

THE TRUE WITNESS

IS PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
The Post Printing & Publishing Co.,
AT THEIR OFFICES:
761 CRAIG ST., Montreal, Canada.

Subscription, per annum, \$1.50
paid strictly in advance—\$1.00

THE POST PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO.,
761 Craig Street, Montreal

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1888.

THE Tories have filed a petition against the return of Mr. Wadsworth to the House of Commons for Halifax.

THE world has had quite enough of poor Frederick's doctors, their quackery and blundering butchery. The ignorance and incapacity of alleged medical scientists were never so glaringly exposed as in this famous case. All men may now see how very little doctors really know of the common diseases of humanity and how to treat them.

THE following are the banks in Canada now suspended or being wound up:—Maritime Bank of St. John, N.B., in liquidation; Pictou Bank, Nova Scotia, winding up business; Bank of London in Canada, suspended payment and realizing assets; Central Bank of Canada, in liquidation; Federal Bank, in liquidation.

THE cables to-day show another shrinkage in the attitude of the London Times. The Forger is evidently preparing to crawl through the small end of the horn. The only specific charges it will make are the paying of money to criminals and helping them to escape. But even these, we can say beforehand, it will be unable to substantiate as the acts of Mr. Parnell or other acknowledged leaders of the Home Rule movement.

By saying the word Sir John Macdonald could put a stop to the railway war in Manitoba which threatens riot and bloodshed. But he will not permit the railway committee of the Privy Council to pass the minute necessary for the settlement of the dispute. He will, therefore, be held responsible for whatever disturbance and loss of life and property may occur. The militia of Winnipeg has been called out to preserve the peace.

OUR English friends seem very anxious that Canada should initiate and subsidize an Atlantic service equal to that of New York, also a line of steamships to Australia. Such an expenditure would certainly give a great impetus to the Canadian transatlantic route. But we must not overlook the fact that it would likewise be in reality the contribution of this country to British trade supremacy and the establishment of the first conditions of Imperial Federation.

At the forthcoming Liberal conference to be held at Hamilton the subject of Imperial Federation is to be discussed. Advocacy of this scheme has not been confined to members of either of the British parties. Lord Roseberry, Mr. Gladstone's warmest friend in the peerage, as we have seen, is a strong upholder of it. The Radicals, however, have not taken to the idea very kindly, so that the action of the conference in regard to it will be watched with considerable interest.

CHAMBERLAIN denies that he refused to drink the Queen's health. It seems he is not one of the kind who refuses a drink when he can get it. If he would drink himself to death drinking Her Majesty's health, it would be the best service he could do her. More appropriate still, he might pour his libations to Janus in the ancient fashion. The two-faced Pataclus and Cuiusvis Opener and Shutter—is the potentate he should honor in his cups as he does in other things.

Rev. Dr. Charles O'Reilly, treasurer of the Parnell defence fund in America, is reported in a despatch from Detroit as saying the fund is progressing finely and will probably suffice for its purpose. "Up to the present time," said he, "I have received several thousand dollars from different sources. The movement is scarcely begun, and there are numbers of contributions not here yet. The Canadians are outdoing the Americans in this matter." The Doctor thinks that the expense to which Mr. Parnell will be subjected will be \$200,000 at the lowest estimate.

THE old saying that comparisons are odious, or odorous, as Dogberry put it, has again been illustrated by the London Uni-

verse, which remarks that to date Balfour beats the record of the Whitechapel vampire by one. A few years ago the secretary for Ireland wrote and published a book in defence of Athelstan, but he appears to have wandered back to the Evangelical fold, for he spoke at the Church Congress lately surrounded by English Church dignitaries. He spoke touchingly, we are told, of the sense of wrongs unredressed, and the crookedness and injustices of the world. This prompts the Universe to ask:—"Are there two Balfours on the Mr. Hydo and Dr. Jekyll plan? This should be looked into by the physiologists."

SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S "emphatic statement" about Canada's determination not to recede from her position on the fisheries question has been cabled to England, and is said by a correspondent to have been "opportune." Nevertheless we venture to assert that he will back down, because he must, let the organs blow as loud as they may. His only hope is to keep quiet till after the presidential election, with the hope that negotiations will be resumed on the re-election of Mr. Cleveland, after the quadrennial political tempest has subsided. But he is playing a dangerous game.

