

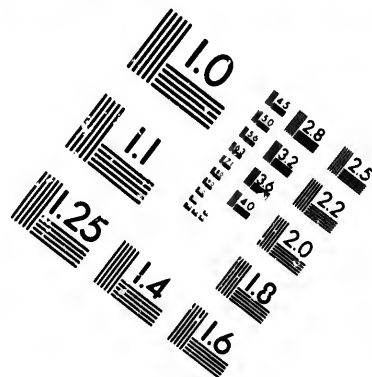
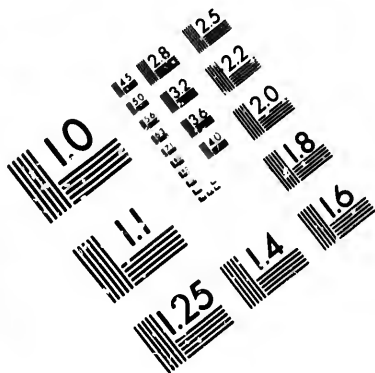
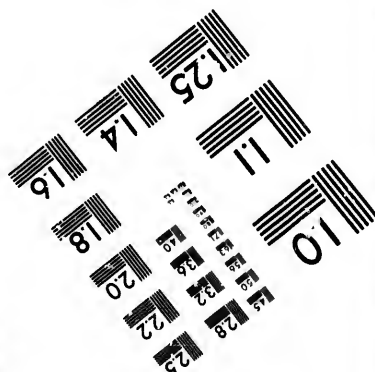
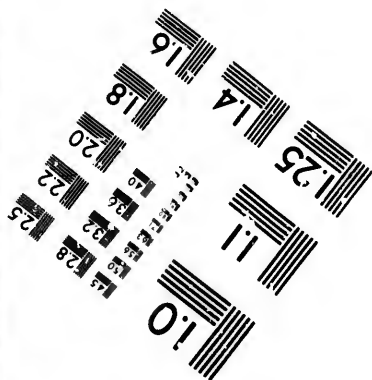
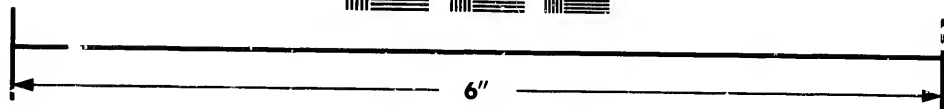
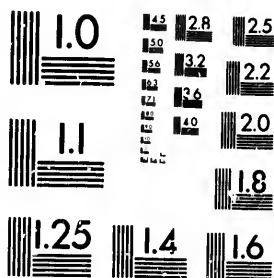


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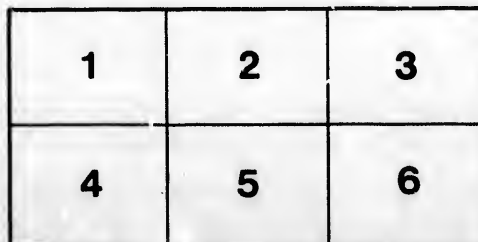
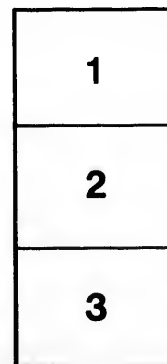
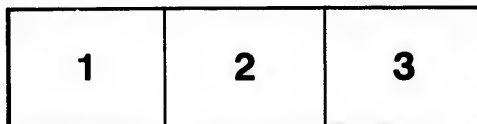
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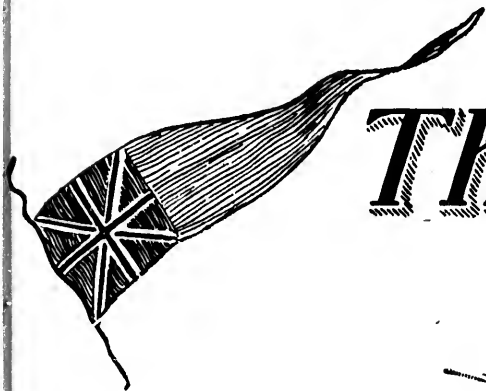
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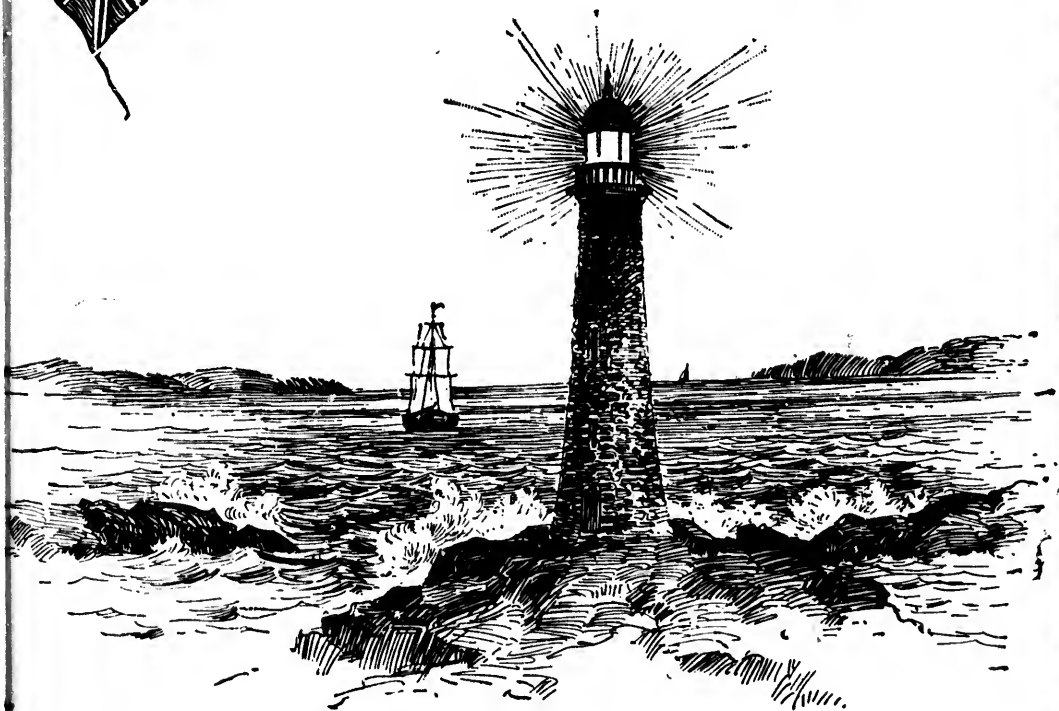


