of them we see a population which appears to be characterized by a restless energy, more in keeping with the habits of the denizens of Chicago or San Francisco, than those which one would suppose to be possessed by residents in a hot and tropical clime, such as that of Australia. As an illustration of values, I might say that sales of city property have been recently made in Melbourne at ten to fifteen thousand dollars a foot—and this in the thirty-seventh

year of its history.

It will now be my duty to deal briefly with the principal questions affecting the past and future of Australia, and consequently the position which these colonies may bear in time to come towards the Dominion of Canada and the Empire of Great Britain. The position of Australia with regard to outside nations is a peculiar one in many respects. Since the colonies have risen into power and position, they have become actuated by a far-reaching and important aim, nothing less, indeed, than the future complete control of the Islands and territories of the Pacific. Many questions have arisen in this connection during recent years, which have shown how impossible it is in these days of steam communication and electric wires, for any nation to isolate itself from the world at large, as we find so often proposed by the advocates of Colonial Independence. For many years the French had been in the habit of exporting their criminals to New Caledonia, an island several hundreds of miles from the Australian shores. The result of laxity in the control exercised over these convicts was that large numbers of them escaped and became a most intolerable nuisance and actual terror to the inhabitants of the mainland. When, therefore, it became known that the French had seized the New Hebrides, and proposed inaugurating a similar system there, a united and powerful protest from all the colonies was wired to England, and after long and wearying negotiations between the British and French Governments, a satisfactory arrangement was finally effected. In the meantime the Colony of Queensland anxious to prevent any foreign power from taking possession of the great Island of New Guinea, which lies near the coast of Australia, sent over a commissioner and hoisted the British flag over a territory nearly as great as its own. The Colonial Office, then under the weak administration of Lord Derby, who has long been the best hated man connected with the island continent, disavowed the act, and proceeded to carry on long, drawn-out negotiations with the German Government which claimed to have a right to certain portions of New Guinea. Ultimately, Germany annexed part of the disputed region, and then England proceeded to take and administer the rest, when she might have obtained the whole. We thus find France and Germany brought into near connection, and very nearly active collision with the Australian colonies.

Another grave difficulty, and perhaps future danger, is to be found in the Chinese question. As in the United States and Canada, so in Australia, strict laws prohibiting the immigration of Chinese have been enacted. Great difficulty has, however, been found in enforcing them. It must always be remembered that the Colonists populate in the main simply a narrow fringe around what is really a great continent, and that many parts of the coast as well as a great portion of the interior are practically uninhabited. This, then, is the crucial point of the question. As the Chinese Empire becomes more civilized; as its commerce expands, and the needs of its people enlarge, a great wave of emigration is bound to ensue, and the day may not be far distant when it will require all the friendly intervention and perhaps naval power of the British Empire to prevent a vast influx of Chinese from pouring

into the uninhabited regions of Australia.

Then, again, these colonies have a very great interest in the Suez Canal, the great bulk of their enormous trade with England passing through that commercial highway. Any action by European powers, any great European or Asiatic war, which should in the least degree disturb the safety of this traffic would react most disastrously

upon Australian interests.

а У

t l

r

I,

C £

C

10

W

h

8

Another matter of vital import to the Colonies is the maintenance of peace and order in our Indian Empire. A great trade is slowly but surely growing up between Australia and India, and any disturbance in the equilibrium of Indian affairs, not to speak of an attack upon the part of Russia, would have an exceedingly injurious effect upon Colonial commerce. If, as a result of internal disintegration, the British Empire were to be broken up, and India come under the control of Russia, Australia, then an independent nation, would have the huge Colossus of the East as a next-door neighbour.

But, it may be asked, what has all this to do with the joint interests of Australia and Canada? Very much; and I shall now draw attention to the first of the great points in which the two countries have a common interest.

The Dominion has also a foreign policy and neighbours of other nationalities. She has the ever menacing presence of the United States in close proximity, and has keen recollections of Atlantic fishing disputes, attempts at retaliation, Behring Sea seizures and tariff threats; when Newfoundland becomes a part of the union, as it ultimately must, seeds of possible disputes with France will come with it, but whether such should be the case or not, if by any chance we should ever become independent, French ships in the St. Lawrence and Russian cruisers on the Pacific might become too numerous for our peace of mind. This, then, is the point: with all these foreign questions menacing them and with a joint yearly commerce upon the seas of the world amounting to over six hundred millions of dollars, one great common interest of both

Canada and Australia is the maintenance of a powerful navy. No need to dwell at length upon this branch of the question, as it must be obvious that if ever the Pacific is to become what the Australian aspiration points to—a British lake,—and if Canada is to hold the powerful position which, in such an event, her geographical and natural advantages deserve, it will only be by helping to create and maintain a close and intimate union with what will soon be the great Dominion of Australia.

