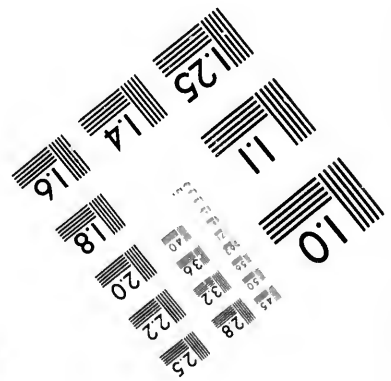
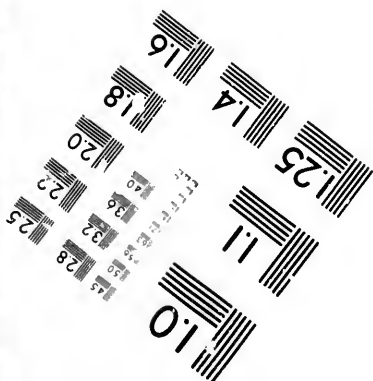
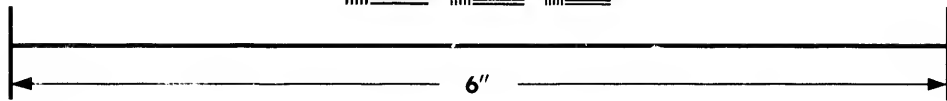
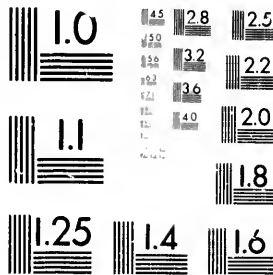


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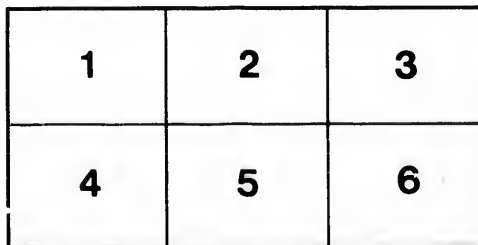
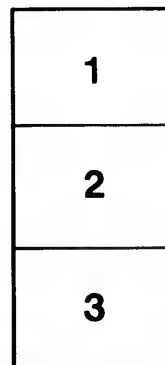
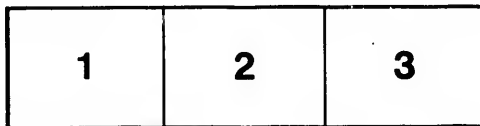
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# CANADA

AND THE

# EMPIRE

A STUDY OF

## IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

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1890.



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# CANADA AND THE EMPIRE

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## PART I.

### GENESIS OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE closing years of the Nineteenth Century will be memorable in the annals of the British Empire, as a period when the people and politicians of the United Kingdom and the great self-governing dependencies of the Crown awakened to the fact of their being possessed of the grandest Imperial patrimony and the greatest heritage of potential power that had ever been conferred upon a people, or family of nations. Few there are to-day who realize how much a British subject has to be proud of, and what enormous strides the Empire of Britain is making in commercial progress, maritime power, territorial increase, military strength and political development. With a total Imperial wealth of 63,000 millions of dollars, in round numbers; a mutual trade between the different parts of the Empire of 1,450 millions; a foreign commerce of 5,500 millions; a population of 20 millions; an area of nearly nine million square miles, or one-seventh of the land surface of the globe; with a coast line of 28,500 miles; a merchant navy of 30,000 ships, manned by 170,000 sailors; a sea-going tonnage of eight and a-half millions, and a revenue of 1,030 millions of dollars, we may well exclaim in those prophetic words of Mr. Gladstone: "We of this generation and nation occupy the Gibraltar of the ages, which commands the world's future."

The possessions of the British people embrace the three great countries of Australia, Canada and India, each of the two former having an area equal to that of all Europe, and sixty-nine territories and islands in the two hemispheres, having their affairs administered by over fifty subordinate governments. This great Empire, five times the size of the Persian Dominions under Darius, four times that of the Roman Empire under



Augustus, an eighth larger than all the Russias, three times the size of the United States, and forty-four times that of France, is what has been bequeathed to us by our forefathers, as a result of the efforts and victories of Drake and Raleigh, Clive and Wolfe, Marlborough and Wellington; of the countless achievements on sea and land in every part of the globe of our gallant ancestry from the British islands, and the exertions of the not less noble pioneers of the pathless forest and the rolling prairie, who endured the bitter hardships and struggles of our early colonial history.

It was a just appreciation of the greatness of the Empire, of the immense importance to the peace and happiness of the world, which its permanent unity would imply, of the necessity of taking some steps to promote Imperial re-organization and avert future disintegration, which led a few noble and patriotic men to meet in the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, towards the end of the year 1884, for the purpose of discussing the formation of a league or society which should have for its aim the permanent unity of the Empire. The chairman of the meeting was the late Rt.-Hon. W. E. Forster, and amongst the prominent men present were the Rt.-Hon. Edward Gibson, M.P., Rt.-Hon. E. Stanhope, Sir Henry Holland, M.P., Prof. Jas. Bryce, M.P., Hon. O. Mowat, Premier of Ontario, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P., Canada; Rt.-Hon. W. H. Smith, Sir Saul Samuel, of New South Wales, Sir Charles Tupper, the Earl of Rosebery and others.

Mr. Oliver Mowat, in seconding the first resolution to the effect that, "in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of federation is essential," and, in referring to the difficulties in the way, asked, "What are statesmen for, Imperial or Colonial? For the purpose of solving difficulties. It has been found possible, both here and in the colonies, to solve difficulties that seemed insolvable." The principal resolution laid down the simple fundamental basis of the proposed policy, "that any scheme of federation should combine in an equitable manner the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and the defence of common rights."

Thus was the movement started and the Imperial Federation League formed. With the approval expressed by most of the recognized organs of public opinion in the United Kingdom, and their adhesion to the general idea of closer union, came the

caution which has since been so carefully followed out by the League, not to lay down any hard and fast lines of action, not to attempt to indulge in any fantastic efforts at premature constitution-making, but to act as a medium of public instruction in the necessity and advantages of some scheme of Imperial Federation; impressing upon the minds of British subjects in all the self-governing communities of the Empire that the mode of procedure would be a careful development of existing institutions, by a gradual process of time and education, into a form more suitable to the necessities of the period and the people, than the present ill-defined and perhaps precarious union. Evolution, not revolution, has been the guiding principle of the League and of the advocates of a closer connection, ever since the inception of the policy, and this it is that has contributed so largely towards the phenomenal success of the movement.

When we look back over the record of the last four years, the progress made by this idea of Imperial unity seems to have been so great as to astonish even its first promoters. The two great obstacles towards progress which faced the first advocates of the principle were ignorance commercially, and ignorance politically. In 1886, by means of that marvellous gathering of products, and exhibition of wealth, progress and undeveloped resources known as the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, much was done to diffuse information amongst the people of the mother country regarding the great possibilities of trade which lay before them, and to develop a desire to increase the interchange of commercial commodities between themselves and the various colonies which were there so magnificently represented.

