

THE BRITON'S LAND.

A LAY OF IMPERIAL UNITY.

[The following patriotic lines were contributed by Mr. John Dennistoun Wood, of Melbourne, Australia, for many years a Councillor of the Royal Colonial Institute, and were published in the opening number of the Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, by special direction of the Council.]

Should German, Russ, or Frank demand
What country is the Briton's land,
As no vain-glorious boast would I
To that end—there—here—
Here the north breeze
Blows foam across the Orcaes;
Where Donegal's rock-wall flings back
The foiled Atlantic's fierce attack;
Where Dover with its cliffs of snow
Serenely views his ancient foe;
Where Calpe's (a) warders hold the key
That shuts and opens the Inland Sea;
Where lies the Isle (b) which monk-knights bold
Against the Moslem held of old;
Where stands the Cape (c) by tempests beat,
Round which Da Gama steered his fleet;
Where billows from the Antarctic pole
Against Cape Pillar's (d) basalt roll;
Where graze Australia's myriad flocks
And shine her golden sands and rocks;
Where the twin summits of Mount Cook (e)
The England of the South o'erlook;
Where lies Ceylon mid pearly seas
With palm-leaves rustling in the breeze;
Where rolls Hydaspes (f) which of yore
The Macedonian's galleys bore;
Where, born mid Himalayan snows,
By marble mosques (g) the Jumna flows;
Where by the Irrawadi's stream (h)
Is heard the elephant's shrill scream;
Where summer isles (i) lie in the seas
That wash the Golden Chersonese;
Where Hong Kong with ship-crowded bay
Stands at the gateway of Cathay;
Where mountains, clad with mighty pines,
Rise steep above Columbia's mines;
Where down the cliffs with thunder roar
The waves of the Saint Lawrence pour;
Where fishers by Newfoundland reap
The finny harvest of the deep;
Where on the Caribbean Isles,
Begirt with Palms, the ocean smiles;
Where Demerara's fertile plains
Exult in wealth of sugar-canes.
On arctic shores, in tropic seas,
The Briton's banner courts the breeze;
Beneath the palm-tree and the oak
He speaks the tongue that Shakespeare spoke
Beneath the Southern Cross and Bear
His children lip the self-same prayer;
Upon his land n'er sets the sun,
His harvest toil is never done;
As soon as England's veiled in night
New Zealand hails the eastern light;
When icebergs block Canadian seas
Grain ripens at th' Antipodes;
Each hour his ports throughout the world
Behold his vessels' sails unfurled.
Or hear the rattle, as descends
The anchor when the voyage ends.

One now we are, and shall remain
Till moons shall cease to wax and wane,
A hundred lands together strung
On this strong cord—one Crown, one Tongue.

MELBOURNE, Sept. 29th, 1890.

(a) Calpe is the ancient name of the Rock of Gibraltar.
(b) The Knights of St. John bravely held Malta against the Turks in the 16th century.
(c) Vasco de Gama was the first European to sail to India round the Cape of Good Hope, formerly called the Cape of Storms.
(d) Cape Pillar is the south-eastern extremity of Tasmania.
(e) Mount Cook, the highest mountain in New Zealand, rises in two peaks.
(f) Alexander the Great launched his flotilla on the Hydaspes, now the Jhelum.
(g) At Agra and Delhi.
(h) In Upper Burma the wild elephants may be heard trumpeting to each other across the Irrawadi.
(i) Penang and Singapore.

LORD SALISBURY IN ROSSENDALE

Portion of an Eloquent and manly deliverance by the Premier of England on the subject of the Government of Ireland.

SEPARATISTS AND SEPARATION.

"Mr. Gladstone is fond of denouncing us because we call him and his party Separatists. Well, I accept without any reservation his assurance that he has no intention of separation in his mind, but we call them Separatists because we know the effect of the measures which they are recommending will certainly be the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. (Cheers.) The kind of legislation which he recommends would not produce separation at once, but it would place Ireland in the position that the new Parliament would acquire fresh powers and additional leverage in order to force us on to consent to further and further advances towards separation. (Cheers.) He proposes not to give the land legislation as yet into the hands of the Irish. (Hear, hear.) How long does he imagine that he could hold up this reservation? The first thing on the part of the new Parliament would be to refuse supplies, and when these reservations had been swept away, how would Mr. Gladstone meet them? I do not propose he would say, "Trust to Mr. Parnell." (Laughter and cheers.) But you should trust whoever is the hero of the hour, Mr. Sexton or Mr. Healy, Mr. Davitt or whoever it may be, and be assured that these men of perfect patriotism and supreme disinterestedness will never do anything that can have for its result the separation of Ireland from England. Again, I ask you to look upon the play that is being played out before your eyes, to watch the characters of men as they unfold them-

