

in expressing their judgment. We believe it will be found on a more thorough examination that their annoyance is as unfounded as their criticisms. All that is really valuable in the existing Imperial system may be preserved even though its dreaded dissolution be more imminent than we ourselves believe, while the change all men agree in foreseeing will almost certainly produce even more benefit to the Colonies than to the Home Country. A clever letter from Port Elizabeth, which opportunely arrived early this week, exhibits the evil effects even the forms of de-acyency produce on the Colonial mind. Nothing is more surprising to an Englishman who has realized the true position of the Colonies than to find how much below the real dignity of their position the leaders of Colonial Ministries are apt to hold themselves. They lean towards England. Although frequently applying harsh language to the Colonial Office, they still have a vague undefined feeling of its power and authority. They are dwarfed in the presence of a shadow.

Our South African Correspondent enumerates the instances in which the Home Government bears authority over the Cape, upon which the Colonists found the conclusion that such authority implies a correlative degree of protection. The Crown appoints the Governor-Officials, legal and administrative, exercise their functions in the name and at the pleasure of the Queen. There is a final appeal to the Privy Council. The short reply to all this is that the choice of a Governor, the nomination of certain high officials, and the ultimate supervision of the Privy Council are maintained for the convenience and at the pleasure of the Colony, and, if the Colony desired, any and all of these functions might cease. They are burdens rather than privileges of the Colonial Office. There is nothing of the nature of command to them. They form parts of the Constitution of the Colony, and as such are subject to modification at its pleasure. When the terms of union of the Canadian Dominion were under discussion it was long debated whether the appeal to the Privy Council should be preserved, and it was at last decided by the Colonial delegates themselves that the Parliament of the Dominion should create a General Court of Appeal for it. The nomination to the anomalous office of Governor is now the only point of insubordination of Canada, and it is competent to every Colony possessing self-government to seek the same formal degree of independence. Real independence is already the inheritance of every Colony with a responsible Government, but the fact is hidden from the eyes of men, and Colonial statesmen accordingly do not rise to the height of their calling.

One of the immediate consequences of emancipation would be the emergence of the political life of the Colonies from tutelage and dependence to the freedom of self-supporting authority. It is true that this advantage may be accompanied by a loss in the mind of politicians at home of something of the feeling of Imperial sway, but if it be true that there is nothing solid to justify this feeling now, they will scarcely assert that it is desirable to maintain it. For what is the extent of this Imperial sway of ours? Can we change the Constitution of a single Colony? Can we alter its laws? Can we summon it to our assistance with money or with arms? Can we direct its fiscal policy? We have abandoned one by one all these pretences. A single circumstance may show to what extent the freedom of action of our Colonies may go. It is at this very moment a matter of discussion in Canada whether a Treaty of Reciprocity should not be concluded with the United States and the result of the deliberation may very possibly be the admission of the manufactures of New England into the Dominion under duties less than the manufactures of Great Britain. If the Canadian Ministry conclude that such an arrangement is for the benefit of their country, will the Colonial Office advise the Crown to disallow the negotiation? Assuredly not. The habit of deference may induce the Canadian Government to abstain from precipitating what would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory of Colonial dependence, but there is no force other than this sentiment to prevent the conclusion.

The Colonies are in no practical way subject to the Home Parliament, while Parliament is absolutely destitute of all authority over the Colonies, and cannot believe it other than good that these truths should be recognized. Absolute severance is not a necessary consequence

of them. Though the relation of authority and subjection is gone, a relation of partnership may be suggested. There remains "the great, the fascinating idea" of Federation, and the example of the United States affords some colour of hope that it may be feasible. Is the example a real precedent? It must be observed, in the first place, that the United States as first formed though covering a vast area, lay within a ring fence, and the main objects of the Federation were mutual protection and the establishment of a Customs Union. The growth of the Union has so modified the original scheme of unity that the currency of California has always remained gold while the Atlantic States have only greenbacks. The different circumstances of production of our Colonies and of ourselves make the supposition that identical Customs Duties could be agreed upon hopeless, nor is there any sufficient motive why the proposition should be pressed. Mutual protection remains to be considered, but mutual protection implies a common foreign policy controlled by a Federal Council, and the assessment of the cost of defence upon each member of the Federation. This is precisely the point upon which the existing relations have been least amiable.

The Colonists resented the proposal that they should contribute to their own defence from border enemies with respect to whom they pursue an uncontrolled policy, and we have little or no reason for believing that they are prepared to contribute to a scheme for the defence of all English-speaking communities. Yet we do not deny that the principles of Federation should be borne in mind in future discussions, and we have had, indeed, recently to condemn the Colonial Office for having missed an opportunity of doing something in this direction. When the Canadian delegations met in Downing street to accomplish a Federation, but in respect of details inspired by that spirit of deference to which we have referred, the Colonial Office might have laid the foundation of a West Britain to be followed in due season by a South Britain in Australasia but, instead of looking forward to the establishment of communities on a perfect equality with Great Britain, and capable, should the progress of time allow the realization of the idea, to form members of one vast Federation with her, the Colonial Ministers of both parties followed one another in perpetuating the forms of a dependence which does not exist thereby hiding the equality which really prevails. It must, however, be observed that if a Federation of English communities be, as we believe, impracticable, there is something which may yet be retained. The common citizenship which is now the real bond of union between England and the Colonies may survive the forms of political connexion.

