

THE DOMINION AND THE EMPIRE.

the conclusion of our first article, we propose now to lay before our readers, in some detail, Mr. Todd's views, as contained in his recent work on *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies*, of the actual position of the Sovereign in connection with parliamentary institutions in the mother country, and of the corresponding position and functions of a constitutional Governor in self-governing communities within the limits of the British Empire. The method we propose adopting in doing this may not be very ambitious, but is, as it appears to us, best calculated to be of service to our readers. We propose by collating passages from various portions of the book, to set forth in a more or less connected form, the leading points of Mr. Todd's constitutional doctrine.

At p. 430 occurs a passage which might be taken as the text on which all that large portion of the work which deals with the subject now under review, might be made to hang.

"The British Government is a limited monarchy, wherein the Sovereign has certain constitutional rights and a defined position.

"In the substantial reproduction in a British colony of the Imperial polity, the Governor must be regarded not merely as the representative of the Crown in matters of Imperial obligation, but as the embodiment of the monarchical element in the colonial system, and the source of all executive authority therein.

"Our colonial institutions, derived from and identical in principle with those of the mother country, are essentially monarchical, and whatsoever duties or rights appertain to the Crown in the one are equally appropriate and obligatory in the other. In the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain, there is no opportunity or justification for the exercise of personal government by prerogative. The Crown must always act through advisers, approved of Parliament, and their policy must always be in harmony with the sentiments of the majority in the popular chamber. With this important limitation, however, the British monarch occupies a position of authority and influence, and is a weighty factor in the direction of public affairs; exercising his high trust

for the welfare of the people, and as the guardian of their political liberties."

Nor, as Mr. Todd points out (p. 28), does the importance of a correct appreciation of the true constitutional position of the Sovereign, or his representative, depend upon the greater or less control exercised by the Imperial Government over the colonies, or indeed upon the continuance of British connection at all.

"The gradual relaxation, by the mother country, of the tie of political dependence on the central authority of the empire, in respect of any British colony, or even the actual sundering of connection between them, does not necessarily involve the overthrow or abandonment of the system of Parliamentary Government which after the model of the parent state, has been established therein. That system might be suitably retained, on account of its obvious advantages, long after the control of the mother country has been relaxed, or even withdrawn. . . . Even in the supposable case of the amicable separation of a colony from the parent state, the superior advantages of possessing institutions based upon the stable foundation of a limited monarchy, and similar in principle to those of England, would naturally induce the young community to retain, with as little alteration as possible, the most prominent features of a polity that has, for so many generations, preserved freedom without lawlessness to the British race."

We are reminded (p. 592) that:—

"In conferring 'responsible government' upon her colonies, it was the design of Great Britain to convey to them, as far as possible, a counterpart of her own institutions. By this system, it was intended that the vital elements of stability, impartiality, and an enlightened supervision over all public affairs should be secured as in the mother country, by the well-ordered supremacy of a constitutional Governor, responsible only to the Crown; whilst the freedom and intelligence of the people should be duly represented in the powers entrusted to an administration co-operating with the Crown in all acts of government, but likewise responsible to Parliament for the exercise of their authority."

And so, although the Governor of a colony is not a Viceroy, and unlimited sovereign authority is not delegated to him, yet (p. 33):—