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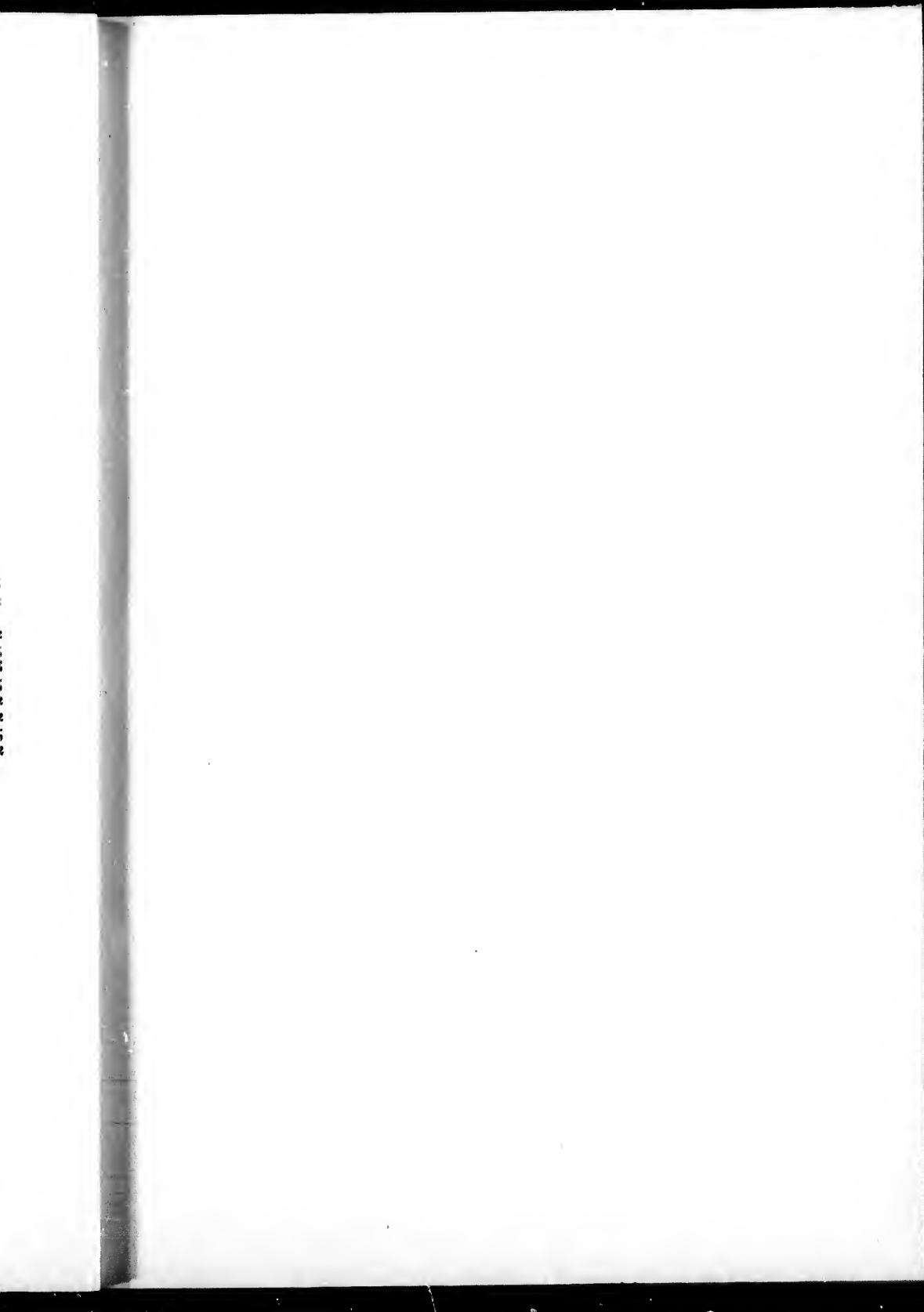
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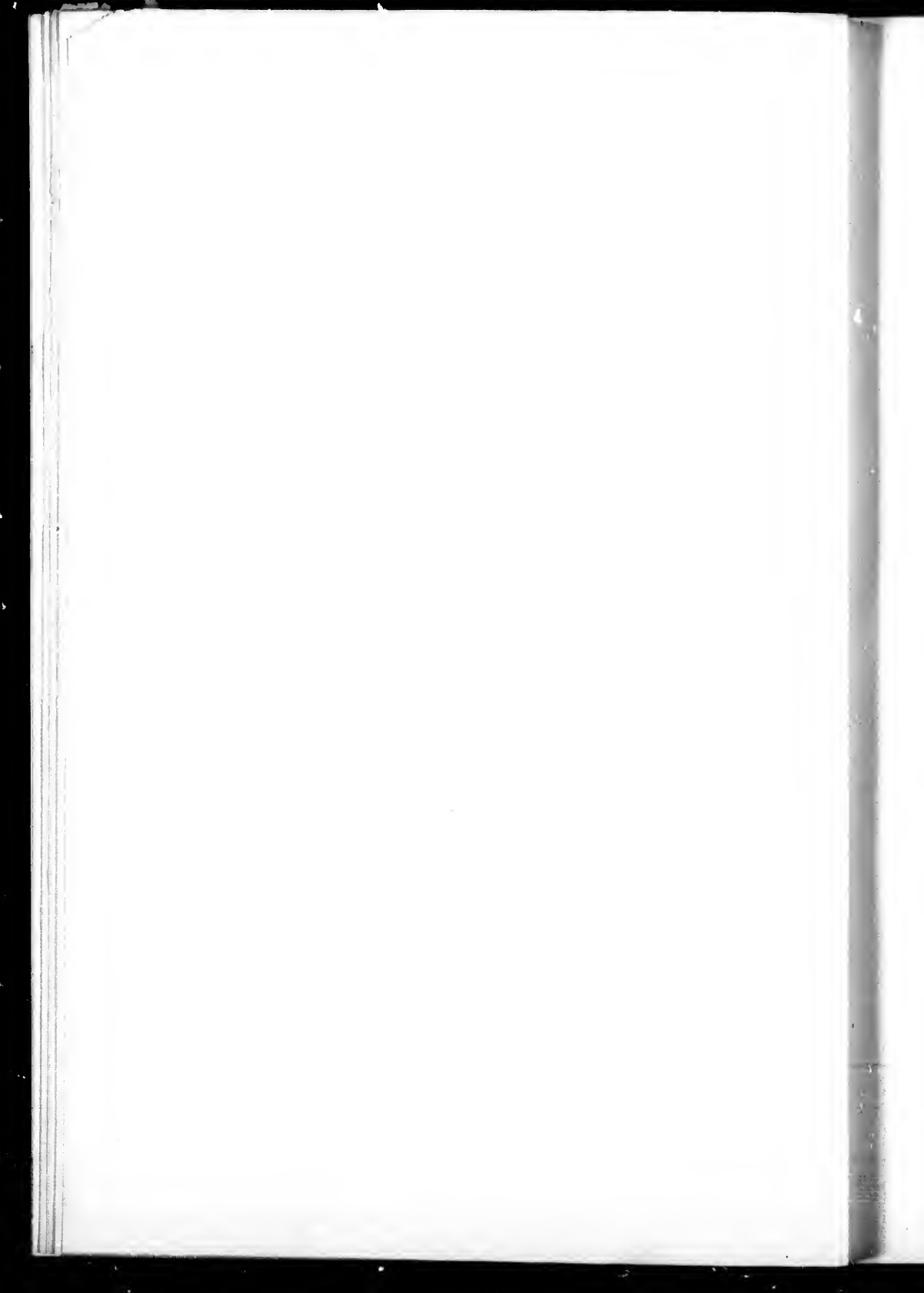
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INTRODUCTION.

