance for defence in arsenals and manufactories of their own.' When that state of things arrives Canada will be an independent nation.

A government establishment for the manufacture of small arm ammunition; the construction of an arsenal of the second class, under the guns at Quebec; the covering of Windsor with an efficient battalion; the creation of three permanent battalions of infantry to be employed alternately in Canada and Great Britain; the affiliation of the Canadian with the royal army; the enrollment of a considerable portion of the ten thousand men engaged in the seal fishery of Newfoundland into a naval reserve, and their engagement in drill during the idle time of winter; the construction of a graving dock on the Pacific, are recommended. 'There is an impression,' we are told, 'that every dependency of the Crown that has responsible government and is in a position to have defensive forces, ought to be moved to take part in the military and naval defences of the empire at large;' and it is added that Canada is expected to take the lead and set the example. Canada is urged at once to form an imperial reserve. This reserve the Adjutant-General wants formed of 'farmers' sons, farm laborers, mechanics and tradesmen's families;' he will have none of the 'loose and nomad population of towns,' whom he pronounces 'worthless.' Canadian farmers' sons will probably think they can put their time to better use than in holding themselves ready to fight battles with which they have no concern, in any part of the world."

That is also our opinion, and British officers who look upon Canadians as a lot of hirelings, ready to fight England's battles abroad at a shilling a day, are badly mistaken. If the 36,000,000 of the British Isles have not pluck enough to fill the ranks of their small army they need not look to Canada for substitutes.

We are all ready to shoulder a musket in the defence of Canadian interests, but no amount of money will ever induce a true Canadian to play the part of a

pigsticker in European quarrels, with which the Canadian people have nothing to do. During the Crimean war men from Quebec and Ontario were enlisted and formed a Canadian regiment. A few years later not a single man remained in the ranks; they soon found out that their position was a false one, and they retired.

Let the recruiting sergeant pass through the Dominion now, and we doubt if he would enlist fifty recruits for service in a British regiment. On the other hand we have no doubt that any amount of loafers and dead-beats would be glad to accept the position and pay of a British officer, as a fair compensation for their distinguished and valuable services to the Empire.

Public Opinion on Emancipation.—We receive from a Belleville leading citizen the following expression of opinion on Canadian Emancipation.

The time is fast approaching when we should have a nationality and be relieved from the degrading position of colonists. If a general wish is expressed by the people of the Dominion for independence, the people of England will not oppose it. Of course we never contemplate a resort to violent means to accomplish our purpose. Our object in forming clubs is to discuss the subject in a fair and peaceable manner. I am of the opinion that we have a right to do so. To be sure the old political hacks and vampires from abroad, who have so long monopolized the lucrative offices in this country, whilst the native Canadians have been excluded and treated with contempt, will undoubtedly oppose the movement. No matter for that; they are as a class worshippers of mammon, and will cease to be attached to monarchical institutions as soon as they cease to be paid for it. It is time that the whole subject should be most thoroughly ventilated.

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