WITHIN THE EMPIRE:

AN ESSAY ON

Imperial Federation.

Thomas Macfarlane, F. R. S. C.

CHAPTER III.

A Retrospect and its Lesson.

Before considering how the consolida tion of the Empire can be effected most easily, it would seem advantageous to take a look backward at the progress of the idea, and to do so from a Canadian point of view. Thus regarded, we soon become aware of the fact that our movement is not of yesterday, and that there has been retrogression in it as well as advancement. Indeed its history is not a very attractive subject; but if we digest its bitter lessons, they may show us the dangers through which we have passed and strengthen us when the time for action arrives.

About two centuries ago, Great Britain and her Colonies on the Atlantic Coast began to find that the business of settling the country was a very pre-carious one. Raids and requisitions by the Indians of the west, and the French of the north, entirely-dissipated any prospect of profit, or even of peaceable possession. An unsatisfactory state of affairs continued until, by the capture ec and the conquest of Canada the Mother Country was able to secure the thirteen Colonies against attack and make them a country worth living in. Scareely was this done, however, when these same Colonies revolted and set up in business for themselves, after undutifully appropriating the premises and stock which had cost Great Britain so much blood and treasure. This ac tion was not followed by any offer to pay for the business they had taken on of. On the contrary, the possession of. On the contrary, they went to greater lengths, and turned out of the establishment those em loyes who had been faithful to the old firm, and who did not approve of the summary methods which the junior rs had adopted, in getting the ess into their own har The people thus expelled were the United Empire Loyalists, who, as tated by Robert Grant Haliburton, "had for "more than eight years fought through "a weary civil war, and had risked "their lives, their all, for the English 'Crown. In 1783, when the treaty "was signed no amnesty was se cured for them, and more than fifty "thousand scapegoats of British diplo 'macy, men, women and childr the north and the northwest. Their story fills us with grief, pity, and a righteous indignation. But their struggles for a United Empire and their faith in its ultimate establishment shine through the mist of the pas century, to guide us onwards in the path which they were the first to tread. It is true that this faith of the United ire Loyalists did not bear imm Indeed, so barren was it of results that it has since been spoken of as their dream. In course of time a we must charitably suppose, never heard of their story or their dream. At least it was left entirely out of conation in England's dealings with her Colonies, and when the time came for granting them responsible govern

Equally oblivious were English states men of the interests of a United Empir in some of the treaties made regardin our boundaries. To this day the Ash burton Treaty is by every Canadian regarded as a proof of English indiffer ence. Her statesmen of that time seen to have thought, although they did not say, what Louis XV, said, but did not think, when he signed away Canada; "It's only a few acres of snow." Looking at a map of North America, there is to be preceived what looks like a big is to be precived what looks had bite our of Canadian territory at the bite our of Canadian territory at the place where lies the State of Maine. When that was ceded to our neighbours, we not only lost "a few acres of snow," but that old bite cost us a few millions of pounds extra in building the Intercolonial Railway away round to the north of it. The State of Michigan was another bite taken out of us, and it was especially hard to lose its northern peninsula, between Lakes nd Superior, one of the richest mineral regions in the world. That sion cost us a few more millions in carrying the Canadian Pacific Railand the north shore of Lake Superior. Later on, the Oregon territory was yielded up to our enterprising cousins, and the same railway was in consequence obliged to cross the Selkirk reached such a state about fifteen In her defence where or the flag's unfurl'd.

range, instead of following the natural route down the Columbia River. All these concessions were made by England in order to please the United States, and for the purpose of securing peace with them. Can it be said that the Americans have made as many sacrifices for the same object?

Nor did Canadian commercial interests fare any better than boundary questions. There was a time in the history of Great Britain when practice and experience were regarded as the true foundation for theory in every department of industry and statescraft. But about the year 1840, a tendency was developed on the part of some of our statesmen to work in the opposite direction. Turning the inductive method upside down, they determined tomake facts square with their theories. They assumed that certain principles of trade which they regarded as unassailable, would produce cetrain beneficial results everywhere, and under all circumstances. And so the policy of free imports was adopted, which was the cause of much commercial embarrassment in Canada, carried distress even into her backwoods, and, to a large extent, provoked the annexation movement of 1849.