A COUNTERBLAST to Sir Richard Cartwright's pronouncement at Ingersoll has been trumpeted by the Empire, of Toronto. Reduced from bombastic verbiage, it is simply a declaration to uphold British connection, keep Canada isolated at the mercy of the "combiners" and maintain monopoly under the laws of restriction. Sir Richard Cartwright being as firm an upholder of British connection as the Empire can be, the first plank is superfluous nonsense, the other two must and shall be destroyed. They are simply Macdonaldite Toryism in its avowed dogma. Both legs, so to speak, in the grave.

It looks as if the Democrats have lost the Irish vote in New York. We cannot see how a president who has truckled to the Tory Government of England on all occasions can have the nerve to expect Irish support. True, he gave Chamberlain the cold shoulder when that person was at Washington, but Mr. Bayard and other members of the Cabinet made up for the President's apparent neglect. The true policy for Irishmen is to vote against any party that would make terms with the Tory Government of England and thus help to smooth the way for the coercionists. Keep them on the gridiron and fire up: that's the what they should do.

MR. MALLORY, Liberal, has been elected after all in East Northumberland. It appears from the full returns that Wooler subdivision of Murray Township, which is far removed from telegraphic communication, an incorrect report was sent to Colborne, the principal village in the riding. It gave a majority for Willoughby of nine, whereas the official returns give Mallory a majority of seven. This knocks out the Tory candidate's supposed majority of sixteen and leaves the result a tie. At the declaration of the poll-to-day (Thursday), the returning officer will be called upon to give his casting vote, and it is already stated that it will be in favor of the Liberal. A recount is talked about, but is not expected to change the result.

APPROX to Edmund Yates spitkui cable in the morning papers we find the following in the London Universe, received by last mail:—"Our readers will be gratified to hear that the researches of Mr. George Lewis into the origin of the Parnell forgeries are being attended with the success which was desired. As pretty a piece of insidious conspiracy concocted by a gang of mercenary ruffians, who might have descended from Titus Oates on the one side, and Reynolds, the informer, on the other, will be laid bare to the edification of the public and the confusion of the Times with all its pumps and works. Mr. Moser, the private inquiry Argus, has been outmaneuvered, and subterfuges have been served upon certain individuals who would much rather not have to appear on the witness-stand."

CONCERNING the London Spectator's declaration of England's willingness to "fight for honor, not for Canadian gold," the Hamilton Times comes to a conclusion quite in consonance with British trade ideas. "Let England," says the Times, "understand that the political and commercial union of Canada and the United States would destroy the possibility of war by settling forever the fisheries dispute; let England understand that the effect of the Canadian vote in the Congress of Washington would be to so reduce the tariff common to both American countries that English goods would be freely sold from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic sea, and there would be a bigger annexation movement in England than there is to-day in either Canada or the United States. England lives by trade, and she does not often allow sentiment to stand in the way of it."

"A new map of Europe with England left out." That is the way a cable correspondent puts the agreement said to have been arrived at by the sons of the Holy Alliance. Yet we think as

fatuation at London and Ottawa in keeping open these dangerous sores makes England weak and distracted at a time when she needs more than at any crisis in her history to be solid at home and secure abroad.

"The claims of Ireland and their justification," an address delivered by Mr. J. P. Sutton, Secretary of the Irish National League of America, at Lincoln, Neb., has reached us in pamphlet form. The lecture is worthy Mr. Sutton's established reputation for ability and earnestness in the cause of Irish nationality. In common with the party led by Mr. Parnell, he held that there is but one remedy for Ireland—the adoption of a policy of justice and humanity by the British Government. It is useless, he says, for British imperialism to war against the laws and decrees of God. Justice cannot be outraged forever. The claim of the Irish people, that the laws of Ireland should be made in Ireland, by Irishmen, for the benefit of Irishmen, and that the soil of Ireland should be possessed by the people of Ireland, is according to God's justice, and that justice will prevail.