1898.

IN the Jubilee year the wish of our Sovereign "of welding into one harmonious and united community" the Empire to which we belong, seemed to be drawing nearer to realization. In the following volume we put on record the part which has been taken towards effecting that object by our Canadian Leaders and by our Representatives and Delegates at the various Imperial Conferences and Commercial Congresses inaugurated during the past ten years. While Great Britain and the Colonies are a United Empire, we are not yet united:—Commercially—nor Politically—nor for purpose of defence, and it is these important matters with all their variations of thought, policy, and feeling, that are referred to when speaking of the closer union of the British Empire.

At the close of the session of the Imperial Parliament of 1886, the invitation went forth from Her Majesty to the Colonial Governments to meet in Conference at London during the following year, for the consideration of matters of common interest, and of what was considered most urgent,—organization for military defence.

The patriotic action of the Colonies in offering contingents of troops in the Egyptian campaign had impressed the public mind and is given in the Queen's speech as one of the final causes which led to the summoning of the first Inter-Colonial Conference.

When we look over the Parliamentary reports of these National Assemblies, we find in them the genesis of the various policies now being pursued, and among the originators of the resolutions there are the names of men well-known in our everyday business, but whose successful efforts in the early stages of British Union have been

hidden away under the uncongenial covers of voluminous parliamentary blue books and official reports: these we now bring once more before the public notice.

This volume contains references to the subjects brought before these Conferences for consideration, and gives the resolutions that were passed. The chief space is, however, given to the resolutions and discussions on questions relating to Canada and the Empire.

These Inter-Colonial Conferences have been representative in every respect, men of note and of the highest rank gave their attention to the business on hand and London was proud to entertain the Colonies. We also in turning over the official verbatim reports, forming several lengthy volumes, are also proud to find written in them throughout, the names of Canadian citizens, from Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, Hamilton, Brantford and many another Canadian city, who took a leading part (we feel inclined to write the leading part) in these able and most influential of debates, conducted with an earnestness and a desire to find out the best way of procedure. At these meetings there were gathered Members of the Ministries, Colonial Premiers, and representatives of the industries in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the South African Colonies, and the Islands of the Seas.

Part I. is taken from the Parliamentary Report of the great Conference of 1887. We note, firstly, in the invitation to the Colonies, the stress laid upon the necessity for a more extended participation in the defence of the Empire, and in the report of the conference by the Secretary of State for the Colonies we find it stated that the most valuable decision arrived at, "was that relating to the increase of the Australian squadron for the protection of the floating trade." The address of Sir Henry Holland on page 25 states the case very fully. One of the interesting periods of the discussion was the vindication by Sir Alexander Campbell of the part that Canada had taken and the expense she had borne in the defence of her part of the Empire in years gone by. The course of the debates at that Conference had a special analytical interest to students of the origin and result of the *'fait accompli'* of some particular political procedure. The objects were definite—as to defence,—and indefinite—as to matters of common interest. The first entailed expense, caused hesitation, and the result

of the conference was becoming somewhat involved ; the period over which the sittings extended was 35 days. Then came the complete change in the tone of the Conference and consolidation of a controlling majority when the commercial self interest of those present was favoured, and the idea of a preferential tariff entered into the minds and hearts of the assembly.

Mr. Hofmeyr from South Africa was prominent in bringing the question forward of Preferential Trade.

The next Colonial Conference, 1892, was under different auspices. It was a Chamber of Commerce Congress on invitation from the Chamber of Commerce of the City of London, and it was at this Congress that Sir Charles Tupper nailed his policy to the mast in his resolution favouring a differential duty in British markets for British goods, and although the vote was not in his favour, the proposition was approved by the majority of the Colonies at Ottawa. At the same time he brought home to the English mind the national danger on account of the want of a British source of the food supply for the United Kingdom. The account of this Conference forms Part II.

Among those in favour of Commercial Union, although not all on the lines of a preferential tariff, we find at this Congress the Hon. R. R. Dobell, of London Ont., Hon. A. T. Wood, Hamilton, Mr. P. H. Burton, Mr. W. D. Plewes and Mr. M. C. Ellis, Toronto, and Hon. W. J. Balianlyne, Speaker of the Ontario Legislature, who claimed to have carried an election on the cry of "Free trade with Britain."

