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NOTICE TO READERS.

THE ANGLO-SAXON goes regularly to Sons of England lodges and branches of the St. George's Society in all parts of Manitoba, the British Northwest Territories of Canada, British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island; to branch societies of the Sons of St. George in all parts of the United States, to Clubs, Reading Rooms, Emigration Societies and similar institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, and to British citizens generally throughout Canada, the States, Great Britain and the Empire.

"SIT DOWN, FATHER!"

It is now about thirteen months since the Colonial Conference of 1884, held at sittings in Ottawa. At that time the impression was prevalent that the late Liberal Government was well disposed towards it, and indeed, by sending a special representative in the person of the Earl of Jersey, it had contributed very materially to the importance of the meeting. Lord Rosebery himself had expressed by cablegram to the President of the Conference his sympathy and interest in its proceedings, which he said "should be of such happy augury for the future of the Empire." But it seems that his Lordship reckoned without his host, and that a premier is of no consequence compared with a secretary of state for the colonies. No better proofs could be furnished of Lord Rosebery's lack of influence with his colleagues than the despatches which Lord Ripon was allowed to send to the Colonial Governors, stating the English Government's views regarding the resolutions adopted by the Ottawa Conference.

These despatches seem to have been very decidedly influenced by the peculiar views regarding trade and finance which prevail among Liberal politicians and Colonial Office officials. They are full of free trade fallacies, and betray a fear of offending foreign governments and losing foreign trade which is as pusillanimous as it is unfounded. Preferential duties in Great Britain or in any of her colonies in favor of each other are disapproved, and the abrogation of the Commercial Treaties with Germany and Belgium is pronounced to be disadvantageous to the Empire generally. The proposals made by the Conference are discussed and the opinion expressed that they would fail to secure the object aimed at, namely, the stability and progress of the Empire. In short the Conference is snubbed and Colonial aspirations are repressed in the manner usually employed by Liberal administrations in the old country. It may be said that as far as regards their intercourse with the Colonies the Liberals in England are like the Bourbons; they have forgotten nothing and learned nothing. In their utterances their traditional hostility to colonial interests is still perceptible; in them nothing can be found to indicate that they are aware of the marvellous growth of the colonies during the last fifty years. Their position reminds us of an incident in real life in a Scotch city which came to our knowledge not long ago.

The narrator was the engineer on board a steamer of one of the many mail lines which connect England with the outer world. He was of most respectable parentage, although during his last visit home he became aware that his father occasionally took a glass too much. This failing the mother had long succeeded in concealing from the children, but at last it did not escape the knowledge of the grown-up son. One evening the father came home in a worse condition than ever before, and in his drunken folly raised his hand against his wife. The son entered the room and interposed; upon which the father attempted to chastise him as he had often done before. But the son gently forced him into a seat saying, "Na, na, father; that'll no dae noo. Sit down, father, for ye hae raised a better man than yersel." Now, from this relation we do not wish to hint

that Canada is any better morally than the old country, although it is said that there they consume three times as much alcohol as in the Dominion. But we do wish to convey the idea that, in many respects the Liberal old man at home is behind the age; that he is blind to the vastness and importance of England's colonial possessions, and that he is even a little heartless as regards the condition of the working classes, and the state of agriculture in the old country. We are also disposed to maintain that we can see more clearly than he the cause of his trouble, having our own experience as well as his to guide us, and that the suggestions of our Ottawa Conference deserved a more sympathetic consideration than they have received at his hands. For these reasons we are disposed to say to the old man, "Sit down, father!" and rejoice most heartily that Lord Ripon and his colleagues have been forced to "take a back seat."

It is when we are treated to a piece of superciliousness on the part of the Colonial office, like that above referred to, that we begin to realize what the condition of colonists must have been a hundred years ago, and how unceremoniously their representations must have been treated. Bitter must have been the resentment occasionally created, and we cease to wonder at the revolt of the thirteen colonies. Even a Liberal government ought to know that times are changed now, and that some attempt ought to be made to comply with colonial wishes, or at least take into consideration in an accommodating and conciliatory spirit, the conclusions of such a body as the Ottawa Conference.