This great display of what had been done in the past to build up the Colonies, and hint of what yet remained to be done in the future to weld their interests and those of Great Britain into that closer union which is so essential to the maintenance of British commerce and the development of colonial trade, did much to dispel the ignorance which then so generally prevailed. No sooner, however, was the Exhibition over, than the Prince of Wales, to whose indefatigable exertions and great influence so much of its success was due, turned his attention to the difficult task of rendering the Exhibition a permanent one. It was proposed that an Imperial Institute should be established, with all the departments and equipment necessary to make it a living commercial centre and industrial school for the Empire,

A committee of influential men was appointed; large subscriptions collected from the different countries; the site for the building selected and the project fairly launched. Thus a new stone was added to the structure of Imperial unity, and the foundation laid of the great edifice which was to be at once a memorial of Her Majesty's jubilee year, and a vivid illustration of the resources of the Empire, as well as a practical and permanent exhibition of all the products to be obtained within its bounds, and a powerful means of promoting the extension of commercial information and facilitating trade between its various divisions.

In 1887, at the instigation of the Imperial Federation League, which sent a strong deputation to wait upon the British Premier, an Imperial Conference was held in London. There was a large representation of leading Colonial statesmen. The Premier of Victoria, Hon. Alfred Deakin; and his predecessor, Hon. Jas. Service, President of the Federal Council of Australia; the Premiers of South Australia, of Queensland, and of Newfoundland; Sir Alex. Campbell, and Mr. Sandford Fleming, of Canada, with many other distinguished men, attended as delegates. Arrangements were made, subject to the approval of the various Legislatures, regarding many important matters pertaining to the defence of the Empire, while other burning questions then troubling the political arena were discussed and disposed of as far as friendly consultation and deliberation could effect a settlement. Even commercial questions, though outside the range of formal discussion, came up for informal consideration, and caused a very general expression of opinion regarding the feasibility and advantage of adopting some system of preferential duties within the Empire.

The most important result, however, will probably be found in the precedent which this Conference forms, and undoubtedly this was the idea uppermost in Lord Salisbury's mind when he said, in his opening speech, "We are all sensible that this meeting is the beginning of a state of things which is to have great results in the future. It will be the parent of a long progeniture, and distant councils of the Empire may, in some far off time, look back to the meeting in this room as the root from which all their greatness and all their beneficence sprang," and in concluding the same speech, when he outlined in such clear and comprehensive words the political faith of all loyal British

subjects, " We hope the connection may become more and more true and real, and that we may by our organization and our agreement present to the world the spectacle of a vast Empire, founded not upon force and subjection, but upon hearty sympathy and a resolute co-operation in attaining those high objects of human endeavour which are open to an Empire like this."

Well may Sir Samuel Griffith, then Premier of Queensland, in making some closing remarks, and reviewing the work of the Conference, look forward "to seeing this sort of informal Council of the Empire developed until it becomes a legislative body," and to hope that "meetings such as this will, before long, be recognized as part of the general governing machinery of the Empire."

Encouraged by such a remarkable series of great events all leading in the direction of clearer knowledge and more intimate relations between the different parts of the Queen's dominions, the progress of the principles of Imperial Federation has been marked, especially during the last two years. Branches of the League are being continuously organized both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and are acting as powerful levers in carrying out Lord Rosebery's definition of our policy: "To endeavour so to influence public opinion, at home and in the Colonies, that there shall come an imperious demand from the people that this federation be brought about."

We have thus seen how much has been done within a few years to dispel a portion of that dense cloud of ignorance which so long pervaded the political and commercial atmosphere of Great Britain where her Colonies were concerned, and this happy result points with vividness to the great possibilities to come from future education and continuous agitation.

In considering a question of such vast proportions and of such great importance to our future, every thoughtful mind must be impressed with two clear and fundamental propositions:

- I. Is British connection worth preserving as a permanent factor in the future destinies of the Colonies?
- II. Is the consolidation of the Empire worth some sacrifice on the part of the Mother Country?

The Colonies owe much to Great Britain. Had it not been for the blood and treasure poured out like water for the defence of the old-time Colonists of New England, the United States of to-day would not be holding the proud position of owners of half

a continent! Had it not been for the desperate struggle with Napoleon and Europe combined, in which Professor Seeley so clearly traces the Colonial influence, Canada would to-day be either a French dependency or divided into a number of American States. Had it not been for the resolute determination of Great Britain to possess the whole and not a part of Australia, that great continent would have remained a *terra incognita*, or else have become a Dutch, German or French dependency.

Wherever, indeed, we glance through the early history of the Colonies we see clearly outlined the influence of British connection. In the protection of their national infancy; in the development of their political institutions; in the encouragement of their trade prior to the repeal of the Corn Laws; in the progress of their laws and literature; as well as in the protection of their sea-going commerce, and the prevention of these internal disputes which would otherwise have been early destructive of their peace and prosperity, we can see the fostering care and kindness of the Mother Country. No words of mine, however, can so well describe what we owe to our connection with the mother-land as the eloquent language used by Principal Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, when he wrote:

"We have a fixed centre of authority and government, a fountain of honour above us that all reverence, from which a thousand gracious influences come down to every rank. More valuable than the direct advantages are the subtile indirect influences that flow from our unbroken connection with the Old Land, these living and life-giving forces that determine the tone and mould the character of a people. Ours are the old history, the graves of our forefathers, the flag they died for, the name 'to which a thousand memories call,' the Queen, whose virtues transmute the principle of loyalty into a personal affection."

If we look at the past history of the Empire we will see that the very land upon which peaceful communities are now dwelling was acquired for them and theirs by the copious outpouring of British blood and treasure; that the national debt of the United Kingdom is largely made up of money expended in the conquest and defence of its Colonial possessions, and the inevitable inference is, that the citizens of the Empire abroad owe to the Mother Country a debt of gratitude and their continued true allegiance.

The advantages of the past connection with Great Britain are obvious, those of the future will largely depend upon the action and policy of the Colonies themselves. No great end can be attained, no great advantages can be expected to accrue from a union which may be regarded with indifference, which may not be considered worthy of any sacrifice, however small, or which may be looked upon merely as a stepping-stone to future separation. If the benefits are to be obtained from the union under one flag of these great and growing communities which might be justly expected from their wealth, resources and progress, it must be by a policy of organization, of co-operation, and not of "drift" and indifference. Premising, therefore, that union is strength, that a combination of these countries for defence would be strong enough to enforce peace upon the world, and that their co-operation for commercial purposes would enable them to control its trade, we come to the question of whether the Mother Country would be willing to make some sacrifice of her insular dignity and her fiscal principles in order to obtain such a desirable consummation. If such questions had been asked fifteen years ago every thinking man knows what the answer would have been. Narrow-minded "doctrinaires," trading politicians, "peace at any price" statesmen, ignorant demagogues, would have replied with one voice, that they were unable to see any advantages even in holding the Empire together, and that the sooner the colonies left the union the better it would be for all concerned, or at any rate for the Mother Country.

But events have changed this trend of sentiment which at one time threatened to transform England into an isolated, weak and overcrowded Holland. The Imperial spirit has been awakened, and a wider patriotism has swept over the British nation which promises to prepare the way for that closer union of the different parts of the Empire which is now declared to be the great policy of the future.