The scene is shifted in the next chapter Part III., from reviewing the delegates seated around the ancient and heavy mahogany in an historic hall with the name of the portion of the Empire they represent above them on substantial brass rods, dimmed light coming through the ancient glass window colored with many a coat of arms, and the titled leaders of the Congress on the velvet lined platform, for we pass to our then Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, Sir Mackenzie Bowell on his journey to the Australasian Colonies in company with Sir Sanford Fleming and we reprint again the hearty words of welcome with which Canada was greeted in Australia.

The official report on this mission issued by the Dominion is replete with commercial information, and it was this mission that led up to the Ottawa Conference, and the now historic resolutions passed thereat and which have become almost a modern Colonial

Magna Charta for the time being ; these are set out in Part IV. together with the debates. The discussions show very fully what the proposition is in respect of Preferential Trade.

The delegates carried away with them from Ottawa the remembrance of a vast continent, mountains, wheat-fields, and forests, and the genial warmth and beauty of the early Canadian summer.

In every great popular movement there are two distinct times, the "initiative" and the time of "completion"; the first is followed by:—"The period of Instruction" the latter is preceded by:—"The period of Construction." The most influential factor of the Instructive period has been the Imperial Federation League, which was at the same time both the power behind the throne and the pioneer in the field, and as the period of construction naturally came in due course, the Imperial Federation League changed into the more operative and constructive British Empire League. The Ottawa Conference marked this period. The previous Conferences had largely been theoretical or instructive, but at that Conference practical resolutions were passed and the work of construction began. The general opinion was that the time had come for some definite plan of procedure to be proposed, and soon afterwards for the purpose of exemplifying the propositions of the Ottawa Conference, the Statist, Financial Magazine of London, came forward with the handsome offer of \$5000 for the best essay on a Customs Union for removing what seemed to be the main obstacles in the way of federation, the attainment of this ultimate object the proprietors believed should be the guiding principle in evolving the scheme. As the essays contain the pith and detailed statements of the proposals at that time for an Imperial Customs Union, and the first essay to be printed was written by the Secretary of the High Commissioner for Canada and the suggestions were constantly referred to at the Congress the following year, a short epitome of this Statist competition finds a place in this review. Part V.

Previous to the Congress of 1896 we had heard the declaration of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, holding out hopes of a modification of the English policy in favor of Colonial produce, and this was followed shortly after by an equally notable declaration on the same basis by the Duke of Devonshire, who had lately accepted the Presidency of the British Empire League.

It was no wonder that in the sunshine of the powers that be, the resolution of the Toronto Board of Trade framed on these lines and championed by their President Mr. E. B. Osler, M. P., should

have been placed in the position of honour, and have been the opening business for consideration at the Congress, which forms the subject of Part VI.

The suggestion for Preferential Trade had become by this time a belief with many, and the idea that had previously been held that it would be utterly improbable for England to give "a preference" to the Colonies, was relegated to history.

On the second day of this Congress Sir J. G. Colmer expounded his suggestion in the Statist competition in favor of preferential duties. Mr. Edgar Tripp brought the Congress to laughter with his rally about protectionist lambs and the free trade lion, and at the same time imprinted on the minds of the hearers the value of the Colonial trade. Mr. W. H. Mitchell of Bradford led the Congress back to a better foundation for the long sought union, and Mr. F. Arnoldi of Toronto described to our English confreres the wonderful heritage of the North American Continent that the Empire had become heir to by the valor of Canadians, and without Imperial assistance in the execution of those great public works of inter-Imperial communication.

The Toronto resolutions produced the longest discussions yet taken part in by any Congress and the final amendment that was carried asked for further consideration by an Imperial Conference, and awaiting the calling of that Conference in whatever form it may be, is how the matter now stands.

The far-reaching effect of the abrogation of the German and Belgium Treaties may be gathered from a perusal of the sections of those Treaties in Part VII. and the tables of the countries which can claim the benefits of the most-favored-nation-clause. These particulars are taken from the report to the British House of Commons. The renewal of these treaties in an amended form will probably cause much serious consideration.

Part VIII. is the chapter of Statistics, the material for which was furnished by the Colonial Agents General in London. A perusal of the variety of Duties, the various ways in which the different Colonial Tariff Acts are framed, and the Colonial Revenues, will show any reader the difficulty or even the impossibility of forming any Imperial Customs Union without first forming an Executive authorized by the Colonies to prepare the matter for Parliamentary consideration. It is the formation of such an Executive which the author claims is really the most important step towards the union of the Empire. Suggestions to this effect being given in part V. and Part IX.

We are not all traders, and commerce is only a portion of our national life. Commerce never has been more than a temporary link between any people. Uniting the people as a nation with a national feeling, will prove a stronger and more lasting bond of union than a variable Customs Union, however favorable, and we would here call attention to the list of public men given in Part IX. (Federation by Representation) who held that the only way to a United Empire was by Political federation. There is no other enduring federation known in the world except political federation, and it cannot be too often repeated that "in a multitude of Councillors there is safety."

Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, which claim has lately been championed by our Premier Sir Willfred Laurier, is a *sine qua non* of British National Union. As popular representation of the Colonial people in both Houses is sure to be claimed, and what we must finally have, the best policy will be to commence with it, and use it for solving the problems before us. True representation by popular choice reflecting the varying and expanding thoughts and needs of the Colonies is what is needed, and the author believes that the Preferential Trade policy will only be effected when championed on the floor of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster by men of political influence from the Colonies. A Representative from the Colonies at Westminster, would be "the right man in the right place."

The following record is nearly confined to the part taken by Canadian delegates, except where it was necessary to show the continuity of the line of debate by the introduction of other speeches. Present space prevents the recording at length of what was said by others who took part in those Councils, but Canada entered so fully into them, that following the part she took gives a clear insight into the whole line of action taken by the Delegates throughout, while they were as it were, constructing an approach toward the desired ends, helping to level the irregularities of our commercial highways, bridging over temporary difficulties, and hewing some of the rough ashler stones from the quarries of hard facts to supply material for building up this "summum bonum," of national prosperity, a United Empire, and proving the truth of our motto "Ex occidente lux."

