

Such words cannot be withdrawn by subsequent expressions, and stand as the clearest possible presentation of the case for closer union with Great Britain at the present time.

Is Imperial Federation possible? Such a question is frequently asked, and the answer must always be that whatever the people of this country and the Empire desire in the direction of political relations must be attainable. To say that the British people, who founded and developed so vast a power, will shrink from the comparatively easy step of consolidating it, is to imply that as a people they are inferior in energy, pluck and determination to the men who created a united Germany; who built up an Italian kingdom, or fought the greatest war of the century for the preservation of American unity. Canadians who have remembered the many obstacles which stood in the way of Dominion unity, will not hesitate to face the difficulties which may lie in the pathway of Imperial consolidation.

The question, as it affects Canada, naturally divides itself into three parts—defensive, commercial and political—prefaced by the admitted proposition that each step in the direction of complete union must be taken as required by circumstances, and that the ultimate aim can only be attained by a gradual development in a definite direction.

To Canadians it must be obvious that the existing system of Imperial defence is not satisfactory. The Behring sea seizures; the long drawn out Atlantic fishery disputes; the danger to our commerce in case of a great war, over the declaration or termination of which we should have no control; even the French shore question of to-day in Newfoundland, all prove that our present position in that respect is not and cannot be a permanent one. The difficulties of the situation are aggravated by the fact that we hardly know where to apportion the blame. We all know that Great Britain does the very utmost that can be done in a diplomatic way to facilitate negotiations and satisfactory arrangements with our troublesome and aggressive neighbour to the south; and we cannot but feel, if we consider the matter for a moment from a British point of view, that to go to war with the United States for any of the causes which have so far arisen; to expend millions of money and the lives of thousands of men, as well as to lose countless millions of dollars more by stoppage of trade, would be an enormous responsibility to assume. And for what? For the sake of a colony where the leaders of one great party are advocating closer union with the States and discrimination against British trade, while at the same time attempting to create dissatisfaction against the Mother Country for not acting with sufficient vigour in defense of our interests.

Again, it must be remembered that we contribute not one cent towards that protection, and have therefore no just claim to disagree with the mode in which Great Britain may exercise her responsibilities. The British taxpayer, with greater burdens in most cases than we have, has to bear the brunt of protecting our great country and extensive commerce. The solution is obvious. Not in separation, which would entail greater burdens upon our people than they could bear, but in a closer union with the Mother Country—a union in which we could demand as a right the full measure of a protection which we can only ask for to-day as a privilege.

The British Empire is emphatically an oceanic power, and with a united group of fleets, supported by a system of joint contribution, would be so strong upon the seas of the world as to control not only the commercial highways of the nations, but prevent war by the pure impossibility of successful attack by foreign countries upon what would then form an invulnerable chain of naval powers.

The only sources of possible attack would be upon the Indian and American frontiers. I am thoroughly convinced that, were such a federation formed, and the union of Canada with the Empire settled upon a stable basis, American aggression, alternate coercion and conciliation, would cease, and war be rendered impossible.

Moreover, the American people would respect us much more than they do to-day, when they regard Canadians as merely hanging on to the apron

strings of a European power, afraid to let go, and equally afraid to stand up and assume an attitude of friendly and equal partnership. As Mr. Chamberlain so well said in Toronto, when referring to Britain's obligations and the burdens of Empire:

"Relief must be found in drawing together the great component parts of the Empire, and not by casting away the outposts or cutting off the bulwarks. * * * * It may well be said that the confederation of Canada may be the lamp to light the way to a confederation of the British Empire."

To a Canadian no question presents itself with so much personal interest as that of extension of trade relations, and the spectacle of an empire which controls nearly one-half of the commerce of the world must bring before a thinking mind the possibility and immense advantage of developing the connection between its different states in such a way as to encourage a greater interchange of products and assimilation of interests.

Great Britain has everything that we require in manufactures, machinery, money and men to people our vast extent of undeveloped territory, while Canada can provide unlimited quantities of coal, wheat, cattle, timber, cheese, butter, furs, hides and many other products. To show the great possibilities which exist in regard to our trade with Great Britain, I give below a table compiled a few years ago by Mr. Arch. McGoun, of Montreal, the figures being for 1885:

Product.	United Kingdom import from Canada.	Total U. K. import.
Horned cattle.	\$ 5,752,000	\$ 46,660,000
Butter.	1,212,000	58,860,000
Cheese.	8,176,000	24,450,000
Furs.	1,426,000	5,020,000
Grain.	4,719,000	338,105,000
Produce of the Forest.	8,757,000	80,120,000
Produce of the Fisheries.	1,326,000	11,506,000
	\$31,368,000	\$564,721,000

Thus we find that the Mother Country actually imports \$530,000,000 worth of products from other countries which we can produce to the greatest advantage. Is there any necessity to adduce further proof of the benefits which would accrue to Canada if such an enormous market could be encouraged to take our produce, and as a consequence increase our output and develop the natural resources? Such a policy is voiced in the suggestion that a small duty should be levied upon foreign imports into all the different sections of the Empire, over and above any ordinary tariff which may be in existence—such a duty to vary as required by circumstances, but to be in all cases a preferential one as regards our fellow-subjects. If the proceeds of this Imperial tariff were to be devoted to the maintenance of the naval force of the Empire, a sum would be raised large enough for all the purposes of protection and power without perceptibly adding to the burdens of the people.

