

Mr. Parkin's Lecture.

The address of Mr. G. R. Parkin of Imperial Federation fame in the Winnipeg board of trade rooms on Monday evening, November 21st., was attended by the leading citizens of Winnipeg. The speaker treated the subject with much clearness and force, and his remarks made a marked impression on the audience. In introducing his subject he said some very nice things about Western Canada; based on the information which he had gathered during his trip through the country and at other times. Following is an outline of his address:

It has given me great pleasure to accept the kind invitation of your board to address its members to-night. After speaking on this subject, Imperial Federation, before chambers of commerce and public bodies of many kinds in Great Britain, in the Australian Colonies, and in many parts of Canada, I can say with perfect sincerity, that I feel a peculiar interest in being able to address the Winnipeg Board of Trade. There are many reasons for this special interest on my part. If ever anything was clear, it is that the Northwest of Canada is likely to play a large part in national affairs. For the last few weeks I have been trying my best to get a clear idea of the present development of the Northwest, and to form a fair judgment about the possibilities of its future. I have tried to weigh the advantages and disadvantages connected with settlement in this country, and to form an opinion about its capacity for food production, and in other respects. All that I have seen convinces me that though the progress which has been made in the last ten years has not been so rapid as some enthusiasts hoped for, when the gates of the Northwest were opened to us, it has yet been very great, and the future before the country is immense. These vast prairies have already proved their capacity to produce a large surplus of wheat, and we all know that only the merest rim of their enormous areas has yet been touched. I have seen everywhere, where new and prosperous towns are springing up along every fresh line of railway—that even in a year not remarkable for the abundance of the crop, every elevator in these towns, and most towns have several, is crammed with wheat—that the railways have difficulty in carrying it away fast enough—that the great railway which connects you with the east is preparing as a consequence of this, to double its track to meet the increasing needs of transportation. The majority of the people of every class with whom I have met and talked, and especially those who depend on their daily toil for their living, speak in a contented way of their present condition and with hope of the future. I have observed a new stream of immigration beginning to set in towards your unoccupied lands from an unexpected quarter, composed of settlers of a most desirable kind because many are Canadians now repatriating themselves and because all bring with them the important qualification of skill in the arts of pioneering in a new country. Their work will make it easier for those who are beginning to come in increasing numbers from the old world. Putting together all that I have seen with my own eyes or learned on reliable authority, I am satisfied that the next few years will see an amazing change in the population and production of the Northwest. We want this to take place. For the consolidation of the Dominion, with its wonderful maritime position on the Atlantic, where the continent stretches out furthest to Europe, and its equally wonderful maritime position on the Pacific, where the continent stretches out furthest towards Asia, we require that the great central areas should be filled up with an industrial population. Once more, the geographical position which this Northwest country with its vast agricultural areas holds is wonderfully impressive. At the

head of the most remarkable system of inland navigation in the world, with lakes, rivers and canals stretching more than 2,500 miles to the sea, the trend of those waterways seems to suggest that the natural function of this land is to feed the millions of the old country. It is because of this increasing weight and significance of the Northwest in the affairs of the Dominion and of the Empire, and because I can see that Manitoba is

THE GATEWAY TO THE NORTHWEST

the keystone province of the Dominion, and that Winnipeg is the chief centre of public opinion in this new country that I feel so deep an interest in discussing what I believe to be a fundamental national question before you, a question which involves issues which must be faced before long by British people everywhere. Let me draw from the instance of your own growth an illustration of what we mean by Imperial federation and what we aim at in working for it. As your country increases in population you expect to exercise in the fullest way the privileges of self-government. Manitoba insists that it shall control local affairs by a council which will grow into a local legislature. But you do not think merely of local affairs. You demand and the Territories demand

PROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION.