It would be out of place here to dis

cuss the merits of Protection and Free Trade. Federationists may properly take the position that each section of the Empire is free to adopt the principles of the one system or the other, as they may think fit. But it is surely matter for regret that the Free Trade agitators of forty years ago were so head strong as to give to the Colonies scant consideration, and so unpatriotic as to anticipate with satisfaction a dis nemberment of the Empire. Cobden imself said: "The Colonial system, with all its dazzling appeals to the passions of the people, can never be got rid of except by the indirect pro-cess of Free Trade, which will grad-'ually and imperceptibly loosen the bonds which unite our Colonies to us by a mistaken notion of self-interest. The apostle of Free Trade visited Egypt, Greece, France, Italy, Austria, Prussia, and twice he crossed the ocean to the United States in order to impregnate these countries with Free Trade loctrines, but he never visited a British colony, or made any proposal for im-proving the commercial relations be-tween them and the Mother Country. Even as late as 1865, Cobden wrote 'I cannot see what substantial interest the British people have in the connec-"tion to compensate them for guaran-"teeing three or four millions of North "Americans living in Canada against another community of Americans 'living in their neighbourhood. To 'defend these Colonies is a task beyond our power. We have recognis-ed their right to control their own fate, even to the point of asserting their independence whenever they think fit, and which we know to be "only a question of time." Cobden died two months later. How melancholy to reflect that this should have been the theme of the last utterances of a man of such genius and power After Cobden's death some of his followers continued to argue in favor of the dismemberment of the Empire. They did not seem to perceive that this was equivalent to national suicide. Canada was especially the object of the neers and disfavour of the Mancheste chool, while the United States, although carrying to far greater extrem es the practical application of the protective principles which these poliical economists condemned, was looked upon as the pattern nation. Yet, while the latter, on more than one asion, displayed feelings distinctly cestile to England, faithful Canada vas able to say, at each sacrifice of her territory or interests by the Mother Country, "yea, though she slay me, yet will I trust in her." Indifference on the part of our English Government to the welfare of the Colonies under ordinary circumstances appears suffi iently inexplicable, but, in the case of Canada, and considering the proximity of the United States, it amounts to something like "veiled treason." Here was Canada, for a series of years, ex-posed to the temptation of surrender ing her position in the British Empire, and of changing her allegiance for apparent material advantage, while those ho plotted to absorb her, and even winked at an invasion of her territory were received with favour and confid ence by the only power to which Canada could look for sympathy and

The American leanings of English tatesmen were well displayed in the of Washington when the claims of The voice of British law do thou revere.

ears ago, that the Hon. Joseph Howe ed himself in this way:-" Of late new doctries have been expound-'ed in the Mother Country. The disorganisation of the Empire has been openly promulgated in leading and "influential organs of public sentiment and opinion. Our brethren within 'the narrow seas have been counselled to adopt a narrow policy; to call home their legions, and leave the out-'lying provinces without a show of sympathy or protection. One Cabinet Minister tells us that British America cannot be defended, and another that he hopes to see the day when the whole continent of America will peacefully repose and prosper under Republican institutions. I do not desire to anticipate the full and ample discussion which Parliament will give "to England's recent diplomatic efforts to buy her own peace at the sacrifice of our interests, or of that comedy of errors into which she has blunder ed; but this I may say, that the time is rapidly approaching when Canadians and Englishmen must have a clear and distinct understanding as to the hopes and obligations of the 'future." No apology is necessary for this lengthy quotation, which correctly represented the feelings and fears at that time of many besides the veteran statesman of Nova Scotia, who has long since passed to his rest. When he gave utterance to those words the prospect must indeed have seemed dark to United Empire Loyalist. One of them, Haliburton already quoted, bitterly says regarding the views of the following lines which appeared in English statesmen of that period: "A the Ottawa Citizen of 13th October, panacea has been suggested which has the double merit of being an effectual remedy and a good specula-tion. The nation is advised to cut its 'throat to save itself the cost of living," and he compares a nation that could follow such advice to the man "who was so mean that he cut off one of 'his feet to save himself in shoe-'leather."

