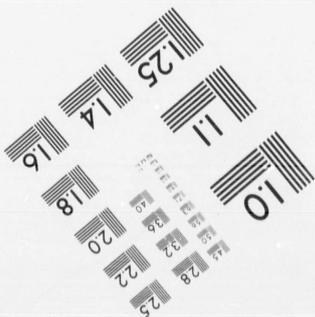
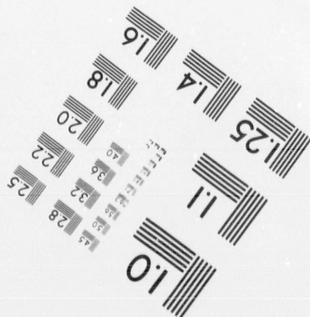
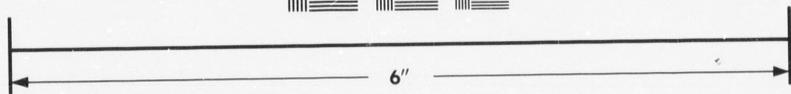
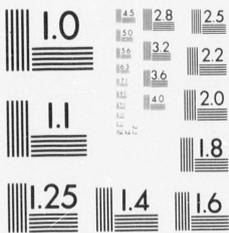


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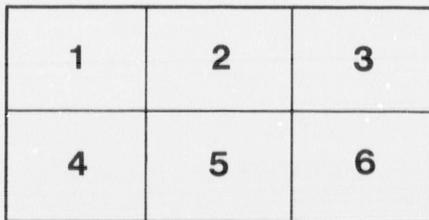
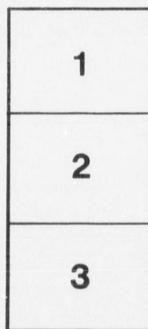
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THE  
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**REPORT OF SPEECHES**

DELIVERED AT

MEETINGS HELD DURING THE VISIT OF

THE

**PRIME MINISTERS**

OF THE

**SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES,**

Between JUNE 12th and JULY 5th, 1897.

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THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE LEAGUE.

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THE  
**BRITISH EMPIRE LEAGUE.**

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**SPEECHES**

**Delivered at Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, and Birmingham, during the visits of the Prime Ministers of the Self-governing Colonies, arranged on their behalf by the British Empire League, with the concurrence of the Colonial Office.**

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LIVERPOOL, *Saturday, June 12th, 1897.*

A Meeting was held in the Small Concert Room at St. George's Hall, at 3 p.m. Mr. F. C. DANSON, president of the Chamber of Commerce, occupied the chair, and he was supported by the Lord Mayor, the Duke of Devonshire, the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier (Premier of Canada) and Madame Laurier, the Hon. Sir George Turner, K.C.M.G. (Premier of Victoria), Lady Turner and Miss Turner, the Hon. R. J. Seddon (Premier of New Zealand), Mrs. Seddon and the Misses Seddon, the Hon. Sir Hugh Nelson (Premier of Queensland), Lady Nelson and the Misses Nelson, the Hon. C. C. Kingston (Premier of South Australia) and Mrs. Kingston, the Rt. Hon. Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., the Rt. Hon. Chief Justice Way (South Australia), the Hon. Sir Donald Smith, G.C.M.G. (High Commissioner for Canada), Mr. W. A. F. Murray (Ceylon), Mr. W. Herbert Daw and Mrs. Daw, Mr. C. Freeman Murray and Mrs. Murray, Mr. Herman W. Marcus, the Rt. Hon. Sir A. B. Forwood, Bart., M.P., Sir Gilbert Carter, K.C.M.G., Sir

George Baden-Powell, K.C.M.G., M.P., Sir E. R. Russell, Sir Samuel Black, Sir James Poole, Messrs. W. F. Lawrence, M.P., J. C. Bigham, Q.C., M.P., A. F. Warr, M.P., and others.

The LORD MAYOR said:—Your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My duty to-day is a very simple one, inasmuch as this meeting has been brought together under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce ; but before commencing the proceedings I have been asked to say a word or two, which I do gladly, by way of welcoming to this city of Liverpool the distinguished visitors who have done us honour. (Loud applause.) Although this building does not contain a very large number, still it is a very representative meeting of the citizens, and I am sure that I speak not only in your name but in the name of every citizen of Liverpool in saying to our visitors to-day that we do welcome them to our city and especially for the purpose for which they came here. (Applause.) His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, as president of the British Empire League—(applause)—is to address you, and I will only add that we offer to the League a hearty welcome and that we wish God-speed to the cause they all have at heart. (Loud applause.)

Mr. F. C. DANSON said:—Let me first endorse in the name of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce those words of welcome which have fallen from our Lord Mayor. Turning to the particular business of this meeting, I should like to say a very few words by way of introduction. There has been a general feeling in this country that the future welfare of our empire depends very largely upon its commercial prosperity. The same principles apply equally to this old country and to every one of her colonies. The colonies in these days cannot be tied to the mother country, as in the days of ancient Greece and Rome, by force of arms or even by the more modern methods of legislation. There must be joint interests and unity of purpose, and successful commercial regulations will form one of the strongest ties to

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keep us together. (Hear, hear.) As an illustration I may point out that the development of commerce requires investment of capital. In the mother country we know that capital is very cheap, and the rate of interest is very low. That capital is required and can be made great use of in our colonies, and as soon as we see that the British flag and the Colonial Government are providing the necessary security British capital will flow in that direction, to the mutual benefit of the mother country and the colonies. The British Empire League has been organised to promote the interests of the empire, and we are fortunate in being honoured with the presence of its president, the Duke of Devonshire, as well as the representatives of many of the leading colonies to-day. (Applause.) The objects of the League are chiefly to promote commercial enterprise, and it deserves well of all who have the welfare of the empire at heart. I am quite sure that I only express the feelings of all of us in this great centre of commercial activity when I say that we in Liverpool will give the British Empire League the very heartiest support possible. (Applause.)

#### OBJECTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE LEAGUE.

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The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, who was heartily cheered, said:—Mr. President, my Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen —I feel that I have undertaken a somewhat presumptuous task in consenting to take the most prominent part in this meeting to-day, which is in some senses the beginning of a series of proceedings in the course of which in the next few weeks we are going to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the reign of our Queen, and especially by welcoming amongst us the distinguished colonial representatives we have with us to-day. (Applause.) I feel that if, when I accepted the invitation of the Chamber of Commerce to come here, I had known exactly the period at which it would take place, and that this is the first opportunity upon which the representatives of the colonies would be welcomed to our

shores, the leading place would have been more suitably taken by the Prime Minister himself, or by the distinguished statesman who presides over the administration of the colonies. (Applause.) I do not think that the existence and character of the British Empire League is yet so well known amongst us as to make it superfluous to repeat a few words as to its origin and its character. You may know that a few years ago there was in existence an association under the name of the Imperial Federation League. The objects of that association were to bring about in a variety of ways a closer connection between Great Britain, her colonies, and her dependencies. That association was formed and guided by statesmen not only of the highest patriotism, but also of practical ability. The late Mr. Forster—(applause)—took a large part in its inception, and it was presided over at different times by Lord Rosebery and Mr. Stanhope. Its objects are described by the present Prime Minister as involving nothing more or less than the future of the British Empire. That association did in many ways a most admirable work. It held meetings, circulated literature; it increased the knowledge possessed here of our colonies—of their resources, of their aspirations, of their conditions, and of their needs. It helped to assure our colonies, and our fellow-countrymen residing in those colonies, of the interest and the sympathy which was felt for them and their future by the people of this country. It opened in this way a very admirable work, but it was destined to have only a short life. Its dissolution was due, as I believe, to one cause only. Amongst the many admirable objects of this association was one equally admirable, but which was perhaps one of a too ambitious character, or, at all events, at present premature. This object was to form and advocate a scheme for a closer and political connection between the United Kingdom and its colonies—a connection through which in some way or another the colonies should be admitted to a part in Imperial administration, while they in return should contribute in some form to the support of a national burden. Now, I

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am very far from saying that such an ideal is beyond the possibility of practical realisation at some future time, but as far as we can see at present that time has not yet arrived. Whenever it does arrive, this object which the Imperial Federation League has set itself to accomplish must be the work of men holding more responsible positions, and of a force more powerful than can be claimed or called into existence by any private association, however eminent or patriotic may be the men who are connected with it. Owing to this cause, as I have said, the Imperial Federation League was dissolved at an early period of its existence, but it was felt that its dissolution, without replacing it in any way, would be not only a misfortune in itself, but would also be liable to misunderstanding on the part of our colonial fellow-countrymen. It was thought that the true causes of its dissolution not being understood might indicate some lack of interest in the affairs of the colonies on the part of this country, and it might be felt that we were indifferent to the object of bringing about a closer connection with them. This League, then, has been founded as a successor of the Imperial Federation League, with all the general objects of doing everything in our power to bring about closer commercial and other connections between the colonies and ourselves, but on the principle of a complete elimination of any attempt at the present time to bring about any political or organic change in our relations. All we, who are members of the League, are at liberty to hold our own opinions, and to advocate this or the other form of political or organic change; but as an association our aim is to bring about closer connection with the colonies, by means of better commercial relations, by means of improved communications, by means of increased sympathy with each other—(applause)—of increased knowledge of each other—(loud applause)—and for the present, at all events, we abstain from offering suggestions, still more do we abstain from any appearance of dictating as to what form, if ever it should come about at all, a closer political connection

between us and them is to take. (Applause.) It is probably due to this change in the constitution of our association, to the complete elimination of any political object—not only such party objects which never found a place even in the old association—but the elimination of all political objects, even such as men of all parties can agree upon—it is to this complete elimination of all political principles that we owe the honour which we have recently received of being able to inscribe the illustrious names of Her Majesty the Queen as the patron of our League, and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal Family as vicepatrons. (Applause.) It is not for me on other occasions to attempt to suggest what useful work it might be in the power of this association to accomplish. Of this, however, I am quite sure—that its work will be rather in the direction of guiding, assisting, and directing than of creating those national impulses which we all desire to see shaping themselves in the direction of national unity. There never was, in my opinion, a time at any period of our history when the colonies and our dependencies filled a larger place in the thoughts of the people, and of their political leaders. Never at any time—even at times when we have been fighting to acquire or to retain our colonial possessions—never at any time when the stream of emigration has been most rapidly building up our colonial expansions—never at any time have they filled a larger part in the thoughts of the public than to-day. It would be too much to say that they now occupy the attention of our statesmen, to the exclusion of more purely domestic matters, or that those domestic matters do not still occupy the largest portion of the time which we devote to politics, but there is, I think, at the present time something in the air—there is something which, if I am not mistaken, is growing into a great and irresistible force which is speaking to the minds, and more than to the minds, to the hearts of the people, and which tells them that they are citizens of a greater State

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than that which is contained within these little islands on the north-west of Europe—(applause)—but that they have to deal with larger issues than those of the success or defeat of this or that political party—that even their relations with their European States are of less importance than the relations which they may be able to establish or to maintain with those younger, vigorous, and prosperous States which it rests with the people of this country in a great measure to decide whether they shall grow up as portions of our empire, or whether by neglect or mismanagement we shall compel them to found for themselves an independent and a separate existence. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, I am very sorry to say that I am old enough to remember when a very different state of public opinion in this country existed. I cannot remember the time when our colonies were regarded with anything like suspicion or distrust, nor do I suppose there ever was a time within our recollection in which men doubted that Canada, Australia, and South Africa would in time come to be great and powerful States. But as to the future of those States, and as to the closeness of our connection with them and our interest in them, there was a time when there existed great uncertainty and doubt. There was a time when men doubted both whether our Canadian and Australian colonies would remain permanently united with us, but they also doubted—they had not made up their minds—whether it would be an advantage to us or to them. I think this temper of mind was due to a very great extent to the influence at that time of what was called the Manchester school, the leaders of which were men so distinguished as Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, and to the admiration of the United States, an admiration admirable in itself, but perhaps at that time somewhat exaggerated and mis-directed. We were taught not only that we had lost our North American colonies through our own mistakes and unwisdom, but that it was the best thing that could happen both to the United States and to us that we should have lost them; and as regards the

remaining colonies we were taught that while we should endeavour to confine the mistakes which had lost us our North American colonies, while we should never be guilty again of the crime and the blunder of endeavouring to retain them by force, yet we might look forward with complacency to the time when, they having grown up, they should peacefully, without friction, without anger on either side, cease to be connected with the mother country, and set up for themselves as independent republics on the model of the United States. I continue to believe, as I have always believed, that free trade is the best and wisest policy for our country—(applause)—but virtues were given to it which it did not possess, and results were predicted which have not followed. (Hear, hear.) Its speedy universal adoption all over the world was prophesied, and that prophecy has been falsified, and the thick and thin admirers and believers in the Manchester school seek to persuade us that, although that prophecy has not been fulfilled, it was the best thing for us that we should be the only free-trading country in the world. Very few disciples of free trade of 50 years ago would have believed for a moment that at this time France and Germany would be carrying on an enormous trade under strictly protective conditions, and not only that they would not have opened their markets to us, but they would be competing with us for the possession of as large a portion as possible of the surface of the earth, not for the purpose of opening it out to the universal benefits of free trade, but for the purpose of excluding from those portions English trade. The world has not become the commercial paradise which was predicted in the early days of free trade opinion, when it was hoped that free trade would bind all the nations of the earth so closely together that it would be a matter of comparatively little importance by whom they were ruled or under what influence they were governed. We have since learned by painful experience that no old or new markets are being thrown open to us by the influence of

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free trade alone, and that if we want to provide for the increasing commerce which is necessary for the support of our increasing population, we must find those markets for ourselves—(applause)—and must use every opportunity either of expanding or of consolidating our colonial possessions. I hope that it may be understood that in these observations I am not consciously speaking in any spirit of disloyalty to those who were to a great extent my own political leaders, although even at that time I was frequently obliged to find myself in opposition to them upon various Imperial questions. I am only seeking to show you what has been one of the causes why a great change has come over public opinion in these matters, and why colonial expansion and colonial consolidation are now regarded, not, as they were then, as a policy of doubtful principle, as a policy which was perhaps to be shunned, but as a policy which is essential to the maintenance of our continued prosperity. (Loud applause.) There are none, or but a very few, in the present day who look at the example of the United States as the inevitable or the necessary result of our colonising energy, or who do not look forward with any anticipations but those of hope, of pride, and of exaltation, at the possible creation in the future, not only of a Canadian dominion, but of an Australian dominion, of a West Indian dominion, and of an African dominion—(loud applause)—dominions which perhaps may rival the United States themselves, in extent, in power, and in prosperity—dominions which, instead of becoming separate and independent States, may yet remain portions of one undivided British Empire. (Applause.) I can give you a rather curious instance which I think shows the change which has come over our policy. Thirty-two years ago a committee was appointed to consider the question of a British establishment on the West Coast of Africa. That committee was presided over by a Conservative statesman, Mr. Adderley, now Lord Norton; it contained men of all sides of politics, took evidence, and passed certain resolutions unanimously.

Those resolutions were to the effect that all extensions of territory by this country in that part of the world was inexpedient, and that our policy ought to be to encourage the natives in the exercise of qualities which would render it possible to transfer to them the administration of the Government of those districts, with the view of our ultimate withdrawal from all of them. When my attention was called the other day to the report of that committee I was rather surprised to find that I had myself been a member of it. (Laughter.) It had entirely escaped my recollection. On referring to its proceedings, it is true, I found that I had not been a very constant attendant. (Laughter.) How I got there I am not quite sure. Probably it was for the purpose of the departmental representation of the War Office, of which I was then a subordinate member. But I am only recording that unimportant fact in order to show that if in the opinion of any of us those resolutions of the committee were unwise and inexpedient, I am not doing it with the object of imputing blame to any of my political opponents. If those resolutions were unwise, the party to which I belonged, I myself, as well as the party which was then in opposition, we were all equally responsible. And I believe that viewed in the light of the ideas which now prevail at our Colonial Office, those resolutions were not only theoretically unwise, but have been practically unfortunate and even disastrous. For 25 years the policy of the Colonial Office in that part of Africa has been in the main guided by the spirit of those resolutions. And now, when perhaps too late we have discovered the value for purposes of trade of large portions of African territory in that neighbourhood, we find ourselves shut out to a great degree by our previous policy in taking advantage of that discovery. The optimists who sat on that committee were committed to the maintenance of British government, or native self-government; but it did not occur to us that there were other nations in the field who, with no sentimental zeal for the elevation of the black races or to

promote self-government amongst the natives of West Africa, were possessed by a very strong zeal and desire to shut out our commerce, and to keep the commerce of large portions of that country in their own hands. That was a place we were so ready to abandon, and when, perhaps too late, we have discovered the possible future value of that trade, we find ourselves on every side shut in, hemmed in by the encroachments of other nations, and exposed, if not to attack, at all events to interference when we seek to develop our trade in those regions. It is much more pleasant to refer to another instance where a policy of a different character prevailed, where ideas of a more generous, and, as we now think, a more statesmanlike character had a preference. If there was one of our colonies in which the policy of continued connection, still more expansion, might have seemed doubtful, it was in the case of our remaining North American colonies. Those colonies were not like those we had lost, peopled entirely by men of our own kindred and our own race. Some of those colonies had been acquired by conquest, some of them consisted mainly of the people of another race and of another religion. It might have seemed that a policy of continued connection with them, still more their expansion, might seem to be a doubtful one. Sixty years ago, at the commencement of Her Majesty's reign, one of the North American colonies—the French Canadians in one of our colonies—was in a state of armed rebellion. Warned by the experience of former mistakes, the patriotic statesmen of that time met that difficulty by the concession of self-government in its fullest extent and form—(applause)—and in 1867, only two years after the report of that committee to which I have just been referring, another generation of imperial and colonial statesmen by a great measure of federation put an end to the friction, the inter-colonial jealousy, and the difficulties which had still survived the grant of self-government to these colonies; and just as to-day, as I have shown you, we

are reaping, in some degree, the fruits of an unwise policy of retirement and retrenchment in one part of the world, so in another we are reaping the fruits of a wiser and better and more generous policy in the success which has attended the great policy of Canadian federation. (Applause.) We are fortunate to-day in being able to be the first to receive on our soil the Premier of Canada—(loud applause)—representing as he does not one of our self-governing colonies, but the federation of eight self-governing colonies—a statesman whose acceptance by the whole of the Canadian people, English as well as French, Protestant as well as Catholic, is a symbol of the vitality and reality of the federation. (Applause.) We receive him with still greater gratification, inasmuch as the first measure which he has proposed to his Parliament has been a step—and we believe a long step—in the way of closer commercial connection with this country—(applause)—a proof of the desire of the Canadian statesmen, backed by the Canadian people, to add the strength which they have gained from a wise measure of federation to our strength, and to weld the bonds which unite us together more closely, and, as we hope, more permanently. (Applause.) Among all representatives of our colonies whom we shall in this auspicious year welcome to our shores there is, I am sure, none who will receive a warmer welcome from us than the Canadian Premier, who has shown in his own person the capacity of our free institutions to break down even such barriers as those of race and of religion, and who, by the success which he has shown to have attained in this great measure of federation, will, we hope, set an example which we hope at no distant time will be followed by other colonies in other parts of the world. If I only say a word of congratulation to Canada on the success of her federation, if I do not venture to make any observation upon the subject of Australian federation, which is occupying so much of the thoughts of our fellow-countrymen there—(applause)—it is partly because I am only very imperfectly informed myself