Leading articles from the newspapers written at the time have also been incorporated, and a knowledge of these matters is certainly necessary for a due appreciation of the debates in our national assemblies which from now on to the final achievement of British Union will attract your attention. Local advantages, personal advantages will accrue from a closer political union by inducing the so much required immigration of British subjects who possess the munitions of commercial prosperity.

The question, however, of the day--of the century if you like--is how to make the combined strength of our nation effective for the continuance and cohesive upholding of our people as one nation, and in an equal degree for being the most effective help in the world for raising the standard of manhood in those nations with which we deal, in the suppression of mediæval tyranny and slavery, the inculcation of local self-governing ability, and development of local resources.

The expansion of the "Colonial Idea" at the Victorian Jubilee is a fitting sequel to the public initiation of the idea by the late Prince Consort in 1857. The rapid advance towards national Unity of the British people continues day by day, now being helped forward by our leading men in the Empire, in a quieter degree by the widespread influence of the National Church of England and the Lambeth Conferences, very largely by the yeoman service of the British Empire League, with its local branches, and by the influence of the Conferences and Congresses which we record in this volume. The absence of party conflict in all this proves the truth of the political rhyme :

Let Whigs and Tories stir their blood ;
 There must be stormy weather.
 But for the general public good
 All parties work together.

Canada, first of the Colonies in this commercial enterprise, has led in the policy of placing a "Preferential Rate" in her Customs tariff, but still "the question which is at once urgent and capable of consideration at the present time," as it was of the first Inter-Colonial Conference of 1887, is "the subject of the organization of the Defence of the Empire." The food supply in every contingency, the development of Colonial resources, the means of rapid transit and the union of the nation in the Councils of our Empire all have their part in such organization.

JAMES VAN SOMMER JR.

Toronto, May, 1898.

THE Inter-Colonial Conference.

1887.

(Extracts from the Parliamentary Official Report.)

IN the Queen's Speech on the prorogation of Parliament at the close of the session of 1886, Her Majesty was pleased to refer to Her Colonial and Indian Possessions in the following terms :—" I have observed with much satisfaction the interest " which, in an increasing degree, is evinced by the people of this " country in the welfare of their Colonial and Indian fellow subjects ; " and I am led to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing " desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite " the various portions of the Empire. I have authorized communi- " cations to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments " with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common " interest."

A Conference was accordingly summoned by Her Majesty for the early part of the year 1887, and the cordial co-operation of the Colonial Ministers was invited. A letter of invitation to all the Governors of Colonies under responsible Governments was sent by the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M. P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, under date of the 25th November, 1886.

The following extract from this letter will show the original objects that were sought to be attained :

" In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the question which is at once urgent and capable of useful consideration at the present time is that of organization for military defence. The patriotic action of the Colonies in offering contingents of troops to take part in the Egyptian campaign made a deep and lasting impression on the public mind, and was the first practical result of much careful work during recent years.

"The time has now arrived when an attempt may fairly be made to attain to a better understanding as to the system of defence which may be established throughout the Empire.

"Second only in importance to this great question is one concerning in a special degree the interests of the Empire in time of peace. The promotion of commercial and social relations by the development of our postal and telegraphic communications could be considered with much advantage by the proposed Conference. It is a subject the conditions of which are constantly changing. New requirements come into existence, and new projects are formulated, every year. It is obviously desirable that the question of Imperial intercommunication should be considered as a whole, in order that the needs of every part of the Empire may, as far as practicable, be provided for, and that suggestions may be obtained from all quarters as to the best means of establishing a complete system of communications without that increased expenditure which necessarily results from isolated action.

"I will only add, in conclusion, that I am confident that your Government will, as I do, feel deep interest in this first attempt to bring all parts of Her Majesty's Empire into joint deliberation.

The circular letter of Sir H. T. Holland to the Governors of Colonies giving a report of the Conference follows immediately after the above letter of invitation in the official report.

SIR H. T. HOLLAND TO THE GOVERNORS OF COLONIES.

(Circular.)

DOWING STREET,

23rd July, 1887.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit to you the Report of the proceedings of the recent Colonial Conference, together with copies of papers which were laid before it.

The invitation to the Conference contained in Mr. Stanhope's despatch of the 25th of November last met with a prompt and gratifying acceptance in all quarters. The self-governing Colonies sent as their delegates Ministers, ex-Ministers, or other distinguished Colonists; while, at Meetings in which the Crown Colonies were interested, representative gentlemen, deputed by the local Governments or invited by myself, were present and took part in the proceedings.

The opening meeting was held on April the 4th, and the Conference closed on the 9th of May.

The first meeting was attended by the Prime Minister and many of my colleagues, as well as by members of the late Ministry, former Secretaries of State for the Colonies, members of both

Houses of Parliament, and other eminent men well known for their interest in matters relating to the Colonies. The meeting was addressed by the Marquis of Salisbury, Earl Granville, Mr. Stanhope, myself, and the representatives of the Colonies, whose speeches will be found in the Report of the Proceedings.

The subject of the organization of Colonial Defence comes first in order of importance, and that position was assigned to it by my predecessor, Mr. Stanhope, who now fills the office of Secretary of State for War.

The most valuable decision arrived at by means of the Conference was that relating to the increase of the Australasian squadron, for the protection of the floating trade. Proposals had been made on the subject by the Admiralty through Admiral Tryon, by whom preliminary negotiations had been entered into with the Premiers of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland at a meeting held in Sydney on board H. M. S. "Nelson," in April, 1886.

Several subjects relating to the improvement of Postal and Telegraphic communication between the Colonies and the Mother Country also engaged the careful consideration of the Conference.

The important proposals of the Canadian Pacific Railway for a service of powerful steamers between Vancouver and Hong Kong, by way of Japan, was not discussed at length in the Conference, being already under consideration of Her Majesty's Government. Attention was, however, called by the Canadian representatives to this scheme, as well as to that for establishing a line of steamers from Vancouver to Australia, and it was stated that the mails could be carried to Australian and Asiatic ports in considerably less time, and at less cost, by these Pacific routes than at present.

In connection with the subject of telegraphic communication, the proposal of an alternative line to Australia was prominently brought forward.

