

to listen without murmur or remonstrance, to this monstrous declaration. The Emperor has of late been credited with various sayings and doings which, if the reports are true, would go far to indicate that the possession of authority so vast as really belongs to him by virtue of his hereditary position is proving too much for his mental balance. Some of these reports have been denied, but if all were really reliable, the most extraordinary of the things alleged in them is insignificant beside the words above quoted, which we seem compelled to believe were actually spoken, inconceivable though they are. If the words were really uttered as a warning to the Socialists, they were singularly ill chosen, for unless German human nature differs very materially from human nature elsewhere it is difficult to imagine anything better adapted to give an impetus to the socialistic movement than such an outrageous assumption of arbitrary power.

"WAR inevitable!" was the startling heading of the Washington despatch that first caught the eye of the reader on taking up the morning paper at the beginning of the current week. It was a decided relief to those who wish to retain their faith in human nature and in the reality of the boasted progress of the age, to find the statements thus introduced with all the emphasis of the largest capitals distinctly and authoritatively contradicted in sober small type before reaching the foot of the column. In the same paragraph it was reassuring to learn, on the authority of the American Secretary, that all the sensational reports which have been in circulation for weeks past concerning the chartering of vessels to be converted into war-ships and transports, and concerning the ordering of vessels of war to Chilian waters, are utterly without foundation. To say nothing of the heinousness of such a mode of settling international difficulties under any circumstances, there would be something peculiarly indefensible in the act of a great power like the United States in playing the part of the big bully towards a little sister Republic like Chili, or threatening her in any way, save under intolerable provocation. It is therefore peculiarly gratifying to be assured on the best authority that "not a single step of any description is being taken by the United States looking toward a conflict with the Chilian Government." This being so, there is the more reason to believe that the brave little Republic of the South will make all proper amends for the outrage committed upon American sailors, not under compulsion and menace, but from her own sense of justice and after due investigation.

#### CANADA'S INTERESTS WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER has contributed to the current literature of the day, through the columns of the *Nineteenth Century*, an able article upon the political federation of the Empire from a colonial standpoint. It is a subject that of late years has occupied the thoughts of many not only in the heart of the British Empire, but in the broad domains that contribute to the circulation which keeps the heart and brain healthy and strong, and as it is only by an interchange of thought that a definite result can be attained, no apology on the part of the writer is needed for stepping into the arena of public discussion upon this important question.

No one is more capable of expressing an intelligent opinion from a Canadian standpoint upon the merits of this political problem which is seeking solution than Sir Charles Tupper by virtue of his political experience, and from the fact that he assisted to lay the foundations of the Canadian nationality, which stirs the patriotism of its people; and that which may fairly be termed the dying appeal of his fellow-worker, Sir John Macdonald, will long find an echo resounding from the rock-bound coast of Nova Scotia westward, till it is re-echoed back from British Columbia by the people of Canada. There is an old proverb, "the more haste the less speed," and this proverb is peculiarly applicable to the question Sir Charles Tupper discusses.

It may be assumed that from a Canadian standpoint his would be considered a dastard hand who would wilfully strike a blow at the foundations of the magnificent organization of which the British Empire is the structure founded upon the truest principles of liberty, of peace, and good will. Canada has grown to be a most efficient member of that great power which overshadows the world, not with arrogance or pride, but with the instincts of a work to be performed in the history of the world begotten of the Christian civilization which has been its motive power.

One noticeable feature in the principles of the Imperial organization and the breadth to which its influences extend among our English-speaking neighbours is the attempt of the Irish party in the United States to govern