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upon the subject, but it is also because I feel, and I think we all feel, that earnestly as we desire some measure of that sort in the same direction as that which has been taken by our Canadian colonies, that action must be taken by the people and by the statesmen of Australia themselves—(hear, hear)—and that premature action, any uninvited, any unasked-for action on the part either of the Imperial Government or even of such an irresponsible association as this, might tend rather to delay than to promote the bringing about of a measure which, nevertheless, we earnestly desire to see realised as soon as possible. (Loud applause.) If more time were at my disposal, I might mention other reasons why we specially hail the presence of Mr. Laurier among us. Canada has recently identified itself with two objects which form an important part of the objects of the British Empire League—the establishment of closer commercial relations, and establishment of improved communications; but I am glad to hear that Mr. Laurier himself, although he will not, I believe, address us this afternoon, will speak to-night, and I would rather leave him to speak upon those subjects, especially as I am told that our time is getting extremely limited. But, even if I had time, I don't think I should wish to detain you any longer with entering upon any details connected with this great question. I personally hope that in the course of this memorable year the attention of the body of our people will be directed, not only to those details, interesting and important as they may be, but to some of the wider aspects of these questions. And surely one of the most vital of these aspects is the question how far are our democratic institutions compatible with the consolidation and expansion of our empire which we have at heart. It has been said that the lessons of history teach us that democracy is incompatible with empire, but we are all now agreed that we have an empire, and we are equally agreed that we mean to keep it. (Hear, hear, and applause.) We are fully agreed that the constitution of a central government is a

virtual democracy under the honoured and venerated form of a constitutional monarchy, and the Governments of some portions of our empire are even more democratic. If we look, as I think we may fairly look in this case, to the example of the United States, we shall see that there the most democratic institutions of the most pronounced character are not incompatible with the creation and preservation of a great and powerful State. The United States have so solved the problem of co-ordinating central and local self-government that they have established a State which is probably as powerful as any which has ever been known that has been ruled by an autocratic power. It is true that the United States have once had to fight for their unity, but so far as we can judge that fight they have fought once for all. So far then, judging from the example of the United States, we can see no reason why the democratic character of our institutions and those of our colonies should, if rightly ordered, be a bar to the continuance and the maintenance of our unity. (Applause.) We have difficulties to face greater than those which the United States had to face. The Government which we have to undertake of a great variety of Asiatic and African races presents problems with which probably no democracy has hitherto been confronted. In no part of the world, nowhere, are we alone; everywhere we have neighbours, and in many cases jealous and envious and not friendly neighbours. We have no Monroe doctrine to protect us. If we had, it would be a doctrine which would extend over the whole world. (Laughter and applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, we have in those conditions which I have ventured so imperfectly to present to you a problem to face which no democracy at any previous period of the history of the world has been confronted. That we will face those difficulties and surmount them I do not think that anyone in this year can doubt, and the first condition of our surmounting them successfully is that our people should be able to form some opinion, some conception, to bring their imagi-

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nations to the level of the vastness and the importance of the problem itself. In this year, when we are about to celebrate an anniversary in which the whole empire is taking part, the unity of the empire is at once brought vividly and distinctly before our eyes. Each of those aspects should influence the other. The unity which we seek for is not a mechanical fetter intended to stifle the development of natural influences or to mould everything together in one barren system of uniformity. For the first time in history we are going to endeavour, I hope successfully, to present to the world the spectacle of a nation, Imperial, but at the same time free, and I hope in the time to come it may be possible for history to recall that our people have shown themselves not unequal to the enormous and unprecedented task which we have undertaken. (Loud applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, I assure you it has given me the very greatest pleasure to be among you on this interesting occasion. (Loud and long continued applause.)

Mr. G. H. Cox said :—It is my pleasing duty, on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, to propose a vote of thanks to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire for his interesting and eloquent address. (Applause.) While we in Liverpool thank his Grace for coming here to explain to us the scope and aim of the British Empire League, we also feel that additional importance is given to the occasion by the presence here to-day of so many eminent colonial representatives—representatives whom we welcome here as fellow-citizens of an empire to which we all are proud to belong. (Applause.)

#### PREMIER OF VICTORIA.

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Premier of Victoria), in seconding the motion, said :—If the words which spring to my lips are not sufficient to convey those thanks in the manner in which the task ought to be performed, I will ask you to forgive me, and think that the right hearty and cordial welcome which you have given me has driven from my

mind all other thoughts except that I stand among Britons, those who look upon our colonies with every feeling of admiration, and I assure you of this: that when we return to our colonists we will be able to tell them that, among the many hearty receptions we have had, not the least was that given to us by the people of Liverpool on our entering into their city. His Grace, in his admirable address, has reminded us of the time when the people of Great Britain looked upon their colonies as something they might easily part with. But all these feelings have now fortunately passed away, and I feel perfectly confident of this, that if any committee attempted to place before any House of Parliament a report couched in the language which he has mentioned to us, it would be scouted out of that house. His Grace, in his remarks, referred in affectionate terms to our colonies, and from my experience I am sure that the affection is widespread, and that the people of this great land look upon the colonists in far distant lands with feelings of love and affection. Who were the men, who, taking their lives in their hand, went into those strange lands for the purpose of carrying out the great work of the British nation in the colonisation of these lands? Were they not Britishers? (Loud applause.) These hardy old men are rapidly passing away, I regret to say; but I can assure you that the rising generation in these various colonies—I myself being a native—look with pride and respect on the work our fathers did, and we are determined, by every effort in our power, to show that we are worthy sons of worthy sires. (Cheers.) We are not unmindful of the many benefits, privileges, and advantages which have been granted to our colonies, and we are determined on this, that should the time ever unfortunately arrive when the British people here should require any definite and distinct proof that the sons of this nation in the far distant lands still possess the feelings of loyalty to the motherland, we shall do what is right and proper in assisting that motherland. (Loud applause.) With regard to the institution under whose

auspices we are assembled to-day, one fact has been told to us—that her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen is patron. That in itself would be quite sufficient to show that it is an institution which deserves the respect and esteem of her subjects throughout the length and breadth of her dominions. But I can tell you, on behalf of our colonies, that the objects of that league will have the warmest and greatest support that we can possibly afford to them. We believe that it is to the interests, not alone of the colonists, but it is to the interests of our motherland, that the ties which bind us together should be indissoluble. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately the Australian colonies have to be represented to-day by several premiers, not like the dominion of Canada, which can speak with a united voice. But whatever our differences may be amongst ourselves, this fact is certain—that we speak with one voice when we give utterance to those feelings of loyalty which fill the breast of every colonist in the far distant land. (Applause.) But although those difficulties do exist, we one and all fervently hope and pray that the day is not far distant when the various colonies will follow the great example which has been set by the Canadian Dominion, and we do trust that, perhaps before this glorious year passes away, you will be able to welcome another dominion—United Australia. (Applause.) Some may fear that when those great colonies are united there may be a desire on their part to separate from the British Empire. No such desire will ever exist. We one and all do sincerely hope and trust—we are perfectly certain in our minds—that the ties which bind us to the motherland will never be lessened, but that year by year they will grow stronger and stronger, and that, whenever the federation of the Australian colonies does take place—we know that it must—it undoubtedly will be under the shadow and under the protection of the grand old flag of our grand old motherland. (Applause.) I do not desire to follow his Grace with regard to the remarks which have been made in respect of free trade in Great Britain. I represent, perhaps, the most pro-

tected colony of the whole group—(laughter)—and were I to enter upon contentious matter, perhaps I would throw an apple of discord into this gathering ; but while free trade may suit Great Britain, there is no doubt that to young colonies, struggling against competition, it is absolutely necessary for some period of their existence they should have protection against the outside world, and that is the feeling which actuates us. But although we may be protected, although we may feel that it is absolutely necessary in the interests of our struggling manufactures, that we should have that protection, if proposals be made to us which will show us that the whole of our trade, the whole of our dealings, can be on fair, just, and equitable terms conducted with Great Britain we will be only too willing to enter into that bargain, because we know that that will be manifestly for the benefit and advantage of all of us who are part of this great empire. (Applause.) The task which has been allotted to me this afternoon is, indeed, a pleasant one. We have heard an admirable address couched in the kindest terms to our colonies, in which his Grace has pointed out his past faults and misdemeanours, evidently showing that the years which have passed have convinced him of the error of his ways. (Laughter.) It is an address which ought to be circulated throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles and the various colonies. It will show to us and to those we represent in your far distant possessions that we possess here men in high and honourable positions who are pleased and proud to show that they appreciate the various colonies, and are determined to do all they can to keep them in the fold of the empire. I can honestly say this, if ever the colonies do leave the empire it will not be the fault of the colonies. I have much pleasure, indeed, in seconding the resolution of the vote of thanks to the lecturer, and I hope it will be—and I am certain from what I have seen of this audience that it will be—carried in that hearty, cordial, and enthusiastic manner which the remarks he has made have entitled him to. (Loud applause.)

## NEW ZEALAND PREMIER.

The Hon. R. J. SEDDON, Premier of New Zealand, said:— I am asked to support the proposition so ably proposed, and so admirably seconded by my worthy friend the Prime Minister of Victoria. I say at once, ladies and gentlemen, that proposition requires no support from me. The way that address was received by this representative gathering was sufficient to indicate that he was speaking the mind of the great nation to which we have the honour to belong, and to be present at a Liverpool representative meeting and to think that it would be otherwise would be a great reflection upon a great people, and I can claim to be one of yourselves. As a Lancashire man—(applause)—living across the seas in a far-off land, I have not forgotten that our county gives one day that which is accepted by England the next, and I am proud that it has been reserved for us to listen to the admirable address which his Grace has given this afternoon. Since thirty years ago, when this matter was first discussed, there has gone forward a movement which will increase in strength and volume until all doubts be removed, and that instead of that which you all require going to foreign nations we can give you that help ; we desire to do so. Help us to do it, and you are doing your duty to the great empire to which we all have the honour to belong. Let me remind you of what took place at the conference in London last June. There the thinking men of our nation, those who command our manufactures, those who command the commerce and trade of our country, showed that they desired to put to the world, and to put to those in charge of Imperial affairs, what their views honestly were upon this subject. And he who is at the present moment at the head of colonial affairs—I allude to the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain—said : Let the colonies come to us with a proposal or proposals, and it shall not be treated in any huckstering spirit. (Applause.) Nothing was done under that until recently, but there was a conference held of the Prime Ministers of Australasia at Hobart, and a resolution was

passed in which we said that we had not arrived at that stage at which proposals could be made, but that the situation is so grave and so serious that, in the interests of the colonies and of the empire, it should be inquired into. Later on, in answer to Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion, Canada made her proposals unconditionally. It was such as to startle the whole civilised world, and it has brought from all who love our empire the utmost enthusiasm. (Cheers.) Canada has solved a difficulty which you were quite unable to deal with. She has practically said, "You admit free, and to you, the motherland, we shall do likewise." (Applause.) It should be known that during the last four years the trade of my own colony, New Zealand, has been doubled with America. In another colony, the highly-protected colony of Victoria, an official report, now in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, shows that from 1884 to 1894 there has been an increase of something like 5 per cent. in trade with foreign nations. Though that did not give the trade completely or correctly, the returns as now made out show that the trade was 1256 per cent., and that was where the serious aspect of the case came in, for they knew it was almost penal with some of those nations to attempt to send any of the produce of the colonies to their countries. (Hear, hear.) And when they found that, irrespective of treaties which should be maintained in spirit and not violated as they had been, where they found that bounties were given as were given by some of those nations and where they found large subsidies given—in one case amounting to over £200,000 per annum—it simply meant that freights for the heavier class of goods were so low that the colonies and the mother country were injured. All these matters require to be considered. To the country to which I have the honour to belong I say, "Do nothing dishonourable, maintain your honour at all hazards, but where you find that honourable engagements have been entered into you should adhere to them, and take care that in no way you injure your own flesh and blood." The feeling in the colonies

towards you has always been most loving. There may have been some in the mother country who have said, "Go, and our blessing go with you;" but we have said in the colonies, "We won't allow you to drive us away." (Applause.) We have an augury that the opportunity furnished by the present Diamond Jubilee will be taken advantage of. We belong to a vast and glorious empire. We are the dominant people, as has been proved in the past, and will be continued in the future. I trust that the League under whose auspices we have met will be the instrument in promoting closer trade relationships between every part of the world in which the English tongue is spoken, and I would advise that in all the colonies branches of this League should be established. I believe it will be a pleasant duty for myself and the other Premiers, on the lines mentioned by his Grace this afternoon, to assist while we are in the mother country in promoting the well-being of the League, and when we return home in having branches of the League established in every centre of population. (Applause.) Need I say I heartily support the vote of thanks to his Grace, and I trust that it will be carried in that manner which characterises Britishers wherever they are met. (Applause.)

There were loud cries for "Laurier," and ultimately

Mr. LAURIER rose amid great applause and said :—You have been told t'is afternoon that I am not of English blood, but I have been brought up under British Institutions, and have learned under the British constitution that no State can stand except in respect of the law. The law is that I shall not speak. (Laughter and applause.)

The vote of thanks was then passed with acclamation.

The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, in responding, said :—I have only one word to say in response to the vote of thanks. I thank you very much for the kind way in which you have been pleased to receive it. I am afraid that I did not quite carry out my instructions this afternoon, and that my observations extended to too great a length—"No, no"—and I am indebted to you for your patience in listening to me.

I entirely share with you in the anxiety to hear what the Canadian Premier has to say, and I wish that my place in the proceedings this afternoon had been allotted to him.

The proceedings then terminated.

### THE BANQUET.

In the evening a banquet was held in the Philharmonic Hall, Mr. F. C. Danson being in the chair. Among the large company were, in addition to those who were present at St. George's Hall, the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, G.C.B., the Right Rev. Bishop Royston, the Mayors of Birkenhead, Bootle, and St. Helens, Major Sir Francis Syngé, Bart., Admiral Gough, Mr. C. H. Hopwood, Q.C. (Recorder), Mr. Harcourt E. Clare (Town Clerk). After the loyal toasts had been duly honoured, the PRESIDENT next gave, amid cheers, "The British Empire League." The objects of the League, he said, were in the widest possible sense of a commercial character. Indeed, if they were to attempt to establish a Chamber of Commerce for the whole world it would have to be on the lines, or something like the lines, of the British Empire League. (Hear, hear.) This was an extremely good reason why the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce should give the movement their heartiest support. But there were other reasons why they should do so. Liverpool was one of the great gateways to and from the colonies, and we were thus brought into very close touch with these colonies. They were further impressed with the importance to this country of the prosperity of these colonies. (Hear, hear.) At the present time the British flag waved over about one-fifth of the land surface of the whole earth, and about one-fourth of its population. (Cheers.) It might be said without exception that in no case had a colony or a people ever come under British rule without benefiting therefrom. Law and order followed the footsteps of our colonists, life and liberty became safe where the British flag was established, and wherever colonies were ably administered the British

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capital began to flow in their direction, thus developing the best interests and the trade of those colonies, and providing a not unprofitable investment for a very large amount of British capital—(hear, hear)—and in this way establishing a joint interest between the colonists and the mother country. But this was not all. There could be no doubt that if they were to advance in civilisation and increase in prosperity they must do so as a united empire, mutually dependent upon each other—(hear, hear)—and it was equally important that they must foster and encourage their commerce. (Hear, hear.) These operations had been going on steadily in the past, but the speed of their future progress might be greatly accelerated by the timely assistance of such a body as the British Empire League. (Hear, hear.) As a Chamber of Commerce which fully recognised all this, they endorsed most heartily the views of that League, and should support it in every possible way; and, in proposing the toast of the British Empire League, he should also add the thanks of the Chamber to his grace the Duke of Devonshire, the president of the League, for honouring them with his presence that day—(applause)—and further for the admirable address he had delivered—an address which would go forth to the whole British Empire, and be read with interest and profit by all who had the welfare of the empire at heart. (Applause.)