The Germans say, "when the need s greatest then the help is nearest, and very soon after this time we have evidence of a reaction. But, in truth, the great heart of England never seriously thought of dismembering the Empire, and her weak-kneed states found they had reckoned without their host, that they had made a huge mistake in even hinting at such a thing. Howe spoke in 1872; shortly afterwards the tide began to turn, and our own Premier, when reviewing the situation in 1875, was able to make this state ment: "We have got the pledge of the Mother Country—and, as I said be-fore, that pledge has never been broken—that the whole power of the Empire will be exerted in our defence "if occasion should require." This same speech contained the germ of the present movement, although at that time the term Federation had not been invented for it. Let us hear what the same veteran statesman, our "old parliamentary hand" said about the consolidation of the Empire fourteen ears ago. "As to the future of Canada, I have long held very decid-'ed opinions, and these lead me to be lieve that England will be the central power, with auxiliary nations, the Colonies in alliance, with her; "when we would have less of depend-"ence and more of an alliance; we Sovereign, and all owe allegiance to the same Crown; all inspired by the British spirit, and bound together by 'an alliance offensive and defensive.' This may not mean Imperial Federation, but it is possible to claim it as foretelling the consolidation of the Empire before the end of the present century. Not long afterwards Sir John Macdonald proposed his "National Policy," and regained power on the strength of it. He threw aside the advice of the Manchester School who persistently entreat mankind to regulate their commercial affairs on the assumption that the entire race of man is but a band of brothers, and adopted M. Thiers principle; 'among the most sacred rights is that of the labour of a country to its own markets." Even at this time the idea of a closer union had its advocates and found expression, as the following extract from the Montreal Gazette of 1st March, 1879, will shew:-

To the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., &c., &c., at the opening of Parlia ment, February, 1879:—

Asne'er before with power and honour crowned,
Thou enterest our legislative halls;
Though daugers thicken, discontents abound,
Yet confident to thee the nation calls
Welcome, Premier! The Crown and people's
choice,

To each of them be loya' and since

Quench not the smoking flax of patriot zeal That smoulders 'mongst our gallant volumes the smoulders' inough the state of the smoulders and steel that the smoulders are smoulders and steel that smoulders are smoulders and smoulders are smoulders and smoulders are smoulders.

Protect our mines and forests; our. bre Let hardy settlers freely sow and reap; Unite our Provinces with iron bands, Our lakes and streams with channe's bro

For all such blessings we will toil and pay A willing tribute on our dearest needs, For rich and poor alike do bless the day, When trade revives and enterprise succe

Defend our labours first! the aliens foil! Measure for measure mete them; fearless wield The righteous power; let even Britains soil Be foreign while our homes and hearths y

Still; to the mother fain her sons would bring The fairest fruits their labours can attain; Oh! may she yet regard the offering
As worthier, better than all foreign gain.

To patriotic view all o'r the earth A prospect marvellous and wide expands Dear to religion and to human worth. The closer union of all British lands, Further such aims thou leader great and bold So shall thy fame o'er these same lands l

spread, Thy work to generations still be told When thou art numbered with the glorio

Six years afterwards the Canadian militia shewed in the North-west the value of "rifle and steel" for the unity of the Dominion, and a better work still was done a year later when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, and with it the "iron bands which bind the provinces together. This was moreover as great a deed as had ever before been wrought for the Unity of the Empire, and deserved to be commemorated, as was attempted in 1886 :--

To Sir John Macdonald on his return from British Columbia, September, 1886. From out the youthful West, radiant with hope Where smooth Pacific laves Vancouver's shores. Where giant timber clothes the mighty slope, Where tunnel bridge and rail unlock the door Of jealous mountain passes, thou didst come; On iron wings from out the setting sun Bringing thy sheaves; while each Canadian

Echoed the cry, "Welcome! Premier! well

eath the snowy Selkirks winds the road Heneath the snowy Scikirs winds the road, And pass the source of many a Hudson stream Across the fertile belt, the new abode of future millions of our countrymen. Its engine strikes Superior's cliffs with awe, Awakes the cohose of the Laurestides, Salutes the tower crowned height of Ottawa, And on the margin of St. Lawrence glides.

Now East and West are one; thy faith sublim

And fix'd for centuries our country's weal. The ancient East is now the modern West; Far colonies come nearer England's shore, And Canada shall henceforth be confessed The Keystone of the Arch of British power,

Huge was the task; strong were our co

foes,
Who sought thy lofty purposes to thwart;
Emy, foul slander, e'en robellion rose
To discompose thy patriotic heart.
The greatest conquerers cannot subdue,
With all their powers, the spite of meaner seu
Well hast thou done thy part; so shall we too
When next doth rage the battle of the polls.

