

British taxpayer at present has to pay for the maintenance of the army and navy singlehanded, alone, by himself. Under my plan he would share that burden with the colonies, and he would know at the same time that whilst he contributed something under the heading of a new tax, he at the same time obtained a better market for his industry in the colonies.

Then it is attempted (8) to frighten us with the threat that foreign powers might retaliate. But how would they retaliate? They would retaliate, I suppose, by levying duties on British trade; but they do levy duties upon British trade already—(hear, hear)—they do levy protectionist duties on British trade.

Some colonies do levy high duties on British trade; possibly they even do it for protectionist purposes; but whether they do it or not, under my plan British trade would in the colonies have an advantage of a certain percentage over foreign trade. Supposing, however, that they did proceed to levy even higher duties than at present upon British trade, the result might, of course, be that the consumption of British goods in foreign countries would decrease. But does not the consumption of British goods in foreign countries decrease even at present, while it has been and is increasing in the colonies? (Hear, hear.)

Another objection (9) might be this: Supposing that this plan is adopted, how are you going to work it? Is it to be a voluntary or a compulsory system? May each colony come in as it likes, or are you going to apply coercion? Of course coercion would be out of the question. But supposing that some of the colonies refused to come in and that other colonies did come in, is England going to levy a differential tariff as against the recalcitrant ones, that is, against some of its own colonies? Is it going to give some of the colonies in the United Kingdom the benefit of a differential fiscal tariff, while from other colonies that benefit is to be withheld? This, I believe, is one of the most serious objections that might be raised. But most of the difficulties in the way of great movements are overcome as you go along, and the possibility is that if the plan should work, and that if the colonies should find that there is really a very great advantage and benefit to be derived under the scheme, even the last one would come in, and there would be none left outside.

Then if all these difficulties are overcome you would require some body with legislative, and to some extent also administrative powers, a body that would fix upon the amount of the tariff, and a body that might amend the tariff from time to time, either raising it or reducing it, and which at the same time, in consultation with the British Government, might have something to say about the administration of the funds. In other words, you would have a sort of limited fiscal parliament by the side of the British Parliament and the various colonial Parliaments. This would be a difficulty. (10.) It would be difficult, indeed, to delimit and describe the rights and powers of a fiscal parliament, as compared with the rights and powers of the Imperial Parliament and of the various colonial Parliaments. But I wish those delegates who are great advocates of imperial federation to understand that this, after all, is a much smaller difficulty than you would have to grapple with if you entered into a larger measure of imperial union or political federation. This small body which would have to be created would perhaps be the germ of an imperial federation afterwards; or, if it failed, imperial federation itself would have to be thrown overboard for good as utterly hopeless.

I have briefly gone through the most salient difficulties. I have a great deal more to say, but I do not want to detain the conference longer. My excuse for bringing this subject forward must be that, as it is a most important one, and as it has been discussed outside this conference repeatedly, it may be as well, now that the delegates from the various colonies are assembled together, that they should give some attention to it. The plan, as I have already said, may not perhaps be feasible at present; but I think that a great deal will be gained if the attention of the Imperial Government and Parliament, and of the colonial Governments and Parliaments, be directed to it, if it were not discussed, we should find that the difficulties standing in the way of an imperial fiscal union, instead of decreasing in number, would become greater and greater. If there are treaties standing in the way, those treaties, instead of lapsing, in course of time would be renewed, and other treaties would be added to them, increasing the looseness of the empire instead of promoting its solidarity.

But if this matter be discussed, and if it be continually borne in mind, it stands to reason that in future treaties which may be entered into between the Imperial Government and foreign countries, the fact that the colonies are not foreign countries, but are inseparable parts of the British Empire, will be remembered, and the most favoured nation clause will not be brought to bear against England's own kith and kin. At this moment the scheme may be utopian, but even as utopian I venture to lay it before the conference. I can only regret that it has not been taken up by an able delegate than myself, and more especially by a delegate who is a greater master of the English language than I am." (Cheers.)