In this connection, it may be well to point out that the Australasian Colonies have already recognized this all-important necessity, and have agreed, as a result of the Imperial Conference of 1887, to bear the cost of maintenance of a squadron consisting of seven war-ships to be built by the Imperial Government at a cost of some four millions, the Colonial Government paying \$600,000 a year. The first iron-clad of the squadron was launched the other

day in England.

Canada has in another way and at an infinitely greater cost laid the foundations for closer union with Australia, as well as with Great Britain, in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The mention of this great road brings us to the second important point in the consideration of our common interests-namely, those connected with the development of steam and telegraphic communication between ourselves and the Antipodes. The Canadian Pacific Railway, while giving England an alternative route to the East, also gives Australia a safer road to the British markets, and while it enables us to develop our mutual trade, brings us within sight of the time when fast lines of steamers between British Columbia and Melbourne on the one hand, and Halifax and England on the other, and telegraph cables laid over similar routes, will guide the course of trade from the East and the West over Canadian soil, make Victoria a greater shipping port than San Francisco and enable us to successfully encounter American competition in Australian markets.

The extension of our trade relations is a most important question, and here it will be necessary to dwell briefly upon the ties of commerce which may in the future bind the two countries together. Little, however, can be done until the communication is freer and less expensive. Realizing this, the British Government has already granted a subsidy towards a direct steamship line, Canada has voted \$125,000 a year, New Zealand has consented to give \$70,000 and New South Wales has expressed its willingness to assist. A conference to consider the matter is being

arranged.

Then, again, we must not overlook the beneficial effect which a recently proposed reform would have upon this branch of the question—namely, the adoption of a system of Imperial Penny Postage. It has been demonstrated beyond a doubt that such a system can be established, and that in all probability a gain, instead of loss, would very shortly accrue to the revenues of the various parts of the Empire as a result of increased correspondence. Such a plan would do much to disseminate knowledge of each other's resources, and develop new avenues of trade between Canada and Australia.

What, then, is the present position of our trade? Canada manufactures large quantities of agricultural implements, furniture, boots and shoes, pianos, carriages of all kinds, hardware and stoves, all of which with many other items the United States exports freely to Australia to the extent of over ten millions of dollars a year, while our exports to those colonies amounted in 1888 to only \$448,205. On the other hand we could import from Australia by way of return cargo, and would probably do so, were the trade once started, wool—in any quantity we might desire—drugs, oranges, wines, gums, preserved fruits, and meats, silk, sugar (unrefined), vanilla, and

different varieties of woods.

Then, besides our manufactured goods, we might send coal, lumber of many descriptions, flour, and fish. It must be remembered, however, that action should be speedy. Already the Americans propose to lay a cable between San Francisco and Australia, and are prepared, so valuable do they consider the trade and its possibilities, to give a heavy subsidy towards the project. Then, again, if the proposed Australian federation should take place it will probably mean the adoption of a common colonial tariff against outside nations, including perhaps England and ourselves. If, however, our statesmen do their duty and make timely arrangements, it will probably be found that a system of preferential duties as between Canada and Australia will be shortly created. This step, with the proper development of inter-communication will be sufficient to enable us to drive out American competition, and build up a large and prosperous trade with our fellow-citizens of the Pacific.

All these questions, however, naval, commercial and national, turn upon the one important point—our joint political relations, and national aspirations. Bound together by the ties of a common ancestry, allegiance and flag, the conclusions already reached in this paper have been based upon the supposition that our present union will be permanent, though subject of course to many minor changes and evolutions. Of Canada, it is not necessary here to speak, as we realize the advantages of British connection and intend to perpetuate them, but Australian sentiment upon the subject is not clearly understood in this country and deserves some brief consideration. When the memorable contingent which afterwards left New South Wales for the Soudan was accepted by the Imperial Government, the enthusiasm was intense; Victoria had already offered six or seven hundred men, armed and equipped, thousands more volunteered in the mother-colony (as N.S.W. is often