The shadows lengthen of thy busy life;
But think not that thy warfare yet is o'er;
Leave us not yet unguided in the strife;
One task remains worthy of a ! thy power.
Unite the Empire! make it stand compact
Shoulder to shoulder, let its membersfee!
The touch of British brotherhood and act

If, in attempting the Federation of the Empire. English statesman would handle that business as vigorously as dian Pacific Raiway, it might be possible to complete the work five years earlier, and give Sir John Macdonald and Lord Salisbury, and even Mr. Gladstone, an opportunity, while yet in the flesh, of beholding another stupendous task completed in the in-terest of the whole Empire and of

Christian civilization. Nine years after the delivery of Sir John Macdonald's consolidation speech, the Imperial Federation League was organized under its first chairman, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, who died 17 months later, on the 5th April, 1886. One of his latest utterances, what might be called his "Swan Song" and very different indeed from Cobden's, was his article on "Imperial Federa tion" which appeared in the Nineteenth Century. In view of the progress which has since been made, many of his words are prophetic. For instance he asked, "Is it impossible for Lord "Derby to write to the Queen's repre-'sentative at Ottawa, and Sydny, and "Victoria, and Adelaide and Brisbane, and Auckland, and Hobart Town somewhat to this effect :- 'The neces sity for re-casting the defences of the 'Empire is urgent. Her Majesty's "Ministers wish to take counsel with your Government on the steps to be taken. Ask your Ministers to empower their agents in London, or, if they prefer it, to send some special Fitzpatrick & Harris. representative, to confer with me and with the representatives of the other self-governing Colonies. Your Minis- La Entrance to By Ward Market.

ters willnot be committed to any course recommended by such conference "until they have been informed there "of and approve'"? Two years afterwards Forsters' suggestion was follow ed by the Government which succeed ed to power. The Secretary of State for the Colonies issued the invitation on the 25th of November, 1886, and on the 4th of April, 1887, two years after Forster's death, the Colonial Conference actually met. That such a result was attained within three years after the formation of the Imperial Federation League speaks volumes as to the great influence of that society.

The proceedings of the Colonial Conference of 1887 have been published, but have not yet received anything like the attention they deserve. That the greatest importance was attached to its deliberations by the statesmen of the Empire is evident from their expressions of approval. The prophecy of Lord Salisbury has often been quoted. He said: "We all feel the gravity and 'importance of this occasion, decisions of this Conference may not be, for the moment, of vital import-'ance; the business may seem prosaic 'and may not issue in any great results at the moment. But we are all sensible that this meeting is the beginning of a state of things which is to have great results in the future. It will be the parent of a long progeniture, and distant councils of the Empire may, in some far off time, look back to the meeting in this room as the 'root from which all their greatness 'and all their beneficence sprang.' Lord Knutsford spoke as follows: Many plans have been devised, 'many suggestions made for fitting 'memorials of Her Majesty's Jubilee Year: quot homines tot sententia. 'In this country we have heard of an Imperial Institute, a Church Home, hospitals, free libraries, and so forth. 'But I assert, without fear of contra-"diction, that the assembling together in this country of leading Colonial "statesmen and representatives of Greater Britain to discuss matters of 'Imperial interest affecting alike the "Mother Country and the Colonies, is greatest of all memorials." The same statesman declared at the close of the proceedings that he looked "hopefully forward to future conferences Sir Samuel Griffiths, the oldest actual Minister present, said, "I think we may look forward to seeing this sort of informal Council of the Empire developed until it becomes a legisla-'tive body-at any rate, a consultative body, and some day, perhaps a legisla tive body, under conditions which we cannot now foresee, and that indeed, meetings such as this will before long be recognised as part of the general "governing machinery of the Empire." It is impossible to read such words and study the proceedings of this conference without feeling and exultingly declaring that with it and its devel ment/the "dream" of the old United Empire Loyalists is in full course of

Whatever may have been the case in the past, it is certainly impossible now to say that Colonial affairs, at least, so far as regards territorial questions and Imperial defence—are not receiving sufficient attention from the Home Government. At the same time it can be maintained that the commercial interests of the whole Empire are not now obtaining that amount of consideration which almost every other civilised nation in these days feels bound to bestow on such matters. And what is the lesson which our past experience, as above related, teaches us regarding them? Surely this—that the commercial policy which has brought the Empire to the verge of dismemberment and which, there is too much reason to believe was devised for this very purpose, can no longer be excused, and that our present plan of treating the inhabitants of the different parts of the Empire, in matters of trade, as if they were aliens, and placing them exactly on the same footing as foreign ers should be abandoned at the earliest possible moment.

TO THE DEAF.—A Person cared of Deand noises in the head of 23 years' staby a simple remedy, will send a description when the nany person who applies to Nicho 30, St. John St., Montreal.

No Bankrupt Stock (and Mustr. But an Al Assortment

-OF-FAMILY GROCERIES.

ATPlease give us a trial and be assured

65 WILLIAM STREET.

7