The Manchester school of parish politicians died of inanition some years ago, and at the time of his decease John Bright was a solitary though noble monument of principles which the great mass of the people would no longer accept, and of which he was long the leading representative. The reaction has indeed been powerful and will be enduring. On all sides the advantages of Imperial unity are favourably discussed, and statesmen are

hastening to express their adhesion to the idea of closer connection and of belief in the principles of true "Imperialism"—not the imperialism of the despot or the military scourge, but one based upon the democratic theory, of union being productive of power, the power in this case being colossal in its proportions and world-wide in its importance, as well as liberal, reforming and elevating in its nature.

We will then presume, as a basis to start upon, that the self-governing colonies are profoundly conscious of the advantages of British connection in the past, and are desirous of maintaining that connection in the future, while also wishing to obtain the importance and privileges of full national life; that on the other hand, Great Britain appreciates to the full the necessity of retaining her Empire intact in order to hold her position as the great commercial, civilizing and colonizing power of the world; that she clearly sees the beneficial effect which a larger trade with the colonies would have upon her suffering industries, as well as the advantages accruing from the migration of great masses of people from her shores every year to countries still owing allegiance to the Crown, instead of going to build up territories which may one day be in a state of pronounced hostility. Taking these premises to be correct, it would be well to see what the statesmen of the Empire have to say upon the question of closer union, and how the advocates of Imperial Federation define that question. Here let me state that it has been the earnest endeavour of the Imperial Federation League to keep apart from and far above any of the current questions of party politics, and that the movement claims an equal number of supporters from all parties within the self-governing countries of the Empire.

The first definition of the project or principle called Imperial Federation, which should claim attention, is that of the Earl of Rosebery, President of the League and late Liberal Foreign Secretary, who has publicly stated and reiterated upon several occasions that "the federation we aim at is the closest possible union of the various self-governing States ruled by the British Crown, consistently with that free national development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world, *the closest union in sympathy, in external action, in defence.*"

It was on October 11th, 1888, at Leeds, that Lord Rosebery gave utterance to the following noble words which stamped him

as a true British patriot as well as a statesman of the purest mould. Speaking of Imperial Federation he said: "I can say from the bottom of my heart that it is the dominant passion of my public life. Ever since I traversed those great regions which own the sway of the British Crown, outside these islands, I have felt that it was a cause which merited all the enthusiasm and energy that man could give to it. It is a cause for which anyone might be content to live; it is a cause for which, if needs be, anyone might be content to die."

Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P., President of the League in Canada, treats the subject as follows:—

"It cannot, perhaps, be too often repeated that in the proposal for Imperial Federation it has never been contemplated that the Colonial dependencies are to surrender the rights of self-government which they now enjoy; but the common defence of the Empire is a matter in which not merely the Mother Country but every Colony is interested, to which in justness and fairness every Colony, according to its means, ought to contribute, and it is impossible to doubt that a great country like Canada must ere long, in one form or another, assume the full burdens of that national life to which she has grown. . . . While not looking upon it as by any means essential to Imperial Federation, yet as a step, which, if adopted, would go a long way in making the carrying out of the scheme more natural and easier of attainment, I would urge the adoption of a policy tending to a more intimate and advantageous trade relationship between Great Britain and her dependencies and between the Colonies themselves, than at present exists."

The Hon. James Service, one of the really great statesmen of Australia, and an enthusiastic supporter of the principles of closer union with the Empire, wrote, when Premier of Victoria five years since, to the Agent-General in London, instructing him to support the movement, and using the following language:

"It may be difficult to say in what way so vast an Empire can be federated, but any scheme that may be decided upon, while it cannot take from us anything we at present possess *must give to the Colonies more tangible influence and more legal and formal authority than they now have.*"

Two years later he employed the following strong and emphatic words, in heading a deputation of the League to Lord Salisbury:—



"I may say that I have had, during the last few years, large opportunities of feeling the pulse of the Australian colonists in regard to the question of Federation, both local and imperial, and I can say for Victoria, and I think I may venture to say for the rest of the Colonies of Australia, that they feel very strongly indeed the desire of drawing closer together the ties that unite the various members of the Empire. If we can cultivate this desire we go a long way towards the accomplishment of the object, and having created the desire to be united and for the union to be represented in some Imperial Council, the way to bring that about will develop itself, probably, more rapidly than we anticipate at the present moment, if the feeling all through the Empire is cultivated in the way I have mentioned."

The Hon. Alfred Deakin, successor to Mr. Service in the Premiership of Victoria, and an equally warm adherent of the policy of "union rather than separation," has contributed the following definition to the discussion:—

"A co-operation of peoples in the common work before us, equal representation of self-governing communities meeting from time to time to consider the interests of the Empire, and then to lay before their respective legislatures the result of their deliberations."

Sir Henry Parkes, the veteran Premier of New South Wales, in a recent speech said:—

"If we are to be part and parcel of the British Empire, we must be prepared to take our fair share of its burdens and dangers, and we are entitled to share both in its honour and its dangers. It is in this spirit that I wish to maintain our position in the future as thorough Australians, and being thorough Australians, most consistent and patriotic Britons."

Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, defined his position with regard to the question, at the great banquet given to him in Toronto, upon the fortieth anniversary of his entry into public life, December 18th, 1884:—

"The word Confederation means a union by treaty, and I believe that a treaty can be made between England and Canada, by which we can have mutual commercial advantages and a common system of offence and defence. The Australian Colonies will soon be united in a bond similar to, though perhaps not identical with, the Canadian Confederation. Then what shall we see? We shall see England, with her thirty-five mil-

lions, united to Canada with her five millions, soon to become twice that number, and to Australia with a similar number, and the world will know that if the old Mother Country is attacked, she has two auxiliary nations standing at her back and bound to make common cause with her. The combined naval forces of these three great powers will form the great police of the world. They will control the seas of the world, and thus keep the peace of the world. X

But quotations from the speeches of colonial statesmen who are favourable to the project would fill a volume, and perhaps the most important point is how the subject is considered in Britain, where after all the decision of the question must eventually remain, and where the greatest changes would have to be encountered. British statesmen are beginning to clearly recognize the fact which has so distinctly loomed up of late years, that the great colonies must be either incorporated in the governing system of the Empire, or else achieve, perhaps, in the not far distant future, a national and separate existence.

Such being the case, let us glance at a few selections from the speeches of leading men upon the subject, which prove that the United Kingdom is being prepared for the constitutional changes which would have to be incurred were such a policy adopted. The late Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., the founder and first chairman of the League, and a veteran Liberal leader, in dealing with the question of giving the Colonies a share in a controlling foreign policy said, "There is one condition which is absolutely necessary: It is that the union should imply mutual defence—mutual alliance with common citizenship.

The Rt. Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P., now the Conservative leader of the House of Commons, and a typical English man of business, with none of that inclination to stray into sentiment of which Imperial Federationists are so often accused, has lately stated: "Although we do not seek to express the particular mode in which that voice shall be exercised, let us at least assert the principle that unity is to be maintained, that some method shall be found, some course adopted, which shall *give our colonists all the rights and the interests and advantages which belong to resident Englishmen in Great Britain or Ireland. I believe it can be done.*" What says the Rt. Hon. Jos. Chamberlain, M.P.? "The arrangement between our colonies and ourselves is essentially a temporary one. It cannot remain as it

is. Either, as I hope may be the case, it will in the future be strengthened by ties of federation, or it will be loosened altogether;” and again, “It may well be that the Confederation of Canada may be the lamp to light our way to the Confederation of the British Empire. . . . It is a grand idea, one to stimulate the patriotism, the statesmanship of every man who loves his country.” One of the most important declarations yet made upon the subject, and to which it might be well to point our Irish friends, as showing conclusively that all parties favour the idea, is that contained in the now famous letter addressed by Mr. Chas. Stewart Parnell to Mr. Rhodes, of Cape Colony:

“Undoubtedly this is a matter which should be dealt with in accordance largely with the opinions of the colonies themselves, and if they should desire to share in the cost of Imperial matters, as undoubtedly they now do in the responsibility, and should express a wish for representation at Westminster, I certainly think that it should be accorded to them, and that public opinion in these islands would unanimously concur in the necessary constitutional modifications.”