in the parliament of the Dominion. Why? Because that parliament in a large sphere deals with matters which immediately concern your interests. You would not have self-government if you controlled only your local affairs. You can only have it when you have a share in all the higher functions of legislation. This brings us at once to the great anomaly of the national position of the British people, an anomaly so great that it is only a question of time when, if not remedied, it will lead to the break up of the empire. Canada to-day, with a population of 5,000,000, twice as many as the United States had when they became independent, more than many European states now have—a population accustomed to political freedom, has no direct representation in the parliament or cabinet of the nation to which it belongs. Four millions of Australians are in the same position. Twelve or thirteen million of British speaking people outside of the United Kingdom are in the same anomalous political relation. But the present is not the strongest consideration. Within a generation on the ordinary lines of growth, British people abroad will equal or outnumber those at home. It is absolutely impossible to believe that a political system which does not recognize this amazing fact is one which we can expect to be permanent. I can illustrate what I mean by an illustration taken from the neighboring republic. One hundred years ago that great community broke off from the empire. Let us suppose for a moment that the United States had remained in the same friendly relation to Great Britain that Canada, Australia and other self-governing colonies do at the present day, and had increased until they had a population of 70,000,000 of people, is it possible to believe that 70,000,000 of the people would have allowed their great international affairs to be controlled by 40,000,000 at home without asserting their right to a representative voice? We know that it could not be. On the other hand, no one will believe, to use the same illustration, that the 40,000,000 of people of Great Britain would have been willing to pay the whole consular, diplomatic, naval and military expense of the 70,000,000 in America, when the latter were a people who had sometimes \$100,000,000 or \$200,000,000 surplus revenue which they scarcely knew how to get rid of. The British Empire is face to face with a like problem now. Even to-day the revenues of the great colonies combined are greater than the revenues of the mother land; and yet it is the mother land which bears in an extraordinary proportion the weight of the national expense. For naval defence, Britain pays the whole of the \$75,000,000 invested in naval armament. Of the \$14,000,000 voted every

year for naval defence, England pays 19s 5½d on the pound; India about 5½d; Australia, at a small fraction of a ½d; Canada's share can scarcely be represented by any fraction of a farthing. Yet the navy so maintained defends \$460,000,000 of the colonial commerce, quite as much as it defends the \$760,000,000 of commerce of the United Kingdom. From either point of view then a change in the political system must come. Federationists maintain that there is an argument practically unanswerable which goes to show that, whether looked at from the British point of view or the colonial point of view, it is

ENORMOUSLY FOR THE ADVANTAGE

of every part of the empire that we should hold together. This argument is not based merely on sentiment. I do not intend to talk sentiment to night, yet it must not be forgotten that sentiment to-day, as in the past, plays an enormous part in the history of nations. It is sentiment about Alsace and Lorraine which to-day keeps the two greatest nations of Europe ready to strike at each other's throats. German sentiment went far to consolidate the German empire. Polish sentiment has kept the Russian empire on a strain of anxiety for the last fifty years. The American nation has been built up on national sentiment. But, in speaking to a board of trade one wishes to confine himself to facts. In discussing the question at various corners of the empire, I have found what seemed to me the strongest arguments to maintain this position. To make a broad distinction, Britain has made herself the manufacturing cent of the world. Her people abroad in the great colonies have become the great producers of food and raw material, wheat in Canada, wool in Australia, and other products of many kinds in different lands. Between the mother land and the colonies as a consequence there is a vast flow of commercial intercourse.

THE SAFETY OF THE SEAS

is therefore to British people a question of paramount importance. Consider the conditions on which this depends. Within the last fifty years the whole question of commercial intercourse is entirely changed by the introduction of steam. The carrying distance of a ship of commerce and fighting distance of a ship of war is limited by its coal endurance. The \$1,200,000,000 of British commerce is scattered over a world 25,000,000, around. When the highest authorities say that the striking distance of a ship of war is 2,000 miles, this means that unless the empire has coaling stations and fortified posts at short intervals it is impossible to adequately defend our commerce. These the empire, as it is at present, now has. These it can keep if we remain a united people; but, if the colonies become separate, under the laws of neutrality the British ship has no right in time of war to enter these ports for repairs, refreshment or coal supply. Take Canada as an illustration. Her great coaling stations on the east coast gave the command of the North Atlantic; those on the west coast, the North Pacific. Should Canada join the United States, or become an independent power, British ships in time of war could not go into any Canadian port for a ton of coal. You see that this would entirely change the conditions on which Britain now keeps the pathways of the sea open. The same argument applies to Australian ports, or to New Zealand ports; but the wonderful monopoly of coal deposits which the empire possesses would give her, if remaining united, an astonishing command of the sea. In Nova Scotia on the Atlantic side and in Vancouver on the Pacific side are great deposits of coal; there are others in Australia, New Zealand, Borneo, India, and South Africa. Along the great trade routes are naval stations which supplement this position. Remaining united, merely by passive resistance, through this command of coaling stations the British Empire could paralyze the navies of the world. This is the greatest guarantee of the world's peace; it is the last guarantee of safety for British commerce in times of war. Once more Britain