We are inclined to believe that the Governments who took part in that meeting are not likely to allow its work to be laid aside as useless, and we are certain that the Dominion Cabinet will leave no stone unturned to bring about preferential trade within the Empire. The Government is pledged to this policy and fortunately for its success a change of government has been brought about in England of the most promising description. Mr. Chamberlain has replaced the Marquis of Ripon as Colonial Secretary, and makes the statement that he has accepted the position for the purpose of bringing the autonomous colonies closer to the Mother Country, and for developing the resources of the Crown possessions. We most heartily wish him success in his efforts, and hope that his first official act will be to revise or retract the Ripon despatches.

THE "CITIZEN'S" PLAN.

We notice with much pleasure that our esteemed contemporary the *Ottawa Citizen* is discussing with much earnestness the trade relations of Great Britain and her Colonies. In a recent article on "The Colonies and the Empire," the *Citizen* supports the principle of trade preferences within the Empire, approves of the Conference resolutions and evidently hopes for the establishment of a British Commercial Union. We have long advocated the ideas now put forward by our contemporary, and we now welcome it into the ranks of those journals which are working for Imperial consolidation. At the same time we must caution the *Citizen* against allowing its zeal to outrun its discretion, against loving "not wisely but too well." The ideas above indicated are now on the point of emerging from a theoretical stage and are gradually assuming a practical shape. It is of the greatest importance that the practical suggestions made by the *Citizen* or any other paper or person favorable to the advancement of Imperial interests, should be well thought out, and be really such as will bear close and candid examination. We scarcely think that this is the case with the *Citizen's* plan, which we give in the following quotations from the article above mentioned:

"The time may come when Great Britain will view things with different eyes. In the meantime the colonial governments should press assiduously for the liberty to adjust their tariffs as to give them the privilege of bestowing special favours upon other parts of the Empire at their own discretion. If Great Britain is of opinion that her interests would not be served by the means suggested, that is no reason why the Colonies should not use their tariffs to strengthen British trade by giving the mother country an advantage in the colonial markets."

"Let the colonial governments allow British goods to be brought into their borders on payment of lower rates of duty than those imposed upon foreign goods, and a great boon will be conferred upon the trade of England, and a first step towards an Imperial trade union."

We understand this proposal to mean that if Great Britain does not think fit to grant any trade advantages to her Colonies, the latter should nevertheless and without delay discriminate in favor of the mother country. This suggestion has often been made, and indeed is the one which at the outset occurs to those who have imperialistic

leanings and are just beginning to study the subject. Nevertheless it is one which it would be the height of unwisdom to follow. Let us suppose that the government of Canada were to decide to carry it out, and that parliament were to amend the Customs Act and reduce the duties on goods imported from Great Britain, leaving those imported from foreign countries to be charged with the present rates of duty. The consequence would most probably be that the Imperial Government would be forced to disallow such a Customs Act, and for the following reasons: In 1862 England entered into a commercial treaty with Belgium, Article XV of which stipulates that "Articles the produce or manufacture of Belgium shall not be subject in the British Colonies to other or higher duties than those which are or may be imposed upon similar articles of British origin." In 1865 England made a similar treaty with the German Zollverein which contains almost precisely the same stipulation, and this stipulation extends to other countries whose commercial treaties with Great Britain contain a "most-favored nation" clause, and which apply to British Colonies. A list of our treaties with these other countries is given in a return presented to the House of Lords in June 1888 from which it appears that the system extends almost over all the civilized world, the chief exceptions being Spain and the United States. It would thus appear that Great Britain has tied herself up pretty effectually, and is unable to accept any commercial favours from her colonies which are not extended to all the world as well.

But let us suppose further, and in spite of all this, that the Home Government should fail to disallow the amended Customs Act, and that Canada should carry it into operation. The consequences are not difficult to imagine. Each "favoured nation" would present its little bill to John Bull and demand the restitution of the duties levied on their goods in the Colonies in excess of the rates charged on those from the United Kingdom, and John Bull would have to pay unless he took to imitating Uncle Sam, and postponed indefinitely the payment of his just debts.