Following this comes the recent declaration of the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in reply to an inquiry from the writer of these lines as to his views upon the question, that “I should view with the utmost satisfaction throughout the British Empire, a more thorough and substantial union of the different countries and peoples paying allegiance to Her Majesty.”

Lord Salisbury's opinion is expressed with equal emphasis in his famous Newport speech of a couple of years since.

“I deem it one of the questions of the future. 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. I know that the idea of Imperial Federation is still shapeless and unformed, and it is impossible for any man to do more than keep his eye open with the desire to give effect to aspirations which bear the mark of the truest patriotism upon them.”

A fitting commentary on the above quotations is an extract from an editorial in the *London Times* on 21st June, 1887: “*Imperial Federation is universally recognized as a thing desirable in itself, and not impossible of realization at some future day, while a practical beginning has been made by the establishment of*

arrangements for mutual defence of a kind totally new in colonial history."

Prof. J. R. Seeley, the distinguished author of the "Expansion of England," has given a definition which is well worthy of attention: "Federation is, in a word, the bringing into existence of an organ of discussion and legislation for affairs common to the whole Empire, in such a way as not to interfere with the liberty of its parts."

The bringing together of these somewhat copious extracts has been rendered necessary by the frequently reiterated statement from our opponents that no men of eminence favour the idea of Imperial Federation, or have clearly defined their views upon the subject. I may say that only lack of space prevents the use of an almost innumerable list of favouring statesmen and encouraging views, which prove in the most undoubted manner that all that is required to bring about a satisfactory solution of the problem is the awakening of the people to the necessity and advantages of taking such a step. When that time comes, no difficulty will be found in discovering statesmen thoroughly capable of carrying out the policy in all its details, and ensuring success to what was in its inception, a sentiment, an idea and an aspiration, but which is rapidly developing into an active political principle, and a clearly-defined imperial and national policy.

In concluding this part of the subject no words can better describe our position and our policy than those of two statesmen, one at the Antipodes, and one in Canada.

Sir Harry Atkinson, Premier of New Zealand, recently spoke as follows: "I believe there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome, but I say whatever difficulty there is has got to be overcome, because if we are to be that power in the world which we ought to be, and if we are to preserve happiness to the English-speaking races, it will be by Federation."

In the course of a capital speech delivered by the Hon. Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, at the celebration of the Twenty-First Anniversary of the Dominion Federation in London, he said, referring to the future of Canada:

"I rejoice to hope and feel that whatever change may be needful in our relations to the Old Land, it will be one which will make our connection with the Mother Country indissoluble and perpetual."

He may well have had in mind these eloquent words of a Canadian poet :—

“ The wisdom, the glory, the might of that nation,  
Which rose like the sun from the breast of the sea,  
And first 'mongst the powers of earth took her station ;  
The land of the brave and the home of the free.

“ The cradle of genius, the birthplace of freedom ;  
The soil whence wealth, honour and chivalry sprung,  
Are ours : all brighter than artist e'er painted,  
All nobler than poet or minstrel e'er sung.”

## PART II.

### THE DESIRABILITY AND PRACTICABILITY OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

In a further consideration of so great a subject, it is absolutely essential to have some clearly defined basis to work upon, and for this reason I would venture to outline the following definition of Imperial Federation :—

I. A combination for defence.

II. Co-operation for commercial purposes.

III. A gradual consolidation of existing political relations.

Before, however, adverting to these three branches of the subject it may be as well to briefly review certain objections which are very frequently raised. The foremost, undoubtedly, is that found in the words, “ Why not remain as we are ? ” If those who make use of such a phrase will glance into the past history of the Colonies they will see a steady and progressive development in the direction of legislative and fiscal independence. Responsible government, management of local affairs, consolidation of provinces, union for fiscal purposes, and the adoption of tariffs which treat our fellow-subjects in exactly the same manner as those of foreign powers, the gradual but constant limitation of the Sovereign's power as represented by the Governor; and the growing proofs in this country and in Australia that the people are anxious to cast off the trammels of Colonialism and become a nation, are certain indications that the present condition of affairs is not, and cannot be, permanent. No progressive society, no living and changing constitutional system such as ours is can remain stationary, and it,

therefore, behooves every man who desires to see that that vital spark of national sentiment which is now growing and expanding in our midst is developed in the right direction ; to see to it that he does his duty, and assists with all his power to guide the feeling of the people in the path of British union, British institutions and British political principles. ✕

If the person employing this "let alone" argument will look further into the under currents of political life, he will find in this country amongst a certain number of our young men a growing desire to see Canada possessed of privileges and powers, which are in themselves utterly incompatible with the retention of a Colonial position. Such is the proposition, for example, that we should have the right to make our own treaties, an idea entirely out of the question under present conditions. This feeling, however, when it is not disguised in some proposal which implies the advantages and privileges of independence without its responsibilities, is openly described by many as a desire for future separation from Great Britain and complete independence.

On the other hand, he will see, a feeling which has not as yet spread very far, but which in its very nature is encouraged by the retention of our Colonial status, in favour of Annexation to the United States. Either of these sentiments are incompatible with the permanent retention of our union with the Empire, and both are bound to grow in volume and in strength unless that union is placed upon a basis of Colonial elevation to equal privileges and responsibilities.

In Australia will be found the same growing desire for power and position, as voiced in the cry "Australia for the Australians," and unless that craving is satisfied within the Empire the result will inevitably be the same—ultimate separation.

It seems perfectly obvious, then, that things cannot remain as they are, and that we must prepare, by all the efforts of political education, to take a place in a great union of free States rather than in a position of isolation and so-called independence. Let us glance very briefly at these two ideas of independence and annexation as applied to our own Dominion. For Australia independence under present conditions would be productive of nothing but internal disputes, and possible conflicts, which the intense jealousies of those growing communities would render inevitable, were the protecting and powerful influence of Great

Britain abandoned. The colonizing greed and energy of Germany and France would make their rulers hasten to avail themselves of the opportunity of acquiring new territory, and much of the vast continent of Australia which has hardly been touched by the thin fringe of three millions of people who now inhabit it, might thus fall into the possession of other nations. If the Colonies were to follow the example of Canada and federate among themselves the result would be the same. Their attempt to cope with the military and naval strength of the Powers referred to, both of which are now established in Australasian waters, France at New Caledonia and other islands, and Germany in New Guinea, would involve an expense so great as to completely deplete the Colonial revenues and destroy the present prosperity of the people. It must also be remembered that if ever Germany carries out her national aim, by some day absorbing Holland and its dependencies, she would become one of the greatest Colonial Powers in the world, and would menace Australian, as well as British interests in the Pacific and the East.