The toast was heartily drunk, and

The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, on rising to respond, was received with warm applause. His Grace said :—Mr. Chairman, my Lord Mayor, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am in a happy position as compared with that of others whose duty it will be to return thanks to the toasts which may be proposed this evening, for I have already in anticipation made the speech which I might have been expected to make in response to the toast which has been so kindly proposed by your chairman. I feel that I have already occupied so disproportionate a part in the proceedings of to-day, in endeavouring very imperfectly to set forth

some of the objects with which the British Empire League was established, that it would be very wrong indeed for me again to aspire to take up much of your time this evening, especially as I know that I am to be followed by others who will speak upon topics in which you take a great and a deep interest, and who will speak on those topics with an authority to which I cannot pretend, and I feel that I should be very imperfectly furthering the objects of that League if I were to stand long between you and those who are to follow me. Ladies and gentlemen, I should rather like to take this opportunity of impressing upon others that which I feel very strongly myself—that we have at present an opportunity which may not within any very short time recur of hearing that which we ought to know respecting the feelings and the wants, and the wishes, and the views of our fellow-countrymen in the colonies, and that we shall better utilise that opportunity by endeavouring to learn from them rather than to impress upon them our own views. However close the connection between our colonies and ourselves may be at the present time, however much closer it may be in the future, it cannot but be that our colonies should know a great deal more about us than it is possible for us to know about them. The very fact that we are at the centre and that they are at the circumference necessarily produces the phenomenon that their forces are more directed and concentrated upon the centre than our forces can possibly be concentrated upon any point of that wide circumference. So I think we shall be wise during the short time we shall have the privilege of enjoying the presence of a large number of the most distinguished men in our colonies, who are able to speak with authority upon colonial questions, if we limit our share in the proceedings to what may be necessary to express to them the warm welcome which we wish to give them—(cheers)—and in endeavouring to extract from them as much information upon colonial questions as they may be good enough to give us. Therefore, gentlemen, I have

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very little to say except, on the part of the British Empire League, to express to the citizens of Liverpool our warm thanks for the kind reception which you have given to the League—(hear, hear)—and also to express the great satisfaction which it gives to us to be enabled to take a part, however humble, in the proceedings with which we are about to celebrate the 60th jubilee of her Majesty's reign. (Cheers.) The visitors and those who preside over the Colonial Department have a busy time before them. Doubtless they will have many subjects of business to discuss, and, if I mistake not, the time of our guests will be occupied, not only by official communications with the Colonial Department, but will also be largely occupied with communications with the leading men of the communities, such as this, which are largely interested in the development of the colonies. (Hear, hear.) None of them will have much time to spare, and it has been a great satisfaction to those who are connected with the British Empire League that a small part of the arrangements connected with their visit, that which is concerned with their due entertainment, and with enabling them to see some of the objects of principal interest in this country, has been added to our charge. Your chairman has spoken, in terms which I am afraid at the present time are somewhat exaggerated, of the utility of the services of the British Empire League. ("No, no.") He has spoken of us, I think, as occupying something in the nature of a chamber of commerce of the United Empire. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid that if the commercial interests of the United Empire had to be committed to the British Empire League as at present constituted, they would not find themselves in a very prosperous condition. But I believe and trust that this League is only at the commencement of its labours—(hear, hear)—and that with your assistance and your support, and that support which I think it ought to receive from other great commercial communities in this country, it is capable of occupying a far more important position in the future than any

which it can aspire to occupy at the present day. (Hear, hear.) I am sure I should be doing very wrong if I were much to prolong these observations, and I don't know that I can usefully add very much to what I have attempted to say at St. George's Hall this afternoon. I will only, before I sit down, once more express my opinion that the present time and the weeks which are to succeed to it may be a time of momentous importance to the British Empire. (Cheers.) The future of that empire depends almost, I think, in equal proportions upon considerations of material and of sentimental character. The unity which we desire will not be brought about, such unity as we possess will not be maintained, unless both parties feel that it is to their mutual interest and advantage, and I do not believe that even the ties of mutual advantage would be strong enough to cement the union of the Empire as we hope to see it, unless those considerations were supplemented by others of a more imaginative character. The proceedings of the next few weeks will, I think, afford material of both these characters, and I think we and our guests will both hear and say much which will strengthen the conviction that the continued and increased unity of the Empire is to the material advantage of both the United Kingdom and the colonies. (Cheers.) And I think that both we and they will find much in the proceedings of the present time which will powerfully stir the hearts and imagination of our people. I do not think that it is possible that the masses of our people should remain indifferent to the presence among them of leading statesmen of great communities the magnitude of which they have scarcely up to the present time realised, surrounded as they will be by the representatives of armed forces of the Crown the existence of which they have hitherto scarcely known. (Cheers.) And I do not think that it can be without effect upon the imagination of our guests themselves when they will witness next Tuesday week the acclamation with which our Queen will be received in the crowded streets of

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London—(cheers)—a reception which will convey to her and to them an idea, not only of respect and love and veneration for her character, but also of respect and veneration for the institutions of which she is the representative. (Loud cheers.) Again I do not think that any of our colonial guests who will see, as they will see on the following Saturday, the display of the naval power of Great Britain will remain indifferent spectators of that demonstration—(cheers)—and I think that every one of them will feel more strongly than perhaps he has ever yet done that it is no mean thing to be a citizen, upon equal terms, of a State which possesses a naval power so unique and so unrivalled as that which they will see at Spithead —(cheers)—a power that has been created for no purpose of offence to any one—(hear, hear)—but a power which must convey to every part of the dominions of our Queen a sense of security and safety which could hardly be enjoyed by the citizens of any other nation. (Hear, hear.) On the part of the British Empire League, I beg to return to you our most sincere thanks for permitting us to take part in the auspicious proceedings of to-day, and trust they are only the foundation, only the commencement of a period of increased usefulness for the exertions of the League. (Cheers.)

SPEECH BY THE HON. W. LAURIER.

In reply to the toast of "Commerce and the Empire," The HON. WILFRID LAURIER, who was received with prolonged cheering on rising to respond, said:—The Lord Mayor of Liverpool has connected my name with this toast in terms of such generous kindness that I am somewhat at a loss how properly to acknowledge it, and you have received the name of Canada, my native land, in a manner which I never shall forget. Canada is a noble land. (Hear, hear.) Whatever may be thought of it, whatever our fellow-citizens in other colonies may think, we Canadians believe that it is almost unsurpassed under

the sun. Canadian people, my fellow-countrymen of all origin, have at this moment and for many years of their career solved the problem of religious tolerance and civil and political liberty in a manner which is not unworthy of imitation in other parts of the empire. Canada, as our friend the Lord Mayor has told you, was formerly a colony of France. Canadians of English origin and Canadians of French origin have learned to appreciate, respect, and love one another. (Cheers.) I am here to-day by the fate of political warfare, by the will of the Canadian people, in the position of having to exercise the chieft position of responsibility. In that capacity I have been instructed by the Canadian people to represent them at the Jubilee celebrations, and to convey to her Majesty the Queen an expression of their respect, of their loyalty, and of their devotion. (Cheers.) You, sir, have spoken of the glory of her Majesty's reign in a manner which leaves nothing to be added. The Victorian era will remain long prominent in history; it will live long in the minds of men for the wonderful achievements which it has seen in many different ways—the expansion of literature, the development of art and science, and their application to the use of mankind and their comforts, the advance of civilisation, and, above all things, for the personality of the Sovereign herself, who, it is no sycophantic flattery to say, is loved by all her subjects of high or low degree. (Cheers.) But I venture to say that of all things which have characterised the long reign of her Majesty and brought up the British Empire to the wonderful position of grandeur and stability which it exhibits to-day to the gaze of an astonished world, perhaps the most remarkable event is the evolution—for evolution it is—which has transformed the relation previously existing between England and her colonies. Sixty years ago, when her Majesty ascended the Throne, the Australian continent which to-day occupies in the political and commercial life of the empire such an important part, was practically *terra incognita*. The name was known—little

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was known beyond the name. Sixty years ago South Africa, which is to-day the centre of so many hopes, and perhaps also a few anxious thoughts, was scarcely anything more than a mere geographical expression. The great resources in agriculture were perhaps more or less dimly conjectured; its greater resources in mineral wealth were certainly unexpected. Sixty years ago the condition of things in Canada was as bad as bad could be. In the five provinces which then constituted British America there was a general discontent and agitation in favour of constitutional reform; and in two of these provinces the discontent actually culminated in armed rebellion. The provinces of that time were heavily garrisoned, and the flower of the British army, veterans who had fought in the Peninsula and Waterloo, had to be called out to put down a people who were aiming at what they conceived to be their legitimate rights. To-day in this Jubilee year in these provinces which sixty years ago were disrupted by civil war there is not even the shadow of agitation. (Cheers.) The authority of the Queen rests upon no military force, but the authority of the Queen rests in the country which to-day is united, and which extends from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean, upon the willing and cheerful allegiance of five millions of men, who, though still called colonists, proclaim themselves a nation. (Cheers.) These words—a colony, a nation—never before in the history of the world were those two words associated together; never before were they applied to the same community, implying, as they do, at once, independence and power of a sovereign people. Some three years ago there was in the State of Ottawa an inter-colonial conference. These words, gentlemen, when uttered by me, convey no particular meaning; they open up no large horizon to those whose privilege it was to witness the first opening session of that conference which sixty years ago would have been deemed fantastic and chimerical. (Hear, hear.) When those whose privilege it was to be present on that occasion saw with their

eyes representatives from all those self-governing colonies which now encircle the globe, men from all climes and from all latitudes, men from countries whose territories extend from zones where tropical plants blossom far north into the land of the Midnight Sun, men from distant parts into which European daring would hardly venture—when they saw represented the Dominion of Canada, the Colony of Victoria, the Colony of South Australia, the Colony of New South Wales, the Colony of Tasmania, the Colony of New Zealand, the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and when they realised that all these men came from lands so far distant and so far apart, so different in productions and climates, all acknowledging the same allegiance to the same Sovereign, and when they realised that these men were there assembled to devise ways and means to extend trade between themselves and the mother country, and to promote a bond of union between themselves and the mother country as well, and when they saw that the mother country was there also represented by a special envoy, not to dictate, not to command, but to help and advise, there was a thrill of satisfaction. (Loud applause.) Every man of British origin, nay, every man whose privilege it had been to live under British institutions, felt his bosom swell with pride at the grandeur, novelty, and the unique character of the spectacle before his eyes. Every man present realised that under his very eyes was opened a new leaf in the chapter of history, and never was illustrated as it was then illustrated the truth of John Bright's famous words—"England, the mother of living nations." (Applause.) If you asked me what was the most dominant sentiment in every breast, the thought in every mind, I would say it was not expressed perhaps at the time so much as in resolutions afterwards introduced by the Canadian Government to extend trade between Canada and the mother country. (Applause.) Every colony then represented might feel pride in Rudyard Kipling's words, "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress

in my own." (Applause.) These words express absolutely the feeling which predominates in Canada, and perhaps for this matter I can speak also for brother colonists ; the feeling which to-day is dominant in every colony is the pride of local autonomy ; the pride of legislative independence connected with the pride of British connection and Imperial unity. It is a strange thing, and history attests it, that the relations between colonies and the parent state have invariably been terminated in the same manner—that is in quarrel, in war, in bloodshed and violent separation. It is a most unfortunate state of things, it is a most sad state of things. Such, however, the historical records show to be the case, such is the record of the whole Hellenic colonies along the coasts of the Mediterranean ; such is the record, as you well know, which in the last century terminated the relations of England and her American possessions. And the cause ever was the same, the cause ever was that the parent state ignored, persistently ignored, the local pride, the local interest, local aspirations, which had in different conditions, in climate, in productions, in geographical position, been brought forward ; the cause ever was that the parent state invariably persisted in governing the colonies, not with the wish, not with the intention of the principle of the colony, but with the interest, the intention of the parent state. Now, sir, let me say this, and I say it with pride and satisfaction, whatever may have been the blunders of the past, the past has been closed for ever, and a new era has dawned upon the eyes of Britain early in the years of her Majesty's reign. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I told you a moment ago that in the first year of her Majesty's reign there was a rebellion in Canada. The rebellion broke forth on the bank of the St. Lawrence among the old French settlers, and when the news came to England—you English people may have forgotten it, but we can but remember it—the news was received in England with no very great surprise. It was supposed that the cause was to be found in the not-unusually sullen con-

dition of a people who had been made British subjects against their will. It is only partially true. It is true that when my fellow-countrymen became subjects of England their condition was respected, their civil rights were respected. But there was more. The rebellion broke out in another part of the country, in a part of the country whose loyalty was above suspicion, whose people had made intense sacrifices for their loyalty. Upper Canada has been settled, and from these isles there had been a wave of emigration there in which were to be found thousands of those men who on countless battlefields had again and again offered to England the fullest measure of devotion. If revolution was breaking up the country the conclusion could not be avoided that the cause was deeper than the feud of race. It was with great pleasure that I heard the Duke of Devonshire this afternoon refer to the great statesmen of the time who thought that such an emergency required something other than coercion, and who sent out Lord Durham to investigate what were the causes. Lord Durham investigated the causes, causes which had been ever the same. The same causes which had lost to England her possessions in America in the last century were fast again losing to England the very spot which had remained true to her in her hour of trial. Though agreeing to a great extent with his remarks, I take exception to some statements made by a previous speaker. I think he was hardly fair to the men of my own race, but I have told you that the past is closed. (Hear, hear.) I am not here to recriminate. Whatever may have been the errors of the past, again I say a new era has dawned upon us. Lord Durham, when he found the nature of the evil, did not hesitate one moment as to the remedy to be applied. He boldly stated to the Imperial authorities that if they wanted to keep the colony they had to give it a responsible Government, that is to say a Government responsible to the people of the colony. This was a reform I am proud to say as a colonial had been long advocated by a school of

colonial statesmen, but formerly these theories had been held to be dangerous, and it had been supposed that if such a concession were made it would invite other concessions, until finally there would be an absolute severance of the colonial tie. No wonder that the report of Lord Durham was received with many misgivings, and it must be admitted that it was, to say the least of it, a bold conception to entrust with self-government a people which was just emerging from the throes of civil war. But the concession was made. It was made with restrictions, however, which might have made it illusory, but it was a fortunate day for Canada, for England, and for the empire, that the governorship of Canada was placed in the hands of Lord Elgin, a man whose services in all parts of the world to England are duly appreciated ; but a man whose name is enshrined, and will be for ever, in the hearts of Canadians. (Cheers.) All honour to Lord Elgin, for he it was who with unflinching courage in the face of taunts, insults, and even personal violence from excited people, gave to Canada her legislative independence. It was he who broke the shackles from the colony ; he it was who also for the first time applied the principle of responsible government, which has been since prolific of such marvellous results. It may be doubted if Lord Elgin and those associated with him realised to the fullest extent the magnitude of the results which would follow from the adoption of this policy, when the people of Canada, no longer feeling the weight of Imperial authority, were free to govern themselves according to their own view of what was right, proper, and expedient ; when all trace of discontent would disappear, and the relations between the mother land and the colonies would become normal, that is to say confidence on the one side, and respect and devotion on the other. (Cheers.) How keen his foresight was, how true and wise his policy was ! For to-day all phases of discontent have disappeared from Canada. The rebels of former years are to-day dutiful subjects. (Cheers.) Allegiance is accepted and cherished, not only by those subjects of England who

are of her own kith and kin, but by those subjects who are the sons of France, of which I am one, whom the fate of war made British subjects. They are ardently devoted to the freedom which they now enjoy. (Applause.) A revolution has been accomplished. Compare the old methods with the new methods of to-day. Under the old the people had made efforts to break away from the land which gave them birth, while to-day the people of Canada, the people of French as well as English descent, proclaim their ardent loyalty at the same time. Yet that is not all. The principle applied to Canada may be applied to all the colonies. To-day the loyalty of the colonies to the mother country rests upon no force, but upon the gratitude and affection of the people, which sometimes is greater than force. All discontent disappeared in Canada the moment the people were made legislatively free. As thoughts of separation disappear, thoughts of union, of a closer union, take their place. To-day the sentiment exists in Canada in favour of a closer union with the motherland. The sentiment exists in Canada—nay, it exists across the ocean from continent to continent, and to-day it encircles the earth. What is to be its future? It is a subject, I must say, upon which I would hardly venture an opinion. Men there are in the colonies, who, recognising this sentiment in favour of a closer union, have endeavoured to crystallise it into shape, to bring it, to reduce it, or rather to promote it, into actual form. Men have banded together to devise schemes of union, but all their efforts in that direction have so far had a barren result. We had it to-day from his grace the Duke of Devonshire that the Imperial Federation League, the oldest, best known of these associations, actually dissolved, avowing that all schemes of federation had been found impracticable. Gentlemen, what is the cause of this? To me the cause is very obvious. To me the cause is quite recognisable. It is not in the genius of the British race, it is not in the traditions of English history to write constitutions and to devise theories, but it is the genius of English history and it is in

the genius of the British race to proceed slowly, never to disturb the existing condition of things until the existing condition of things has become heavy, burdensome, and inadequate, amounting to a grievance, and it is to proceed only so far as may be necessary to meet existing exigencies. To-day there is a colonial aspiration for a closer union, for a broader citizenship ; but there is no grievance. We are satisfied with our lot, and the British people have shown again and again that they are averse to disturb the ancient constitution of these realms. What will therefore be the future, I may ask? What will be the future of these colonies? What will be the future of the British Empire? The time may come—the time is coming probably—when the present citizenship of the colonies, satisfied as they are with it at present, satisfactory as it is to them now, may become inadequate. The time may come when from the mere aggregation of numbers, and an increase of population, the sentiments and aspirations in favour of a closer union will have to be met and acknowledged and satisfied. (Applause.) What will then take place? Gentlemen, I hardly venture to give my own opinion, but perhaps I may be pardoned for saying that in my own estimation, in my own views, and views largely held in the colony from which I come, the solution may be found—without coming into violent contact with the constitution of these realms, without disturbing the existing state of things—in the old British principle of representation ; a thing which has long been familiar wherever the English language is spoken, or wherever English literature is appreciated, as the picture drawn of the traveller from New Zealand taking his seat upon the broken arch of London Bridge or in the ruins of St. Paul's. When Macaulay drew that melancholy picture he was evidently thinking of the past ; he was thinking of the Egyptians, of the Assyrians, of the Persians, of the Greeks, of the Romans, who in turn crumbled into dust. But so far as our experience is concerned those melancholy forebodings have not been realised ; nay, they have been

falsified. The traveller from New Zealand we have here to-day. (Cheers.) He is here to-day among us, not to gaze upon a spectacle of ruin and desolation, but to be a witness himself in his own person of the development of British power to an extent of which the imaginative Macaulay could never have dreamt. (Cheers.) And the time may come when a New Zealander may stand at the gates of Westminster Palace asking for New Zealand admission into that historic hall, which having been the cradle of liberty—(loud cheers, in which the remainder of the sentence was inaudible.) This may be in the more or less distant future, but there is something which commands our immediate attention. Political union may be more or less distant, but there is a duty depending upon all parts of the British Empire, and that is in favour of more extended commercial relations. (Hear, hear.) I claim for the present Government of Canada that they have passed a resolution by which the products of Great Britain are admitted on the rate of their tariff at  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and next year at 25 per cent. reduction. This we have done, not asking any compensation. There is a class of our fellow citizens who ask that all such concessions should be made for a *quid pro quo*. The Canadian Government has ignored all such sentiments. We have done it because we owe a debt of gratitude to Great Britain. (Cheers.) We have done it because it is no intention of ours to disturb in any way the system of free trade which has done so much for England. But we are told that this policy which has been adopted by the Canadian Government cannot last, because it is coming into conflict with existing treaties. Let me tell you this, the Canadian people are willing to give this preference to Great Britain; they are not willing to extend it to other countries at the present time. (Cheers.) We claim that treaties which are opposed to us cannot stand in the way of our policy; we claim that they do not apply, and that position we intend to discuss with the Imperial authorities. But it may be that, after all, we may

fail in our contention ; it may be that, after all, it may be held against us as it has been in the past. If the treaties apply I have only this to say, that the position will have to be reconsidered *in toto*. If the treaties apply, a new problem will have to be solved ; and this problem, what will it be? The problem will be, that either Canada will have to retreat or England will have to advance. (Hear, hear.) It is not without some curious complications. Thirty or forty years ago, when Canada was given its present constitution, when we were given power to have self-government, we used it ; and, as some parties in this country thought, we abused it. We taxed British goods, and some people then said, "What is the good of these colonies to us if they tax our goods?" Now, gentlemen, I know something of John Bull. Max O'Rell says he holds well to what he holds ; but whether we love him or do not love him, we all acknowledge that he is full of pluck, energy, and enterprise. When he found that his goods were being taxed by his child Canada, John Bull discovered that the boy had a good deal of his own quality, and that the youngster was a chip off the old block. (Laughter.) At present we are reducing the taxation on John Bull's goods. Shall we be told by the people of Great Britain that our policy is unacceptable to them? (No, no.) The matter is in your hands. I will pursue the subject no further. What are the feelings of Canada? There is a mixed population in Canada. The people of Canada are not all of British blood ; one-third of them are of French descent. What are the sentiments of the people of French descent? What are their aspirations? Gentlemen, the answer is an easy one. My ancestors fought the soldiers of England upon many and many a battlefield to keep and to preserve to the King of France the colony of Canada. They repulsed invasion after invasion, and of all the quarters where French valour and British pluck and endurance met in conflict there is perhaps no part of the world where the characteristics of the two peoples shone with such *éclat* as

in the forests of America. But the day came when the fortune of war declared against my ancestors. They became, by the fate of war, followed by solemn treaty, British subjects, and the day when they became British subjects they claimed from the Imperial authority the right of British subjects to exercise their own religion, to speak their own language, and to maintain their own institutions. Their religion was always respected, I am glad to say ; but their political rights were long denied, though when the concession was made it was made gracefully and with the greatest amplitude. Let me tell you this : My fellow-countrymen having obtained the rights of British subjects, it is with them a matter of duty, a point of honour, a labour of love, to accept and to maintain to the fullest extent the obligations and responsibilities of British subjects. (Cheers.) They are proud of their origin. They are descended from a proud race, but if they have a pride of origin, few men of English blood will refuse them that privilege. If they have a pride of origin they have in their hearts another pride—the pride of gratitude ; and let me tell you there is no class of her Majesty's subjects in this broad empire from whom will ascend to heaven on Jubilee Day more fervent prayers than from her Majesty's French subjects that the Queen may live and live long. (Loud cheers.)