styled) than could be accepted; a "patriotic fund" of £200,-000 was speedily raised and the volunteers left the colony amid a blaze of enthusiasm and loyalty-unprecedented in Australian history. The Rt. Hon. Wm. Bede Dalley, who was largely instrumental in making the offer and arranging the details of what has been called this epochmaking event, said a few days after the departure of the contingent: "We have awakened in the Australian Colonies an enthusiasm of sacrifice, of heroism, of all the nobler qualities which are to the loftier national life what the immortal soul is to the perishable body of humanity. We have shown to the world that we have watched and waited for the moment when we could aid, however, humbly that Empire which after all is the depositary and guardian of the noblest form of constitutional freedom that the world has ever seen. Our little band is but the advance guard of a glorious Imperial Federation.'

The Hon. James Service, when Premier of Victoria, some years ago, wrote to his Agent-General in London, instructing him to support the Imperial Federation movement, adding in the course of his communication; "That the notion before now openly propounded by Goldwin Smith and others of separating the colonies from the Empire has little sympathy from Australians, but that we believe the colonies may be tributaries of strength to the parent state and that they and it may be mutually reci-

pients of numberless advantages."

Since then, however, many things have happened—the success of the so-called nationalist party in Queensland; the tirades of a notorious section of the press, and a discreditable though small portion of the community in Queensland and New South Wales have led to a fear, and, in American quarters, triumphal expression of hope, that Australia was soon to declare for national independence. When, however, local federation does take place this disloyal element will find its proper level, and the better classes, the wealthy, educated, far-seeing and enterprising men of Victoria and the larger colonies will come to the surface of political affairs. As in Canada so in Australia, local union will increase loyalty and destroy bumptious discontent by the growth of a wider and better national sentiment.

The leading man in Australia to-day is undoubtedly Sir Henry Parkes, the veteran Premier of New South Wales, and destined to be the Sir John Macdonald of Australian unity. He has recently stated that there are to be found in those colonies "two great political passions. Each is very deep, each is equally susceptible to appeal and each is a passion of patriotism. One is patriotism for a United Australia, the other is patriotism for the British Empire." This then is the task ahead of our Imperial Statesmen, to see to it, in the interests of national unity, power and the peace of the world, that these two sentiments (and they exist as strongly in Canada as in Australia) do not clash, that some means shall be found by which they can develop side by side and add to our union and strength in place of leading to disintegration and decay.

To effect this great end it is only necessary for the statesmen of Great and Greater Britain to live up to the statement of Lord Carrington, Governor of New South Wales, who, when recently speaking at Brisbane, Queensland, in connection with the colony's refusal to pay its promised contribution of £12,000 towards the Colonial Naval Defence Fund, said "England herself would pay 12,000 times £12,000 or what is a million times more valuable still, would not hesitate to sacrifice 12,000 English lives before she would allow any country to annex or occupy one square inch of the thousands of square miles which Queensland calls her own"; or the remarks of the Earl of Onslow, Governor of New Zealand, who, when speaking of Australian federation, said "that he was convinced it would make the tie still stronger, and that England would stand by the Australian colonies so long as there was 18 pence in the Imperial Treasury! so long as there was a British blue jacket or red-coat left to fight for the great Englishspeaking Confederation which owns allegiance to the

British crown.' Such views apply as well to Canada as to our sistercolonies and when enunciated continuously by the best of British statesmen, as they now so frequently are, must prove a sufficient reply to the pessimists of the Manchester school who claim that England cares nothing for the Empire or its perpetuation. On the other hand let the problems, of the future be approached in the colonies in the spirit with which Sir John Macdonald looked forward to the Confederation of Canada, when he said in 1861, "I hope that for ages, for ever, Canada may be united to the Mother country—there will thus be formed an immense confederation of freemen, the greatest confederation of civilized and intelligent men that has ever had an existence upon the face of the globe"; or in the language of Sir Henry Parkes when speaking of the coming Australian Federation at the great centennial banquet which took place in Sydney two years ago, when the leading men of every type and occupation from every part of the continent met to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of Australian settlement. "If," said Sir Henry, "we are to be part and parcel of the British Empire, we must be prepared to take our fair share of its burdens and dangers. It is in this spirit that I wish to maintain our position in the future as thorough Australians, and, being thorough Australians, most consistent and patriotic Britons."

In the face of such language, and it is only one of many utterances by leading Australian statesmen, which might be quoted, did space permit, it is folly to fear that the results of a local federation there can be any different