A PRETTY EXPOSURE has been made of land grabbing in Ottawa county by two members of the Federal Government. This nefarious transaction shows how the public domain in this province has been parcelled out among the greedy tribe, who seem capable of any turpitude in self-seeking. The ministers, who are shown by the published documents to have exerted their influence with the late Quebec Government to rob a poor settler of the land which he had cleared, settled and cultivated for 28 years, stand before the public in a most unenviable light. It is gratifying, however, to learn that a transaction so tyrannical and unjust has been cancelled by Mr. Mercer, and the hoodlers compelled to disgorge. By this exposure we may form a notion of how the mining and timber lands of the Dominion are being gobbled up. Men who do not hesitate to plunder actual settlers would have small compunctions in appropriating lands belonging to the Dominion committed to their guardianship. God help the country whose resources are at the mercy of such a gang as now rules at Ottawa.

SINCE the Provincial general elections on the 14th October, 1886, there have been fifteen bye-elections, viz.:—St. Hyacinthe, Quebec East, Kamouraska, Iberville, Montreal West, Laprairie, Ottawa, Maskinonge, Three Rivers, Shefford, Missisquoi, Hochelaga, Chicoutimi and Saguenay, Laval, Nicolet.

St. Hyacinthe, Quebec East, Kamouraska, Iberville, Montreal West, Laprairie, Ottawa, Maskinonge, Three Rivers, Shefford, Chicoutimi and Saguenay.

The Opposition only carried three seats since the same date, viz.:—

Nicolet, Missisquoi, Laval.

Thus it will be seen that the Government has not lost one seat, but have captured five from the Tories, viz.:—Laprairie, Ottawa, Maskinonge, Hochelaga, Chicoutimi and Saguenay.

THE other day the Boston Herald asserted that the religious trouble in that city revealed that there was less sectarianism in it than a display of decaying faith in all religion. Before we had quite recovered from the shock of this editorial utterance from so judicious a newspaper as the Herald we came across a paragraph from an English paper which states that a remark of Rev. St. George W. Cox at the Church Congress in Manchester, has given much offence, and was received with disapproval and even with hisses. Not only did he agree with Archbishop Farrar in his disbelief of eternal punishment, but he quoted some of the fathers whose views he held were like his own, and then added that "the more we rise to the faith of these great Christian thinkers and teachers the less we shall care for dramatic pictures of a great white throne, with angels marshalling mankind to a great asize." Dr. Lumby, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, demanded greater elasticity in the prayer book, and generally there seemed to be a disposition to demand an all-round elasticity for religion, or at least for its professors.

The disintegrating forces thus appear to be at work among the leaders of Protestant thought. At the same time the solidity, expansion and power of the Catholic Church were never so well displayed for centuries as now in both England and America. Indeed, it seems as if Protestantism was splitting into two great divisions, one of which is making for union with Catholicity, the other towards infidelity. This looks like a fulfilment of the Spencerian proposition that the ultimate struggle of religions will be between Catholicity on the one side and modern scientific heathenism on the other.

AN IGNOMINIOUS BACK-DOWN.

It is no uncommon thing for the Ottawa Government to use the columns of the London, Ont., Free Press for putting out feelers. This sort of thing has occurred on several notable occasions and has given that paper a peculiar position in Canadian journalism. Last Tuesday one of these feelers was put forth and has had the desired effect of calling the attention of the press to the back-down of the Dominion Government, contemplated and suggested by the article. This revelation comes

to us, curiously enough, at the same time with a despatch from Washington, which says that "President Cleveland will make a bold stroke before the adjournment of Congress by handing in another message on the retaliation question. The President, it is said, will utter some strong opinions on the subject."

The article in the Free Press reads as follows:—

"What has taken place may be made useful to us in Canada in this way:—That it may cause us to inquire whether it is really worth our while to continue to contend that no American fishing vessel shall be permitted to come into a Canadian port so as to be able to ship the fish that the crew may have caught in the open waters, by means of the Canadian railways. Would it not be well that Canada should consent to waive that right under the Treaty of 1818, and be willing, under the altered condition of things in respect to carriage by rail, to permit the American fishermen the privilege of making use of our lines for the purpose of forwarding their legitimate catch to the general market? We frankly confess that we would be in favor of such a concession. That it would be the evidence of that which we profess—that of being true friends as well as close neighbors of the American people. It is true that such a concession might be abused, and that under present conditions of the waters for the general market some of the 'kippers' might, probably, be taken into account in the fact that the U. S. Government will consent to admit Canadian caught fish into their markets free of duty. No doubt it would be a convenience if that were to be done. But, after all, seeing that the importation of fish caught in our waters is but in part only for local consumption, and that the greater portion of it is re-exported, is the duty a matter of so much consequence to us as to make it worth while to stand out for the full treaty rights of 1818, when it is felt that such a position is very distasteful to our neighbors?"