When we turn to Canada again, we find similar difficulties and dangers. Independence in our case would mean the most complete isolation from British power, protection, or influence, and as complete dependence upon the will of the United States of America. It would imply the assumption of enormous responsibilities for the efficient protection of our fisheries and commerce; an immense addition to the national debt and expenditure; the establishment of a standing army and the building of an efficient navy; a large sum of money expended upon a brand new diplomatic and consular service, in short, the acceptance of all the burdens of separate national existence without adequate resources of population, wealth or revenue to support the liabilities incurred.

The inevitable result of such a policy would be the entry of Canada into the American union under the most humiliating conditions. But it is frequently asserted that the American people were able to hold their own when less than five millions of a population. Under this fallacious argument is hidden the fact that the United States had in its early days no great national competitor, rival and sometimes hostile power, as a neighbour; that all dangers from without were crushed by the victories achieved by England over the French and Indians prior to its

declaration of independence, and that the only difficulties it had to meet were internal troubles and disputes. / We must also remember that Canadians are not a national unit, that we have two distinct nationalities within our bounds, and that the removal of the all-powerful arm of the Mother Country might result in disputes and confusion and difficulties which it is not now necessary to consider as even possible.

We may earnestly hope that the believers in Annexation are few and far between, but nevertheless we must face the fact that every now and then political propositions are made that distinctly, and in the words of their own advocates, trend in that direction. It is, therefore, well that we remember the great superiority of our system of government over that of our neighbours, and adhere tenaciously to our belief in the advantages of a limited monarchy over that of a Republic, a feeling so well defined by Mr. Gladstone, when he said some eighteen years ago, "that the existence of an ancient and deep-rooted monarchy constitutes one, at least, among the best and most effectual guarantees of the happiness and welfare of the people."

We have a clear and vigorous objection to the American form of government; to the management of the American Press; to the "rowdy rhetoric addressed to irresponsible millions," as Lord Beaconsfield put it, which every four years characterizes their political action; to their elective judiciary; to the corruption of their politics; to a system which drives the able and honest men from political life; to the bravado which characterized their treatment of small countries, such as Mexico and Hayti; and to the curiously studied hostility which seems to constitute the basis of their treatment of Britain and Canada. On the other hand, we admire the Americans for the pluck with which they resisted national disintegration; for the energy which marked the revival of prosperity after their terrible Civil War, and above all, for their intense love of country and earnest belief in its future.

Upon the whole, however, we are pretty confident of our own power to progress and prosper, and we have no desire to merge our national identity in that of any other state, however great it may appear to be, or however prosperous its people may seem. We have, moreover, a well grounded belief that the internal troubles of the United States, sectional, racial and sectarian, may some day become a dangerous menace to their national unity.



Having reviewed what are said to be alternative policies, let us now glance at the question of a federation of the Empire, and consider with as much brevity as possible the three divisions of the subject, previously outlined.

The first, and as Mr. Forster would have had it, the essential basis for united action, is defence of common interests. What are these common interests? Canada, with its hundred millions of commerce spread every year over the surface of the seas; liable as it is to injury in any great war in which Britain may be involved, has immense fisheries, and a great territory to guard from the sometimes aggressive policy of our American neighbours, while its rising cities of Vancouver and Victoria, promising as they do to become the emporium of a great trade between Britain and the East, must be protected from possible bombardment by Russian or other hostile cruisers. Many other Canadian cities are in a similar position, and prove beyond a doubt that were the protection of the British fleet inefficient, or removed for even a brief period, our danger in the event of war would be very great.

Australasia has an enormous traffic through the Suez Canal, a great and growing trade with India, and 250 million dollars worth of commerce with the United Kingdom every twelve months. She has ambitious and aggressive neighbours planting colonies as close to her shores as the powerful protests of Great Britain will permit.

South Africa, also, has to face external dangers from innumerable native tribes on the one hand, German colonial ambition and the aggressive policy of the Transvaal Boers on the other, while within its own borders are to be found several different races and conflicting interests.

It is hardly necessary to point out the great need which India, with its many nationalities, conflicting sects, warlike races, powerful princes, and large native armies, has for a strong and powerful protector. Not only is the necessity evident for the preservation of the internal peace and welfare of the people, but also as a guard against the ever encroaching and advancing Russian despotism.

It would then seem to be beyond question that all the different parts of the Empire require protection; all require the services of a powerful naval force and none require it more than does the Mother Country herself. With commercial interests

in every land and upon every sea, the one great and pressing necessity which faces the United Kingdom is the need of an all-powerful fleet and well secured coaling-stations. They are required, not only for the protection of her enormous trade, but for the security of her food supplies, the stopping of which for a very brief period would ensure the starvation of millions of people in those crowded islands. These, then, are the common interests which should incline us to unite together in a vigorous, carefully arranged organization for mutual defence. But it is said by opponents of the proposed policy that this would involve us in untold expense and lead to our being mixed up in wars all over the world in which we had but slight interest. The answer is easy and, indeed, obvious. We are now responsible and liable to attack in any British war without the slightest control over its origin, progress or termination. Organization, as in other countries and empires, should be our motto, and would make us so strong as to render war extremely doubtful. Our great interest, as already pointed out, is the existence of a strong, united navy. If the Imperial naval force was as powerful and efficient as it should be the only vulnerable points in our whole wide Empire would be the Canadian land frontier and the mountains of Afghanistan. Great Britain could, under such conditions, well afford to retire from interference in European affairs, and even the possibility of friction, to say nothing of war, would be very much lessened.

With the United States we must always hope to live in peace and unity, and the very fact of the British Empire being so powerful would lead the politicians of the Republic to be more guarded in those utterances and actions which have of late created such temporary ill-feeling. Another consideration is that the Americans would respect us more as a people; would appreciate our desire to build up a great Dominion on this part of the continent, and would really believe in our national sentiment and spirit as an active factor in international questions, if we cast aside our Colonial dependence and assumed the full position of British subjects. But this brings us to the very important question of expense. In the first place, this whole proposition is based upon the supposition that the Canadian people are desirous of becoming at some time, in the not far-distant future, a self-sustaining nation, with national attributes and power. If that assumption be taken as granted, the inquiry

then comes, leaving all other considerations aside. What is the least expensive way of assuming this position? The answer is plainly evident and is voiced in the expression, close union and intimate alliance with the Empire. Independence, as already pointed out, would involve us in liabilities so immense as to practically preclude it from consideration. Annexation, even if attained without civil war, would entail upon us a share in the expenses of a Government stretching from one end of this continent to the other; would deprive us of the revenue now obtained from American imports, would involve us in all the enormous expenditures of the Presidential and other elections; and would in so many ways injure our national prosperity, our trading, railway, importing and maritime interests, as to render it unnecessary to refer in any more extended manner to the proposition.