Such a system could work nothing but good for Canada, and if once the policy were placed clearly before the people, its benefits would be so obvious as to sweep the country from end to end. An impetus would be given to the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats and all the various grains which Great Britain so largely demands; an enormous increase in the number of cattle, hogs, etc., which are now raised in quantities small in comparison to those produced by the United States; American farmers would flock over to our North-West in order to get the advantage of the discrimination; our mines would be developed, not only by capital which would come from the other side, but by that which investors in England would put into new enterprises of every kind; American manufacturers would start establishments for the same reason, while a constant access of new population from the Mother Country would result from the increased knowledge of our resources and prospects which would naturally ensue.

But, it is said that England will never consent to put such a duty upon foreign imports. This will have to be dealt with later; but let me say here that large bodies of earnest, intelligent and influential men are pushing the question nearer to the front every day, and that the time is not far off when the Imperial Parliament will have to consider

the matter and meet the difficulties fairly and squarely. Canada's duty appears to be plain. Let its Parliament pass a strong resolution, offering to discriminate in favour of British goods in return for a similar preference given to our farm and forest products. Let the new Australasian dominion pass a similar resolution when its parliament is created, and the legislatures of South Africa take the same course, and a mighty lever will be given to the advocates of the proposal in England, sufficient, perhaps, to turn the scale in its favour.

Leaving the commercial question for the present, we have to glance at the political issues involved in such a policy. Mr. Mercier voices the sentiments of perhaps a small number of his nationality who neither know nor care what the meaning of the words "Imperial unity," may be, but there are others in all the provinces who, while less extravagant in their statements, are, nevertheless, almost as far astray from the real issue. To bring about the solution of the question nothing can be done by force or fraud; everything will depend upon consultation between representatives from the various parts of the Empire, which are constitutionally governed; all proposals will have to be submitted to the different parliaments for sanction, and thence to the people for approval, and the strong probability is that the means to this end will be found in the holding of Imperial conferences every few years at the heart of the Empire. Such a deliberative and consultative body, meeting as may be required, must develop in the course of time into a permanent council of the realm. When this occurs Imperial Federation will be an accomplished fact, without undue friction, without detracting from the liberties or local rights of the colonies, and without unduly interfering with the sovereignty of Britain.

While this policy, as a whole, should commend itself to every thinking Briton, I cannot but believe that it will also in Canada ultimately obtain the approval of the great majority of our French fellow-citizens. Loyal to the same flag and country; the same political principles and liberty; receiving similar benefits from its adoption, the French-Canadian who has from time to time fought side by side with his English-speaking comrades, cannot but feel that the heroic deeds and famous events of early Canadian history belong to both equally, and that as they have fought together in the past, struggled together with the difficulties of settlement and the upbuilding of a united nation, so in the future they will join hands in pursuing this great policy to its highest ultimate development, making this Dominion of ours the peer of great nations, as well as a powerful factor for peace and prosperity in the grandest and freest empire in the world.

"Then let us be firm and united;
One country, one flag for us all.
United, our strength will be freedom;
Divided, we each of us fall."

TORONTO. J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

THE ISLES OF SHOALS, OFF PORTSMOUTH, N.H.

MISS UNDERHILL'S CHAIR.

Grey, sterile rocks that cleave the ocean's mist,
Free o'er your hammocks sweeps the brine-fraught wind
And swirls in airy eddies that would find
Th' historic seat of stone that one day missed
And lost for aye its occupant, while hissed
And coiled the snaky waves, and cruel twined
Their folds about a woman's form, that shined
That day in Paradise—whose pale lips kissed
The Throne where all is Rest and stilled the breath
Of tempest wind; and where the dashing wave
Leaps not nor rears its crested head of death—
But where the pure and pearly ripples lave
Th' enchanted shore we reach but thro' the grave,
When dies the clash of arms and sinks the breath!

K. C. TAPLEY (Casey Tap.)

Enjoy the blessings of this day, if God sends them, and the evils of it bear patiently and sweetly; for this day is only ours. We are dead to yesterday, and we are not yet born to the morrow.

Mars to his brother shuts his heart,
And science acts a miser's part,
But Nature with a liberal hand
Flings wide her stores o'er sea and land,