

British Unity.

(COMMUNICATED.)

To the historical student the present condition of the British dominions throughout the world is, on the one hand, calculated to inspire Englishmen with feelings of the warmest enthusiasm and patriotic pride, but, on the other, as he contemplates the various elements of danger within and without our grand domain it is not easy to forget that there is at present little or no practical unity except such as a worthy sentiment and the interests of commerce have created. In a great, glorious and well compacted union, possessing all the essentials of a common national life, the present relationships of the several and respective governments of the various parts of the Empire are almost entirely wanting; and how to safe-guard our manifold national blessings from every foe; to perfect and establish those great liberties that distinguish us as a nation, is of prime importance to every patriotic and intelligent man. Indeed, this great subject is engaging the close attention of the foremost statesmen throughout the Empire. The more the matter is studied the more converts are being won to the side of those who are labouring to build up some acceptable form of Federal Representative institutions which shall form the permanent bond of Unity of one great Oceanic Empire, in which the British Islands shall be a sacred spot as the Home and cradle of our national life. A federation such as that, could not permanently continue if it rested on a basis of political inferiority in respect of any part or parts of the whole to the remainder, and it therefore involves the recognition and acceptance of the principle of *national equality*: so that to be a *British citizen* shall give every man equal rights, privileges and duties in any district of the Empire.

A further principle is also involved by federation that local laws and their administration shall remain vested in the hands of those directly affected by them; federation not being destructive but constructive in its aims: proposed not to supersede local institutions but to safe-guard them with the might and power of the whole Empire—each part realizing that "United we stand, divided we fall." The principle of national equality would also debar any one part from domineering over or ignoring the just rights and interests of the others, without, at any rate, the aid of a legal majority of votes in the Supreme Council or Senate of the Empire.

It is gratifying to note that Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, Home and Colonial, are worthily vying with each other to promote this great work, and even citizens of foreign extraction are equally devoted in maintaining the honor of our flag and the glory of our Empire. The agitation of this question in public speeches and through the press is rapidly bringing it to the fore in practical politics. It is rising in its majesty and nobility above all the meanness of party strifes and politicians of every stripe are to be found working side by side to accomplish this great national work. The outlook is most inspiring to further effort. Latent desires have been aroused and passive thought stirred up to active and resolute purpose. The British public are becoming thoroughly alive to the importance of the question. The great centres of commerce and political activity have evinced unmistakably their keen appreciation of the national and commercial magnitude of this question and from the colonial standpoint much might be cited to prove that the Colonies are ripe for assuming their proper political status in the Empire. It is doubtful, indeed, if a solitary colony could be found now to vote for separation if an equitable arrangement to enter into a permanent bond with British people throughout the world could be advanced. The isolation of any colony would mean its ultimate absorption by some other nation.

Public utterances of statesmen—Home and Colonial—clearly demonstrate that none regard the present relations of the colonies to the Motherland as possessing the essentials of permanency and equally clear is it that the Supreme Council to be created cannot be in the nature of putting new wine into old bottles: in other words, the sending of colonial representatives to the present English Parliament, nor of English representatives to colonial parliaments. Each parliament with all its local peculiarities must remain and be strictly a local institution to suit the wishes, tastes or prejudices of that particular part of the Empire. The Federal Senate or Council to which all Imperial matters must be referred will

have to be a new Assembly, with perfect freedom from everything strictly local, one in which the principle of the equality of every section of the federation is fully maintained.

Englishmen know their country's flag is not the symbol of their slavery, but of the possession of the most priceless civil and religious blessings mankind has known. They have confidence in their countrymen and feel that they can go heart and soul into perfecting every link in the great chain of National Unity—unbreakable by any foe.

The participation of Australians in the Sudan war and the offers of assistance from Canada and other colonies, indicated that naval and military unity in some practical form, as illustrated by the Australian naval squadron, will not wait for the maturity and adoption of a full and complete scheme of Federal Union, and as the latter involves the paying, and consequently the raising of money for purposes of general defence, the principal of the establishment of an Imperial Defence Association, in which Colonists will have a direct voice in the spending of the money they contribute, has practically been conceded. Legislative unity must therefore soon follow and with it a general commercial policy throughout the Empire discriminating by preferential tariffs in favor of inter-British as against foreign trade; or more probably local revenue tariffs may continue with a provision for imposing an extra rate upon foreign imports sufficient to afford an adequate revenue for the Imperial service.