Federation is then the only alternative policy to our present Colonial position, the movement being essentially constructive and not in any way destructive. The principle which we desire to clearly express is that when the people of this Dominion are prepared to assume national burdens and receive national privileges, they should do so in conjunction with the Mother Country, receiving power from her prestige, and giving additional strength to her world-wide system. It is not proposed that the Colonies should at once or for a long time be called upon to contribute to the support of the army; should be subject to conscription, or should be involved in any other of those wild ideas which have from time to time been stated to be part of our great policy. The contribution from each Colony would have to be adjusted upon a basis of past expenditure upon internal defence, of present wealth, of population, of general interests, and would probably differ materially in each part of the Empire. The sum once settled upon by the assembled Council of the Empire would have to be referred to the different Legislatures for consideration. After all details had been settled and the amount voted, the ways and means by which it should be raised would have to be considered by the Ministry of the day in each Colony, and would, I presume, form part of its yearly budget. Finally, the total sum voted might be placed in the hands of an Inter-Imperial Naval Board for the support of that navy, which controls the seas of the world, protects our commerce and guards our homes from possible invasion.

Much was done towards realizing this object by the Imperial Conference of 1887. Various arrangements were made with regard to the coast defence of Cape Colony—the Home Government agreeing to supply the armament for the fortifications, while the Colonial Government gave the sites, material for building and the necessary labour. Satisfactory arrangements were also made for the formation of an Australasian special squadron; a fleet which was to be permanently stationed in Australasian waters, while being, of course, under the control of the Admiralty in all other respects. The Home Government agreed to supply the eight proposed ships at its own expense, while the Colonies were to contribute a total sum of £126,000 per annum, or £91,000 for maintenance, and £35,000 for incidental charges. This plan was accepted by all the leading Colonies of Australia, and will undoubtedly be the first step in the direction of a truly Imperial navy. Sir Graham Berry, Agent-General for Victoria, ably summed up this part of the question when he stated on the 9th November, 1886, that “Federation of a voluntary character involved freedom of all its parts; equality of position and consensus of opinion as to mutual interest.

“The keystone of the whole is the necessity for an overwhelmingly powerful fleet and efficient defence for all necessary coaling stations. This is as essential to the Colonies as to Great Britain. All that Continental powers do with respect to their armies, Britain should effect with her navy. It is essentially a defensive force and can be moved from point to point with great rapidity, but it should be equal to all that is expected from it.

When we glance around the world and see the immense coal deposits of Nova Scotia and British Columbia, New South Wales and other parts of Australia; with the different fortified possessions or coaling stations of Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Cyprus and a host of others, we cannot but realize the fact that the nation which, in the future, controls these factors of maritime protection and efficiency, controls the seas. We can, indeed, echo the phrase lately employed by the *London Standard*, in reference to this part of the Imperial Federation question, when it said: “England must become the centre and nucleus of a mighty naval confederacy which has its harbours in every sea.”

Intimately connected with the problem of Imperial Defence is the question of how to bring about commercial co-operation between the different parts of the British Empire—a system by

which each portion will discriminate in favour of the products of the other, as against those of the outside world. We may have a federation of the Empire without this re-adjustment of our tariffs, but there can be no doubt whatever that a satisfactory solution of this proposal would do much to simplify and hasten the desired consummation.

Let us glance briefly at our position. In the first place the trade routes of the world are in the hands of England and her Colonies; the greater part of the commerce of the world is under Great Britain's control; the largest mercantile marine in the world is that of the Empire; the chief and common interest of Britain, Australia, Canada, South Africa, and, to an increasing extent, of India, is their commerce. As each of these countries has so much that the others require, increased interchange would be mutually advantageous to all.

Every luxury that can be desired, every comfort that can be wished for, every necessity that must be supplied, can be obtained or satisfied within the bounds of the British Empire. Great Britain can provide capital, iron, steel, coal, cutlery, machinery, ships, and population. Australasia gives wool, meat, wine, gold, coal and oil. Canada furnishes wheat, cattle, dairy produce, timber and coal. South Africa diamonds, feathers, corn and wine. India supplies wheat, tea, rice, silk and cotton, while the West Indies, Mauritius, and other parts provide sugar, coffee and tobacco. When we think of the enormous influence in the direction of unity exercised by commerce, by steamers and railways, telegraphs and cables, we must not overlook the power of those golden links of capital and credit which have done so much to enrich and benefit the Colonies and the Mother Country. It is sometimes said by persons who have evidently not studied the matter that the colonies have not received much benefit from their union with Britain as far as the investment of capital is concerned. The following table will show how contrary to the facts such a statement is, my authority being Sir George Baden-Powell, M.P. :—

RECORD OF THE BRITISH INCOME-TAX WHERE INVESTED.

*Income Returned.*

	1873.	1884.
United Kingdom.....	\$105,805,000	\$100,975,000
India.....	35,130,000	35,760,000
Colonies.....	14,190,000	32,225,000
Foreign Countries.....	46,700,000	33,910,000

An increase in eleven years of Colonial investments amounting to over eighteen millions and a decrease in Foreign investments of thirteen millions sterling. This, of course, only represents a small portion of the British capital now invested in the Colonies and India. Besides the many millions lent to the various Colonial Governments there are the enormous sums invested in railways and all kinds of public and private enterprises, Sir Francis Dillon-Bell, Agent-General for New Zealand, having recently stated that there are more than 550 millions of dollars of British capital invested by private individuals in Australasia alone.

^ Another very important consideration, when we look at the relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country, is that of national credit. This should be carefully pondered over by those who dream of complete Colonial secession, and they should hesitate long ere they even advocate a policy which would deprive their country of the immense advantages which it now receives as a part of the British Empire, whenever it wishes to borrow money. Where, then, would be the security for investment which now enables us to float our loans on the London market at a rate not very much higher than England herself? Even that difference we might be able to save under a system of federation which would make an Imperial guarantee for all Colonial loans possible.

As an integral part of the Empire, with an internal administration which exercises the most ordinary economy, our national credit must always be good; as an independent power with a doubtful future before it and undoubted troubles within its borders our credit would be very poor, indeed, compared with what it is to-day.

To return to a brief consideration of the commercial question I would define what has been called Imperial Reciprocity, as follows:—A duty to be levied on foreign imports into the different countries of the Empire, over and above any ordinary tariff that may be in force. This duty to vary according to circumstances, but to be in all cases a preferential one as regards our fellow-subjects. This idea was informally discussed at the recent Imperial Conference, and elicited some very good speeches and some strongly favourable expressions from Colonial statesmen of all shades of opinion, both free-traders and protectionists appearing to sympathize with the principle of preferential duties. The Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, on behalf of the delegates

from Cape Colony, presented the following proposition for discussion :—

“ The feasibility of promoting a closer union between the various parts of the British Empire by means of an Imperial Tariff of Customs, to be levied independently of the duties payable under existing tariffs, on goods entering the Empire from abroad, the revenue derived from such tariff to be devoted to the general defence of the Empire.”

Sir Samuel Griffith, then Premier of Queensland, in addressing the Conference, referred to this question in the following words :—

“ I submit for consideration this proposition : That if any member of the Empire thinks fit, for any reason, to impose Customs charges upon goods imported from abroad, it should be recognized that goods coming from British possessions should be subject to a lighter duty than those coming from foreign countries. I believe that doing so would tend in a very large degree to maintain and strengthen the feeling that we are all one nation, and would tend in many ways to bring about a stronger union than can now be said to exist.”