It will thus be seen that the *Citizen's* plan would not work, and that unless Great Britain decides to abrogate the treaties with Belgium and the Zollverein, she must be left out of consideration in any scheme of British Commercial Union. In such a case the Union would have to be consummated by the members of the outer Empire alone, for as Mr. Balfour declared in 1892 the, "self-governing colonies are free to form commercial leagues among themselves," but Great Britain could only become a party on the consideration that Belgium and the Zollverein received similar treatment."

The Dominion government has already taken a first step in the direction which is most likely to lead to an Imperial Commercial Union. It has sent a commissioner to Australia to improve our commerce with that part of the Empire. Let preferential trade relations be first established with that country, and then with South Africa and the West Indies, either on a freer or free trade basis. Such an objection would not be without its effect in England, and would be certain, sooner or later to elicit a proposal from her to expand this first formed Intercolonial Commercial Union into one embracing the whole Empire.

"WHAT WILL HE DO WITH IT?"

It was in 1892 that Lord Salisbury's government suffered a very decided defeat, many constituencies in the country of the "predominant partner" having turned against him. The majorities in these constituencies were no doubt sick of the "Home Rule" wrangle and glad to get a settlement of it, almost at any price. On the return of the Liberal Government to power the position of the parties was as follows:—

Conservatives.....	239
Liberal-Unionists.....	45
Gladstonians.....	275
Anti-Parnellites.....	72
Parnellites.....	9
	670

The Liberals, therefore, had a majority of 41 and Mr. Gladstone was placed in possession of *corte blanche*, only to find however that he had undertaken a task "passing the wit of man" to accomplish. A second Home Rule bill giving to Ireland a local parliament, almost completely independent of Imperial control, and still retaining Irish representatives in the House of Commons, was thrown out by the House of Lords, who at the same time challenged the Liberals to appeal to the country. This appeal was postponed for two years, during which the government lost several seats and the votes of the Parnellites. At last came defeat, dissolution, and the judgment of the electorate which fully justified the position taken by the Upper House. The following is the present state of parties:—

Conservatives.....	338	411
Liberal-Unionists.....	73	
Liberals.....	177	
Anti-Parnellites.....	70	259
Parnellites.....	12	
	670	152

The Unionist party now possesses the enormous majority of 152 over the Separatists, from which it is evident that 96 constituencies must have been gained to the present government since 1892, after deducting losses.

Lord Salisbury being thus replaced in power and supported by such an overwhelming majority, the greatest curiosity will, no doubt, be manifested as to what he will do with it. From now until the English parliament meets there will be incessant speculation as to the policy of the new government, unless indeed its leaders choose in the meantime to take the country into their confidence. Among the measures generally spoken of as likely to be proposed is a redistribution bill for Ireland, reducing the excessive representation which it at present possesses, and also a local government measure for the same Kingdom.

But from our point of view the question of greatest interest is what Lord Salisbury and his majority will do concerning the political consolidation of the Empire. Of course there is no other way of forming a judgment except by reference of Lord Salisbury's public utterances on the subject which are neither few nor indefinite. As far back as 1885 in his Newport speech he said: "I believe the drawing nearer of the colonies to this country is the policy to which our English patriots must look, who desire to give effect in the councils of the world to the real strength of the English nation." We desire to draw all the advantage that can be drawn from that marvellous cluster of dependencies which our Empire, above any other Empire of ancient or modern time possesses."

Lord Salisbury was never an Imperial Federationist, but it was under his Government that the first Colonial Conference assembled in 1887. In August of the same year the premier expressed himself at Norwich as follows: "If you once allow our Imperial strength to fall . . . then, depend upon it, your Imperial power will vanish like a dream; in every part of the world your weakness will be known; your great dependencies, on which your strength rests, will learn the lesson that is taught them, and you will be left to meditate in fear, in affliction, in destitution, and under the loss of all the commercial and economical advantages by which this country has been distinguished, on the folly of neglecting the truth that commercial greatness depends on Imperial strength."