If this is not plying the way to a complete surrender of Canadian claims, we would like to know what is. Perhaps the change of front is in obedience to instructions from England. But, in any case, it is only another instance of the determination of the British Government to sacrifice Canadian rights on any and all occasions when the United States may demand such sacrifice. It may be more merciful, but it is certainly not more gratifying to us, to be taken up piecemeal than to be swallowed whole. But, after all the bluster and blarney of the Tory press and the war talk of the heroic Oren and blithering Chaplain, is this not an ignominious back-down. Like Dr. J. P. Sutton's Canadian Tories

CANADA'S RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.

Everywhere the Reform press has accepted the speech made by Sir Richard Cartwright at Ingersoll as a faithful outline of the deliberately matured policy of the party. There is no one who is at all acquainted with the current of political discussion but will agree with Sir Richard that "the time has come for a little plain speaking as to the position which we occupy towards England." It would be folly to shut our eyes to the fact that whatever may occur we cannot depend on the British Government to back us up in the enforcement of what the Ottawa Ministry contends are our treaty rights. This being admitted, it stands to reason that the sooner we come to an amicable arrangement with our neighbors the better. Since we must make a bargain with them, it is the duty of our Government to make the best bargain possible. Sir Richard put the matter very clearly. He said:—

"It is known to every man who has played any important part in Canadian politics—that it is known perfectly well that before Confederation was accomplished, and since Confederation has been accomplished, the English Government have in the most unmistakable fashion given the Government of Canada to understand that from that time forth we must not expect that the English people or the English Government should be called upon to take any active part in the defence of provinces of Canada. They have been enough and populous enough to rely on our resources, that if we should unhappily come into collision with any power, and especially with the United States, it was to our own arms and to our own stout hearts that we must look for protection. I have no quarrel with the English Government for taking this action. On the contrary, I say frankly that they have been so kind, so considerate, so generous, so far from having allowed us to suppose that they could render us any considerable aid or assistance, when they knew that it would in all probability be beyond their power to afford it. But that being so, it follows as a necessary consequence that when a paramount State is called to protect its own dependencies, it is not in a position to exact obedience from that dependency, at any rate so far as regards the dealings of that dependency with another State from which the superior will not undertake to defend it. And that, in plain English, is the precise position which we now occupy towards England and the United States. It is the exact position that we are in the case of the case; that is in accord with international law and common sense. I do not believe that any parallel can be found for the position of the people of Canada, as regards the Mother Country or as regards the United States. I say that it is an idle waste of time to seek for analogies in the Old World for our position. More than that, while the most deadly of the policy which we are now propounding will rebound to the great advantage of Great Britain herself, still if it were not so I would have to tell you that as Great Britain has by her own deliberate acts—by intimations conveyed again and again by her statements to ours—shown Canada that she was to come into collision with the United States she must trust to herself, must defend herself as best she can, Canada has a right to say in her turn—so be it; but in that case we, on our side, can fairly claim that we shall be allowed to make the best bargain we can with the people of the United States, and that we shall be allowed to enter into such negotiations with them as may best promote our interests."

For years THE POST has propounded these truths, and now we have the gratification of seeing them adopted as "a confession of faith" by one of the foremost leaders of the Liberal party. Canadians, even those who cherish the deepest affection for the Mother Country, must bow to the inexorable logic of facts, and these all confirm the wisdom of the policy laid down by Sir Richard Cartwright. Already intimations have come from Sir John Macdonald himself, at least his recent utterances have been so construed, that the Dominion Government is about to abandon its contentions regarding the treaty of 1818. Sir John has gone as far as he dare go. He has, by turning a cold shoulder to the ad-

vances for settlement on a broad basis made to him by the American President and Secretary of State, pushed the Washington Government to retaliation, and forced an intimation from London that if he invokes hostility against Canada from the United States, he must stand the consequences alone, for "England will not quarrel with the Americans over a kettle of fish."