Sir John Downer, Premier of South Australia ; Sir Robert Thorburn, Premier of Newfoundland ; Hon. James Service, late Premier of Victoria, and Hon. Alfred Deakin, his successor, as well as Sir Wm. Fitzherbert, of New Zealand, all supported the principle of preferential duties. When, however, the hope is expressed in this country that Great Britain will deal with this question upon a broad Imperial basis, and will consent to levy differential duties of any kind in favour of her Colonies in return for similar treatment from them, some one is sure to make use of that ever ready and most convenient word “ impossible.” The first point, therefore, to consider is how such a policy would affect the Mother Country and in what manner she would receive the proposition. We will assume for the moment that all the Colonies appreciate the benefits which they would individually receive from such a course, and have passed resolutions in their respective Legislatures favourable to the policy and calling for a Conference to consider it. The first thing necessary to a complete comprehension of Britain's position in the matter is a statement of the present course of her trade, which may be most readily obtained from the following table :

British trade	1870.	1885.
With Australasia . . . . .	\$129,000,000	\$257,000,000
" Crown Colonies . . .	136,000,000	144,000,000
" North America . . .	80,500,000	93,500,000
" South Africa . . . .	24,000,000	63,000,000
Totals . . . . .	\$364,500,000	\$557,000,000

An increase of trade with her Colonies in fifteen years of the enormous sum of more than 187 millions of dollars.

This calculation does not include India, which, in the year ending March, 1886, traded with the United Kingdom to the extent of \$442,035,000, and with British Colonies to the sum of \$136,840,000. But it is often said that Britain's trade with the United States and other foreign countries is of so much importance to her that she cannot afford to risk any depreciation in its value by placing duties upon foreign imports. Mulhall's "Fifty Years of National Progress" shows how steadily British trade with foreign nations is decreasing, and reveals the fact that while the above immense increase in trade with the different parts of the Empire has taken place, the trade of the Mother Country with foreign nations has decreased to the extent of \$230,000,000 in the ten years from 1875 to 1885. Great Britain's total trade with her Colonies is now nearly double that of her whole trade with the United States. Another view of the matter is found in the fact that Australasia takes British goods at the rate of \$40 per inhabitant, the United States at the rate of \$3, and France and Germany at about \$2.50 per head. Those who deny the claim that "trade follows the flag," would do well to ponder the statement that India does 52 per cent., Australasia 50 per cent., South Africa 79 per cent., and British North America 42 per cent. of their entire trade with those two little islands, which have encircled the world with their possessions, ships and commerce.

These necessary statistics would seem to prove beyond a doubt that Britain's interests are with her Colonies to a greater extent every year, and that it only requires the continuous increase in Colonial population which is now going on, and the impetus to mutual trade which a system of differential duties would give, to render them the one supreme interest of the future to residents in the British Isles.

Here we must consider the possibility of such a policy being adopted in the United Kingdom. Many observers of the trend



of public sentiment there assert, both in public and in private, that the movement for the amendment of the present system of one-sided free trade is making rapid headway. They assert that the agriculturist is being ruined; that a general depression affects all manufacturing interests, caused by intense foreign competition and foreign tariffs; that capitalists prefer investing their money in outside countries, where their enterprises are protected; that the population is increasing at an enormous rate, without a corresponding increase in production or export, and that prices and wages are in a fluctuating position. They point to the progress of the Fair Trade League; to the formation of the British Union of Manchester, a similar society, founded in the one-time centre of Cobdenism, with 24 members of Parliament on its Council, and the Duke of Manchester as President; to the success of the British Association for the Protection of Agriculture and Industries; to the resolution almost unanimously passed a couple of years since by the National Union of Conservatives, in favour of Fair Trade, and to many other signs of the times.

There is, with regard to this question, one consideration which has not been dwelt upon, but which must have great effect upon the minds of British statesmen, namely; the fact that at present a large percentage of their food imports comes from foreign countries, and might be stopped in the event of war, resulting in deep distress, if not starvation, to a great many of the people of those crowded islands; while it is evident, on the other hand, that the almost immediate effect of a duty on foreign breadstuffs would increase the production in the Colonies to such an extent as to enable them to supply the British market from within the British Empire.

Taken from a Colonial standpoint, few require to be convinced of the beneficence of such a policy. Australia and Canada have wheat-fields capable of bearing crops sufficiently large to supply more than even the British people can require. India has a hundred million acres which only requires the encouragement afforded by a small duty to overcome the difficulties of distance and freight. The chief competitor of all these countries is the United States. Under such a duty it would be the latter country that would suffer and not the consumer in Britain, as the Republic has no other market for its breadstuffs, and would eventually have to pay the duty itself. The competition between

the Colonies, combined with their increased production, would keep the price of wheat and other products at a normal figure, and would as already stated, in a very brief space of time, enable them to supply the Mother Country without foreign assistance. What a revolution this would mean to Canada! It would imply the rapid settlement of our North-West with prosperous farmers; it would mean a much larger home market for our manufacturers; it would result in a large increase of trade for our merchants, and consequently an increased import from Britain of those numerous articles which we do not produce or manufacture. For Australia, it would mean a larger market for its mutton and meats of all kinds, and might result in successful competition with French wines. For South Africa, it would imply an increasing wine trade, and would result, as an instance, in a preference for Cape Mohair over Turkish. For India, as already stated, the proposed policy would mean an increased production of wheat, and perhaps a migration of some part of the inhabitants from the more congested centres to the, at present, uncultivated portions of that great empire. For all the Colonies it would mean an increasing commerce and consequently greater wealth; while for the United Kingdom it would result in a rapid development of trade in all those articles which it manufactures, and which so many of the Colonies now obtain from foreign countries.

^ If carried out on the basis of Mr. Hoffmeyr's proposal, we should see the Federation of the Empire brought about, and the navy changed into a great Imperial fleet over which the Colonies would exercise partial control, while at the same time assisting to guide the foreign affairs of the Empire, without the direct contribution of one cent to a general fund. If this duty upon foreign imports, over and above existing tariffs, were levied upon all foreign goods, it would produce a sum large enough to enable our navy to carry out in real earnest the brave boast of old and "sweep the seas" of all opponents. x

Steps are now being taken to arrange for a conference between Canada and Australasia, to consider the best means of encouraging trade and increasing the means of communication by the laying of cables and establishment of steamship lines.

With Australasia, the United States does a large trade, chiefly in hardware and timber, amounting to nearly ten millions per annum, which we might ourselves do under more favourable

conditions. Germany also exports largely to Australia, organs, pianos, furniture, buggies, clothes and blankets, forming the principal articles, most of which we can manufacture to advantage.

With the interchange of ideas, the expression of wishes, and the statement of national needs resulting from such conferences as that of 1887 and the one now proposed, comes the educating influence which in time will create a great exchange of commodities, as a result of what at first was but an interchange of opinions.