Two alternative routes were suggested, one by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and the other from Vancouver. The latter was warmly advocated by the representatives of the Dominion of Canada, as being a route deserving to be placed in competition with the existing line in point of speed, convenience, and economy, and as possessing the additional advantage of passing entirely over British territory by means of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which has recently been brought to a successful completion. The Conference expressed their admiration at the energy and enterprise shown in carrying out that great undertaking, and marked their sense of the

Imperial importance of the connecting link thus established by their ready assent to the two propositions submitted by Sir Alexander Campbell on this subject on the 6th of May.

Various questions in connection with trade were debated, such as the adoption by the Colonies of similar legislation to that proposed in Great Britain with regard to merchandise, works, and patents and the effect of foreign bounties upon the sugar trade of the Colonies.

Among the suggestions put forward was a proposal that commerce within the Empire should be encouraged by imposing a duty of an equal rate on all imports entering the Empire from foreign countries, and that the revenue thereby acquired should be applied to the defence of the Empire.

It was also urged that permission should be given to the self-governing Colonies to enter into direct negotiations with foreign Powers in regard to Trade matters, as had been allowed in the case of Canada.

Another important series of questions were those relating to the enforcement of Colonial Judgments and Orders in Bankruptcy and Winding-up Companies. Consideration was also given to the best method of giving effect to Colonial Wills, whether by reading the Probate or by some other procedure.

Three questions of interest to the Colonial Governments in connection with their loans were also brought forward, viz., the Investment of Trust Funds in Colonial Stock, the Stamp Duties on the Transfer of Colonial Inscribed Stock, and the position of Unclaimed Dividends on Colonial Stock.

(Signed) H. T. HOLLAND.

*To the Officer
Administering the Government.*

The opening meeting was held on the 4th April, 1887, and the concluding meeting on the 9th May following.

The Index of subjects contains no less than 75 items, from which we select the following :—

Defences.

The Australian Naval Squadron.
Canada.
The Cape.
Coaling Stations.
Durban.

Esquimalt.

Natal.

Precautions in relation to Harbour Defences.

Legal or Requiring Legislative Action.

Bankruptcy Orders.

Companies (Colonial Registers).

Deceased Wife's Sister, marriage.

Judgments, Colonial, Enforcement.

Letters of Administration.

Preservation of life at sea.

Rescaling of Probates and Probate.

Stamp duties on transfer of Inscribed Stock.

Stamp duty on Colonial Loans.

Stock Act (Colonial), 1887.

Sueing, Colonial Governments.

Trust Funds, Investment of.

Unclaimed Dividends.

Winding up of Companies.

Postal Communication.

Australian Mail Service.

Canadian Pacific Railway Route.

Telegraphic Communication.

Canadian Cable Co.

Cable by way of Cape.

Eastern extension and Indian transit charges.

Pacific Cable Company, Vancouver to Australia.

Trade.

Countervailing duties (in connexion with Sugar Bounties).

Decimal Coinage.

General.

Imperial Customs Tariff.

Merchandise Marks.

Negotiations with Foreign Powers by Colonies.

Newfoundland Fishery Question (bounties on cod fish).

Patent Laws, Uniformity of.

Sugar Bounties.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS.

Monday, April 4th, 1887.

PRESENT :

- THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY THURSTAN HOLLAND, BART., G. C. M. G., M. P., *Secretary of State for the Colonies. President.*
 THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K. G., *Prime Minister.*
 THE EARL CADOGAN, *Lord Privy Seal.*
 THE RIGHT HON. W. H. SMITH, M. P., *First Lord of the Treasury.*
 THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE, M. P., *Secretary of State for War.*
 THE RIGHT HON. LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P., *First Lord of the Admiralty.*
 THE VISCOUNT CROSS, G. C. B., *Secretary of State for India.*
 THE LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON, G. C. B., *President of the Board of Trade.*
 THE RIGHT HON. H. C. RAIKES, M. P., *Postmaster General.*
 THE EARL OF ONSLOW, *Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.*
 THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, BART., G. C. S. I., M. P., *Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

REPRESENTATIVES :—

Newfoundland :—

- MR. ROBERT THORBURN, *Premier.*
 SIR AMBROSE SHEA, K. C. M. G.

Canada :—

- SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, K. C. M. G., *Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.*
 MR. SANFORD FLEMING, C. M. G.

New South Wales :—

- SIR PATRICK JENNINGS, K. C. M. G., *Late Premier.*
 MR. ROBERT WISDOM, *Formerly Attorney-General.*
 SIR SAUL SAMUEL, K. C. M. G., C. B., *Agent General.*

Tusmania :—

MR. JOHN STOKELL DODDS, *Late Attorney General.*
MR. ADYE DOUGLAS, *Agent-General.*

Cape of Good Hope :—

MR. THOMAS UPINGTON, *Attorney-General.*
MR. JAN. HENDRICK HOFMEYR.
SIR CHARLES MILLS, K. C. M. G., C. B., *Agent-General.*

South Australia :—

MR. JOHN WILLIAM DOWNER, *Premier.*
SIR ARTHUR BLYTH, K. C. M. G., C. B., *Agent-General.*

New Zealand :—

SIR FRANCIS DILLON BELL, K. C. M. G., C. B., *Agent-General.*
SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, K. C. M. G., *Speaker of the Legislative Council.*

Victoria :—

MR. ALFRED DEAKIN, *Chief Secretary.*
MR. JAMES LORIMER, *Minister of Defence.*
SIR GRAHAM BERRY, K. C. M. G., *Agent General.*
MR. JAMES SERVICE, *Late Premier.*

Queensland :—

SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH, K. C. M. G., Q. C.
SIR JAMES GARRICK, K. C. M. G., Q. C.

Western Australia :—

MR. JOHN FORREST, C. M. G.
MR. SEPTIMUS BURT.

Natal :—

MR. JOHN ROBINSON.

The following Crown Colonies were also represented by invitation :—

Barbados, Bahamas, Leeward Islands, Jamaica, Gold Coast, Lagos, Gibraltar, Windward Islands, British Honduras, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Ceylon, Trinidad, Malta, British Guiana, Mauritius, Falkland Islands, Hong Kong, Straits Settlement, Native States, Fiji, Cyprus.