It will be noticed that in this defence of his scheme Mr. Hofmeyr denies that in any way countenances the principle of protection, and it may be well to look at this matter somewhat more closely. To levy duties on particular imports, in order to encourage particular manufacturers, would plainly be returning to Protection, a course which the British nation is not likely to adopt; but to impose a uniform rate of duty on all imports without exception for the purpose of raising revenue, and placing the foreign and the native producer on an equal footing, would be a perfectly consistent and reasonable proceeding. In order to show that such a thing has nothing in common with Protectionism, it may be well to enumerate and define the different sorts of tariffs which are now in operation among civilized nations, beginning at the protectionist extreme.

I. Protection with export bounties. It may be argued that Protection, pure and simple, is itself a system of bounty giving. When the manufacturers of any nation have exclusive control of their home market they are able to sell, and frequently do sell the excess of their production to foreign nations at cost, or less than cost, or at lower rates than it would command at home. The extra profit they make on the home consumption is an indirect bounty. But when positive payments in money are made upon the export of certain articles, that must surely be regarded as the most extreme development Protectionism has yet reached. As the grossest infringement of their principles it ought to rouse the indignation of all consistent free-traders, and inspire them to just retaliation. Of this policy, France and Germany afford the most flagrant examples, and the United States allow to their sugar refiners such a drawback on their exports as amounts to an actual bounty.

II. Protection, pure and simple. A protective tariff is one imposed principally for favoring native industrial interests, and is not absolutely required for revenue. The best example is that of the United States, the openly expressed object of which is to benefit the capital and labour of that country. It provides a large amount of revenue, which is paying off the war debt rapidly. There is no pressing necessity for this, and were the Americans anxious to promote commerce with other nations they could easily lower their import duties. But there does not appear any hope of this and although the nation does not seem to approve the McKinley Bill, it appears to have made up its mind to retain its Protective policy. It is quite just to say that this is for the purpose and has the effect of enabling the manufacturer to pay his workmen higher wages. The consumer is willing to pay more for the goods he uses if thereby he can render work more plentiful among his countrymen. He simply prefers to pay his poor rates in this way; to give higher rates for labour rather than foster pauperism by distributing unearned money.

III. Incidental Protection. This system raises revenue by imposing import duties, which are so arranged as to favor native industries. It was introduced in Canada by Sir A. T. Galt, and it is possible to maintain that we are still practising the same plan. Canadians do not raise more revenue than their public works, the extension of their railways and the maintenance of their credit require. Raw materials are mostly free, and so are the provisions consumed by the labouring classes. Tea and coffee are not dutiable, because no duty, however high, could start or stimulate their cultivation in our northern climate, and because they are very generally consumed by our working men. Under our system a "free breakfast table" is more of a reality than in England. On the other hand duties are levied on textile fabrics and articles of luxury because the consumers of such can best afford to pay them, and because, in this way their manufacture within the Dominion is stimulated.

IV. Tariff for Revenue only. This I

conceive to be the imposition of a uniform small rate of duty on all imports without regard to their nature. From this sort of tariff the idea of favoring native industries is excluded, and the duties are imposed simply to raise the money for paying the expenses of the Government. No industrial or commercial interest is favored beyond another. The nearest approach to this ideal revenue tariff is that of Holland, which levies a duty of 5 per cent. ad valorem on all manufactured goods. Belgium may also be considered as enjoying a revenue tariff, although the rate of duty imposed there on most imports is nearer 10 per cent. ad valorem.

V. Free Trade. A Free Trade tariff is the most difficult to define because the phrase is a contradiction. It might be applied in a case where revenue is raised wholly by direct taxation, and trade entirely free from customs duties. But there is no such case, and, if there were, such a nation could not be considered as enjoying Free Trade. For, as it takes two individuals to make a bargain, so it takes two nations to establish true free trade. If England were, to-morrow, to sweep away the last vestige of her import duties, Free Trade would, nevertheless, be a myth, and would remain such until her goods had free access to some foreign market. In spite of this, Great Britain is now credited with being a Free Trade country, because she levies import duties only on a few articles of widespread consumption. This must stand in the absence of a better, for the best practical instance of a so-called Free Trade tariff.