selves upon the new stage, and to ask whether upon the creatures of Mr. Parnell, who are now turning upon him to rend him in order to gratify their own ambition, you find that token of trustfulness which will lead you to commit the integrity of the Empire into other hands. No doubt Mr. Gladstone will tell you that he and the Liberal party would be perfectly inexorable, and never would grant any such demand. Again, you may say, "I wish like to study Mr. Gladstone's past record (laughter), and to examine how far you are justified in arguing the principle of an immutable resolution from Mr. Gladstone's past achievements. (Laughter.) I believe that he has changed every opinion he ever had. (Laughter.) I believe he has abandoned every cause he ever defended (cheers); and I should be very loth to trust to his immutable resolution the maintenance of the fragile barriers which he is now erecting between us and separation. To us, at all events, it has a flavour of amusement as we look upon the drama that has been unfolded at Westminster; and I have no doubt that in this sporting county half of you have already got bets for or against Mr. Parnell. (Laughter.) But just consider how they are looking upon it in the north of Ireland. It is all very well to you, to whom it is a matter of amusement; but they are saying, "These are the men who are to be our future Ministers, who are to be placed by England over us, in whose hands are to be placed the Criminal Code, and by whom the magistrates and constabulary will alike be appointed. These are the men who, being themselves the representatives of the poorest, the hungriest, the most retrograde part of Ireland, will have unlimited power of disposing the wealth of Londonderry and of Belfast." (Hear, hear.) Do you think that they are looking at this prospect with a philosopher's eye? Do you think that they like the probability of the rulers whom the play of English parties, they fear, may make their rulers? There have been revolutions in other countries, but they been revolutions conducted by men who have shown in the conduct of the operations by which they have been brought about distinguished traits of heroism or courage (hear, hear); but never since the beginning of the world, never since the history of revolutions was written, was a transfer of power ever effected by the kind of qualities which are now being displayed in the Committee-room of the House of Commons (cheers); and when you say, we will give the irresistible power of England in order to force our brothers in the north, men of the same race as ourselves, men of the same creed as ourselves, to bow their neck and to hold up all their property to be dealt with by the Irish members who are now gathering round Mr. Parnell, do you think that no thoughts of resistance arise? Do you think that they will submit without a murmur, or something more than a murmur, to the cruellest desertion that history has yet recorded? (Cheers.) I think that this matter carries a valuable lesson. This split in the Irish party has not merely that ignoble and trivial origin which people are accustomed to assign to it. Treat as you will the disgusting details of that divorce case, they are not important enough to have brought into antagonism such powerful forces as we now see ranged against each other. If I may appeal to history, the Trojan war began with a breach of the seventh commandment. The attack, the invasion of the Moors into Spain, began with a breach of the seventh commandment, but in neither case was this odious or trivial incident any indication of the real force arrayed against it. Mr. Gladstone was bent upon an impossible enterprise. He wished to unite, in a common vote, in a common lobby, the most incompatible aspirations. He wished to bring into line the English Liberal who was dead against any kind of separation, and only wanted some of his own favourite commonplaces to be observed; and, on the other hand, to persuade the Irish Nationalists, who cared for nothing but independence, that the policy which would lead to the accomplishment of their desires. THE POLICY OF "DOUBLE-SHUFFLE." As long as things were quiet it was possible, by extreme reticence and the judicious and unlimited use of ambiguous language, to persuade the two parties that he was leading each to that goal which, separately, they desired to attain. But a revelation like this was sure, through some accident or other, to come at last. At last it was sure to be pointed out that, in trusting him as they were doing, either the English Liberal who dreaded separation, or the Nationalist who would be satisfied with nothing but separation, was sure to be deceived and taken in. (Cheers.) And

that will be the fatal result of any effort to carry out such a policy as he proposes. I care not whether Mr. Parnell wins in this conflict or whether he is cast down. It may be a weakness of human nature, but perhaps I prefer the man who is fighting desperately for his life to the crew whom he made and who are turning against him. (Hear, hear.) But be that as it may, and without carrying that preference, which is purely sentimental, into the domain of politics or of ethics, I think that as it may, we may be quite certain that now we shall have to deal with realities. We may be quite certain that this double-shuffle can be maintained no longer, and that it will be impossible to put forward any dark and ill-defined outlines of policy that should please at once the Liberal who hates separation and the Nationalist who cares for nothing except separation. (Cheers.) I ask you to turn rather and look at the Unionist policy as something which presents nobler features and a more promising issue. (Cheers.) We, at least, have laid our cards upon the table. (Hear, hear.) We have no secret policy which we are obliged to impose by the most stringent recommendations upon those whom we consult. (Hear, hear.) We have nothing that we cannot communicate to those whom we desire should support it. (Cheers.) That is because we are following no new-fangled ideas, no new-born theories (hear, hear), but because we are following the path which has been followed by others, and which has been followed by others with success. (Cheers.) We are not the only country that has conquered a neighbouring community, and has sought to assimilate that community to its own. It has been the fate of every nation in Europe. That is how great nations have been formed. (Cheers.) That is how France, and Spain, and Italy, and now Germany have been, or are now being, formed. They are consolidated by that process. (Cheers.) Only when we conquered Ireland we incurred an obligation which, unhappily, for centuries we have omitted to fulfil. (Hear, hear.)

THE DUTIES OF A GOVERNMENT. We incurred the obligation of keeping order and requiring the recognition of men's mutual rights according to the times. Age after age we have neglected that duty. When we have attempted to perform it some wretched turn in English party politics or civil strife has baffled the experiment in its beginning, and the result is that up to now we have not performed our duty of training the population to obey the ordinary laws to which they are submitted, and to recognize the legal rights of each other. (Cheers.) That is the first duty of a Government (cheers)—whether to those over whom it naturally rules or over those who have come under its dominion by conquest. (Hear, hear.) It is the only possible justification of conquest. It is that which you are bound to give to men, if geographical or other considerations force you to take away their independence. We have till lately neglected it. This Government are charged that they have introduced a perpetual coercion Bill. It is not a coercion Bill. The word is misused. (Cheers.) It is a scandalous misuse of language. (Prolonged cheers.) Coercion is depriving men of their legitimate rights in order to prevent the agitation of inconvenient opinions. All we have done is to give sufficient strength to the law to carry out the rights which all men have, and which all men have a right to demand that their neighbours shall respect. (Cheers.) That is all that we have done, but we did require, as a condition of our doing it, that it should not be subject to be taken back and withdrawn in consequence of any future change of party politics. We required it should be made a perpetual statute of the realm."

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