There were also present by special invitation several late Governors of the Colonies, ten members of the House of Lords, twenty-four members from the House of Commons, and a few other ex-office holders under previous Governments.

OPENING CEREMONIES.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND. My Lords and Gentlemen, I am sure that we all have in our hearts a prayer which I think we may as well express in words; and that is, in the first place, God's blessing be upon this Conference. Amen. And now, as Lord Salisbury and several of the Members of Her Majesty's Government, and others, will have to leave at an early period, to attend to important business, I will, with the permission of Lord Salisbury, ask him to address this Conference in the first place. (Cheers.)

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY. The business that brings you here to-day is of a peculiar character, due to the very peculiar character of the Empire over which the Queen rules. It yields to none—it is, perhaps, superior to all—in its greatness, in its extent, in the vastness of its population, and the magnificence of its wealth. But it has this peculiarity which distinguishes it from other Empires—a want of continuity; it is separated into parts by large stretches of ocean; and what we are here to-day for is to see how far we must acquiesce in the conditions which that separation causes, how far we can obliterate them by agreement and by organization.

I fear that we must for the present put in the distant and shadowy portion of our task, and not in the practical part of it, any hope of establishing a Customs Union among the various parts of the Empire. I do not think that in the nature of things it is impossible; I do not think that the mere fact that we are separated by the sea renders it impossible. In fact, the case of Ireland, which has a Customs Union with England, shows that it is not impossible. But the resolutions which were come to in respect to our fiscal policy forty years ago set any such possibility entirely aside, and it cannot be now resumed until on one side or the other very different notions with regard to fiscal policy prevail from those which prevail at the present moment. I will pass that by, and merely point your attention to the *Kriegsverein*, which I believe is the real and most important business upon which you will be engaged; that is to say, the Union for purposes of mutual defence. (Cheers.)

The policy of this Empire is essentially pacific, and has been so for a great number of years; and the danger of war arising from the policy of the Mother Country is not to my mind the consideration

which should most move the Colonies to desire to place their defences in an efficient condition. Supposing that the Colonies were not part of the Empire, supposing that the Colonies were independent do you think that they would be safe? Attack will come. The English Colonies comprise some of the fairest and most desirable portions of the earth's surface. The desire for foreign and colonial possessions is increasing among the nations of Europe. (Hear, hear.) The power of concentrating military and naval force is increasing under the influence of scientific progress. Put all these things together, and you will see that the Colonies have a very real and genuine interest in the shield which their Imperial connection throws over them, and that they have a ground for joining with us in making the defence of the Empire effective

SIR HENRY HOLLAND. My Lords and Gentlemen, I must in the first place express, however imperfectly, what I feel sure is the sense of the meeting, and thank Lord Salisbury most cordially for his kind words of welcome; for his expressions of hope for the success of this, the first Colonial Conference; and for the wise and statesmanlike remarks which he has made bearing upon the relations of the Mother Country and the Colonies, when questions of an international character, and questions of Imperial foreign policy arise.

And with reference to this celebration of the Jubilee year, it is impossible for me to refrain from pointing out in a few words, and with a very few figures, the extraordinary upward progress which the Empire has made in the last fifty years, especially in the case of the great Colonies whose representatives I am now happy to see before us.

Take the case of Canada:

In 1837 there were the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. These were united in 1840, and responsible government was granted. In 1867 came the creation of the Dominion by federation of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, soon to be joined by British Columbia, and later on by Prince Edward Island.

It is unnecessary, I am sure, to point out what weight and dignity have been added to the Empire by the creation of this great and flourishing Dominion, increased as it has since been by the addition of the vast North Western territory, through which now runs that remarkable achievement of British enterprise, the Railway which has bound together the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the Dominion.

As to Australasia, we may say in the words of a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, that in the last fifty years, "a nation has been created out of the wilderness, and a people have been ennobled by the gift of institutions which the struggle and experience of centuries have won for ourselves."

I rejoice to think that in this meeting there is no political *i.e.* no party feeling.

In addition to the internal trade of the Empire, a great carrying trade has grown up ; a trade depending for its existence on security, and involving, therefore, new responsibilities. During the same period, steam has become the motive force on which the movements and the fighting capability of ships of war depend, so that failing an assured coal supply, no navy, however powerful, will be able to operate with effect in distant waters. The introduction of steam power affects the question of Imperial defence in another direction also. By its means, rapid and certain naval combinations can be made, so that the liability of the outlying ports of the Empire to sudden attack, no longer impeded by wind or weather, is vastly increased. Similarly, the developement of the telegraph cable systems of the world has further facilitated rapid and unexpected measures of aggression.

The necessity of having secure and well-defended coaling stations as the basis of all naval action for the protection of the Imperial commerce and interests is apparent.

Two classes of coaling stations are required :—

From pursuit and the means of coaling in security. The defence of these ports involves a heavy expenditure of money and large garrison ; their number therefore must be as limited as possible.

Stations at which coal is and always must be, kept for the navy, but for which it is unnecessary to provide an extensive system of defence.

In addition to the Imperial fortresses Malta, Gibraltar, Bermuda, and Halifax, it would seem necessary to defend on an adequate scale, Cape Town and Simon's Bay, St. Helena, Sierra Leone, Port Louis (Mauritius), Aden, Colombo (Ceylon), Singapore, Hong Kong, Port Royal (Jamaica), Port Castries (St. Lucia), and Esquimaux, in addition to minor coaling stations.

While the defence of British commerce and possessions abroad must be based on the action of a strong navy vigorously handled, and by means of a system of protected coaling stations rendered free to act all over the world, there remains the passive defence of

exposed property locally accumulated, as well as the temporary shelter of the slower class of merchant steamers and sailing vessels. The coaling stations the measures of defence now in progress do not merely provide protection for naval stores and coal supply. A great wealth of private property both on shore and afloat will at the same time receive protection, while the defended ports which are being created will provide shelter for slow mercantile steamers and sailing ships at the outset of war, make itself felt. The scale of defence adopted may thus be extended beyond the requirements of a mere protected coal depot, and the defences of coaling stations constitute in some cases an insurance of Colonial property.

