

we should have close relations, not with England alone, but with all European nations, and especially with France. We cannot forget that a large and important section of our people have for France the same affection and regard that we have for the United Kingdom; and on this account as well as on many others, we should try to tighten, rather than to sever, the bonds that unite us to the old world. And in spite of the friction that occasionally arises between the two countries, England and France are to-day as they have been for the last century in the van of civilization. And having lived in France, and come in contact with her people, I state it as my firm conviction, that the French-Canadians and all Canadians will be elevated, enlightened and ennobled by cultivating the closest relations with *la mère patrie*.

The continental idea is therefore an illiberal one; and it assumes a diversity that does not exist. England, so far as I can observe, has more affinity with this continent than with the European. Her language, her laws, her political institutions, are either reproduced or closely copied throughout this continent. Even her land tenure which differs from ours, differs still more widely from that of every leading European nation. In short except in geographical situation, the United Kingdom is more closely allied to America than to Europe. England indeed is rather cosmopolitan, her interests lie in every quarter of the globe, her chief European interest is simply to preserve unrestricted communication with her Asiatic and African colonies. For all practical purposes, water brings countries closer together than land. For intelligence distance is totally annihilated. There are already eight cables in operation between this continent and the European, and a number of others projected, while there are two in use between England and Australia.

It is indeed my heartfelt desire that we continue to preserve the warmest and kindest relations with the nation of the United States, but I think ladies will readily understand that it ought to be quite possible to live on the best of terms with the gentleman next door, without being bound to marry him. In the same way, while we are the best of friends with brother Jonathan, we do not wish, for the sake of enjoying his friendship, to shut our doors against all our other friends, and particularly against our own father and mother and all our other brothers and sisters.

There are some men of large hearts and wide sympathies, who desire to see the whole Anglo-Saxon race united in one great commonwealth. While I have every sympathy with this idea, and while I should be glad to admit the United States into the federation I shall propose, I cannot think that the proper way to set about achieving that end is by severing the ties that already exist between the members of the British Empire situated the wide world over. But there are also men who hope to prevent a perfectly practicable union by pretending to work for a wider one that is altogether visionary.

Assuming then that it is desirable to maintain our connexion with other parts of the Empire, I shall now endeavour to indicate the kind of connexion

that I think can be established, or to sketch the machinery of a federation of the Empire. It is with some hesitation that I venture to submit a plan that is tolerably specific, and may be new in some of its features. My only apology will be that it is not hastily considered, but has been thought out with as much care as I could give to the consideration of so vast a subject. In speaking of this, Scotchman as I am, (*quoique avant tout je sois Canadien*.) I shall use the word English to express what relates to the United Kingdom, reserving the word British for its wider meaning as relating to the whole British Empire.

It is the belief of every intelligent statesman in the United Kingdom that some change will have to be made in the government of the British Isles, by which Parliament may be relieved of some of its duties. Local Legislatures will be created, subordinate to the Central Parliament, but with somewhat extensive powers. Thus only can Home Rule be given to Ireland. The English Parliament will then be free to deal with matters relating to the joint interest of the three kingdoms, and of the colonies that are not self governing. For these purposes which constitute the bulk of its important business, the present parliament should be left as it is; subject only to the restrictions I shall mention, which should apply also to the colonial legislatures. The Canadian Parliament, as well as the English, would be left with pretty much all the prerogatives it now enjoys. It would continue to legislate on its present subjects of legislation, but in matters relating to other parts of the Empire, and to foreign countries, its action would be subject to ratification by the Imperial Parliament, whose functions I am about to mention. The Canadian Parliament would therefore retain for Canada all the powers the English Parliament would retain for the United Kingdom, and would deal with the common interests of the Canadian Provinces in the same way as the English Parliament with the common interests of the three kingdoms. It would recognise Imperial control only in the same measure as the English. So with Australia. A federal union, we know, must soon be effected between the Austral colonies, and to this legislature I should leave the same autonomy as will be enjoyed by Canada and by the United Kingdom. British Africa and other colonies might be brought in, as circumstance dictated. As for India, I should leave it at first under the direction of the United Kingdom, as at present.

In addition to these there would be formed an Imperial British Parliament, with supreme authority regarding—First, Relations between the different parts of the Empire. Secondly, The ratification of Treaties with foreign Powers. Thirdly, Diplomatic and Consular services, and Fourthly, The maintenance and control of the Army and Navy. Each member of the federation, England, Canada, Australia, might negotiate special treaties with foreign powers, such as for Canada those relating to the fisheries, or to the extradition of criminals, but always subject to ratification by the supreme British Parliament. As these Imperial functions and especially the maintenance of the Army and Navy, and of the diplomatic and consular services, would demand a revenue, the