

# MUSGROVE'S NATIONAL Business COLLEGE,

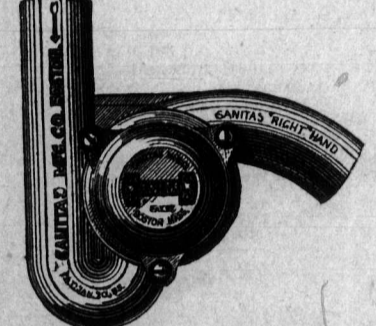
33 O'Connor Street, Ottawa.  
(OVER BRYSON, GRAHAM & CO'S.)

**THRIFT EVERYWHERE MANIFESTED**  
New course, new diplomas, new catalogues, steam heating, and first prizes in penmanship at Belleville, Ottawa, Almonte, and Kempenville this year. Old staff of live workers. When calling look for sign over the door in gold letters, "National Business College, 33 O'Connor Street." Send for new catalogue containing testimonials from prominent men. Note the address—C. H. McCARGAR, Principal, 33 O'Connor Street, Ottawa.

## LIVERY, SALE, BOARD AND VETERINARY STABLES.

W. G. E. Austin, V.S. & V.D.  
Mr. Austin is an expert Veterinary Surgeon and all horses entrusted to his care will receive careful attention.  
Office and Stables next to the Ontario Hotel, Rideau St., Ottawa.

## SANTAS TRAP.



It is sometimes asserted that the seal of the Santas trap can never be broken under any conditions. This is erroneous. Its seal can be pumped out by a force-pump, or by laboratory pumping apparatus, especially devised to destroy the seals of traps by siphonage. But the seal of the unvented Santas trap never can and never has been destroyed by siphonage in good plumbing work.

Furthermore, the unvented Santas trap will stand a severer test of siphoning action than will the vented S-trap. This has been demonstrated over and over again, and the demonstration can be repeated at any time to the satisfaction of any who are interested, provided care be taken to rent the S-trap in a manner which is practical in plumbing, using a vent-pipe of the size, length, and average number of bends found in ordinary practice. The seal of the Santas trap will be lowered by a very siphoning action, but it cannot be broken.

For Sale by all dealers of Plumbers' Supplies.  
**MANUFACTURED BY**  
Sanitas Manufacturing Co.,  
117 BANK STREET,  
Ottawa, Ont.

# GREAT CASH SALE OF READY-MADE CLOTHING.

Men's Suits,  
Boys' Suits,  
and Hats.

# BRYSON, GRAHAM & CO.

46, 148, 150, 152 and 154 Sparks Street.  
Use only Clapperton's Spool Cotton, the best. Bryson Graham & Co.

**TO THE DEAF.**—A Person cured of Deafness and noises in the head of 23 years' standing by a simple remedy, will send a description of it FREE to any person who applies to NICHOLSON, St. John St., Montreal.

## WITHIN THE EMPIRE; AN ESSAY ON Imperial Federation.

BY Thomas [Name obscured]  
CHAPTER IX.

### The Federal Executive; England's Hegemony.

In the preceding chapter an attempt has been made to set forth a plan of representation for the Empire, which, if carried out, would result in transforming the present English House of Lords into the highest British Parliament or Senate. Of course, this parliament, although legislating for the whole Empire, could not exercise administrative functions. Following the ordinary constitutional method of the present day an Imperial Ministry would have to be created. This creation would necessarily have to be the act of the Sovereign, who is the visible source of all authority within the Empire. It would probably involve the appointment of an Imperial first minister and the formation of a Federal ministry consisting of members of the reconstructed House of Lords. This ministry would have the direction of Imperial affairs and be entirely separate from the Cabinet of the United Kingdom. From what has already been written it is hoped that some idea has been given of what the present writer considers ought to be the sphere of Imperial legislation. Some reference now becomes necessary to the probable number and possible functions of the Imperial ministers. These would in all likelihood include a First Lord of the Imperial Treasury, a Lord High Chancellor, a First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, the Colonies and India.