#### THE QUEENSLAND PREMIER.

The Hon. Sir H. M. NELSON responded for Queensland. He gave the company the assurance of the people whom he represented of their continued loyalty and affection to her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen. He thought no stronger proof could be had of the loyalty of the people of Australia than the fact that everyone of her Premiers had been given a most enthusiastic send-off when sent upon their present mission to carry their sentiments and lay them before the throne. (Hear, hear.) They were all proud to belong to the British family ; they were proud that they were an integral part of that great race : and

their greatest ambition was to fulfil their duties towards the mother country. He agreed with the sentiments which the noble duke delivered that afternoon with regard to the trade of the empire. He was one of those who believed that free trade was best for the whole world—(hear, hear)—but it was to be coupled with a most important condition, and that was that the whole world should accept it—(cheers)—because it was the case with that principle as with a great many others—that they may be made a hobby of and may be ridden to death, and occasionally act in a way contrary to what was intended when those principles were established. With regard to protection, he must say that his sentiments and the sentiments of the people he represented amounted to this, that protection also was a policy that must be entertained with the greatest caution. (Hear, hear.) When they found themselves surrounded by other nations who would not deal fairly with them, they must do something to protect themselves to a degree that was necessary to obtain fair and equitable trading conditions. Taking a concrete example for instance in the matter of sugar. They were now enjoying the privilege of using sugar at a price somewhat less than the cost of production. That was accomplished by means of protection in foreign countries, but it was worthy of consideration whether we might not be living in a fool's paradise, and might not ultimately have to pay more for our sugar than we should if other countries were acting in a fair and straightforward manner. Could they afford to allow the sugar industries of the West Indies, the Mauritius, the Fiji Islands, Queensland, and other Australian colonies to be destroyed as they must be if the present policy was pursued? (Applause.) In such a case the empire must eventually suffer, and he was therefore strongly in favour of the scheme shadowed forth by the Colonial Secretary. Some scheme should be devised whereby the mother country would draw her supplies of raw products from her own colonies instead of being dependent upon foreign

nations. He need hardly say that if any scheme could be formulated which would effect that object it would have the entire sympathy of the whole of Australia. (Cheers.) He could answer at any rate for the colony that he represented. The effect of such a policy would be an immediate benefit to the colonies, a benefit to the empire, and to the home country in particular. Although perhaps not so quick it would at least be quite as sure, and he had no doubt be of a permanent nature. Although his colony was the second youngest colony that enjoyed responsible and representative government, they had thorough and complete faith in their own colony, and hoped, with the assistance of the mother country, that they were laying the foundation of one of the pillars of what would constitute at some time or other the greatest empire that had ever been in the world. (Cheers.)

#### PREMIER OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The Hon. C. C. KINGSTON, Premier of South Australia, also responded. He said the toast was divided into two parts, commerce and the empire. It seemed to him that as regarded commerce it appealed to their maturer instincts, to their business ideas, they shared it with them in that great commercial centre in looking for markets, more profitable markets for their raw produce. They, he believed, were equally desirous of similar outlets for their manufactures. If some scheme could be happily arrived at between the mother country and her colonies by which those objects could be achieved, they in South Australia would be only too glad. They had been told that it was their duty to feed the hungry; they would be only too glad to discharge that duty with Australian meat. (Laughter and applause.) They had been told it was their duty to give drink to the thirsty; might they also entertain the pious aspiration that the day might come when the thirst of Great Britain might be more largely assuaged by the aid of Australian wines? (Renewed laughter and cheering.) He believed a distinction had been drawn by various political economists of the highest

repute as regarded the policy to be adopted in new countries and in old. He believed that excuses had been found for the adoption of a protective policy in young countries. However that might be, that was the policy adopted in the colony from which he came, but he would say that at the present moment in Australia they were doing what they could for the purpose of sweeping away the intercolonial barriers to free trade. (Hear, hear.) He would not attempt to say all he felt; but he did claim as an Australian born and bred, representing his native colony, and one who until this auspicious occasion had never had an opportunity of setting his foot on European shore, that they in Australia yielded to none in their loyalty and attachment to the Sovereign. He was charged as president of the Australasian National Convention with the duty of laying at the feet of her Majesty the loyal sentiments to which he now endeavoured faintly to give expression, and he was also charged by the people of his own colony with a similar duty; and he wished to tell them how earnestly he sympathised with everything that appertained to the goodwill and prosperity of the great empire whose traditions they were glad to share in, whose hopes and aspirations were their own, and whose responsibility they were prepared to accept to the very fullest extent. (Cheers.)

#### OUR COLONIAL GUESTS.

Mr. A. L. JONES in giving "Our Colonial Guests and Other Visitors," said that if any nation should be proud of its colonies it was England. (Hear, hear.)

Chief-Justice WAY, responding, said that in a few short weeks they would all disperse to their respective homes, and when they got back to Canada, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of the sea, they would think of the happy incidents of that evening, and of the Jubilee celebrations. They would remember the statesmanlike and epoch-making address of the President of the British Empire League. They would regretfully remember that they

were not able to stay longer to enjoy the society of the fair occupants of the gallery, who lent so much beauty and grace to the proceedings of that evening; and they should remember most of all that in the city of Liverpool the flame of loyalty and patriotism and love to their brethren beyond the sea burned with a flame unsurpassed in no other part of the broad British Empire. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., also responded, and the Lord Mayor proposed the health of the chairman, which was cordially drunk.

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EDINBURGH, *Monday, June 14th, 1897.*

The party were entertained to luncheon by the Corporation at the Waterloo Hotel. The Lord Provost presided, and among the other guests were the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Rosslyn, Lord Balfour of Burleigh (Secretary for Scotland), Lord Dalrymple, Lord Young, Lord Trayner, Lord Kincairney, Lord Kingsburgh, Lord Adam, Lord Kyllachy, Lord Stormonth-Darling, Sir Charles Pearson, Sir Alexander Christison, Sir Lewis M'IVER, M.P., Sir R. Murdoch Smith, Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A., Sir Thomas Grainger-Stewart, Sir Thomas Clark, Sir John Cowan, Sir Stair Agnew, Sir Henry Littlejohn, General Chapman, C.B., Mr. J. B. Balfour, M. P., the Solicitor-General for Scotland (Mr. Charles Scott Dickson, Q.C., M.P.), and Mr. Robert Cox, M.P.

Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH proposed "Our Colonies."

The Hon. WILFRID LAURIER, Premier of Canada, in rising to respond, was greeted with loud cheers. He said:—My Lord Provost, Ladies and Gentlemen, if upon an occasion of this kind it be not out of place, and it be not transgressing the bounds of propriety, to speak of oneself, I would say that this visit to Scotland was one of the anticipated pleasures of my trip to Great Britain in connection with the Jubilee celebrations. I have the honour to come from the great Dominion of Canada; and let me

tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that not only to one who has studied history, but to one who, like myself, was born and brought up in Canada, the name of Scotland is precious indeed. (Cheers.) Dear, indeed, is Scotland all over the world, but dear it is to all men who appreciate religious and civil and political liberty, because it is to pay to Scotland only the tribute due to her to say that she has been in the van of the cause of religious, civil, and political liberty. Might I be permitted to go a little further in history, and to come to times when religious and civil liberty were unknown, and to come to the old days, on which I dwell with great pleasure—being, as I am, of French descent—to the time when Scotland was the trusted ally and friend of the land of my fathers? Scotland to-day has united with England, but the day was when Scotsmen fought English troops in favour of Scottish nationality, and in these days, if I have read history correctly, they got all the help they could from the King of France. To-day, visiting Holyrood—associated as it is with the memory of one of the loveliest women that the world ever saw, a woman who, after three hundred years, excites the contests of men—I could not but be reminded of the days of Mary Stuart, leaving the shores of France with tears in her eyes, and exclaiming, “Adieu, adieu, pays charmante de France.” But the day came when England and Scotland, which had been fighting each other were united. I say were united, but I heard to-day in the city of Edinburgh a different interpretation of the history of that transaction—I heard that my reading of history, that the throne of Scotland had been united to England, was not a correct one, but that the correct interpretation of history was that England was annexed to Scotland. (Laughter and cheers.) But the times move, and after the annexation, if I may say so, of England to Scotland—if I may be permitted to again correct history—I would say that England and Scotland were annexed to Canada, and with that annexation the Highlanders had a great deal to do. In the last struggles

which made Canada British the courage of the Highlanders shone as it never shone, perhaps, in any other battlefield. In the struggle my ancestors were the victims; but let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that we soon took our revenge on the Scottish Highlanders. After the siege of Quebec the Scottish regiment of Highlanders was disbanded, and they were allotted land upon the banks of the St. Lawrence at a place called Murray's Bay. Then came our revenge. They succumbed to the charms of our French-Canadian women. (Laughter.) They were a new settlement, and they had to take wives, and they married French-Canadian girls. If there are any Scottish lasses in this hall who find fault with that, let me tell them—and I do not commit any breach of that gallantry upon which the race to which I belong prides itself—that they might have done worse than they did on that occasion. But, if that be not sufficient, let me give another reason, which I think will be satisfactory to all, and that is that they had to marry French girls or not to marry at all. With such a problem, I know what a Scotsman would do. So they married French girls, and in the course of time little Scotsmen came into the world. Scottish were they, or French? The only thing I know is that the supremacy of woman asserted itself, and the little Scotsmen were taught by their French mothers the language that was dear to Mary, Queen of Scots. They all talked French then. They all talk French now, and if we were to go to Murray's Bay, ladies and gentlemen—and I hope some of you may go some time or other there—you would find Mackenzies, Macneils, and Macbrides, and you would find little Mackenzies, Macneils, and Macbrides, not speaking English, but every one speaking French, and none of them a word of Gaelic. (Laughter and cheers.) That is how the population of Canada is composed—composed of a great mass, not only of British Islanders, but with a large admixture of French blood. If I may be permitted to allude to myself, let me say that when I was ten years of

age, my dear father—and for this let his memory be ever blessed by me—sent me to an English school in a Scottish settlement in the Province of Quebec, by the name of New Glasgow, in the County of Terrebonne, surrounded by a French population. In that school I could not speak a word of English, and none of the boys could speak a word of French. How could we understand each other? There is one way in which boys can always understand each other—we could fight, and fought we did, and having fought as we did, we became the very best of friends, and I am glad and proud to say that amongst these school-fellows of mine I have made in after life some of my best personal and political friends. This is the toast of the colonies, and in the programme I see the word “federation.” Federation is in the air. The relations of the colonies to-day to the motherland are satisfactory, and we must admit that they are so for the time being; but they are not permanent, they are temporary. The time will come when the present relations of the colonies to the motherland, satisfactory though they are to-day, will not be satisfactory, and when that time comes, my fellow-countrymen, the relations must become one of two things—either they must break altogether or they must become closer. (Cheers.) Shall it be breaking the present relations, or shall it be a closer union than that union which now exists? Gentlemen, the answer has to come from England and Scotland and Ireland. The answer is not in the mouth of the colonies, because the colonies are ready to stand by the motherland so long as the motherland acts to the colonies as she is doing at the present time. (Cheers.) There was a time when you of Scottish origin fought for your nationality. There was a time when those of a like origin with myself in Canada, even after the Fall of Quebec, fought against the Queen and the British Crown, so long as they believed that injustice was to be done to them; but from the day that their civil and political liberty was acknowledged they became loyal in their hearts and loyal in their actions.

(Loud cheers.) I have the honour to belong to a proud race, and gratitude is a virtue of which I shall always be proud. If there be a thing for which I pride myself to-day it is that we are all equals in Canada. We certainly do not go back upon the past. No one of us, whether of English, Scottish, or Irish, or French origin, wishes to ignore the past, or wants to forget it ; but if we look into the past it is simply to derive inspiration for the future—to be inspired by the past to do better for the future. We have been divided in the past. The world has seen many and many a struggle ; but at the present time, in this Jubilee year, we can say we are on the dawn of a brighter day. (Cheers.) These are the opinions which we entertain in Canada. The Government of which I have the honour to be the head have endeavoured to give some practical shape to those opinions. We have endeavoured by our legislation this very session which is now going on to give the commerce of Great Britain a preference, because it is Great Britain, and for no other cause. (Cheers.) These are the sentiments with which I approach you to-day. These are the sentiments which I shall take away to my own country. We knew much before we came here of the hospitality of Scotsmen. I shall take away with me the memory of to-day, I shall take away with me the perfume of the heather, and give it to the Scotsmen of Canada. (Loud cheers.)

Sir GEORGE TURNER, Premier of Victoria, also replied to the toast. He said:—My Lord Provost, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The task devolves upon me this afternoon of endeavouring to thank you, the citizens of sweet Edinburgh, for the cordial reception which you have given to the toast of “Our Colonies,” proposed in such an able, eloquent, earnest, and heartfelt speech which we have listened to from the proposer of the toast. Since we have come into Great Britain we have received on every hand marks of kindness, goodwill, and esteem. We possess in our Australian colonies sound political constitutions, and I think I need hardly tell you that if we are to survive the

treats that are in store for us, we, as Premiers, will have to be blessed with good constitutions ourselves. (Cheers and laughter.) Among the various marks of kindness which our friends in Scotland have given to us to-day is this. Thinking, perhaps, that they had overlooked something, and desiring on our entrance into this great country to show that they were remembering us, they concluded that they could not do better than to send us a kind and a close embrace in the form of one of your good old Scottish mists. (Laughter.) We in the various colonies had thought that the invitation which was given to us was one that we were bound to accept. We come here, the Premiers, not so much on our own account as because there was undoubtedly a unanimous opinion and feeling throughout the length and breadth of the whole of Australasia that the invitation having been extended to us in such kind and cordial terms, we were bound to accept it and to come here for the purpose of representing the great portions of the empire which exist beyond the seas. We hear a good deal about the colonies; and, as the proposer of the toast has told you, some time ago people in Great Britain thought that they might well do without the colonies. The day of any such feeling as that has, I am certain, passed away. (Cheers.) What are the colonies? I think you will be proud, as we are proud, to know that the colonies are—and we hope and earnestly trust ever will be—a portion of the great British Empire. Who are our colonists? Are they not your and our own people? (Hear, hear.) Who are these hardy old pioneers who in the early days, under adverse circumstances, amidst difficulties, dangers, and trials, went into the wilderness, and have in the course of years made it a flourishing garden? Were they not Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotsmen—and a great proportion of them Scotsmen? (Cheers.) We in our colonies are not unmindful of these facts, because if you look round among the various positions, the highest in the land—in our

Parliaments, in our judicial bodies, and in our other spheres of life—you will find that our friends the Scotsmen always stand prominently to the front. (Cheers.) They are glad and proud to occupy these positions, and need I tell you that we—speaking for the native-born in these colonies—are just as proud and as glad to see our friends from Scotland holding these high positions and giving us the benefit of their superior knowledge, advice, and assistance? We are glad that they do hold these positions, and we do hope that for many years these old men will help us along, and that that crimson tie which binds us to the motherland will be strengthened and increased. We, among ourselves, occasionally feel inclined to quarrel and dispute. We have little tariff differences and differences about riparian rights, but I venture to say this, that if ever a foreign foe landed upon any part of Australia all these differences would be forgotten, and we would be banded together as one people to resist any attack upon the colonies. And if it did happen that one of the colonies was in difficulties and required any assistance financially, which is not likely to occur, then I am perfectly certain every other colony would feel that it was its bounden duty to come to the support and assistance of that colony in the time of need. If those feelings exist among ourselves, as they unquestionably do exist, should they not, and do they not, exist still more strongly between all the colonies and the grand old mother country? (Cheers.) I can agree with the proposer of the toast, and I say this unhesitatingly, that if ever the British islands or the British Empire was placed in a position of danger or difficulty, one word sent round the world by cable would cause the British flag to be hoisted in every city, town, and village throughout the colonies, and not only those who look upon them as their adopted land, but those also who are native-born, would rally round the flag, and it would be hard, indeed, to say which would be the first to come there and

to extend a strong right arm to assist the old motherland. (Cheers.) I envy the Premier of Canada for the proud position in which he stands here to-day. He speaks for a Dominion—a united nation within a nation. I have to speak as one of several Premiers. Perhaps I do not on some matters express the views they would express to you, but I feel certain that when I tell you that the whole of the Australian Colonies are loyal to the British nation I am perfectly certain I express their unanimous and undivided opinion. (Cheers.) But with the word "Federation" staring us in the face, we must, as we have for some time past, be earnest in our desire to follow the noble example which has been set to us by Canada. I trust before this Jubilee year has passed away, we will add to the united dominions in the world another—that of United Australia—(cheers)—and that when next the Premiers are invited to this land, for the purpose of conference or otherwise, we will be able to speak with one voice. Again, I can envy my friend from Canada, because he has taken a bold step in bringing forward legislation for the purpose of endeavouring to carry out what is in the minds and wishes of all of us—closer commercial relations between the colonies and the motherland. The step taken there is a bold one. None of us can tell what the end will be. We hope it may be successful. We will watch it with the deepest interest, and if it does answer the object in view, need I tell you that we will be only too pleased and too glad to endeavour to follow the grand example that Dominion has set to us? We bring to you, from your far-off brethren in the land beyond the sea, a message of goodwill. We bring to those born of the British nation a message of continued loyalty and devotion to that nation, to the throne, and to our gracious Queen. (Cheers.) What message are we to take back with us to our several colonies? We need have no doubt whatever what we will have to tell them on our return. We will have to tell them that in these great islands our brethren received us as brethren, and that

their feelings are feelings of affection and love towards the great colonial possessions of this great empire. Whatever the results of our visit may be, I feel perfectly certain of this, that they will enable us to go back and tell those whom we represent here that it is your desire, as it is our desire, that that bond of union which exists between us may be strengthened, and year by year may become stronger and stronger, and that indeed for all time it may be indissoluble. On behalf of the various Premiers, I have to thank you for your kindness. I would have hoped that this duty would have been entrusted to a Scotsman. I told you that they hold high positions in our various colonies, and no doubt you are well aware that the Premier of Queensland, Sir Hugh Nelson, is one of yourselves. He, I am certain, would have been only too glad to have undertaken the task which has been allotted to me ; but, having that task allotted, it was my bounden duty to accept it, and on behalf of the colonies I return you our sincere thanks for the kindness you have shown us in entertaining us here to-day and the welcome you have given us, with an earnest hope and prayer that the relations that exist between us may long continue friendly, may grow and increase, and that the colonies may be ever proud of the British nation, and that the British nation may ever have just cause to be proud of her colonies.