A back-down is therefore inevitable and imminent. The great fear, however, is that in his eagerness to keep Canada as a happy hunting ground for the combines to whom he has surrendered the country in return for corrupt assistance to retain power, he will not secure for us all the advantages in trade and otherwise that we would obtain were he as wise and patriotic as one in his position ought to be.

THE TWO POLICIES.

Sir Richard Cartwright's speech at Ingersoll last Tuesday was a clear, straightforward, statesmanlike exposition of the policy, on the strength of which the Liberal party of Canada appeals to the people.

Since the general election in February, 1887, there has been a recombination of political forces, resulting in new lines of cleavage between the two great parties. The commercial union movement, started by the farmer's institutes of Ontario, has developed into an unrestricted reciprocity, as more in consonance with the popular idea of free trade with the United States without touching the larger question of political relationship. A great many persons, who ordinarily supported the party now in power at Ottawa, recognize the necessity for more extended markets and for a permanent settlement of all outstanding causes of dispute between this country and its great neighbor.

To meet this movement the ultra wing of the Tory party has advanced the nebulous scheme of Imperial Federation, but, so far, it has taken no hold on popular thought. By doing so they admitted that the existing state of affairs is not satisfactory and cannot be regarded as permanent. But, as Sir Richard pointed out, there was a good deal to be said in favor of this project so far as regards some of the colonies, such as New Zealand and Australia, but so far as Canada was concerned, if federation was to be considered at all, we must be assured in some way or other of the firm and lasting friendship of the United States, who ought to be, and he hoped would be at no distant date, true and staunch allies of the Mother Country.

Nothing could be more fatuous than to suppose that any scheme of Imperial Federation could be successfully carried out without the good will of the United States. Indeed, the most devoted adherent of British connection must admit the stupendous preponderance of the forces that are making for union of interests between the Dominion and the Republic over the influences on the side of Imperial Federation. At the same time it is evident that the policy of restriction and hostility to the United States, persisted in by Sir John Macdonald in spite of reason, nature and the interests of Canada, must end before a great while in its abandonment, under pressure which England will be unwilling, Canada unable, to resist.

The Reform party frankly admits the logic of the situation, and proposes to show the people of the United States that Canadians entertain nothing but friendly feelings towards them. As Sir Richard said, it is proposed, as the policy of the Reform party, to break down the barriers between the two countries, and thus give the people what some of his most rabid opponents were forced to admit was their natural market.

The difference between the policies advocated by the two parties is thus unmistakably presented.

The Reformers have declared for friendship and free trade with the United States. The Tories are committed to retaliation, isolation and the further submission of Canadian interests to the exigencies of Imperial politics and the exactions of British commerce.

Clearly the Tories have engaged in a conflict which can only end in their disastrous discomfiture. But this is nothing new. From the days of the first settlements to the present time the Tories have been warring against reason and nature in America. They were beaten time and again, but history has taught them her lessons in vain. Defeated and cast out of the United States at the time of the Revolution, they strove to perpetuate the anachronism of their being in Canada, and are now making their final stand under Sir John Macdonald. But here they will meet the same fate that befel them a century ago. They will die hard, no doubt, but die they must, because they are out of harmony with their environment, and are already far gone, though they seem not to know it, in the stages of fossilization.

The immediate practical side of Tory opposition to an amicable understanding with the United States was disclosed by Sir Richard Cartwright in the quotations he made from President Cleveland's message to Congress of two years ago, and Mr. Bayard's letter to Sir Charles Tupper. Mr. Cleveland wrote:—

"Our social and commercial intercourse with these populations who have been placed upon our borders and made forever our neighbors, is made apparent by a list of the United States' common carriers, marine and inland, connecting their lines with Canada, which was returned by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Senate on 7th February, in answer to a resolution of that body; and this is instructive as to the great volume of mutually profitable interchange which has come into existence during the last half century. This intercourse is still but partially developed, and if the amicable enterprises and wholesome rivalry between the two populations be not obstructed, the promise of the future is full of the fruits of an unbounded prosperity on both sides of the border."

Here surely was a fair advance by the President towards the solution of existing difficulties which Sir John Macdonald proposed to desire so earnestly in 1878: "How was it met? With stolid, silent disapproval."