The duties of the first three of the officials just named are, for our purposes, indicated with sufficient precision in their titles. The judicial committee of the House of Lords would, after the reconstruction of the latter, still continue to be the highest law court of the Empire. Foreign affairs being federal affairs it follows that the ambassadors and consuls would be Imperial officers. Commercial treaties would also be under the control of the foreign office in order that the interests of the colonies and India, as well as of Great Britain might be properly considered. At present certain politicians in Canada are disposed to manufacture a grievance out of the circumstance that the Dominion does not possess the treaty making power. This, as the lamented founder of the League wrote, is "making a demand which implies disunion," and the best answer to it is that such treaties should be negotiated by the highest Imperial authority, and for the whole British Empire.

Among other important duties the Secretary of State for the Colonies would have to devise means for transferring systematically the superabundant labour of English cities to the wild unoccupied and untilled lands of the colonies. The unemployed thousands of the United Kingdom heretofore accustomed to work in mines and factories, at furnaces and forges would have to be gradually trained to agriculture. To turn these thousands adrift in backwoods, or on prairies, or to attempt to employ them to advantage on bush farms or sheep runs, unprepared for and ignorant of the circumstances of the life before them frequently results in hardship and disappointment all round. Hitherto the colonies have been settled by people who paid their way, and were possessed of stout hearts and "willing strong right hands." At present the unemployed classes of the mother country have neither the means nor the ability to become settlers, and have not the mettle of the men who hewed farms out of our forests thirty and fifty years ago. Indeed, if this country were now to be settled over again it is doubtful whether it possesses or could obtain the men and muscle that did it before. For the unemployed of the Empire, and in the interest of every part of it a system of state aided emigration should be inaugurated. Than this no more beneficent legislation could occupy the attention of an Imperial Senate and no better field could be found for the exercise of the administrative ability of a Federal Secretary of State.

In general terms it may be supposed that the Federal Ministry would manage the Imperial finances, administer naval affairs and control colonial and Indian relations, as well as the diplomatic and consular service. The Cabinet

of the United Kingdom would continue to have charge of the revenue from customs (excepting always the proceeds of the Imperial import duty), excise, income and other direct taxes, post office, etc., and manage the English military and volunteer systems, the civil service, administration of justice, public works, education, and all affairs affecting exclusively the United Kingdom.

The same constitutional relations which now exist in all well governed states between the sovereign, the executive and the legislature would no doubt be established betwixt the various parts of the Government of the United British Empire. The Crown would have the power of choosing or dismissing the Federal Ministers; and the latter of resigning or appealing to the constituencies in the event of their defeat in Parliament. In the case of a dissolution, however, only about one fifth of the members of the Imperial Senate would have to seek re-election at the hands of their constituencies or constituting bodies. The great majority, being life members, would return and be entitled to sit in the next parliament. This feature in the proposed constitution of the Imperial Senate will no doubt appear objectionable to many. But it must be remembered that the present House of Lords is not subject to dissolution, and that stability is a feature essentially requisite in the parliament and government of a great empire. Indeed, one of the great drawbacks of the existing system is that, owing to frequent changes of the party in power, a consistent foreign and colonial policy becomes impossible. This was observed by Cobden long ago. In writing to Combe he said: "With a change of government every six or twelve months it is impossible that we can have a continuous plan or a real responsibility. Since I have been in London I have heard scarcely a word about the best mode of governing the millions of India. The only talk is about the chance of turning out one ministry and bringing in another." Similar remarks might with great justice be made at the present time. For instance, the government of the day in England is well disposed towards the colonies, and has done nobly in calling together the first Imperial Council, but who can be certain that these statesmen will not be suddenly replaced by others who may not care to trouble themselves about us. A defeat of the government in the House of Commons on Home Rule, on a Licence Bill, or on the Budget resolutions, would cause the removal from power of those statesmen who now so satisfactorily manage foreign affairs and those of India and other British possessions. At present the House of Commons does not do justice to these, and indeed a debate regarding them frequently finds its benches empty. It is, further, rather curious and surprising to reflect that the House of Commons while exercising its undoubted right to turn out an English Ministry when it thinks fit may at the same time carry confusion into colonial affairs. Federationists cannot rest satisfied while such a state of things exists. It should not be left in the power of the electors of the United Kingdom, when they choose to transfer their confidence from one political party to another, to produce derangement in the affairs of the colonies and the Empire, and this can only be prevented by completely separating the management of the local affairs of the United Kingdom from those of the whole empire, and by bringing into existence an Imperial Parliament and Government inherently stable, and not liable to be influenced by local political conflicts in any part of the Empire.