Sir HUGH NELSON, Premier of Queensland, in proposing "Prosperity to the City of Edinburgh," coupled with the name of the Lord Provost, recalled the fact that he had received his education in St. Stephen's School, the High School, and Edinburgh University.

The LORD PROVOST, responding, expressed regret that the colonial visitors had not been favoured with better weather, and hoped that the latter part of the day would be more auspicious.

GLASGOW, *Tuesday, June 15th.*

The Lord Provost presided at a luncheon given in the City Chambers, many of the magistrates and leading citizens being present, when the toast of "Success to our Colonial Empire" was proposed.

The Hon. W. LAURIER, Premier of Canada, was cordially received on rising to respond. He said—Once more, ere we part with the soil of Scotland, it is my privilege again to express to you, fellow-citizens, the gratification which we feel in our hearts for the kind reception which has been given us in this ancient land. With you, my lord, I could have wished that the day had been warmer; I could not wish that the hearts had been warmer. We have received Scotch hospitality. I cannot say more than that. (Applause.) Much gratified was I to have the opportunity of visiting those Clyde workshops, which to-day have a universal and world-wide repute, and which have exhibited, perhaps as nowhere else, what is Scotch pluck, Scotch energy, and Scotch endurance. Of Scotch pluck, energy, and endurance I knew something before to-day, because it has been my privilege to see something of it in my own land. I say but a truism which is appreciated and well-known by every Canadian when I assert that Scotsmen are amongst the best of our citizens, and by far the most successful business men we have. It is said amongst us that a young Scotsman who leaves the mother land to come to Canada never fails to carry out the wishes and instructions of his pious mother, and never fails to say his prayer. And it is said that the prayer of the young Scotsman when he lands in America, whether in the States or Canada, is—"Oh Lord, I do not pray you to give me wealth, but let me know what it is, and I will attend to it." (Laughter.) And all the Scotsmen we have had up to the present time amongst us have shown that, wherever wealth was, their sagacity led them to seek it and to find it. (Applause.) When they

first came to Canada, after the annexation of Canada to the British Crown, looking over that large country of forests, they at once went into the fur trade, and the millionaires of the early part of this century in Montreal were all Scotsmen, and in the fur trade. From the fur trade they went again into the forests for the timber trade, and of the timber trade they made an enormous success. From the timber trade they went into the shipping trade, and the pioneer of the shipping trade with us—I say it with some pride in the city of Glasgow—was a boy born in the city of Glasgow, the late Sir Hugh Allan, who was the pioneer of the shipping trade between Canada and Europe. (Applause.) From the shipping trade they went into the railway business, and while we have millionaires to-day in Montreal quite a number of them are Scotsmen. And I would not wonder, now that the gold has been discovered in British Columbia and the province of Ontario, if those who were to rip out the wealth from the bowels of the earth were again to be Scotsmen. (Laughter.) And if we are ever to have what you have suggested, and what in the bottom of my heart I wish for—a more united Empire than we have at the present time—I am sure the Scotsmen will not be backward in that cause. (Applause.) You have spoken, and spoken fitly, of the Colonial Empire of Britain. The time is past when nations could be circumscribed within their own original limits; and Great Britain has given a lesson to the world on this subject, which the world has attempted to follow and imitate, but which Great Britain alone has successfully carried out. The Colonial Empire of Great Britain is one by itself at the present time, but we colonists hope that it may be more than it is to-day. (Applause.) No doubt Britain has done much by her arms and otherwise in the past for the colonies, but there is perhaps something more to be done for us colonists of the nineteenth century. For my part, I never hesitated to say—speaking in my own native tongue, the French, amongst my fellow-countrymen of the French race, on the banks

of the St. Lawrence—I never hesitated to say, and still more do I say it here to-day, that much as I would value the privilege of being the citizen of a Republic on the St. Lawrence, still more do I cherish the prospect of being a citizen of the British Empire. (Applause.) Let me tell you this, that in this as in everything else, we are far from having reached perfection. Much has been done. Still more remains to be done. We, as colonists, are proud of our position, I admit; and if we are proud of it it is simply because at the present time we are free, and freedom—I need not say it on the soil of Scotland—freedom is the greatest boon of all. (Applause.) You Scotsmen in olden time, if I know your history correctly, never hesitated to fight whenever fighting was the price of freedom. In the colonies we did not hesitate to fight when our freedom was to be interfered with. I need not say we would have been less than men if we had submitted to tyranny—(applause)—and now that we are free, we would be less than men if we did not appreciate our freedom and the hand that gave it to us—the hand of Great Britain. (Applause.) We are free to-day, but we are only colonists. Will I break your hearts if I say that we aspire to be a little more than colonists; we aspire to play a greater part than we are now playing in the Empire of Great Britain. (Applause.) No, I am sure you will appreciate the motive; and, if we tell you that our ambition is to remove what disparity there may be between an Imperial subject and a colonial subject, I am sure when the day comes we may count on your support. (Applause.) It is the intention of the colonists at the present time not to go backwards, but to go onwards until we have a fully united empire—the British Empire. (Loud applause.)

The Hon. R. J. SEDDON, Premier of New Zealand, was also warmly cheered on rising to acknowledge the same toast. He said:—I feel proud to think that an opportunity has been given to me to say a few words to those who are gathered together at this festive table. It has been said

that those of Glasgow are commercial—that this is the manufacturing centre almost of Great Britain. In one respect it is. But let me tell you more than that, that the hospitality, the cordiality that has been shown to myself and to the Premiers representing the other colonies mark you as being true to the great nation—to Scotia. Your hospitality is proverbial. (Applause.) Well, I feel proud to be able to say that in my veins courses Scottish blood. The best woman ever born in Scotland was my mother. (Laughter and applause.) This is the first opportunity that I have ever had of speaking in Scotland, but to-day you do not want to be told by me of the Scottish people or Scotland. You want to know something of New Zealand—you want to know of your sons and daughters who helped to make that great colony the matchless gem in the British crown. (Applause.) Yes; I have no hesitation in saying here—and I say it with pride—that, go from one end of Scotland to the other, I know that there is a warm feeling towards those in New Zealand. (Applause.) And if I say that, from them I give to you a kind greeting. Their command to me was to the people at home—“Tell them we are well and happy. Tell them that our hearts are with them, and from the day we left Scotia until now we have never wavered; we have been true to our traditions, true to our own flesh and blood, doing our best here to improve the condition of this country, and at the same time only too willing and too glad to help those that we left behind.” (Applause.) When I tell you that the little country that I allude to can now send out its nine millions of produce—that we now have something like twenty millions of sheep—that we have gold put out to the extent of over a million sterling—that we have laid down in English grasses something like nine millions of acres: when I tell you that, as a food-producing country, we are able to feed you—and I speak your mind when I say that you would rather be fed by us than by foreign nations who are not in sympathy with you—(hear, hear, and applause)—yes; and as I went through your

Cathedral to-day and saw those tattered and battered flags, and when I looked back on the past—and I know what it has cost Scotia, what it has cost Great Britain—and then when I make enquiries as to where your food comes from, where your greatest trade lies, it pains me to think that we who are your own flesh and blood, anxious and willing, while barred by these nations, cannot help you as we desire to do. (Applause.) This brings me to the question of closer trade relationship with the British Empire, and, as level-headed Scotsmen, you want to know something of what can be done, and be done on lines beneficial to you, and at the same time helpful to the colonies. We must not for a moment urge a departure from the policy which has been mentioned here to-day and laid down. It is not now for us to go into details or to raise anything of a controversial character, but it is for us to prove and to show to you that it is for your advantage, outside altogether the ties of affection, outside altogether the ties of traditions, to cultivate that trade. When I say that the trade of the colonies—I allude now only to Australasia—amounts to over £100,000,000 sterling per annum; when you come to ascertain that, when you come to know, as I tell you, taking the most protected colony we have—I allude with due respect to the colony of Victoria—by the return sent to the Imperial authorities you will find that in the year 1894 their imports were about £4,500,000, and the estimates supplied by the department show there that the foreign imports amounted to £1,300,000; and when I say that we have arrived at that stage it is high time that those here in our mother country should know the facts. It may be, and is, true that your works are well filled, the orders are there, but I say that with the increased population of the Empire, with the increased territory added to the Empire, your docks, your shipbuilding yards should be increased four-fold, and your great city of Glasgow, much as it has grown, has still further room for expansion, and if we can help you in that we know that we are bringing closer the Empire and

its colonies. (Applause.) I desire to say this also in respect to our colony. You have been told that we are somewhat progressive and experimental in respect to our legislation. I see sitting here at the table Mr. Faithfull Begg. He has relatives in our country who respect him as he and his family and those dear to him are respected in Scotland. Well, he has been moving in the direction of giving the franchise to the ladies. I know that many here probably will shake their heads and consider that that is somewhat of too experimental a character, but the wise sons of Scotia in New Zealand are supporters of it. They opposed it at first, but the experiment has proved so successful that now there is not a Scotsman in New Zealand but would tell you that it is wise to trust his "mither" and the "lasses frae the heather." (Laughter and applause.) I desire before I sit down to thank the British Empire League for the important part it has taken in giving to you and to us the great pleasure we have had in meeting. The tour we are making has been made under and with the assistance of the British Empire League. I don't know whether that league has any branches here or not, but the objects of the league are to promote closer trade relationship with the view of encouraging the manufacturers and the commerce of the mother country, and I feel sure that what they have done in that respect in the past, and the fact that they have assisted in the satisfactory meeting of to-day, will entitle that league to your support. I would further say, now we have met the representative men and ladies of Glasgow, no warmer reception could be given than you have given to us, but we have also seen at a distance the people of Glasgow, and it has pleased me more than all, that wherever we have been to-day, from the thousands outside we have received a hearty welcome, and one which will never be effaced from my memory or the memories of those gentlemen who are here with me. (Applause.) Time will not permit me to say anything further than that we are in the mother country to add, if possible, some lustre to a great

event in the history of that great personage, Queen and Empress Victoria. (Applause.) The time is opportune; the time has been embraced. People from all countries, speaking all languages, are gathered and will gather together to do honour to one during whose reign the greatest freedom has been given to the world; and, as has been stated by my friend Mr. Laurier, where you give freedom, wherever a nation is governed by reason and not by force, that nation with gratitude accepts the freedom, and you, with us, as your fathers of old, will uphold the crown and the constitution to which the world owes at the present time much of the good that has been given to mankind. (Applause.) In the words of the poet, I would say—

When Britain's flag flies wide unfurled  
All tyrant wrong repelling;  
God made the world a better world  
For man's brief earthly dwelling.

(Applause.)

Mr. FAITHFULL BEGG, M.P., proposed "The Ladies," and the Hon. Sir George Turner, K.C.M.G., Premier of Victoria, replied in a humorous speech.

Sir HUGH NELSON, the Premier of South Australia, proposed "The Lord Provost and Magistrates," thanking them on behalf of the young and vigorous colony he represented for the hospitality extended to them that day. Our only wish and desire is, he said, that our relations may be drawn closer and more firmly together. Time would fail me if I were to attempt to sing the praises of the great city of Glasgow. I had occasion to visit it in my youth, and I know the great changes that have been made in her progress during the last forty or fifty years. I daresay it is one of the great events worth recalling in the reign of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, whose sixtieth anniversary we are about to commemorate, that such immense progress has been made, progress which I believe has not been paralleled in any other part of the world—namely, the progress and growth of the trade and commerce of the Clyde and of

the city of Glasgow. I believe it is the second city of the empire, and I believe that it has achieved that distinction through the enterprise of the citizens who inhabit it. (Applause.) They are, as you are aware, known all over the world, and, as far as the feeling in the colonies is concerned, I may say that we look to Glasgow for instruction upon many points. If we want a good manager for a railway we send to Glasgow for one. If we want a good expert engineer it is to the city of Glasgow we come, and there we get well served. In many other respects we have to take lessons from Glasgow, and not the least of these is when we come to look at our harbours and rivers in the colonies, and when we find we have to improve them to make them fit to receive the ships that carry the commerce of the old country, it is to the Clyde and the Clyde Trust that we come for instruction. (Applause.) Then in the matter of local government we have Glasgow in the front. We hear of the great things accomplished in the matter of local government in Glasgow. We know how she has provided her citizens with cheap carriage on the streets and roads, how she has provided her citizens with economical but yet effective water-works, and how she also provides the most economical methods of light, and also the development of hydraulic power and other things of that nature. All these things we read about, and all these we study, and we look to Glasgow in particular as being really the model or ideal of a good local government, and the steps taken by her in those directions are those that we are in the habit of copying in our small way in the colonies. (Applause.)

The Hon. C. C. KINGSTON supported the toast, and the LORD PROVOST having responded, the proceedings terminated.

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MANCHESTER, *Wednesday, June 16th.*

The Directors of the Manchester Ship Canal conducted the party from Liverpool to Manchester on the White Star

steamer *Magnetic*. Luncheon was served during the voyage, Mr. J. K. Bythell, the Chairman of the Ship Canal Company, presiding. In proposing the toast of "Our Colonies," Mr. Bythell said the presence of so many Prime Ministers helped us to realise the greatness of our empire. He had not himself had the privilege of visiting any of our self-governing colonies, but a long residence in India had impressed him with a sense of the magnitude of the empire which lies beyond the narrow seas of Britain. Well might England be proud of her colonial sons. They were vigorous, enterprising, and intelligent men, eminently fitted to make nations that would leave their mark on the sands of time. Mr. Bythell called the attention of his guests to the general features of the waterway which, from an inland city, had made Manchester a seaport. To those who were familiar with the magnificent natural waterways in other parts of the globe the canal might not be much to look at ; but it was a fact all the same that there was not a steamer running between the colonies and this country which could not easily and safely sail up to Manchester. He would like to point out that the canal was not altogether a joint-stock enterprise, carried out for the sake of money-making. Even the original shareholders, who found eight millions of the capital, were largely influenced by a desire to benefit the general trade of the district. And as the Manchester Corporation had found five of the fifteen millions the directors were to some extent in the position of trustees of a great national undertaking. The canal had already been a great benefit to the district, and he wished to take that opportunity of impressing upon our colonial friends the fact that a close connection between the new port and the colonies would be mutually advantageous. The colonies had vast quantities of surplus produce to sell, and here in this district, within a radius of thirty-eight miles of Manchester, there were seven and a half millions of consumers. Probably in no similar area in the world was there such a market for the commodities the colonies had to sell. Our

workers were in receipt of extraordinarily good wages, and were accustomed to live well, consuming enormous quantities of such produce as the colonies wished to sell. The Canal Company and the Corporation had provided every accommodation for traffic, and in addition to lending five millions the Corporation had constructed cold-air stores, and perhaps the finest lairages in the world for the reception of live cattle. He thought it very likely that the visit of the Colonial Premiers would do something towards stimulating a trade which already existed between Manchester and the colonies. The colonies no doubt appreciated the fact that it was the seller who had to come to the buyer. He had received some complaints from Australia that their importations of meat had not been received with much favour in this district. No doubt that was due to the fact that the trade in foreign meat in this district was largely in the hands of an Argentine syndicate, and that the introduction of Australian meat was met with a reduction in prices. That was one of the vicissitudes of trade which, at first at any rate, they could hardly expect altogether to escape. He had too much confidence in the vigour and intelligence of the colonies not to believe that they would succeed in establishing a trade, once they had set their minds to it. (Applause.) Mr. Bythell coupled with the toast the names of the Premiers of Canada and South Australia.

The Hon. WILFRID LAURIER (Premier of Canada) said there had been for many years past an impression that "the Manchester school" was not favourable to the colonies, but this impression the present proceedings would go far to dissipate. No doubt the impression arose from the notion that a closer union with the colonies was not compatible with the policy of free trade, which had been so long the policy of Great Britain. He did not agree with that doctrine at all, nor did he think it was held in any of the colonies. They all admitted that protection would not be acceptable to England, and that the policy of free trade

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must be continued. The colonies who desired closer commercial relations with Great Britain had no idea that this country should abandon free trade; free trade had done too much for England to make a return to protection likely. So far as Canada was concerned, he would say that although there was no expectation that England would go back on free trade, they still believed it was possible for England to have a closer commercial union with her colonies than had been the case in the past. The Government of Canada had acted on this conviction, and had endeavoured to open the door to closer commercial relations. For a long time they had had a protective tariff in Canada. It had now been revised in the direction of free trade. The duties that were now levied were not so much protective as for the purpose of raising revenue; and the Government had determined that English goods would be admitted at less than the ordinary rate. The reduction for this year would be  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and for next year 25 per cent. (Applause.) They had put England on this footing for two reasons. In the first place they had a sense of gratitude to the old country; Great Britain had been a kind mother to Canada. But there was also a business point of view. They believed that if they gave greater facilities for trade with this country it would be an advantage not only to this country but to Canada also. If England sold more to Canada she was likely to buy more from Canada. (Applause.) Trade, they believed, begot trade. Mr. Laurier, in concluding, spoke in praise of the canal and the public spirit of the people of Manchester in taxing themselves for its construction. He had no doubt that if lines of steamers could be established between the new port and the colonies the advantages would not be confined to one side of the water. (Applause.)