Well might it be asked what Englishmen are there with souls so dead to everything but sordid gain who cannot find responsive chords in their hearts vibrating to such noble national aims? Where is the manhood out of which were carved the great heroes and statesmen of days gone by who made the name of Englishmen world renowned? Let us hope that Canada is feeding and nourishing to good purpose many such noble hearts. Let not the stain rest on the brow of a noble Society such as the S. O. E., that aims for the cultivation and development of national thought and action were suppressed and hounded down in its Grand Lodge! Let us have united strength and influence in this Society at all times when anything can be done to strengthen the hands of those battling for British Unity and the "integrity of the British Empire." Some actions of last Grand Lodge of the Sons of England Society make us blush. Let us pray that the teachings of its Constitution and Ritual may be maintained with fidelity of purpose and action or that it may perish ignominiously as unworthy of the name it bears.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor:

SIR,—In a recent issue of the *Evening Journal* an editorial, commenting on an article in the *Kingston Freeman*, contains the following extract:—

"If the fanatics of Ontario would 'only keep in mind that Catholicism is as much removed from Protestantism as HEAVEN is from HELL they would blush to preach the silly twaddle—that the claims of the latter 'should be the limit and measure of the former.'"

We hear a good deal in the present day about bigotry and intolerance. Protestants are told that they must make no disparaging remarks about their Romanist fellow citizens. That would be bigotry. They must live peaceably with them. This they are willing to do. But, Sir, there is a point when tolerance becomes a crime, and in this Province of the British Empire that point is nearly reached when scurrilous Irish and French papists put forth the claims of a foreign potentate over this realm and openly defy the State. It is time, me thinks, to cry halt! It has long been my opinion, in fact ever since reading Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on "Vaticanism and Civil Allegiance," that in a Protestant State every Romanist, be he Minister of the Crown or laborer on the streets, is a prospective traitor to the State; and many who occupy high positions and exert considerable influence must become, if they follow the teachings contained in the syllabus and the encyclical, actual traitors, forever at work to undermine the existing order of things in the hope of eventually bringing us all, body and soul, within the maw of their church. In spite of this knowledge, Protestants do not wake up. Their disunions in religion and politics give the Romanists a constantly increasing power, and makes the latter every day more arrogant in their assertions and demands. But, Sir, this sort of thing cannot go on much longer.

As in the glorious Revolution of 1688, Britons will again rise in their might and the enemies of the State, in spite of their infallible head, will be compelled to fall back, and if not willing to render loyal allegiance to the State must be rendered incapable of doing harm.

C. I. H. CHIPMAN.

"Still, Still the British Flag."

The following lines are by Mr. McNeill, M.P., one of the most prominent and energetic Canadian members of the Imperial Federation League:

Sons of Britain! heirs to fame!
Join your voices, join your powers;
Loud the mighty cause proclaim,
In this Canada of ours!
Sound the note of Empire clearer,
Draw the loving links still nearer—
Queen and kindred! What is dearer!
Still, still the British Flag!

Britain's glory, far descended
From our sires of hero-mould,
That on field and flood contended
With her mighty foes of old;
Britain's Empire, broad extended
Far and wide, by land and sea,
British Freedom that hath blended
Justice, Law and Liberty!

Sound the note of Empire clearer,
Draw the loving links still nearer:
Queen and kindred! What is dearer!
Still, still the British Flag!

Oh for statesman's brain to weave it!
Obedience and wisdom to achieve it!
Oh the deathless fame to leave it!
Still, still the British Flag!

PORTUGUESE WARFARE.

According to the latest news from East Africa the Portuguese authorities are doing pretty much as they please and carrying on a system of warfare against the British. A meeting at Quilimane, where Governor Machado presided, and Lieut. Coutinho and over 300 inhabitants attended, decided, upon Coutinho's proposition, to nominate committees for organizing a colonial marine service and irregular forces for the Zambesi and the suppression of English coin. Boycotting at Quilimane is actively continued. The British Vice-Consul, who was turned out by the proprietor, took shelter in the house of the Italian Consul. On the other hand, news of the shooting of sepoys and the burning of Portuguese flags has been received.