In this essay reference has already been made to the Holy Roman Empire of German nations, as exemplifying to a slight extent the nature of the closer union to be established by Imperial Federation betwixt British nations throughout the world. The example does not afford a just parallel, if only those times are considered when the German Empire suffered so much through its Roman and Italian connections and entanglements. But if we look back to the time when North and South Germany were first united under a common head, we find much to instruct and to guide us in our efforts towards Federation.

Weber, the historian, tells us that Conrad the Frank, tired of his vain efforts to control the turbulent nobles of South Germany, and unable to protect his country from the inroads of the Hungarians, sent his brother Eberhard to Henry of Saxony (the Fowler), with his royal insignia and crown, offering submission and friendship, and expressing his conviction that the future of Germany "lay with the Saxons." Eberhard carried the message, and to this day in Quedlinburg the place is shewn where the Saxon

Duke received the Frankish nobles. Henry, "a man full of energy and old German simplicity," was then proclaimed as king at Fritzlar in Hesse, in 919, by the secular and ecclesiastical princes and lords there assembled. At the first he was only acknowledged by Saxony and Franconia, but next year by his bravery and wisdom he succeeded in causing the dukes of Swabia and Bavaria to become his vassals, and induced them to content themselves with the ducal dignity. Henry refused episcopal anointment, but called himself nevertheless "King by the Grace of God." He made use of his power with great wisdom and moderation. He did not wish to establish Imperial rule by subjecting the various races, and countries to the power of a single master and govern the whole of Germany from one central point, but "as the golden circlet of the crown unites the shining jewels and transforms them into the most glorious symbol of earthly power," so he intended that the royal power should bind the German dominions together, without destroying the characteristic activity and life of the several peoples. His conception of governing ran thus: "Let each race stand by itself in its own affairs and rule itself according to its old rights and usages; let it be led and guided in peace and war by its duke, whom the counts and gentlemen in the country, in time of war, are bound to follow and obey. Let him in his parliament settle all disputes and feuds in the land; let the poor and oppressed find in him help and protection; let him defend the churches, preserve the public peace, and protect the frontiers against the invading enemy. But just as the dukes rule over the several races in the Empire, so the King stands above and over all of them; he is the highest judge and leader of the whole people, the final refuge of the oppressed, the highest protector of the church." It was by the application of such principles that Henry avoided the rock upon which his predecessor had vainly expended his best energy and efforts in ruling the Fatherland.

So long as Henry's successors were guided by his principles and the subordinate dukes and bishops were contented with the powers allotted them, all went well; fortune favored the Germans, and such epochs constituted golden ages in the history of the Empire. But when the just balance of power was disturbed, and, by turns, imperial, ducal or ecclesiastical authority gained the predominance, contentions arose, wars prevailed, and finally, during a period of unusual violence, the Imperial ship of state was wrecked in the storm of the Thirty Years War.

The principles of federal government propounded by Henry the Fowler, although modelled on the feudal system, were based on a just and wise foundation, and have their application even in the present day. Loyalty to these, on the part of British communities, is still capable of building up happy and prosperous nations and uniting them into a powerful Empire. But, at the present moment the principles in question do not by any means meet with general recognition in the various British Dominions. In some of them the churches are not content to place themselves under the protection of the local secular authority, but rather seek to rival and oppose it; and, further, the central power has been so lavish in conferring parliamentary powers and constitutions on the growing colonies, without exacting corresponding responsibilities, that some of the inhabitants of the various Dominions of the Empire have persuaded themselves that they are on the high road to independence. Here and there we find short-sighted minorities who do not sufficiently appreciate the advantages they