The Hon. C. C. KINGSTON (Premier of South Australia) said he was an Australian born and bred, proud of the land of his nativity, but still prouder of the land whose soil he was treading now for the first time. As to the relations

between the colonies and the mother country, he said they rested on the basis of common sympathies and the ties of blood and kindred. After all, it was true that blood was thicker than water. So far as the constitutional connection was concerned, he thought they could hardly improve on the present arrangement. The colonies had the privilege of managing their own affairs, and he hoped that would always be the case. Those who wore the shoe always knew best where it pinched, if it pinched at all. As to the continuance and extension of commercial relations, the colonies were with the mother country heart and soul. The colonies produced wheat, oil, wine, fruit, wool, and other commodities, and if they were only certain of a remunerative market they could greatly increase their output. On the other hand, Great Britain wanted fresh outlets for her manufactures, and he could assure his friends here that in the colonies they always gave the preference to British manufactures where it was possible to do so. And surely it would be better for this country to draw her food supplies, when she could, from the colonies rather than from foreign countries with whom any day England might be at war. (Hear, hear.) In these circumstances could not something be done to effect closer commercial relations between the colonies and the mother country? The question had engaged a good deal of attention in the Australian colonies, and a resolution had been arrived at to do what they fairly could to encourage British enterprise and commerce. It was time to have done with high-flown sentiment, and approach the matter in a business spirit. (Applause.)

The health of the chairman was proposed by Sir GEORGE TURNER, who remarked that the great canal along which they were sailing might be of much service in bringing the colonies into closer commercial touch with the mother country.

## DINNER AT THE TOWN HALL.

In the evening the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Mr. Alderman J. F. ROBERTS), who entertained the Colonial Premiers and other visitors at dinner at the Town Hall, proposed the toast of "The Colonial Premiers."

The Hon. WILFRID LAURIER, Premier of Canada, responded. It was with a great feeling of gratification, he said, that the Colonial Premiers acknowledged their cordial reception in all parts of the kingdom, and more especially in Manchester. Whatever expectations they might have had as to their reception, these had certainly been far exceeded in actual fact. The colonies, he would say, were proud of the mother country. (Applause.) They were proud of being associated with that country, which, in all the world, was the cradle of civil and religious freedom. (Applause.) He was glad to say that the British Empire League, while it might not have gone far in England, had certainly gone far in the colonies. It was an institution Imperial in its constitution and in its aspirations, and it was to this League that they were indebted for their present visit to the great city of Manchester. Nothing could be better than the bringing of them all together—Englishmen and Britishers from all parts of the world. By seeing and meeting each other they got to know each other the better. (Applause.) It was this which was the purpose of the League, and that purpose had been well carried out by the visit to Manchester.

Sir GEORGE TURNER, Premier of Victoria, also responded. He heartily thanked the assembly for the reception given to him and the Premiers of other colonies. Before they began their journey they knew they were coming, not to a strange country, but to "home." (Applause.) Nothing could exceed the kind hospitality with which they had been received by their kith and kin. (Applause.) They in the colonies were proud of the motherland, and he hoped he might say that the motherland was proud of the colonists. (Applause.) When they

went back they would all be able to say that to them, indeed had been held out the hand of kindness and of friendship. (Applause.) He trusted that the bonds already existing would as years went by bind them closer and closer. Long miles might separate them from each other, but the links in the chain were not easily to be broken. In Australia they hoped to make themselves into one dominion, as in Canada, and to constitute themselves a nation within a nation. (Applause.)

Mr. W. H. HOLLAND, president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, proposed "Prosperity to our Colonies." In the great success and prosperity, he said, which fortunately had attended our colonial system some credit was due to the far-sighted British statesmen who had the courage to grant to our colonies the right to manage their own affairs. The steps taken had had abundant reward. Secondly, the success of the colonial system was due to the way in which those who had the responsibility put upon them had proved that they were worthy the trust reposed in them. (Applause.)

The Hon. R. J. SEDDON (New Zealand), in responding said that as a Lancashire man he had been prepared for the reception with which the Colonial Premiers had been met. (Applause.) He would only like to say how much they felt they had lost in the transfer of Bishop Moorhouse from Melbourne to Manchester. The gain to Manchester was great. (Applause.) In the colonies they felt themselves just as much a part of the mother country as did their ancestors who lived in England long years ago. Mr. Seddon laid stress on the fact that Australia was a great food-supplying centre for Britain.

The BISHOP OF MANCHESTER proposed the health of the Lord Mayor. He had, he said, a peculiar pleasure in being present. For nearly ten years he lived in the colonies. During that time he saw not only the enormous resources of the colonies, but also the splendid promise of what perhaps he might be allowed to call the colonial

commonwealth. Seeing the Colonial Premiers present, he might say that he felt at home again, and he might also say that he felt for the moment that he had had no right to leave the colonies. (Laughter.) He was in Victoria when it was that the greatest Powers in this world were thought to be about to fall upon this country and to quench that light of freedom and of truth which she had held up before the hearts of the colonists, on all sides, one long enthusiastic cry, "They shan't hurt our mother. We will all die first." (Applause.) He heard it, he felt it—the great feeling arising from the very bottom of the hearts of the people. "Do not," concluded the Bishop, addressing the Premiers, "do anything to annoy them, but do everything you can to help them. Unite with them, and we shall have with God's blessing still the grandest empire upon which the sun has ever shone." (Applause.)

The LORD MAYOR briefly responded. Subsequently his Lordship held a reception, and this was followed by a pleasant "musical evening."

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BIRMINGHAM, *Monday, June 21st.*

The following party were entertained at the Council House by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress:—The Hon. Wilfrid Laurier and Madame Laurier; the Hon. G. H. Reid (New South Wales); the Hon. Sir George Turner; the Hon. R. J. Seddon and the Misses Seddon; the Hon. Sir Hugh M. Nelson and Lady Nelson; the Hon. Sir Gordon Sprigg (Cape Colony), and Mr. Sprigg; the Hon. C. C. Kingston; the Hon. Sir William Whiteway (Newfoundland) and Mr. Whiteway; the Hon. Sir E. N. C. Braddon (Tasmania) and Lady Braddon; the Hon. Sir John Forrest (West Australia); Colonel and Mrs. Denison; Captain and Mrs. Bate, and Mrs. Edwards

(Canada) ; Mr. de Soysa and Mr. W. A. F. Murray (Ceylon) ; Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Daw ; Mr. H. W. Marcus ; Mr. and Mrs. Freeman Murray ; Miss Newton ; and Mr. Hobson. Amongst those present were the Colonial Secretary and Mrs. Chamberlain ; Sir Arthur Hodgson ; the Bishop of Coventry ; Mr. Parkes, M.P. ; Mr. Jesse Collings, M.P. ; and Mr. Lawson Tait.

The LORD MAYOR having proposed "The Premiers of our Self-governing Colonies,"

The Hon. W. LAURIER, who was received with loud cheers, said : My Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I can assure you, my Lord Mayor, that your guests to-day will never forget the kind and—more than kind—the warm reception which was accorded them to-day in this far-famed city of Birmingham—far-famed for its energy, its activity, and its commercial enterprise—far-famed for its connection with some of the greatest men that have ever adorned the British Parliament, the last, but by no means the least, of whom is the right hon. gentleman who is so honourably connected with colonial development in the British Empire. (Cheers.) Sir, it is a sign of the times, perhaps, that at this present moment Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies represents the city of Birmingham. There was an impression in time gone by that the city of Birmingham and the Manchester School in general were not favourable to the colonial connection. Whatever of truth there might have been then in the soft impeachment I have no time at this moment to discuss. Let me only say to-day that, whatever may have been the impression in the past, the impression is general—not only throughout the Colonies, but, so far as I have been able to gather, also in the motherland—that it is for the best interests, not only of the English-speaking race, but of mankind at large, that there should be a more intimate connection between the motherland and her colonies. (Cheers.) Indeed, this is the thought which has absorbed the anxious reflections of many and many a man in this country. Many schemes of union have been

proposed ; none of them, so far as I know, has yet been accepted. The reason, perhaps, is that of all the schemes of union which have been presented up to the present time, every one more or less involved a departure from those principles of freedom of trade which have been accepted, not in all places, perhaps, so much as in this city of Birmingham. Now, it has been stated that the early apostles of freedom of trade have not seen their dreams—not their dreams, but their expectations realised. It is undeniable that in the early days of the crusade of free trade the hopes of Mr. Richard Cobden and Mr. John Bright were that some day not far distant from then the principles which had been accepted here would also be accepted by the world at large. Those expectations had not been realised. But, sir, if any misfortune has arisen out of that, I suppose that no one will claim that the misfortune has been for Great Britain. The misfortune has rather been for other nations. (Hear, hear.) I am convinced of one thing ; that at present to-day there is no country that can compare with England—(hear, hear)—compare with England in many ways. She has reduced her public debt ; she has increased her population, though she has settled the earth ; she has reduced the number of her crimes ; she has closed some of her prisons. Where is the nation that can say so much ? It would be folly to imagine that the English people would ever depart from those principles of free trade which they adopted some fifty years ago. (Hear, hear.) Realising this, and at the same time realising the great utility which would follow from a closer union between England and her colonies, the Canadian Government have undertaken in some degree to solve the difficulty. They have given to the trade of Great Britain a preference in their own markets. (Cheers.) Now, sir, this we have done deliberately, and for this let me tell you, gentlemen, the Canadian Government and the Canadian people ask nothing in return. They have done it out of gratitude for the motherland. (Cheers.) They do not ask any *quid pro quo* ;

they do not ask for the pound of flesh ; they do not require a price for their loyalty. (Cheers.) Whatever they have done they have done deliberately. But I may tell you this—though I am of French origin I am British enough to understand that business should not be forgotten. (Laughter.) We have done it because we expect in some way, not legislative concession, but some return simply from these applications of the freedom for trade in which you believe. We know that if we give the preference to the products of Great Britain in our market we shall buy from Great Britain many of those goods which we are now buying from other countries ; and we should expect that if we gave that preference you, and especially you gentlemen of the city of Birmingham, shall buy more of the products of Canada than you are now buying. (Cheers.) Let me say one word more, ladies and gentlemen. There is one thing more which we expect from the British Government and from the British people—it is that they will, at no distant, but at an early, date, renounce those treaties which at the present time are hampering the relations between Canada and the motherland. If that be done, that is all that we require. If that be done, I have reason to hope, and to expect, that the example put forward by the colony of Canada will be followed by the other colonies. (Cheers.) Now, I know that the time at your disposal is very short. I have only one word more to say to you. It is the most pleasant of all. It is once more to assure you that the greeting accorded to us to-day shall never fade from the memory of any one of us. (Cheers.)

The Hon. Sir HUGH NELSON, Premier of Queensland, proposed "Her Majesty's Ministers." He said :—My Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The toast that I have to submit to you is one which I know you will all drink with the greatest cordiality. The toast is the health of "Her Majesty's Ministers." (Applause.) You are all aware, probably as much as I am myself, of the immense responsibility that rests upon those gentlemen who enter the

service of the country and undertake the administration of a great empire like the one to which we are all proud to belong. The magnitude of their responsibilities is hardly realisable by an ordinary member of the community. Yet we know that upon them, to a large extent, if not entirely, devolves the future destiny of the empire to which we belong. They have to maintain the dignity and the good name and prestige of the empire amongst all the foreign nations of the world. They have to administer and provide an army and a navy that will protect the empire against all the Queen's enemies. They have also to deal with the Queen's internal enemies—I mean the criminal portion of the community—and deal out fairly, but firmly and with justice, the administration of the law. They have to deal with, and promote and foster as far as they can, and also to protect, if the necessity arises from foreign aggression the immense trade and commerce of this empire. And last, but not least, from our point of view at any rate, they have to advise and promote the great buttresses of the empire to which we belong—namely, the great self-governing colonies and other possessions of her Majesty's dominions, and it is in the latter respect that we are more particularly concerned to-day. It gives me the very greatest pleasure to propose this toast, but it gives double pleasure to be able to associate with it the name of the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies. (Applause.) We have derived great gratification already from our visit to the old country, but not the least pleasure that we received was the hearty shake of the hand from our immediate chief, Mr. Chamberlain, who has the advice and control of the colonies under his sway. (Applause.) It is pleasing, indeed, to be recognised by him as comrades, as all working in the same field, and endeavouring, each in our own sphere and as far as our own capabilities go, to build up an empire of free, of intelligent, of happy, contented, and, above all, of loyal people. We have every confidence in Mr. Chamberlain's administration of the affairs of the colonies. We know that he is a faithful

friend to us ; we know that in all our difficulties we can depend upon his advice ; we know, further, that, whenever it is possible, we can depend on him when we require his assistance. (Hear, hear.) The toast is not one that requires many words to commend it, especially in the present company, which I can see is entirely in sympathy with me, and I am sure, therefore, you will all cordially rise and join with me in drinking the health of "Her Majesty's Ministers," coupled with the name of Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies. (Applause.)

The Right Hon. J. CHAMBERLAIN was received with cheers on rising to reply. He said :—My Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very cordially to thank Sir Hugh Nelson for the graceful way in which he has proposed this toast, and you for the cordiality with which you have greeted it. On any other occasion than this I should be prepared to enter at length upon a discussion and a defence of every act of her Majesty's Ministers—(laughter)—and I should prove, I hope to your, and I am quite sure to my own, satisfaction—(laughter)—that this is the best of all possible Governments. (Laughter and applause.) But to-day, ladies and gentlemen, there is only one act of the Administration for which I am disposed to take credit, and for which I ask your hearty approval, and that is the invitation which we have sent by command of the Queen, and on behalf of the people of the United Kingdom—(applause)—to the Premiers of all the self-governing colonies to share in our rejoicings, and to take their part in the celebration of the long reign of the best and the greatest of English Sovereigns. (Cheers.) My Lord Mayor, the Throne is the only constitutional connecting link between the colonies and ourselves. In all else these great self-governing communities are as independent as we are ; but we are all united as fellow-subjects of one monarch, we are all united by our common loyalty, by our common determination to maintain a common empire. (Applause.) The Government have attached the greatest importance to this

visit, which is absolutely unique in the history of the country. To-day, as never before, and, as I suppose, never again, the Premiers, the rulers, the constitutional rulers of these sister nations, meet us all at one time, together to do honour to the monarch of these realms, and to show to this country, to the colonies, and to all the world the essential unity of the British Empire. (Applause.)—My Lord Mayor, we are delighted to see them in our own good city of Birmingham. (Loud cheers.) I would venture to tell my honourable friend Mr. Laurier that there are many cities in the United Kingdom, but there is only one Birmingham. (Laughter.) He spoke just now of the Manchester school as having exercised some influence over us at some period of our history. That is a mistake. (Laughter.) We have our own school. By that alone are we educated, and to that alone are we responsible, and never in Birmingham has there been any of that spirit which has been, rightly or wrongly, associated with the Manchester school, which consisted in a neglect of the colonies, and in a want of appreciation of their importance in the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) No, sir, the feeling that we entertain now on that subject we always have entertained, and I have no doubt that my fellow-citizens have shown it to-day, and that the Premiers will feel that here, in the very centre and heart of England, as in all parts of the United Kingdom, they are at home, and that they are welcomed with a heartfelt love and affection which we reserve only for those of our own household. (Cheers.) I cannot doubt that in the future these gentlemen, our guests, will feel, even if they have never felt it before, that the mother country is, indeed, proud of her children—(hear, hear)—that she rejoices in their vigorous youth, in their enterprise, in their growth and their prosperity, and that she craves from the bottom of her heart their love and their affection, and will hold it to be her greatest possession. (Cheers.) I noticed the other day that our distinguished guest Mr. Laurier, who represents two races in the greatest and the most power-

ful of all our colonies, and who is able to tell us that as between the two races there is no difference of opinion in regard to their loyalty to their common monarch—(cheers)—I observed, I say, that Mr. Laurier, when he set foot upon these shores, and in his first speech, at Liverpool, while he spoke of the satisfactory character of the relations between the colonies and this country, nevertheless uttered a warning which it would be well to bear in mind. He said that the situation as it is to-day could hardly be expected to last for ever, and that either the colonies would draw closer to us and would take a larger share in the government and administration of the empire, or else they might insensibly, and I hope unwillingly, drift apart. Sir, that is in my opinion the greatest problem with which the statesmen of the empire have to-day to deal. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I hope that the feeling in the colonies is the same as the feeling at home. I am certain that in the United Kingdom we all should feel that a separation between ourselves and any one of our colonies would be not only a disaster, but it would be the greatest discredit that could fall upon us. (Hear, hear.) And if that feeling is shared by our kinsmen across the sea, then I do not doubt that our statesmen are capable of finding some effective means of giving a practical shape to the aspirations which we have in common. (Cheers.) Sir, this is a question of the utmost importance to the colonies as well as to ourselves, and I cannot help thinking that they must agree with us that it is better to form an essential, a valued, an important part of the greatest empire that the world has ever known than to establish an independent but a minor State which may exist, perhaps, at the tolerance or goodwill of some foreign Power. (Hear, hear.) But to me, and I think to my countrymen, this is not so much a matter of interest as it is of sentiment—(hear, hear)—and I am glad of that, because although, like Mr. Laurier, we are men of business, still I firmly believe that now the power of sentiment is great in the government and the administration of the

world. (Cheers.) Sir, that sentiment is deep in our hearts, it has taken a firm hold of the people of this country; and if it is equally predominant in the minds of the colonies, then I, for one, have no doubt that this great empire of ours, powerful as it is, is nothing to what it will become in the course of ages, when it will be in permanence a guarantee for the peace and the civilisation of the world. (Hear, hear.) My Lord Mayor, if our self-governing colonies desire now, or at any future time, to take their share in the glories and in the responsibilities of the empire, they will find that we are ready to meet them more than half-way—(applause)—and that we will make it our duty to establish firmly that principle of our connection—"Each for all, and all for each"—upon which alone the stability and the prosperity of the empire can depend—(applause)—and if they are wishful to draw closer the commercial relations between themselves and us, now or at any future time, again I say we will meet them, and in no huckstering spirit. (Applause.) We will not treat this as a transaction in a ledger, to be weighed in proportion to the exact balance of profit and of loss. No, there is a principle, and, as I have said, a sentiment behind it which will carry all before it, because we see in such tightening of imperial bonds a guarantee for security and for continued unity. (Hear, hear.) And, my Lord Mayor, I do not think it will be said that in making such suggestions we are actuated by selfish interests. The United Kingdom to-day is stronger, is more powerful, than it has ever been in the course of its history. For many years to come, probably, it will exceed in wealth, in population, in trade, in naval and military resources, all the colonies put together. But it is not in our own interest alone that we speak. We think of the interest of the colonies as much as of the interest of the mother country. We think of the future of our race as well as the future of our own people—(cheers)—and it is in this view that we raise now a discussion which may, perhaps, not yet be ripe for settlement; but this is a creative and a

critical time, and upon what we do now, and upon what we say now, may depend this future, to which none of us can look forward without a feeling of inspiration. (Hear, hear.) I hope, therefore, that our kinsmen will take this question into consideration, that they will not lose sight of the possibility of that federation of free nations which will establish on a firm and a lasting foundation that great edifice of imperial dominion for which our ancestors and theirs have so gloriously prepared the ground. (Cheers.)

