

her strongest opposition. It is equally incumbent upon her, with the vast resources at her command, to approach this important question in no niggard spirit, and in working out the details of the scheme, to evince a generous and liberal-handed policy towards the several component parts of the structure of which she will form the crowning stone. The expression 'Empire' conveys widely diverse impressions to the British people. On those who, characterized by a narrow utilitarianism, submit all questions to a rigid pounds, shillings, and pence test; who profess to see nothing worthy of commendation in their own country; who delight to institute comparisons between their own and foreign lands, to the disparagement of the former; who are known as the Manchester School, and are championed by wordy agitators; the expression seems to exert a peculiarly irritating effect. Many fear that among that school of political thought, which draws its inspiration from Lord Beaconsfield, popularly known as the 'Jingo Party,' the idea of Empire has awakened a vaulting ambition for conquest. But however ready the nation has of late years been to endorse the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, in restoring the country to its old position of prestige and influence in the Councils of Europe, from which the masterly inactivity and timid policy of the Liberals had allowed her to lapse, there are not a few who are now forming the opinion, that the foreign policy of the country is becoming a trifle too accelerated; that, before any further foreign obligations or responsibilities shall be undertaken, a pause is necessary for the settlement of many internal questions of vast and pressing moment, and among them Imperial Federation is of prime importance. The following extract from the *Broad Arrow* of the 24th January, 1880, aptly expresses the meaning which the word 'Empire' conveys to the sound common sense and patriotism of the nation.

'There is no British Empire, except on paper. If our rulers could but see the necessity of making an empire out of the disorganized masses of protoplasm which lie about in colonies of various kinds, in islands, and races, and governments, what a thrill of power would run through us all! Confronted by mighty monarchies armed to the teeth, would it not be wiser to concentrate our resources to perfect the union between all parts of our territories, and to make it impossible for an enemy to assail or ravage any of our colonies, than to tremble for our security before border potentates, and to spend our strength in petty enterprises. The only Imperial party we have in the country at present mistakes obesity for growth; growth it certainly is, but not the growth of health, of perfect life, and of progressive development. It is the commonest accretion, not evolution. But what do we mean by a real empire? A complete and perfect organization of its whole strength, so that it can be brought to bear upon an assailant, an enemy, an invader. Territorially, we are an empire. Have we an Imperial army composed of as many free units as constitute the empire itself? Have we thought out, begun, or laid down, any plan to provide for common action in a struggle involving our very existence? Have we arranged for an Imperial navy composed of tributary squadrons? Have we perfected a system of self-defending arsenals and coaling stations? Are there no assailable and practically undefended parts of the empire sure to be despoiled, if ever we should be engaged in any serious or prolonged European contest? If we lessen our powers of offensive and defensive warfare, whilst we extend our territories, multiply our obligations, and increase our large debt, we are so much the weaker, not so much the stronger. Let the powers we have be well organised, and let each addition be well accommodated to what already exists, and we shall