the policy of the Imperial Parliament, and it may be anticipated that one of the corollaries of the problem of Imperial Federation is whether its future is to receive the impress of the republican institutions of our neighbours, or whether the principles of the British constitution shall be restored to the great and powerful nationality from which it originally received its inspiration. It naturally suggests itself that if the Irish offshoots of Imperial power in the heart of the American republic attempt to govern Imperial policy, why should not the principles of the British constitution impress themselves on our neighbours? A comparison of the liberty attainable under the respective constitutions is certainly worthy of separate discussion. This feature, however, which only presents itself *en passant* does not come into the discussion of the practical question before us and which the uncertainties of the future alone will unravel. To realize the principles that must govern our actions in attempting to promote or solidify the Imperial organization let us glance at the growth of Canada since her birth, and during her period of adolescence the growth of the Empire. The foundations of the Canada of to-day were laid by a handful of French Canadians, augmented by a handful of British Canadians, a century and a-half ago. These offshoots of different parent stems have gone hand in hand in rescuing from the dense forests of the past one of the fairest lands upon which the sun shines in our world to-day, and step by step the population as it grew has developed with the aid and counsel of British statesmen a political organization which moves five million people stretched for 4,000 miles between the Atlantic and the Pacific on the northern half of this continent under one patriotic impulse the maintenance of Canadian nationality and the good government of the immense territory intrusted to their care, and the fact, with an annual revenue ranging from ten million dollars twenty five years ago to forty million dollars the revenue of to-day, that the present results of our national development have been achieved, shows that great industry, perseverance and economy has underlain the governing power, and Canadians can take a just pride in their heritage, and the ability that has completed their national structure with the knowledge that the protection afforded by the power of Great Britain has ensured to them a free hand in working out their destinies.

During the period that has elapsed since Canada was christened, the people of Great Britain have kept pace with the progress of events, they laid the foundations of the great American civilization to the south of us, they have planted a sister population on the continent of Australia on the same lines that the growth of Canada has been fostered. South Africa has been brought under the influences of the British constitution, giving to the Dutch who form such a large portion of the population there the same beneficent principles of liberty that has been accorded to the French-Canadian population of Canada. Canada, Australia and South Africa are self-governing dominions, allied with a large number of smaller communities scattered throughout the world, who receive their inspiration of government more or less directly through the Imperial Parliament. In addition to these offshoots of the Imperial organization the people of Great Britain have planted in India the germs of our western civilization, giving to that dense mass of the world's population rapid means of inter-communication and cheap transit to the world's marts for their surplus products, and a similar effort is now being put forth in the heart of Africa. It will thus be seen that while Canada has been developing with giant strides the vast resources committed to her care, the Imperial Government has been casting its aegis of protection over the vast commerce that has been the outcome of two centuries of activity, and responsibilities have arisen in which Canada has a direct interest in common with all those who owe allegiance to the crown, not in proportion to the small population which at present administer her affairs, but in proportion to the importance of the territory they occupy. If Canadians, in looking into the future attempt to guard the channels of commerce and the industrial occupations incident to their country, create embarrassment to the Imperial Government, the remedy lies in one of Sir Charles Tupper's propositions to lay the foundations of the representation of Canada in Imperial councils, which *per contra* entails the collateral responsibility of drawing similar inspiration from the other self-governing dominions, the effect, however, would be to assist in bringing the policy of the self-governing dominions into line with the policy of the Imperial Government and avoid embarrassment.

In matters of defence Sir Charles Tupper has stated Canada's position with accuracy; no contribution she could spare from her revenue of to-day would be of importance in comparison to the measures already adopted to meet the growing requirements of the Imperial forces of which rapid means of communication form such an important feature. One little incident familiar to Lord Wolseley in his passage over the Sault Ste. Marie portage in 1870, when the use of the canal was forbidden, brings into forcible light the value of the channels of communication being established by Canada as Imperial highways, though since our neighbours have given us one of their ablest men to assist us in perfecting our means of communication recalling the incident may appear discourteous. The North-West passage, for the discovery of which so many lives have been sacrificed, has been established by the C.P.R., and may be made still shorter by the opening of the navigation of the Hudson Bay which will in time become an accomplished fact, when the hardy norseman will be reproduced in

Canada by their experience in ploughing the waves of this northern sea.