Again rising, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN asked Sir Gordon Sprigg, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, to propose the last toast, the health of the Lord Mayor.

Sir GORDON SPRIGG, who was loudly cheered, said: My Lord Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, — When Mr. Chamberlain proposed that I should submit the health of the Lord Mayor I think he scarcely remembered that I, although not exactly a Birmingham man, am here to-day, after an interval of fifty years, amongst what I may call my old friends and acquaintances. It is probably known to few of you that my grandfather and my father were master manufacturers in this town of Birmingham—(applause)—carrying on a successful business in the hardware trade in Bradford Street down in the neighbourhood of the Bull Ring. It is fifty years to-day, save for a few months, since I stood in your noble Town Hall, not then, of course, as a speaker, but rather as a stripling just entering into manhood, and listened to the public speakers at one of the great political meetings of that day. It was at the time when the French Revolution of 1848 had just occurred, and when the thrones of all Europe were tottering, and some of them tumbling, to their foundations, and I well remember that day, how the question was asked, “Is the throne of Victoria going to stand?” Sir, the answer is given to-day. (Applause.) The throne of Victoria stands to-day after the lapse of these fifty years, and it stands firmer to-day than it did in the year 1848. (Applause). And the reason why that throne stands so firm, firm beyond

all other thrones throughout the world, is because from that throne proceeds a rule of truth and justice. (Applause.) That is the rule which we, Her Majesty's humble Prime Ministers in the different dependencies of the empire, are endeavouring, in accordance with our humble abilities, with more or less success, faithfully to carry out, as is our bounden duty as the servants of Her Majesty the Queen. (Applause.) And I am thankful to be able to assure you, coming from a colony and from a part of the empire which has excited a great deal of interest in recent times, that the prospects of peace and of a satisfactory settlement of the complicated questions which surround us in that part of the empire are more hopeful than I have known at any period within the last eighteen months. (Applause.) I was rejoiced, indeed, to hear the speech of the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies when he announced that the Government of which he is so distinguished a member was prepared to meet us even more than half-way in all our applications and desires for the unity of the empire—(hear, hear)—and I can only assure the right hon. gentleman that, let him stand by—and I feel thoroughly convinced that he will stand by—the policy which, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, he has announced as the policy which it is intended to pursue with regard to the colonies generally, and especially with regard to the colony which I represent here to-day—I can assure him, I say, that if he stands by us we shall, as a united people, stand manfully by him. (Applause.) Sir, it would not be proper for me, at this late stage of the proceedings, and after the very able and interesting speeches to which we have listened to-day, to take up more of your time. I would simply say, referring to what I stated at the commencement, that although I knew Birmingham well fifty years ago, I found it difficult in travelling through your city to-day to recognise the various streets until I came to New-street, and then I recollected the saying that, "Birmingham is a town"—a great town it

was even in that day—"built on the hills ; it has only one level street, and that is New-street," and I recognised New-street when we passed into it to-day. (Laughter and applause.) But there are changes in all respects throughout the town—all has changed except the hearts of the people of Birmingham. (Applause.) You have welcomed us to-day, coming from the distant parts of the empire, with a generous and magnificent hospitality, the record of which I shall carry back with me and retain to the end of my life, and to which I shall make reference continually when I rejoin my countrymen—those amongst whom I live across the sea. And when I say that I shall rejoin my countrymen there, I know that although to-day I stand here in England, yet when I pass over those 6,000 miles of water, and when I set foot on the shores of Table Bay, at the foot of Table Mountain, I shall feel I am in England still. (Applause.) That is the sentiment which I, in common with the other Prime Ministers from the different parts of the empire, cherish. That is the sentiment which we are endeavouring to inculcate in every one of the settlements in which we live ; and I believe that feeling is growing. I entirely coincide with the remark made by Mr. Chamberlain in the course of his speech : Many exceptions have been taken that it is only sentiment that binds the empire together, but I would ask, sir, what more do you want than sentiment ? (Hear, hear.) Sentiment I regard as the strongest power in existence, and so long as the sentiment of empire rests in the bosoms of the inhabitants, scattered as they are over the face of the earth, the stability of the empire is sure. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure indeed in submitting to you the toast of the health of the Lord Mayor of this town. (Loud applause.)

The LORD MAYOR, in reply, expressed his thanks for the kind manner in which the toast had been received, and for the equally kind manner in which it had been proposed by Sir Gordon Sprigg. There was a singular appropriateness in the fact that Sir Gordon had proposed it in that he

was elected to the City Council by the burgesses of Bradford Street, and Sir Gordon had reminded them of his former connection with that quarter. His (the Lord Mayor's) only regret was that their visit should have been so short. He thought, perhaps, they would take back with them a very good opinion of the city of Birmingham, but it was nothing to what they would have taken if they had had time to see more of the city. Although England was a small country, he dared say they would find it fatiguing to "do" it in a fortnight. He sometimes wondered if the colonial Premiers would return to their colonies alive after their experience of the last fortnight or so. He was sure they might take the welcome of the city as a sample of the welcome which they would have received in every city in the United Kingdom. It had been an unmitigated pleasure to have entertained them, even if it had only been for a short time, and the community would always entertain a very pleasant recollection of the visit of the colonial Premiers. (Applause.)



MERCHANT TAYLORS' HALL, LONDON, *Monday, July 5th.*

The Duke of Devonshire presided at Merchant Taylors' Hall over a meeting convened by the British Empire League, "to welcome the Colonial Premiers in the City of London." The Premiers present were Mr. G. H. Reid (New South Wales), Mr. R. J. Seddon (New Zealand), Sir William Whiteway (Newfoundland), and Sir Edward Braddon (Tasmania), and among other persons present, in addition to a large number of ladies, were Colonel Denison (president of the British Empire League in Canada), Sir Robert Herbert, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Onslow, Sir John Lubbock, M.P., Lord Tennyson, Lord Gort, Sydney Buxton, M.P., Sir George Bowen, Sir Donald Smith, Sir Henry Barkly, Sir Edward Carbutt, Sir J. Puleston, Sir James Youl, Sir F. Young, H. Kimber,

M.P., Sir H. Havelock-Allan, M.P., Sir Augustus Adderley, Sir A. Shea, G. Cawston, W. Garland Soper, F. Faithfull Begg, M.P., J. Lowles, M.P., B. L. Cohen, M.P., H. M. Matheson, Major-General E. C. Sim (Master of the Merchant 'Taylors' Company), W. Herbert Daw, W. Becket Hill, J. Paddon, Colonel Innes, Dr. Culver James, Herman W. Marcus, and C. Freeman Murray (secretary).

Letters regretting inability to attend the meeting were announced from, among others, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. C. C. Kingston, the Duke of Fife, Lord Salisbury, Lord Dufferin, Lord Crewe, Lord Hopetoun, Lord Kintore, Lord Rothschild, Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., and Cardinal Vaughan, as was also the receipt of a telegram from Ireland, from the Tyrone members of the League, sending hearty greetings to the Colonial Premiers.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, who was cordially greeted, said :—Ladies and gentlemen,—In opening the proceedings of this meeting of the British Empire League it may be satisfactory to you to know that I think there is very little in the way of business which we have to transact on this occasion. At all events, as far as I know, there is nothing upon the agenda of the proceedings which need lead to any protracted amount of business.

#### 'THE QUEEN AND THE LEAGUE.

The only announcement of any importance which I have to make in connection with the League itself is that which I have already made at Liverpool, but which I think is of such interest and moment that it ought to be communicated to the members of the British Empire League at a meeting of their own. I refer to the fact that we have been honoured by the acceptance by her Majesty the Queen of the office of patron of this League (cheers), and that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal Family have also been graciously pleased to signify their acceptance of the office

of vice-patrons. (Renewed cheers.) I think that announcement is one which will be received as a great honour by every member of the League, but it is also one which I have the greatest pleasure in being able to make, because it is an additional proof, if proof were required, that the objects of this League are purely of a national character, and that they are in no way identified or connected in the smallest degree with any political party in this country. (Cheers.) I need not say that I would not have presumed to ask the Queen or the members of her family to associate their names with any association or league the objects of which were political and not purely national, and it is only after satisfying themselves that our aims and objects are of that character that the gracious permission I have just been able to announce has been granted. As I have said, we have no business to transact on this occasion beyond formal business. The feature of this meeting is the presence among us of a certain number of those Colonial Ministers who are at present paying a visit to our shores. (Cheers.) Some of them, I am happy to say, have been able to be present and others may still arrive, but it is not difficult for us to understand that in the multiplicity and importance of their engagements others may have found it impossible to keep the engagement which they had accepted here. Some of those gentlemen have already been brought more or less into contact with the British Empire League, and some of them have already been good enough to express their sympathy with its objects, their desire to promote its efficiency, and, if possible, to extend the sphere of its operations within their respective colonies; but, although in various ways these gentlemen have already become aware of the existence of our League and have manifested their sympathy with its aims and objects, it has been thought desirable that advantage should be taken of their presence among us in London at this time to invite them to take part officially in a formal meeting of the League, to enable them to make acquaint-

ance with the council of the League and with some of its most prominent members. It has further been thought that I, as president of the League, should be authorised to tender to them the offer of any services to the colonies which they think it may be in our power to render, of any services which we may be able to render in the cause of Imperial unity or in the promotion of any measures which may tend to increase and secure that unity. (Cheers.)

#### THE AIMS OF THE LEAGUE.

I have upon two occasions, but not recently, had the opportunity of speaking at some length upon the objects and aims of this League, and during the last few weeks an enormous amount has been said and written upon the main idea which lies at the foundation of our association. I shall not, therefore, upon this occasion take up any of your time, or only very little of your time, in going overground which has already been so fully occupied. I may, perhaps, add that in my opinion perhaps almost enough has already been said for the general idea of Imperial unity, and that it is nearly time that we should devote some of our attention to matters perhaps of minor importance—certainly, of less general interest—but still, matters the solution of which go essentially to the promotion of the original and general idea. I think that by this time it has been abundantly proved that a strong, and, I believe I might say, an almost universal, sentiment exists in favour of the maintenance and the strength of the idea of Imperial unity. (Cheers.) That that idea exists here in this country I do not think that our colonial guests can for a moment doubt. Every word spoken to them since their arrival on our shores, whether at public meetings or in any other assembly of their countrymen which they have attended—every demonstration they have witnessed in the streets, every word which has appeared in the public press, must have convinced them that here at least, to the fullest and most complete extent, exists the idea of the establishment of a closer connection between our-

selves and our colonies. (Hear, hear.) I may perhaps here say that it is with the greatest pleasure that I have observed to-day that among their numerous engagements the Colonial Premiers were able on Saturday last to accept the invitation which they received from the National Liberal Club, because it is an additional proof of that which I was referring to just now—that this movement is not connected with or identified with the opinion of any political party in this country; but the welcome which they have received and are receiving is one which is equally tendered to them by members of every political party which exists among us. (Cheers.)

#### THE DESIRE FOR IMPERIAL UNITY.

I have said that the proof is abundant of the desire of a more effective national unity which exists here in this country. We know equally well that it exists to the same extent in those portions of the Empire which lie across the sea. (Cheers.) Not only have we the speeches delivered by our colonial visitors—men whom we are entitled to regard as speaking with authority not their own opinions only but also those of the populations and the countries whom they govern, and whom they represent here—not only have we these utterances all in the same tune, but, if confirmation were needed, in the reports we daily receive, in the telegrams about the celebration of the sixtieth year of her Majesty's reign in every part of the world, we learn that they have in no degree misrepresented or exaggerated the feeling in favour of Imperial unity which exists in the British dominions in every part of the world. (Cheers.) All this has now been amply and sufficiently established, and we may assume, as an incontrovertible and undoubted fact, that, proud as we are of the great communities which have been founded by the British race in all parts of the world, communities some of which are already nations, all of which are in process of becoming nations, nations capable, if need be, of holding their own among the

nations of the earth—(cheers)—still, we all feel that such consummation would still leave something to be desired, and that we should have fallen short of our opportunities and our capabilities if these nations should in the future be destined to grow up as separate or independent nations, and should not rather grow up as integral parts of a still greater nation—the British Empire. (Cheers.) We feel that this sentiment, the existence of which no one can now doubt, will have missed its mark if in the future these nations of which I have spoken shall not grow up into one empire, which shall be connected with us by ties which may be more or less close, more or less uniform, more or less definite, but still which shall be substantial ties connecting us together in everything which connects our government, our general policy, our commercial relations, and our general defence. (Cheers.) The lesson which has been impressed upon us more than ever in these last few weeks—the idea which we have grasped more perfectly than at any previous period—is, I think, that the unity of the Empire is an equal privilege and advantage to every part of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) We know that while our colonies and our dependencies can by a strengthened unity greatly enlarge and enhance our power and influence in the world, yet at the same time we have much which we can offer to them, and which we do offer to them ; and it is not in the interest of these islands alone—it is in the interest of the whole English-speaking race—that we advocate the idea of unity, and we urge upon you to take every measure that it is in your power to take to cement and strengthen it. (Hear, hear.) But, ladies and gentlemen, we believe ourselves, the British race both here and abroad, that we are not only a sentimental people but a practical people, and the idea which must have occurred to many of us, after witnessing the demonstrations at home and abroad which we have witnessed in these recent times, is, what is to be the practical outcome of it all ; what are the measures which we are about to take in order to satisfy

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the aspirations which many of us have formed ; and how are we going to give effect to the sentiment the existence of which, as I have said, is now undoubted? The answer which I am disposed to give to these questions is that these are essentially matters of detail, on the thorough examination and solution of which the relation of the general idea must ultimately depend.

#### CLOSER POLITICAL RELATIONS.

The aim which we all have in view—that of the establishment of a closer unity of political relations—must be, in my opinion, the outgrowth, not the cause, of closer relations in many minor and apparently subordinate matters. I agree entirely with what was said at Liverpool a week or two ago by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier of Canada (cheers), when he said that it was not the genius of the British people to frame constitutions or to devise political theories ; that it was the habit of the English-speaking race to proceed slowly, to be unwilling to disturb existing conditions until they had been found to be either burdensome or inadequate, and then boldly to apply the necessary remedy. (Hear, hear.) The error, in my opinion, of the predecessors of this league—the error of those who were members of the Imperial Federation League—was that they assumed somewhat prematurely that the necessary conditions for the closer political connection of the various parts of the British Empire already existed, and that they were in too great haste to raise the structure when the foundations had been not altogether fully laid. (Hear, hear.) It is satisfactory, I think, to know that the recent weeks have not been entirely given up either by ourselves or by our visitors to great historical pageants or to festivities and mutual congratulations. The opportunity has been taken of the presence of the distinguished colonial statesmen among us, some of whom we are able to welcome here to-day (cheers)—the opportunity has been taken by the Minister who is responsible for our colonial relations(cheers)

not only to have interviews with each of them individually—interviews necessarily of a confidential character upon matters relating to their own especial country—but also to hold meetings of them collectively—meetings which also up to the present time have been of a confidential nature, but at which questions of a more general character, affecting the whole range of our relations, have been considered and discussed. As I have said, up to the present time those meetings have been entirely confidential. The time may come when it may be found possible to make some public statement respecting the tenour and character of those discussions or the conclusions which have been arrived at.

#### MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND THE COLONIAL PREMIERS.

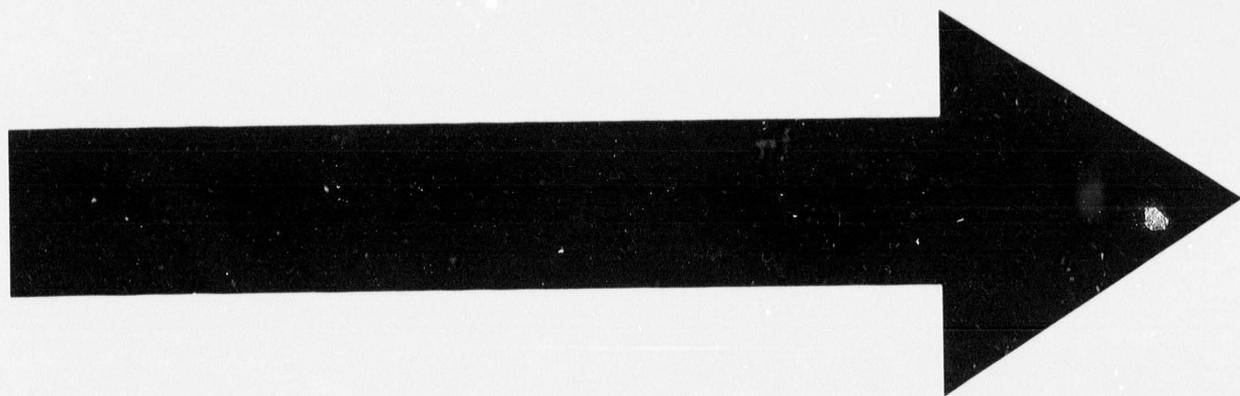
Whether this be so or not I do not think I am violating any confidence when I say that the subjects which these colonial statesmen have been invited to discuss with Mr. Chamberlain are to a very great extent similar to, if not absolutely identical with, those contained in the constitution of the British Empire League—the extension of our trade with the colonies, the effect of existing laws and treaties upon our commercial relations with each other, the subject of communications between the mother country and the colonies, or between the colonies themselves, by means of steamships or of telegraphs, the subject of postal communications—above all, the subject of Imperial naval and military defence. (Loud cheers.) Those are the practical questions which our guests have been invited to discuss and are now discussing with Mr. Chamberlain, all in the sense of leading up to, tending to an ultimate discussion of, the greater but perhaps more distant object of a closer political and constitutional connection. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, it is entirely fitting that these questions should be discussed by men holding responsible positions such as those who are now among us—men who are not at liberty to speak their own individual opinions only, but who when they speak feel that they are speaking in the names of their

Legislative Assemblies and their constituencies—it is fitting that these communications should take place in the first instance between men holding these responsible positions and the responsible Minister here ; and I do not invite them on this or any other occasion to enter into any discussion upon these subjects further than they may think wise or expedient with an irresponsible association such as ours. At the same time, I do not think we can doubt that the task of our Government at home and the task of these gentlemen when they return to their countries across the sea will be made easier the more these subjects are understood and appreciated by the public both at home and abroad, by the representatives of our people in Parliament, and by the constituencies which they represent. (Hear, hear.) I would also ask these gentlemen to remember that it is for promoting a knowledge of and encouraging discussion upon these very questions which they are now discussing with the Colonial Minister that the British Empire League exists, and when they return to their colonies I hope they will remember that they can do us no greater service, they can confer no greater honour or favour upon us, than by making use, in any degree to which they may think expedient, of the services and the organisation of this League for making better known and for promoting the discussion of questions in which they may happen to feel an interest. (Cheers.) We can assure them on behalf of this League that we have no preconceived schemes, either political or commercial, either naval or military, to advocate. Our object is simply to help to discover, and when discovered to make known, what are the opinions of those of our fellow-countrymen abroad who are most concerned in these matters. So far as I have been able to follow the progress of these discussions very much yet remains to be done. Our knowledge of the facts and our comprehension of many of the conditions which underlie these questions are still in a high degree imperfect, and it is the object and the hope of this League that they may be able to do something, with

the assistance of our fellow-countrymen abroad, to increase that knowledge and to dispel misconception, and any work which they can intrust to us with that object is work which will be cheerfully undertaken by the council of this League. (Hear, hear.) I firmly believe that in these directions—that of extending a knowledge of these questions and of clearing away misconceptions, with the assistance which will be cheerfully rendered by our colonial fellow-subjects—there still remains a wide field of usefulness which may be occupied by an association such as this, and which, with their assistance, we will, in the future, do all in our power to occupy. (Hear, hear.) I believe that nothing further remains for me to do on this occasion than to welcome most heartily to our meeting to-day those of the colonial Prime Ministers who have been able to be present, and to assure them of the sympathy with which we, in common with the great mass of our fellow-subjects, have welcomed their presence among us on this auspicious occasion. (Cheers.) I have the pleasure to inform you that those who are present are the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, Premier of New Zealand; the Right Hon. Sir William Whiteway, Premier of Newfoundland; and the Right Hon. Sir Edward Braddon, Premier of Tasmania; and perhaps I should add that if more of them, as we had hoped, are not present to-day, I believe it is in a great measure due to the continued progress of those conferences to which I have referred with the Colonial Minister, one of which has taken place only this morning, in consequence of which it has been found difficult for some of them to keep their engagements to-day.

Mr. SEDDON, after thanking them warmly for their hearty reception to himself and the other Premiers present, said that the good work done by the British Empire League had been appreciated by every well-wisher of the Empire. He might go further and say that the presence of the Colonial Premiers that day in the mother country was in a great degree owing to the exertions and work of the

League. (Cheers.) As to their discussions with Mr. Chamberlain he was not at liberty to speak freely. The questions which had been propounded and asserted by the League were nearer to fruition than many present anticipated. It was with great pleasure that he saw so many of the gentler sex present, and he was proud to be able to state that he represented the adult population of the colony the furthest away from the mother country, but in loyalty and devotion to the Throne, and in determination to maintain the Empire at all hazards, they were the nearest. (Cheers.) The League had been achieving that which those present earnestly desired. He would like to see the word "colonies" banished for ever, as he would prefer to be alluded to as one living in a distant part of the Empire. The attitude of the colonies in the past proved that they were with the motherland. It had been said that sentiment should count for little, but sentiment must ever count for much (cheers); and the colonies—those in the distant parts of the Empire—must not have their loyalty gauged by the amount they were able to contribute to either defence or any other purpose of the Empire. The prospector in the colony, who suffered privations which only Britons could endure, was helping as much to maintain the Empire, and to do good to those in the motherland, as he was helping to develop the colony and those who were there. The same must and should be said of the pioneer settlers. Surely those who had left the mother country to carve out homes for themselves in the colonies should be taken into consideration. (Hear, hear.) The money expended on the development of these new countries—on the construction of roads and railways, on increasing trade with the mother country—all came back to them in the mother country. It was their wish that their trade as far as practicable should be done with the mother country. It must be admitted that what was suitable years ago, and under different conditions, was not suitable to-day, but the requisite alterations could be made without any departure



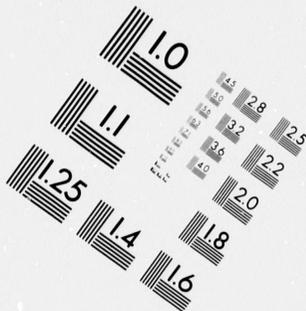
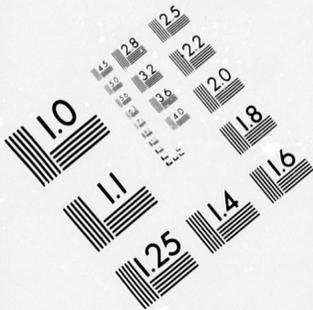
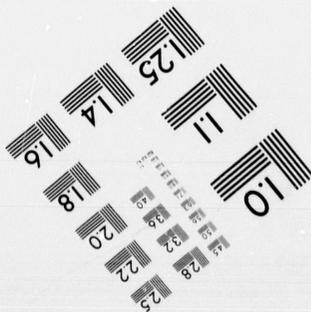
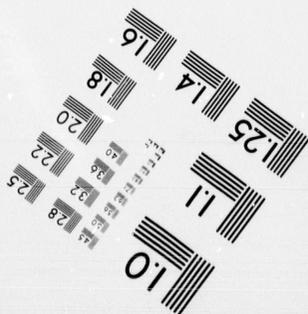
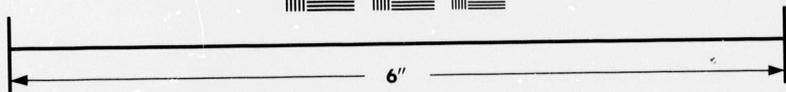
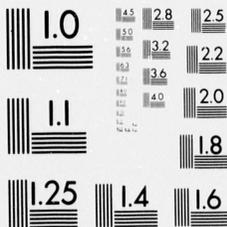


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from the well-recognised principles of the great majority in the mother country. Reference had been made to treaties now in existence, and at the time they were made circumstances might have justified and warranted their existence. The colonial Ministers had not visited this country to embarrass the Imperial authorities or to cause any unpleasantness in regard to their foreign relations, but when they said that it would be well that the treaties he had alluded to should be considered, they felt that in relation to the mother country and its colonies there was a barrier which they asked those in authority to remove. The conference now taking place between the colonial Prime Ministers and the Imperial authorities sufficiently warranted him in saying that it was a practical test of the advantages of a closer connection between the mother country and the colonies. If he went further and said that later on, in the British Parliament, the 10,000,000 who were at present disfranchised should be heard, he only said that which required to be developed, and which would eventually take place. Perhaps this was only a dream, but if it could be done the sooner it was done the better for all of them. With regard to the welcome which was given to them by the National Liberal Club last Saturday, he wanted it to be clearly understood—and he thought he could speak also for the other colonial Premiers—that they were there as the guests of the nation, and any hospitality extended to them they felt was extended to the colonies they represented. (Cheers.) If the Carlton Club should happen to invite the colonial Prime Ministers to lunch, it was only a question whether they would survive it, but he thought they would try. The greatest hospitality had been extended to them; and to the British Empire League they were greatly indebted because they had been the executive. (Cheers.)

Sir WILLIAM WHITEWAY, who was warmly received on rising, after a few preliminary remarks, said: There are none of us but desire to cement that union which we all

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feel does and should exist between the mother country and the colonies. My friend Mr. Seddon has just said that he would like to see the word "colony" expunged. I do not concur with him; I would rather that the term "colony" should be synonymous with the term "family," and that the mother country should possess this family of colonies in various portions of the world, part and parcel of one great household, determined to uphold the British flag. (Cheers.) But I think it most desirable that at all events some of you should pay visits to the colonies, become a little more acquainted with our resources, with the internal management of our affairs, and with ourselves, socially and politically. Strange views are sometimes entertained in this country with regard to us. I remember being here a few years ago with a few colonists, and being asked by a friend of mine in regard to these colonists: "Do you really eat with them, and do they wear the same clothes as we do." (Laughter.) That was only a few years ago, and what happened only to-day? We received an invitation from Ireland, and we are, if you please, requested to appear in our own native costumes. (Much laughter.) Now, if I look over the history, which some of you have no doubt studied, with regard to the colony I represent, I find that Newfoundland is said to be celebrated for its codfish, its dogs, its hogs, its fogs, and its bogs! (Laughter.) That is a very erroneous opinion, I assure you. We have resources in that colony, which will, I believe, make it at a future time one of the brightest jewels in her Majesty's crown. (Hear, hear.)

#### WHAT NEWFOUNDLAND HAS DONE.

I am a sanguine believer in the resources of Newfoundland, although it has been kept in its present backward state for a period of 400 years. In 1497 it was discovered by Cabot, the first land in the western hemisphere. Efforts were made to prevent the colony being settled, so that the fisheries should be carried on there by those resident in this

country. And so these fisheries were persecuted until early in the present century. It will hardly be believed, nevertheless it is a fact, that when I myself emigrated to Newfoundland, about fifty years ago, there were only about twenty miles of road in the colony. Now we have thousands of miles. We have 600 miles of railway across the island, yet our population is only 210,000 people; and I say these are great works to be achieved by so small a number. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Seddon said just now that you hardly appreciate the work we have had to do in the colonies. Further than that, looking round in England at this moment I could point to hundreds who have made their money in the colony I represent and come home to spend it. (Laughter and cheers.) Were the money made in the colonies spent in the colonies they would be in a different position to-day. But we do not envy you. We do not desire that a man should not spend where he pleases the money he has made, but we do desire that when we are asked to give large amounts to the defence of the Empire you should consider these few facts. And be assured of this, that when muscle is required and men are required, and when England may be in difficulties, the colonies will not be backward in shedding their blood for her. (Cheers.) I remember that the initiatory step in the long series of developments which have made England to-day the supreme ruler of the seas was one with which my colony of Newfoundland was associated. The fishing vessels on its coast and the thousands and tens of thousands of men engaged in that great industry were then forming the foundation of England's present supremacy, and they are ready at any moment of England's peril to come forward to her aid.

#### THE FOLLIES OF THE DIPLOMATIST.

But what has been secured in times past by the bravery of the soldier and the sailor has, unfortunately been disposed of by the diplomatist. (Hear, hear.) Yes; we have suffered in all times past, and we are struggling to-day

under treaties—I may call them infamous treaties—which surrender to France two small islands off our coast, and convey to the French fishermen, in the most ambiguous language, what we claim to be a concurrent right of fishing along part of the shore of our own island, but what they claim to be an exclusive right, and are exercising as an exclusive right. Will you believe it that not long ago, when endeavouring to arrange for the construction of a railroad across the island, it was contended by the French that we could not even erect a railway station on what is termed the Treaty Coast?—and we were precluded for years by the Government of this mother country from building that road! During the present year we shall have completed that road, but I may almost say that we have secured the railway station surreptitiously. We hesitated about giving any information whatever as to what we were doing until we had the road and the jetty constructed, lest the French should protest that they would interfere with their fish on the coast. (Laughter.) You laugh, and no wonder; but these are facts, and facts which are operating so prejudicially as to retard the progress which we ought to make as the oldest colony of Her Majesty's Empire. (Cheers.) One word more and I have done. We cannot raise wheat. We are not an agricultural country to raise produce of the character to send here. But we produce an article which, I believe, is admitted by all scientists to be a brain-producing food. (Laughter.) New Zealand has some Newfoundlanders there, and no doubt our fish product has tended to increase its power and to help materially in making the British Empire what it is to-day. Let me say, in conclusion, with Mr. Seddon, that I return my most hearty and sincere thanks for the hospitality and kindness extended to us not only by Her Majesty's Government and those connected with it, but by one and all, high and low, of the people of this country, with whom we trust ever to be brothers fighting side by side and advancing arm in arm in the cause of progress and civilisation. (Loud cheers.)

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Mr. G. H. REID (Premier of New South Wales), who arrived at this point, was called upon to speak. He stated that the British Empire League was an institution which every colonist, whatever his views might be, could heartily support. It seemed to him that the history of the relations between the mother country and the colonies showed that the less tightly the ties between them had been drawn, the fewer the official ties were, the larger and broader and more powerful were those other ties which lay deep in the nature of the British race. That which made the Empire strong was the fact that running through this great country and running through the peoples of the self-governing colonies were institutions which enabled all that was best in a community to assert itself. (Hear, hear.)

Sir EDWARD BRADDON, in addressing the meeting, remarked that, as the president had observed, the colonial Premiers were not in a position to speak freely. Mr. Seddon had stated that although New Zealand was the most remote colony from the mother country it was the most loyal. He joined issue with that remark. (Laughter.) Tasmania was somewhat nearer than New Zealand, and was more loyal, and in their way, in a wholesome way, they were go-ahead. It was true that they had not yet adopted the female subject, but they had not put their women to the trouble of voting directly when they were constantly voting indirectly. (Laughter.) Tasmania was the first British possession to pass a law making education compulsory; and he might also claim for Tasmania that they had been the first to pass a law which provided that no women should serve in shops without being seated whenever they were not required to be in active work. (Hear, hear.) He was sure that Tasmania would be foremost of all the colonies—a long way before the colony represented by Mr. Reid—in joining closer together the bonds which united them with the mother country. It was all very well to talk about loose bonds—they served very well now, when the colonies were especially loyal; but the time must come, it would

not be in his day, when one of two things must occur—that the colonies must break away and set up their own nationhoods or become members of the Great British Empire. He would leave this country—that was if he lived to do so (laughter)—bitterly disappointed if some step were not taken to forward that which would bring the mother country and the colonies closer together.

Colonel GEORGE T. DENISON (President of the British Empire League in Canada), in proposing the election of Lord Salisbury as a vice-president of the League, stated that at the present time in Canada the entire people were absolutely united on the general idea of the permanent unity of the British Empire. (Cheers.) He said in the course of his speech: I wish to take issue with both gentlemen who preceded me (Mr. Seddon and Sir Edward Braddon) and explain that my colony, Canada, is the most loyal of all. (Cheers and laughter.) We in Canada are absolutely united upon the general idea of the permanent unity of the British Empire, and nowhere is that feeling stronger than with us; for our province was absolutely founded by men who went there carrying that idea with them. I have come here from Canada to make one or two suggestions. In the first place, in reference to preferential tariffs, we have shown you that we wish to give you a preference in our markets. (Cheers.) But treaties interfere with us in the management of our own tariff, and I wish to emphasise the fact that some steps should be taken to give us absolute freedom to give every advantage we wish to give to our fellow-countrymen all over the world. (Cheers.) We wish to give that advantage to our own people, and we do not wish to be forced to give it to the foreigner. (Hear, hear.) It has been well put by Rudyard Kipling:—

“ ‘Favour to those I favour, but a stumbling-block to my foes.  
Many there be that hate us,’ says Our Lady of the Snows.”

In Canada we have a population of about 75,000 seafaring men. We are the fifth mercantile marine power in the

world, and our flag is seen on every sea. (Hear, hear.) We have fishermen all along our coasts, and I wish to ask you people here in England to-day to unite with us and press upon the Governments here and in Canada to take steps by which these hardy, loyal, rugged mariners may be trained and educated for naval pursuits, so that in case of war they may form a great naval reserve. (Hear, hear.) Now my last point is this. In Canada we have viewed with considerable alarm the fact that the wealthiest and most powerful nation in all history is at this moment dependent for her daily food for three out of every four of her population upon two foreign nations who are, I am thankful to say, friendly to her, and who, I hope, will always be friendly, but who, it cannot be denied, might by some possibility be engaged in war with us at some future time. These two nations might then stop your food supply, and that harm to you would spread great distress among the people of our country. I have been deputed by the League in Canada to ask you to look carefully into this question. If there is no real danger, relieve our fears; but if you find there is any danger, let me urge upon you as strongly as I can to take some steps to meet that danger. Let the method be what it may—great national granaries, a duty on food, a bounty or what not, but let something be done. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, M.P., Sir Henry Strong, Chief Justice of Canada; Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of Cape Colony; and Mr. S. J. Way, Chief Justice of South Australia, were elected members of the council of the League.

Lord TENNYSON afterwards proposed a vote of thanks, which was carried by acclamation, to the Duke of Devonshire for presiding.

The PRESIDENT: I beg to thank you very sincerely for the cordial manner in which you have been pleased to

receive this resolution. I can assure you it has given me great pleasure to attend so influential and enthusiastic a meeting, and to listen to the very interesting speeches which we have had the privilege of hearing from some of our colonial visitors. (Hear, hear.) His Grace afterwards stated that under the auspices of the League a ball was being organised, to take place next Friday at the Hotel Cecil, in honour of the officers of the Indian and colonial forces. In proposing a vote of thanks to Major-General Sim, and recognising the courtesy of the Merchant Taylors' Company in allowing them the use of their hall, the President added: The City companies, like the British Empire, are sometimes considered somewhat old-fashioned institutions, but I think every one will admit that in these later days, at all events, they have awakened to a very strong sense of the responsibilities which their position and their resources entail upon them; and there is scarcely any object of national importance or national usefulness to which one or other of the companies has not in some way or another in recent years contributed. (Cheers.)

The resolution was unanimously agreed to, and was acknowledged by Major-General SIM, and the proceedings then terminated.

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*Please enrol my name as a Member of the "BRITISH EMPIRE LEAGUE."*

*I enclose herewith £ : : which I intend to subscribe annually to  
the funds of the League.*

NAME.....

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The Friends of the League are reminded of the great expense necessarily incurred in the production and in the distribution, under the existing postal system, of its correspondence and literature.

Subscriptions in excess of the above towards meeting this expenditure will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Secretary.

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