We now come to the third proposition laid down for our consideration, and must review very briefly the ways and means by which a gradual adjustment of our present political relations in the direction of closer union may be brought about. Looking back through the annals of the past, any student of history and political progress must acknowledge that a federation of the British Empire is, in theory, nothing more than the legitimate outcome of centuries of constitutional development, and that the whole principle is based upon the clearly established British precedent, that where important interests exist there should be in some form or other representation. At present large communities of British subjects are scattered around the globe, without the smallest representation in the Legislature or Executive which controls their exterior policy and international relations. The problem awaiting future solution, is whether these rising nations are to take their places as States or National Partners in a great Empire, or carelessly drift into separation and isolation. Thus the object of the Imperial Federation League, and the advocates of that policy, would seem to consist in pointing out that all we have to do is to gradually develop our institutions in accordance with tradition and custom into some system as yet undefined which will give Imperial influence and a federal voice to the Colonies—while preserving to them their Local Home Rule—and secure immunity to the Mother Country from many of the dangers which now threaten her scattered and unorganised territories, while adding to her future power and prestige. ✓

Constitutional Readjustment, as Imperial Federation might be styled, can only be obtained by carefully concerted action from time to time as the occasion arises between the Mother Country and her Colonies, brought about by the calling together

of consultative conferences such as the one which set so noble a precedent in 1887. As our mutual interests develop, as our Empire increases in population and extent, as our commerce expands and new means of communication are created, the necessity for such deliberative meetings will increase and the need of a permanent central body will become evident. Then, without any friction, without any undue interference with Local Parliaments, without any sudden reorganization or violent revolution in public sentiment, a Federal Council of the Empire will be evolved and Imperial Federation become an accepted fact.

One of the pressing questions of the day is that of emigration from the overcrowded homes of England. In the Colonies are to be found immense vacant territories, agricultural and pastoral capabilities, and unbounded room for investment, while in the Mother Country are innumerable farmers hardly making a living, and farm labourers in an even worse condition. A Council of the Empire consulting, as to what was in the best interests of its various States, would, I venture to assert, make very short work of such a problem. An arrangement could easily be made under such circumstances by which the toiling farmer could be settled on large and fertile districts, while the farm hand of the past would very soon become a prosperous farm proprietor in some great dependency of the Crown. State-aided colonization is just now a difficult question because of the apparent impossibility of persuading the classes of emigrants who are most desired by the Dominion and other Colonies to leave their homes and country. Under the proposed system of closer union, ignorance concerning the Colonies would be dissipated, fears of distance would be eradicated by pointing out that there was very little difference after all between a colony and the mother country except in the matter of climate, and by showing the evils of the latter to be almost entirely the result of misrepresentation. When this had been done and the emigrant felt that he was simply leaving an over-crowded England for another England beyond the sea, with the cable and the steamships bringing him into frequent communication with his friends at home, the applicants for State-Aid would increase in numbers and improve in condition.

In the consideration of so great a question as Imperial Federation, it is difficult to deal with all the problems that come up in a very limited space, but there is one which demands a

brief review, and which, indeed, provokes a great deal of unnecessary misrepresentation. We are all interested in India. Upon its retention by the British Crown depends a large part of the trade of Australasia, and much of the commerce which we one day hope to see carried over our national railway and upon our ocean steamers; while we must always remember that in Canada, as elsewhere, the price of every pound of tea and coffee, rice, spices, and other tropical produce depends altogether upon British control over India. Should Russia ever get the upper hand there we should be most severely affected. As a training ground for soldiers and officers, as a field for the education of statesmen who are something more than mere politicians, as a source of military power and Imperial prestige, India is invaluable to the Mother Country, and would be to us if Imperial Federation were a fact, but under no conceivable circumstances could she have representation according to population in the Imperial body which we hope to see created. It is doubtful if she should have any at all under present conditions and her present system of government, and it is only possible that at some future time she might be thought to have a right to the admission of some few native rulers, or representatives of the native States in the Imperial Council. At present, India is ruled by the Viceroy, subject to the orders of the Secretary of State for India, who is in turn advised and assisted by an appointed council of fifteen members. Nominally, India is ruled by the House of Commons, which is supposed to control the actions of the Secretary of State and the expenditure as exhibited in the annual budget; practically, it has been largely governed by the Viceroy himself, because of the lack of interest which is taken in Indian matters, unless they come up in the form of some burning question, or some offensive or defensive military action on the part of the Indian Executive.

A partnership in the defence and commercial arrangements of the whole Empire would necessarily entitle us to a share in its government, and would consequently give us considerable influence and share in ruling India, as well as the Crown Colonies. Not the least of the advantages to be gained would be the competitive admission of all British subjects to the Civil Service of our Eastern Empire, and the possible holding of examinations for that purpose in the different Colonies.

Another problem often mentioned in this connection is the

Irish Question. It is necessary simply to point out here that the Empire can be federated with or without Home Rule for Ireland; that the Imperial Council or Parliament can be established with representatives from a United Kingdom or from a Federated Kingdom—supposing Home Rule to mean merely local legislatures in the different countries—and that it is not within the province of Imperial Federationists, as such, to interfere with the settlement of a question marked by so many difficulties, and of a nature so entirely local to the United Kingdom.

In concluding this most inadequate attempt to deal with a subject so vast, I trust that all who have followed the line of argument used will accept it as merely a contribution to a great discussion, and as not by any means a complete presentation of the facts or favouring indications which might be adduced. The words of Mr. D. Gillies, Prime Minister of Victoria, are well worthy of mention in this connection, when he said at a meeting in Melbourne some two years ago: "To me the unity of the Empire means no possibility of dismemberment. Unity is always strength. I feel the greatest possible pleasure in being able to say that, so far as I know the sentiment of the people of this country—and I can speak as to the sentiment of the Government, and I feel quite confident of the Parliament also—is that they have the strongest possible desire to draw closer and closer the bonds of union between this and the Mother Country, and beyond all doubt that is the sentiment of the whole of the Australian people."

British subjects throughout the world have to choose in the future between unity and separation, between power and weakness, between prosperity and disaster; and it is well to bear in mind that as the origin, progress and present position of the Empire are all alike unique in the history of the world, so will its future be something that may now be considered impossible, as having no precedent in the annals of the past.

The late Rt. Hon. W. B. Dalley, the first Australian Privy Councillor, and who was mainly instrumental in sending the Australian Contingent to the Soudan, expressed this feeling with that vivid earnestness which so characterized his disposition when he referred to the Contingent as being the advance guard of a 'glorious Imperial Federation, and went on to say: "We have awakened in the Australian Colonies an enthusiasm

of sacrifice, of heroism, of all the nobler qualities which are to the loftier national life what the immortal soul is to the perishable body of humanity. We have lifted up remote Colonies to equal companionship with chivalrous nations. We have shown to the world that in a sense and with a meaning of sacred patriotism, the watchword of disloyalty is the very motto of our devotion; that England's difficulty is our opportunity; that we have watched and waited for the moment when we could aid, however humbly, that Empire which is the guardian and depository of the noblest form of constitutional freedom that the world has ever seen."

^ What, then, are Canadians going to do? Shall we sacrifice our British principles, our allegiance to a constitutional sovereign, our national birthright and traditions, for a spurious, forced and brief independence, or for the privilege of being absorbed by a neighbouring nation? Shall we not rather adhere to the past, preserve its memories and conserve its glories, while building up an edifice of national greatness which shall have for its basis Imperial unity and equality, and for its final consummation a share in power so great, in prosperity so unprecedented, in peace so secure, and in an Empire so wide and far-reaching in extent and population, as to enable British citizens to control the commerce and guide the conflicting interests of the great countries of the world in the direction of peace and inter-national prosperity?

Then forward for our cause and Canada,  
Forward for Britain's Empire—peerless arch  
Of Freedom's raising, whose majestic span  
Is axis to the world!

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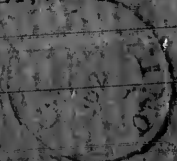
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