have received from an indulgent motherland. There are shallow grumblers everywhere; "Canada first" men and nationalists in Canada, "natives" in Australia and Africa, and in South Africa, who dream of constructing independent nations out of the fragments of the British Empire. They do not seem to have considered whether independent Canada could defend itself against the United States, republican Australia against France, and the Afrikander Bond against the natives of the dark continent or even against petty Portugal. Even in those parts of the Empire which contain no secessionist element some rights of the sovereign authority have been invaded, and others are in danger of becoming obsolete. But nevertheless, and fortunately the "golden circlet of the crown" is still in existence to indicate the unity of the Empire, and no doubt in the past it has been most efficacious in preventing disintegration. But for it and the virtues of its August Wearer, the centrifugal forces favoured by former British Governments might

have sent many a colony flying off into foreign space. Let us be thankful that there is yet time to counteract any tendency towards separation by placing at the service of the Crown an Imperial Senate and Executive, and let us pray that Her Majesty may long be spared to wear the Imperial Crown. The title approved at the Colonial Conference, "Victoria, by the Grace of God, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of its Colonies and Dependencies, and Empress of India."

The tendency to consider only their own interests, and to act independently of England, which has been exhibited by certain of her colonies, is a natural fruit of the commercial independence which was forced upon them at the time when the Manchester School of politicians held sway in the old country. About the time when they were thus sowing the seeds of political disintegration, German statesmen were at work building up the Zollverein, the history of whose development contains a lesson of the greatest importance to us. There are a few countries in our day better able to appreciate the blessings of unity than Germany. No nation can point to such a golden age in its history as that of the early German Emperors, as well as that of the Holy Roman Empire under the Hohenstaufen. No nation suffered so bitterly from its fall, and from strife disunion and dismemberment, during the Thirty Years' War as did the Germans. No people felt so keenly their feebleness, not only after the peace of Westphalia, but after that of Vienna. None strove so long, so honestly, and so moderately to be reunited. How their efforts were crowned with success is matter of recent history, as is also the prominent part which Prussia performed in the unification of the Fatherland. Indeed, without her initiative the re-establishment of the German Empire would have been impossible. This was acknowledged by the patriots of 1848, when the German Parliament offered the Imperial Crown to King Frederick William IV. But the strong will to wear the crown, and the firm hand to grasp the sceptre, were not then ready, and at last the great question was settled—"not by speeches and the resolves of the majority, but by blood and iron." Should not the inhabitants of the British Empire be wise enough by this time to profit by the teachings of history? That closer union which had to be accomplished in Germany at the cost of millions of men and money is now within our reach by the use of the simplest and most beneficent means.

Compared with what the Germans had to accomplish, the consolidation of the British Empire seems any easy task. But still, if we consider the means by which the Union of the Fatherland was accomplished, we shall learn some very useful lessons. If we inquire as to the beginnings of Prussia's great influence in German affairs we must go back to the origin of the Zollverein. Previous to the year 1828 there were in Germany as many Customs boundary lines as there were limits for the independent States composing the German Bund. The first Zollverein, or Customs Union, was instituted in that year betwixt Prussia and Hesse Darmstadt, and the Government of the former country strove ever afterwards to increase its members. Hesse joined in 1831, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and Thuringia in 1833, Baden and Nassau in 1834, the city of Frankfurt in 1836, and gradually the Union grew until it included twenty-seven million inhabitants. The States belonging to it came to be in a sense dependent upon Prussia, whose Government strove to defend their trading and manufacturing interests. Gradually, political and national objects became common to the Zollverein until, from being merely a machine for the convenient collection and apportionment of revenue, it grew to be regarded as the symbol of German unity. The influence of this bond of union in the reconstruction of the German Empire was immense, as is evident from the fact that the great German State of Austria, which had to be excluded from it, never formed part of the Zollverein.

We thus learn two things from the experience of Germany: First, that the preponderating influence and action of one member of the Bund was necessary to effect the closer union; second, that between the institution of the first weak political tie and the substitution for it of the North German Bund, and afterwards of the German Empire, the formation of a Customs Union intervened, which had the most important influence in uniting the German people. At the same time, we must remember that, in our own case, instead of having one member of our Empire ever intent on strengthening the connection, and