VI. Export Tariff. This system must be mentioned as standing at the opposite extreme from that of Protection with export bounties. It is practised in some of the West India Islands, one of whose means of raising revenue is by duties on the productions which they export. That such should be imposed at the present day is the strongest proof of the chaotic condition of tariff questions within the bounds of the British Empire.

Among the various tariff systems here enumerated it would seem that the one most closely resembling Mr. Hofmeyr's scheme is that defined under No. IV. This Dutch system would, by many people, be called an approach to Free Trade. But, in truth, it is neither Free Trade nor Protectionist in principle. At any rate when imposed on raw materials and manufactured goods alike, it cannot be said to partake in the slightest degree of Protectionism, and therefore it ought to be readily adopted by all shades of liberal opinion in Great Britain.

To put a duty on manufactured articles and allow raw materials and grain to enter free would really be a species of protection to some industries. Indeed to exempt any species of foreign imports from this duty would lay it open to the charge of being imposed for the purpose of benefitting particular interests whereas it is meant to be a duty for revenue purposes only. Its imposition could not be regarded as a renunciation of free trade practice on the part of the United Kingdom any more than would be the continuation of the tea and coffee duties. The latter are required along with other taxes, for carrying on the Government of Great Britain. The Imperial ad valorem duty on imports is just as essential for meeting the expenditures of the Empire though the medium of an Imperial Treasury.

Stormy Weather in England.

It is now the seventh week of the prevalence of frost throughout the United Kingdom with no sign of abatement of the severity of the weather. From John O'Gaot's House to Land's End the country is wrapped in snow, and canals and streams are ice-bound. Even a number of tidal rivers are frozen fast. For a duration of the frost, this is the greatest winter of the century. The Thames below Richmond remains partially frozen, and is covered with ice floes which impede navigation. Above Teddington the ice on the Thames is eight inches thick. Carriers' vans can traverse the river's frozen surface from Sutton Court to Abingdon. Skaters have a free stretch of many miles above and below Oxford. Numerous deaths have resulted from the extreme cold, several of them at the very gates of work-houses where groups of poor people were waiting for shelter.

COLD AND HUNGRY.

Midland newspapers declare that thousands of persons in that region are in a condition of semi-starvation, many labourers being compulsorily idle and without fires or food. Mayors of cities, with the aids of local boards, are directing an organized distribution of bread and coal and are starting re-

lief kitchens. Still they cannot reach a host of the distressed. There are numerous instances of coroners' inquests on the bodies of people found dead in bed where the verdict is that death resulted from cold and hunger. In every country on the continent there is suffering because of the severe weather. The coasts of Belgium, Holland and North Germany are blocked with ice. In the Scheldt river, navigation is nearly at a standstill on account of the ice. At the north German port of Cuxhaven, twenty-nine steamships are icebound. Pilots there are unable to communicate with vessels on account of the ice floes, thus making the harbour inaccessible.

STRUCK BY ICE.

Several vessels were struck by immense masses of floating ice, and their hulls were so badly damaged that the boats rapidly filled with water and sank. In every instance the crews were saved with difficulty. A number of steamers are drifting between Otendorf and Brunsbuttel. They have lost their anchors and have been considerably damaged by the floating ice. At Hamburg, navigation is greatly impeded by immense blocks of ice, which fill the river. The Board of Navigation is making every effort to keep the river open and is employing three of the strongest tugs as ice-breakers. Many vessels have also been damaged here by the ice, but no serious accidents yet reported. At Antwerp ten thousand workmen have been thrown out of employment owing to the unusually severe weather. The misery thus caused among the poorer classes is widespread and intense. The use of dynamite is about to be tried to break the ice at Copenhagen, where several steamers lie icebound.

ICE AND SNOW.