Nothing could be easier than to provide for the accessibility to rights of citizenship in all English-descended communities of all English-speaking men. This is at present practically secured in America. None but a citizen born can be President of the Union, but English and Canadian immigrants hold high offices in the States, and there is at least one member of the present Canadian Ministry who was born and bred in the Union, whose parents were citizens of it, and who did not migrate into Canada until he had reached man's estate. If this be possible between nations which, separating in anger, have never wholly overcome the jealousies of old quarrels, what might not be done between communities peacefully resolving that independence was the condition best fitted for their development? It is not too much to believe that a feeling of unity might thus be nurtured which would exercise an influence greater than a formal league of offensive and defensive alliance, for the strength would depend upon irresistible moral forces. Nor do we believe that this conception of scattered Britons united in the closest friendship and inhering the traditions of a common history, is one what less exalting than the proud but somewhat arrogant dream of one armed power overawing the world. It is fitted to sustain a national life at least as exalted, and it is a merit rather than a fault that it substitutes the equality of nations for the dictatorship of one.

In 19 years there has been an increase of 1,817 factories and 281,832 hands in connection with the textile industries of Great Britain. The number of spinning spindles during the same period increased from 22,624,716 to 41,616,581 and the number of power looms from 231,425 to 629,325. The motive power increased from 1850 to 1869, as follows—Steam, from 108,113 to 822,251, water, from 23,104 to 21,520.

## DOMINION OF CANADA.

INTERCOLONIAL EXHIBITION OF ARTS AND INDUSTRY, TO BE HELD IN LONDON, ENGLAND, ON 1st MAY, 1871.

COPY.

CANADA.

CIRCULAR.

DOWLING STREET,

24th August, 1869.

SIR,—At the request of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the International Exhibition of 1869, I transmit to you, for your information, a copy of a communication which I have received from them, enclosing a copy of an announcement of the first of a series of International Exhibitions of selected specimens of Art and Industry which it is intended shall be held in London, in the year 1871, and I have to request that you will take such measures as may be necessary for giving publicity to that announcement within the Colony under your Government.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

GRANVILLE

Governor-General,

The Right Honorable

Sir JOHN YOUNG, Bart.,

Esq., Esq., Esq.

Lieut.-Colonel Scott to the Under Secretary of State Colonial Office.

COPY.

OFFICE OF HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXHIBITION OF 1871,

6, UPPER BARNINGTON GORE, W.

10th August, 1869.

SIR,—I am directed by Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1861, to transmit, for the information of the several British Colonies, copies of the announcement of the first of the series of International Exhibitions of selected specimens of Art and Industry, which it is intended shall be held in London in 1871, and to request that you will move the Earl Granville to cause them to be forwarded to each Colony as early as possible.

Her Majesty's Commissioners desire me to point out that these Exhibitions will be on a comparatively limited scale, that the objects sent from each Colony will not be arranged together as heretofore, but in their proper classes, and that it is desired that manufacturers should exhibit only a single specimen of each object.

Her Majesty's Commissioners will be prepared to receive Colonial objects for exhibition under the following special regulations, viz.:

- (1.) Every object which can be exhibited on a vertical surface, or wall space, will be accepted, if accompanied by a certificate from the Government of the Colony where it is produced, that such object is considered worthy of exhibition.
- (2.) Every producer desiring to exhibit an object, which will require to be exhibited superficially or floor space, must forward to Her Majesty's Commissioners, before a date to be hereafter appointed, a working drawing or photograph of such object, with accurate dimensions and descriptive particulars, on receipt of which Her Majesty's Commissioners will, if the object be considered worthy of exhibition, transmit direct to the producer a certificate of the acceptance of such object, thereby guaranteeing its admission.
- (3.) Any producer may, at his option, instead of conforming with either of the foregoing regulations, send any object direct to the Exhibition buildings, for the inspection and approval of the judges selected for the other British Exhibitors, and under the same regulations as shall be prescribed with reference to other British goods, as submitted for inspection.

Further particulars having reference to the specialities of each Colony will hereafter be sent.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) HENRY Y. D. SCOTT

Lieut.-Col. R. E.

The Under Secretary of State,  
Colonial Office.

HOW IT WORKS, OR, WHAT IT COSTS.—The Government is giving us some facts in regard to the tariff but omitting others much more important to consumers. In 1869 it exacted of the people, in gold \$19,039,000 on \$498,000 of durable foreign goods. The consumers paid all this and middlemen a profit of not less than 50 per cent., or \$55,039,000. The tariff charged the profit on the tariff that he did on the first cost of goods; jobbers, importers, wholesalers, retailers each also exacted his profit on the total cost of goods to him, and so when those imported goods are paid for by the consumers, the accounts stand thus:

Original cost of goods...	\$38,000,000
Cost of shipping (10 per cent.)	3,800,000
Duties on the goods	18,039,000
	\$59,839,000
Profits of middlemen and transportation companies (50 per cent.)	29,919,500
	\$89,758,500

Thus the first cost is enhanced nearly three-fold by a tariff and profits. The import tax averages 75 per cent., and the middlemen's profits raise it to 75 per cent.—American paper.