Lord Salisbury seems thus to have been always fully alive to the importance of Imperial consolidation, but he does not appear to have had very positive ideas as to the measures for accomplishing it, although he might have acquired such from the speeches of his great predecessor Beaconsfield. As for adopting those of the Imperial Federation Leaguers he did not seem to think that they had any. This is proved by his famous expression regarding the "ten letters." It was at the banquet given in his honour on the 14th November, 1888, by the Irish Non-conformist ministers that the guest of the evening made use of following words:—"We are sometimes told that we are preparing a Federation of the Empire. I wonder if any of you has the faintest idea what it means? To my mind it means ten letters which constitute the word 'Federation,' and it means nothing else. I have never seen in any detail the results at which it aims or the measures by which it is proposed to be brought about. I do not condemn it; it may be something absolutely delightful. I only say that I have never seen it." At the time this was said many people characterised it as a sneer at Imperial Federation, but it was in truth only a hit at those political doctors who professed Imperial Federation and offered no prescription for its accomplishment. The same professors of political economy were no doubt equally scandalised when he told them at the Guildhall in 1890:—"Every bit of the world's surface that is not under the English flag is a country which may be, and probably will be, closed to us by a hostile tariff, and therefore it is that we are anxious above all things to conserve, to unify, to strengthen the Empire of the Queen, because it is to the trade that is carried on within the Empire that we look for the vital force

of the commerce of this country."

There is a great deal more to be said regarding Lord Salisbury's attitude to Imperial consolidation before an opinion can be ventured as to what he will do with his great majority in this direction. But this article is already too long, and we hope to return to the subject in a future issue.

THE NEW LEAGUE AND THE OLD.

In our last issue we gave an account of the steps which had preceded the formation of the "latest league" for the advancement of Imperial unity, and in the present number we are able to lay before our readers a copy of its constitution, adopted at a meeting held last May in London.

The programme of the "British Empire League" embraces a great many of the objects and principles which have for a long time formed the ground work of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, and the latter is therefore bound to co-operate with the new league for their advancement. But there is one very important omission to which we desire to call attention. The term "Imperial Federation" is dropped by the B. E. League, and there is no hint its constitution of any desire for the closer political union of the various parts of the Empire. On the other hand the Canadian League has for its object "to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire." There are other principles which the League in Canada has adopted, and measures which it favours and which cause its constitution to differ very materially from that of the British Empire League.

Of course these circumstances need not prevent both Leagues from working harmoniously in the same direction, but they do constitute very serious obstacles to their amalgamation. It would not be possible, and at the same time just to the history and antecedents of the old League to cause it to join the British Empire League and become merely its Canadian appendage.

Nor is there the slightest reason for the adoption of such a course. The Canadian League would be much more influential if it were to preserve its position of entire independence. It could reasonably claim equality in position with the new organization, adopt its own course and make its own recommendations. There is for instance no reason why it should not address Lord Salisbury direct, and not through the medium of another association, if it thought fit to do so for the purpose of advancing the cause of Imperial Unity.

A TIGHT PLACE.

The Dominion Parliament was prorogued on the 22nd July, after a few scenes of unusual interest. The proceedings attracted crowds to the galleries of the House of Commons, who perhaps cared less for the Manitoba school question than for certain ministerial explanations. The letter proved very conclusively that a "crisis" had been hovering round Parliament Hill for some time, and had even invaded the Council chamber. It had driven out one minister and seriously scared other two. At last the demon of discord had been mastered; the Hon. Mr. Ouimet and Sir Adolphe Caron were again seen in their places, and every one seemed to be satisfied except Her Majesty's loyal Opposition, whose eloquent leader moved, in amendment to the motion to go into Committee of Supply, "that this House regrets the failure of the government to deal with the Manitoba school question in a manner demanded by the best interests of the country, and is of opinion that the ministerial declarations in regard to the question are calculated to promote a dangerous agitation among the Canadian people."

The Hon. Mr. Laurier's speech gave no indication of what was "demanded by the best interests of the country," and his amendment appealed to two very distinct classes of the government supporters. Considered practically it seemed to signify that the Opposition regretted very much that the Government had not coerced Manitoba, a step which would have much displeased a large section of the Government members. But read between the lines, it might also be supposed to mean that the Opposition regretted that the Government had decided not to interfere, a step which would have disgusted another large section. In either case the Opposition seemed ready to join either of the discontented factions and defeat the ministry. In this they would only have been adopting the principle laid down by Mr. Tierney as far back as 1819 who said, "It is the business of an Opposition to oppose everything and turn out the government."