At many ports tugs are actively trying to break the ice, but not with much success. The Ceresune is full of ice floes. The harbours of Lubeck, Stettin and Swinemunde in Germany are all inaccessible on account of ice, and no open water is visible. There is much snow at these places. At Berlin the temperature is 16 degrees Fahrenheit. The Hars railway is snow-blocked and the mails usually conveyed by its trains are now transported in sleights. All Bavaria is covered with snow and in the country between the Danube and the Alps the snow is 18 inches deep. In certain localities the snow drifts are piled in some spots 17 feet high, threatening inundation when they thaw. In Northern Italy snow began to fall on (14th Jan.) and did not cease till to-day. The inhabitants of the region are suffering acutely, such weather being entirely unknown to them, and it is feared numbers of perished in the storm.

STORM IN SPAIN.

At Mantua, Turin, and Milan railway trains are much delayed on account of heavy snow. Despatches from Vienna say communication with points south of that city is greatly impeded and most trains partially suspended. A telegram from Madrid reports heavy snowfalls in Spain, and says communication with all the provinces of Spain is difficult. It also reports intensely cold weather in Valencia, where orange groves have been swept by the storm, entailing heavy losses. At Marseilles the hospitals are gorged with sufferers from affections caused by the cold. More snow has fallen to-day in Marseilles. The dock labourers there have lit fires on the quays to warm themselves. A violent storm, accompanied by hail and snow, is reported from the seaport of Algiers, in North Africa. Nothing like such severity of weather was ever known in that region before. Advices from Paris say that the Seine is blocked with ice near Rouen, and the Saone is frozen above Lyons. At Arras and Nismes much suffering exists, and a number of persons have been frozen to death. Near the village of Fourmises, in the department of Nord, three children were caught in a raging storm in a wood and all perished.

Sir Barnes Peacock's Successor.

It is noteworthy that the death of Sir Barnes Peacock has been made in Canada the occasion for a demand that a Canadian jurist should be appointed to the vacancy. Against the granting of this proposal we have nothing whatever to say. If Canada can show a judge of sufficient standing, by all means let him be appointed. We look forward, indeed, to the time when another step in the direction of judicial federation may be taken by making it an habitual practice to strengthen the Imperial Court of Appeal by the appointment of judges from the three great Dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa. When Canada has 15 millions of people, and when we have a federated Australia and a federated South Africa with equally large white populations, it will be most fitting that the judicial unity and equality of all portions of the English dominions

should be represented on the Supreme Bench. It would, however, in our opinion, be better to move slowly towards such a conclusion. Another ten or twenty years will see the position of our colonies greatly strengthened from every point of view. Then will be the appropriate moment to take action such as we have described. At present the Canadian community, is perhaps, somewhat too small to make it seem that she could always, when called upon, provide us with a judge for the Imperial Court of Appeal. Again, it would be better to wait till federation has put Australia and South Africa on a footing of equality with their elder sister. We could not appoint judges from all the Australian colonies, nor give one a preference; and yet, to have a Canadian but no Australian member of the highest court of the Empire would look like partiality. A few years, however, will make the settlement of the matter easy; and we may say with certainty that, whenever the three great dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa ask jointly for representation in the Imperial Court of Appeal, their request will not be refused.—London Spectator.

A Peculiar View.

One of the wisest, most far-seeing and successful of illustrious men who as Secretaries of State have conducted the foreign affairs of our country has said that unless the British Government shall speedily put a stiff curb bit on Canada she will soon or late bring on an armed collision between the two powerful governments of the English-speaking race.

If the Canadian Government were an independent government as is Mexico, the United States would, long ago, have brought Canada to see that her doings must come to end if she wished to become a respectable member of the family of nations. As it is, Canada goes on like a spoiled cub of a schoolboy, relying on the protection of the big brother across the sea and the prevailing wish in the United States to get along in peace and harmony with the people of the United Kingdom. The greed and selfishness of Canada—the practices rather more sharp than honest—were at the bottom of the rupture in 1866 of the Marcy-Elgin reciprocity treaty of 1854; prevented such an arrangement of the Canadian fishery dispute by Bayard and Chamberlain as our Senate would tolerate, and compelled Lord Salisbury to retreat from the cordial commitments he had given to our Minister at London in favour of Bayard's new *mare clausum* plan for fur seals in Behring Sea.—N. Y. Herald, 23rd January, '91.

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