The New York Herald having recently been representing Sir John Macdonald as expressing views as to the future relations of Canada with the Empire glaringly inconsistent with those he has held and expressed heretofore on many great public occasions, a member of the Imperial Federation League in Canada set himself to obtain a correction from the best of all possible sources. Sir John Macdonald writes in reply:—"I am very desirous that the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies shall be drawn closer; and that the larger groups of Colonies should assume by degrees a position less of dependence and more of alliance. I think this can only be done, however, by treaty or convention, and I am a total disbeliever in the practicability of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. There is no necessity, moreover, for such representation. The great subjects of common defence and preferential trade can be arrived at by treaty arrangements." Sir John's view, it will be observed as to the trend of the road that leads to National Unity, coincides pretty closely with that expressed by Sir Charles Dilke. Note that here, again, the disbelief in representation refers to THE—that is, the existing—Imperial Parliament.

Royal Colonial Institute.

COLONEL OWEN'S ADDRESS.

(Continued from last month.)

The matter laid before you so far has, I fear, been very dry and technical; it may be more interesting to see what part in the tented field has already been taken by some of our younger brethren in arms.

In the first place the Colonists, comparatively few in number, have their arms in constant requisition, to defend themselves against hostile aborigines, and, in some cases, against savage wild beasts. All adult males, therefore, are trained and well accustomed to the use of arms, and usually are excellent shots, accustomed to fire at living, moving objects, and not at mere stationary targets. This phase may still be said to exist to a limited extent in parts of South Africa, as attested by the burgher law of calling out "Commandos," and did so partially until recent years in the North-West of Canada.

How dangerous bodies of such men may be, skilled in shooting as they are, hardy and accustomed to fatigue, we found to our cost, without shame be it

said, when fighting against the brave Boers of the Transvaal.

A second phase is entered on as the Colony increases in population. The Colonist need no longer carry with him his rifle for protection, or to obtain food, when he goes afield to cut his wood, or attend to his cattle, or sheep, or crops. He can sit in the shade, if he have a mind to, and smoke his pipe of peace unmolested.

Of the spirit and courage shown by such bodies of Volunteers, whether in conjunction with Imperial troops or otherwise, we have many splendid examples in all our recent colonial wars, notably in South Africa and in New Zealand. In the latter Colony, during the many sanguinary struggles with the Maories carried on in the decade 1880-70, large numbers of colonial corps were employed together with the Imperial troops. Their losses were heavy. Many of them had something to avenge, smarting under the destruction of farms and homesteads, or the cold-blooded murder by natives of friends and relations. Used to bush life and able to scour the country more freely than disciplined British troops, many of these corps were much dreaded by the Maories. In the various Kaffir wars, as in Zululand, bodies of hardy Colonial Volunteers were always found most useful for similar reasons.

The last phase is that in which commences the formation of the more regular description of Military Forces, such as we have been discussing already, and statistics as to which are embodied in the appendices. As population increases still more commerce and riches, too, increase. All fear from hostile aborigines disappears, but the temptations for an attack by more formidable civilised foes increase.

Popular opinion becomes more educated on military points, and is stimulated by a press quickly growing in importance. The Colony has already attained to the dignity and responsibility of self-government.

The more thoughtful of the community see that such a force as that described, without much cohesion, though well suited for fighting against a savage enemy, could not be safely depended on to withstand a disciplined foe.

The warlike operations carried on by Colonial Forces having reached this phase of organisation may be illustrated, as far as the Dominion of Canada is concerned, by the admirably-conducted Red River Expedition of 1870, under the command of Sir Garnet (now Viscount) Wolseley, in which two battalions of the Canadian Militia took part. But as Imperial troops constituted a great part of this force, and the history of this expedition is well known to you, it need me no more than alluded to here. The Canadian Militia regiments did well. In his final orders, Lord Wolseley said:—

"Nothing but that 'pluck' for which British soldiers, whether born in the Colonies or in the Mother Country, are celebrated, could have carried you successfully through the arduous advance. . . . I can say without flattery that although I have served with many armies in the field, I have never associated with a better set of men. . . ."

The Fenian invasion of 1870 was gallantly met by the Canadian Forces, and Canadian blood was unfortunately split, though some of the events seemed to show the necessity of more military training. Here, too, Imperial troops were employed, though not actually engaged. But in 1885 her forces conducted, without any Imperial aid, a most successful expedition against rebels in the North-West, where Riel, the fomentor of the troubles leading to the Red River War, had again raised an insurrection of the half-castes and Indians of a dangerous description.

