

sible to maintain our present loose and imperfect relations, and Lord Beaconsfield pointed out years ago that the missing link in the union of Great Britain and her North American possession was the want of representation in the home Parliament which lost them the American States.

The immense forces that a combination of two or more powers like Russia and the United States, or the French and the other Mediterranean navies, could bring on any portion of our present Empire have dispersed all the thoughts which were rampant half a century ago as to ultimate independence and separate nationality.

A more thorough system of defence for the outlying portions of the Empire would seem then to be one of the particularly practical results from closer union of the Empire. Under present conditions it is stretching the patriotic sentiment of a trader in Liverpool or Hull when he finds he is to bear all the taxes for the expense of a navy to protect trade across the Pacific between Australia and Canada from which he derives no profit.

Mr. Chamberlain put forward his plan in the opening speech at the present Congress on the ground that it would insure the more extended use of the financial power accumulating in one part of the Empire in the development of the natural resources which form the wealth of the Colonies and Mr. Colmer sums up the advantages in the "conclusion" of his essay as follows:—

"It may be asked what advantages would the Mother Country on the one hand and the Colonies and possessions on the other derive from Commercial Confederation? It would bring the Mother Country into closer union with the Colonies. By giving preferential treatment, on a modified scale, to British trade within the limits of the Empire the bond of unity would be material as well as sentimental. By such preference the doctrines of free trade, more than at present, would be made possible within the Empire. On the other hand the British manufacturer would retain control of the rapidly increasing colonial markets. There would be a unity of defence of the outlying parts of the Empire and a Colonial Council for mutual consultation on matters of general interest. Greater attention than ever would be attracted to the Colonies. Emigration would flow in larger numbers to their shores. Their powers of production would be increased and the United Kingdom would year by year depend less upon foreign sources for her food supplies. Such advantages would seem to open up a probable field of operations for our younger traders and an enlarged scope of business for our larger traders."

Then again there would be new openings in the political and official field for those among us whose ability is political, either executive or legislative. The Civil, Indian, and Consular services of the Empire might well be open to all British subjects, and with advantage, in stimulating the interest of our schoolboys in the management of the Empire they will some day share in ruling.

The original declaration for a United Empire was made by Lord Sherbrooke in 1850 at Sydney, N.S.W., and was founded on the principles of "local control of local affairs and colonial representation for Imperial affairs."

In days of old, when men had the courage to claim what was their due, the leader of the land, where the boundaries of the Scots and Northumbria marched, was appointed to the Upper House of Parliament as Marquis, and the Earl, answerable for the loyalty of a county, sat beside him.

The leader of a political clan where the boundaries of Canada and the United States march together, or the Governor of a distant Province, would be the natural present-day representative from their Colony in the same historic House at Westminster. If we look around us from a business point of view, do we not find confining lines, limitations, and contracted areas of employment, at least in regard to the

population as a whole, that want enlarging or removing. We hear the complaint every day that Canada has more young men than she can find employment for.

The foregoing will at least give an insight, or a sort of general view from a distance, of what is Imperial Federation.

The procedure to be taken in the way of getting down to business on the matter has long puzzled its friends in England and supporters in the Colonies.

The idea at first was undoubtedly of political union, but, on account of the small population in the Colonies, the actual use of such admission of the Colonies to the Imperial Council was doubtful; now as the Colonies and their ports and cities have become strong centres of finance and trade, the commercial view has come to the front, and the consensus of opinion seems to be that it is by a Commercial Union the results will be arrived at.

This view has been fostered for the last eight years by the Home Government calling together the Colonies in conference through their Boards of Trade, the full title of the present Congress being the Third Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, invitations being sent out through the London Chamber of Commerce to all duly organized British Boards of Trade.

The moral effect of these Congresses has been immense in obtaining the mental consent of these unofficial Colonial representatives to the theory of Federation. Now comes the practical idea of how to remove the difficulties in the way.

The Statist, of 2nd of February, 1895, places the case very well before us in the conditions of the contest then invited.

1. The scheme to be proposed had to show that it would maintain the integrity and strengthen the defence of the Empire and would be permanently advantageous to the various interests whose consent is requisite to its adoption.

2. The possibility of practical application without long delay was noted as an important element.

3. Essays were to be as concise as possible and conclude (about 15,000 words) with a summary of their proposals sufficiently clear to form the basis of instructions to a Parliamentary draughtsman.

4. That Essay was to be considered best which was most calculated to place the end in view within range of practical attainment.

In response to the invitation there were 136 Essays received, 45 being from the Colonies. From those that have been published in full or in part, we find not exactly conflicting but exceedingly different and divergent views expressed and many proposed. Probably there were 136 varieties of various plans.

THE WEEK will shortly be able to present its readers with a synopsis compiled by the authors and printed by the United Empire Trade League of many of these Essays and they can then judge of the various proposals, also suggest any better method yet.

The main distinctive points in these essays will be found to be somewhat as follows:

1. On the form of Colonial representation in England.
2. On the Trade Policy.
3. On the proposals as to Defence.

The variations on these will be found to be somewhat on the following lines:

- 1.—(a.) Representation by a Colonial appointive Council.
- (b.) Or by an elective Council.
- (1.) Chosen by the Colonial Parliaments.
- (2.) Or by the Colonial Electorates.