When Sir Charles Tupper touches upon the trade question and proposes that a preference shall be given to the Canadian agriculturist in British markets by introducing the thin edge of the principles of protection to Imperial commerce, he treads upon debatable ground. The policy of free trade is ingrained in the commercial principles of the people of the United Kingdom, and the inauguration of a protective policy would be the commencement of an industrial war on the part of the people of Great Britain. They evidently will not hastily adopt, and only in extreme self-defence are they likely to resort to, a change of base. In Canada the people appreciate the soundness of those principles, and in the United States a very large section of the people are engaged in examining them and advocating them more forcibly year by year, and the extension of free commercial intercourse among all the English-speaking people is frequently spoken of as tending to draw them more closely together in the bonds of peace, which will in turn help to establish more firmly the peace of the world. It is doubtful if Canada would, in the long run, benefit by disturbing the commercial principles that at present enable a large industrial population to give us good prices for all we can send them in the shape of food supplies, and the fact that the prices they are able to give us under their free trade policy are much higher than the people of the United States can give us under their high protective policy must tend to shake the faith of many in the maintenance of the latter principle. The plea we have always urged in defending the protective features of our national policy was that we were differently situated from the people of Great Britain. Our neighbours had erected a high Chinese wall against us; we had a country to develop, and a surplus of food products to dispose of. The opposite conditions in Great Britain would weaken our advocacy of applying the protective policy to Imperial commerce, of which the British Isles is the centre, and the pressure for a change of policy must be felt by the five and thirty millions of British tax-payers before they will consent to a tax on their food products as the price they would be called upon to pay for the development of Imperial resources. Of late our neighbours have made the Chinese wall higher, and more effectually barred the way for the extension of our commerce with them, and now the thoughts of many in Canada are turning to the method of defending their commercial welfare by applying the principles of free trade to our commerce to enable us more successfully to compete in the markets of the world. The fact that both the present political parties adopt the policy of reciprocity with the highly protected markets of the United States, differing only in degree, shows that a change of policy in some direction is felt to be necessary, and also shows that the commercial features of our National Policy are not, like "the laws of the Medes and Persians," which admit of no change, but that they appeal to the ability of Canadians to make a change of front in their fiscal policy for the coming decade, if necessary to their prosperity, as rapidly as they did in regulating their commercial life for the past decade, and in the transition stage a broad distinction must be drawn between the commercial policy of Great Britain and the United States. The growth of the British Empire will be watched with interest by foreign nations, and the growth of Canada as a member of the Imperial organization is also attracting notice, but its development must depend upon our own wisdom whatever the future may have in store in the strengthening of Imperial bonds.

The wheat fields and the rich pastures of our Canadian prairies are the nearest unoccupied tracts of virgin soil from which the English people can draw their future supply of food not overburdened with a dense population, to consume it as in Russia or India, but ready for the agricultural labourer to develop and to transport through the various outlets the inland navigation of Canada facilitates to Imperial markets, and is it not wiser to embrace the price by cheapening the cost of production through a liberal trade policy rather than by increasing the cost through a reciprocity of tariffs, either with the existing protective policy of the United States, or inaugurating a new war of tariffs, which Sir Charles Tupper proposes, would precipitate? The people of England can only buy if they sell in return, and any development of our food resources must be met by a corresponding desire on our part to purchase from our customers, and a drop in our revenue in favour of their free trade policy would, in all probability, be more effective than discrimination under a higher tariff. Would it, therefore, not be wiser for Canadians to endeavour to win concessions in British markets (if concessions are essential to our prosperity) by the unselfish policy of making a reduction in our tariff to cultivate British trade, rather than by asking a price for these concessions, which is manifestly a high one for the British consumer to pay, or, in other words, approach the subject upon a broad question of principle, rather than attempt to negotiate for a special advantage?

This would seem to indicate a sacrifice of the manufacturing power we have created under our National Policy, but now that we have shown our ability to manufacture under adverse circumstances, and now that we have emerged from a period of nursing strong and healthy, it would seem that the true policy for Canada to pursue is to aim for the trade of the world, and compete with our neighbours in the open markets, not by continuing to pay a high price for the milk after the child is weaned, but by giving it a different kind of food. Nothing would attract