Again, eighteen months ago Mr. Bayard wrote to Sir Charles Tupper:—

"I am confident we both seek to attain a just and permanent settlement—and there is but one way to procure it—and that is by a straightforward treatment on a liberal and statesmanlike plan of the entire commercial relations of the two countries. I say commercial because I do not propose to include, however indirectly, or by any intention, however partial, the political relations of Canada and the United States, nor to affect the legislative independence of either country."

Thus again was presented an opportunity for our government to obtain the very settlement which a majority of our people desire above all things, and again the advance was met with refusal to entertain a proposition so eminently satisfactory and accurately defined. That Sir Charles Tupper desired to accept the proposed basis of settlement is pretty evident, but Sir John and the party under his guidance refused. Under these circumstances Mr. Cleveland's retaliation message does not appear without provocation. At any rate we have in these presentations a clear idea of the divisions in the Tory cabinet and party regarding the trade question, as well as an unclouded conception of the policy advocated by the Liberals. One man blocks the way towards the only settlement that promises a satisfactory solution of the disputes between Canada and the United States. How long he will be able to resist the forces combined against him is a matter of speculation, but one thing is certain, it cannot be very long.

FOR HONOR NOT FOR GOD.

Lord Roseberry's speech at the Leeds Chamber of Commerce gives the keynote of the policy of the Imperial Federationists. It is contained in the formula—"All for the empire and for the commercial supremacy of England." The synopsis of his lordship's speech cabled to America also says:—"Imperial Federation is to him the dominant passion of his life. Most of his audience, if they were frank, would admit that commercial supremacy was their ideal of an Imperial policy. The Cobdenite papers are for Federation as a means of preventing the adoption of protective tariffs in colonies. The Spectator observes that the moment England discovers she is liable to perpetual wars at the will of colonies which she cannot command, she will let the colonies go. She will fight for honor, not for Canadian gold."

Whatever may be the sentimental loyalty of the Canadian advocates of the I. F. idea there can be no mistaking the reasons why its advocates in England favor it. British merchants and manufacturers, shut out of the most profitable markets in the world by protective tariffs, would gladly forward a movement which would give them command of the colonial markets. These markets are growing in importance every year, and the colonial peoples have shown just as keen a sense of the wisdom of protecting their trade against English competition as foreign nations have. But while English traders are anxious to see the colonies let down the bars, they shrink from the responsibility of defending them in case of war. They are willing to "fight for honor, not for Canadian gold."

Precisely!

So broad a hint as this, we may be sure, will not be lost on American statesmen, who may read in it a surrender of the fisheries claims of Canada. To us Dominionites it also conveys the admonition that sooner than go to war on our account, England would let us go. What becomes then, may we ask, of the protection of the British flag, of which we hear so much from the advocates of I. F.?

What does that protection amount to when a notice to quit has been given, and we are told that on the first sign of war the British ensign will be hauled down and we will be left to shift for ourselves. From the English traders point of view, Imperial Federation means the surrender of our markets and the control of our tariffs to them in time of peace and the abandonment of our defenses by them in time of war. Of course they are quite aware that, so long as the colonies are borrowers in the English money market, just so long will colonial trade remain under British control. But they want more than the interest on colonial debt paid in colonial produce. They want to supply us with their goods so as to secure that commercial supremacy which is the keystones of the arch of British power and greatness.

That a great crisis in the history of the empire is approaching is no longer a matter of speculation. The colonies have reached a position which renders continuation of the present system of dependency extremely hazardous to them and to England. Englishmen cannot blind themselves to the great fact, that, while they are in honor bound to defend the colonies, the resources of the empire, great as they may be, are not adequate for so vast and onerous an undertaking against the powers that are sure to be arrayed against her in the coming conflict. The growth of British power since Waterloo has been enormous, but it has not increased in a way to preserve the relative position that England held then to the other European powers. The navy of France is dangerously near an equality in ships and armament with hers, which the whole system of naval warfare has undergone a complete revolution so that no man can even guess what results a war would produce. That these results will be of an unexpected and startling character is expected.

It may be taken for granted that any conflict in which England should be engaged would call forth the best efforts of the colonies in her behalf, or in their own defence. But we have only to glance at our vast defenceless coast line and open frontiers to be convinced of the almost hopeless position we would occupy. Englishmen see and appreciate these things and recognize the necessity—which has arisen from them to choose between the assumption of closer ties with the colonies or their abandonment altogether. An Imperial league for defence would impose burdens on the colonies which, taxed and of