The troops of all arms composing this expedition consisted entirely of the Colonial Forces of the Dominion, under the General Commanding, Sir F. Middleton, K. C. B. Orders were given for this expedition in March, 1885, and within four months from that date a considerable body of troops had been moved 2,500 miles from the seat of Government at Ottawa, had accomplished successfully their object, put down the rebellion, captured its chiefs, and, as far as the Militia were concerned, had been dismissed to their homes. The rebels, assisted by their Indian allies, were not despicable foes. They inflicted a loss of 70 to 80 officers and men on the Dominion Forces. Eight troops of cavalry, four batteries of artillery, and ten regiments of infantry, besides mounted police, scouts, etc., took part in the operations, in three columns, with a transport train of some 1,500 teams; the advanced column, under General Middleton personally, performing the greater part of the work and bearing most of the loss

mentioned. The absolute scene of operations presented many difficulties.

On the whole, this affair must make the Canadians proud of their forces, who bore themselves cheerfully and gallantly, and must make them appreciate the organisation which allowed of an insurrection which might have become more formidable being so easily and rapidly suppressed.

Nor must we forget that Canada sent some 300 of her brave sons to assist in Egypt: gallant voyageurs, who showed their value in the arduous ascent of the Nile.

In South Africa the Cape Colonial Forces carried out a war with the Basutos in 1880-81 at a considerable expenditure of money and with loss of life. The organization of these forces was, however, very incomplete, and the result of the campaign doubtful on the whole, though the troops bore themselves gallantly against a well-armed enemy in a difficult country.

Australia has had, fortunately, no occasion to carry out a campaign on her own account; but, as you know, a portion of her forces as at present constituted, in the shape of a contingent of field artillery and infantry from the Colony of New South Wales, took part in the Sudan Campaign of 1884-85, side by side with Imperial troops.

But to return to the Australia Contingent. You will, many of you, remember what a thrill ran through the Empire, what considerable excitement, too, was awakened in other countries, friendly and unfriendly, when it was known that, of her own free will and accord, one of Britain's daughters had sent from her stalwart troops an aid to the Mother Country in an Imperial war. Well those troops bore themselves, and Australia was proud, as she indeed might be, of her sons.

It may be mentioned here that this was not the first time Colonies had nobly come forward with proffers of assistance. South Australia, always foremost in noble and bold undertakings, wished to aid the Empire during the Transvaal War with her Colonial Forces. Nor must that generous offer be forgotten, when the Dominion of Canada proposed to assist the Mother Country with 10,000 of her troops when war seemed so imminent with Russia in 1880, and the Mediterranean saw, for the first time, the uniforms of our Indian native regiments.

It was well said by a speaker in our House of Commons, upon a resolution moved as to the campaign in Egypt:—"The service of the Indian, Australian, and Canadian contingents have, I am glad to see, been recognised in the resolution now before us. . . . I am convinced that if we only treat the Colonies rightly we have in them a fund of strength which may enable us in any crisis to face the nations of the world." But what a world of meaning lies in the words "if we only treat our Colonies rightly."

Commercial and local considerations may at times make the interest of a Colony appear opposite to our own—interests it may hold to with a stubborn self-will, like many a parent of a growing family. The Mother Country may perhaps feel inclined to resent the self-will of her children as they grow to man's estate, forgetting that it was this very stubborn determination on her own part that originally ensured her greatness.

How are we to make certain that the Imperial responsibilities of Defence shall be equally borne by the whole of Greater Britain? It is a serious, perhaps a vital, problem of the future of the Empire.

A further most important means towards the end in view, viz., assisting in every way to perfect the Colonial Forces and to strengthen the bonds of sympathy already alluded to, has been established of recent years. I refer to the granting of commissions in the Imperial Army to cadets from their military colleges, and to officers of the Colonial Forces. From 70 to 80 such commissions have already been given. The advantages such officers may gain by a military training in a larger field than is possible in their own country will in time be available for, and should be of great value to, the Colonial Forces from which they are drawn.

I have not the exact statistics, but up to 1887 Canada had received for her sons 56 commissions in our Army—principally in the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. Since the year mentioned no doubt some 15 or 20 more commissions have been granted to them. Australia and New Zealand have only just begun to take advantage of this opening, and in the last two or three years have furnished four officers for commissions. This number, without doubt, will soon increase largely. It may interest you to know that the gallant Lieut. Stairs, R.E., the com-