On these grounds the Imperial Government has invited certain Colonies where there are mixed Imperial and Colonial interests, to share the cost of the necessary defences. Hong Kong, Singapore, Mauritius, and Ceylon have agreed to the principle of a joint advantage, and are contributing in the aggregate 276,820*l.* towards defences.

In the first place, as I have already stated, the trade carried on in merchant vessels must rely for security upon such general protection as the navy may be able to offer.

Papers containing the latest proposals of Her Majesty's Government will be submitted to the Conference.

To sum up this head :—Among the subjects directly or indirectly connected with defence which it appears desirable that the Conference should discuss are :—

- (1.) The local defence of ports other than Imperial coaling stations. Among the latter the most important are Thursday Island and King George's Sound, respecting which papers will be laid before you, and I do not doubt the Conference will agree with me in the opinion that a decision should be arrived at in regard to this important question.
- (2.) The Naval defence of the Australian Colonies. This question has been discussed at much length by Admiral Tryon, and papers will be laid before Conference showing the present position of the matter.
- (3.) Measures of precaution in relation to the defences of Colonial ports.
- (4.) Various questions arise in connection with the military aspects of telegraph cables, their necessity for purposes of war, and their protection. On these matters the delegates may wish to offer their opinion.

- (5.) Questions relating to the employment and training of local or native troops to serve as garrisons of works of defence may fitly be considered.
- (6.) Finally, the delegates will be able to state their views as to the defences with which they are concerned, and to obtain recent information with regard to military progress and the opinions now generally held.

The next subject marked out for consideration is the promotion of commercial and social relations by the development of our postal and telegraphic communication. "It is a subject," and here again I quote from my predecessor in office, "the conditions of which are constantly changing, new requirements come into existence, and new projects are formulated every year."

It is obviously desirable that the question of Imperial inter-communication should be considered as a whole, in order that the needs of every part of the Empire may, as far as practicable, be provided for, and that suggestions may be obtained from all quarters as to the best means of establishing a complete system of communications without that increased expenditure which necessarily results from isolated action.

The question of connecting Australia with Canada by cable and so affording an alternative means of communication has been from time to time mentioned in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, but it was first brought formally to the notice of Her Majesty's Government on the 29th of July, 1886.

We also have the Canadian fishery questions of great and vital importance to that country.

The trading relations of the United Kingdom with the Colonies are so vast and important and their greater development is so much to the benefit of both that any obstacle to their full exercise deserves careful consideration with a view to removal if such a course be possible and justifiable.

In addition to the principal subjects which I have mentioned as about to be introduced by Her Majesty's Government to the consideration of the Conference, there are other matters of practical importance which will be brought forward, either by myself on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, or at the instance of one or more of the Colonial Representatives.

Among them are :--

1. The effects of the difference between the law of marriage in this country and some of the Colonies.
2. The provisions of the Colonial Loans Act.
3. The enlargement of the powers of trustees to invest in Colonial Inscribed stocks.
4. The expediency of taking the next census in 1891, on the same day and in the same manner in all parts of the Empire.
5. The exemption from probate or succession duty in one part of the Empire of property owned by a British subject in another part.

Such practical questions, although they may not attract the imagination of those who have supposed that the present Conference had in view some large political objects, will, I have no doubt, receive careful examination from the capable men of business now assembled in London.

I feel much confidence that we shall be able hereafter to refer with satisfaction to this first Colonial Conference as having done good work, and what is far more valuable, contributed to a good understanding in many directions. (Cheers.)

After some of the representatives from the different Colonies had spoken, the meeting concluded.

Friday, April 22nd, 1887.

The subject of Imperial defences and Colonial contribution was again brought forward, the question relating to the defences of the Australian Ports had already been discussed and the settlement finally arrived at was that the Home Government should furnish the ships and the Australian Colonies contribute £126,000 and pay 5 per cent. to the principle cost of 7 ships not to exceed £35,000. The agreement was for 10 years terminable after such time on 2 years notice.

The PRESIDENT. (*To Sir Alexander Campbell, of Ontario*).
Would you mind stating your case as regards Canada, and then Mr. Stanhope will follow afterwards.

Sir Alex. Campbell replied referring shortly to the history of Confederation and its effects upon the Provincial and Dominion organizations for Defence; and continuing said; the result was this:—The Imperial Government had previously given us notice of their intention to withdraw from the Colony Her Majesty's troops, and they declared their resolution to carry that out. The Government here agreed to undertake the naval defence of Canada, the Canadian authorities undertaking the land defence of the Colony. Upon that basis the Confederation of all the Provinces was formed, viz.: that Her Majesty's troops were to be withdrawn (the withdrawal was then in course of being carried out), and that the local authority were only to undertake the land defences. That was kindly done gradually by Her Majesty's Government, in such a way as to create the least difficulty to us in the Colony. The only soldiers in Her Majesty's pay now in Canada are in the Garrison at Halifax; there is a garrison there maintained for Imperial purposes, more in connection with the North American Squadron and the supply of the depots and so on than for any other reason,—at all events, not for any reason connected with the defence of Canada; and no expenditure whatever now takes place by the Crown in Canada beyond that garrison; so that all burden upon Great Britain, all burden upon the people here, has long since been discontinued in Canada.

We have not only readily, but I may say cheerfully, endeavoured to live up to the responsibilities which we have undertaken with reference to the land defences. Unfortunately our means have not always been as great as our disposition was willing, but we have done fairly well. We have maintained a fair amount of Militia force, moderately drilled, insufficiently drilled, no doubt, and open to many difficulties in that direction, but still drilled, and ready for service. We have spent a very large amount of money upon the military defence of the country.

At the time I speak of, or shortly afterwards, our authorities here thought—very wisely—that it was diserable to mention some amount which we would spend yearly in the land defences of Canada. The amount was put down at \$1,000,000; that would be 200,000*l*. That amount we undertook to expend annua'y in the land defences of the country; and I desire to show to my brother Colonists, and also to the Imperial Government, that this amount of money we have spent, and more than spent, in the land defences of the country.

I ought to mention also that Her Majesty's Government very handsomely offered to us their Ordance lands in Canada, which were of considerable area and considerable value, and which I have no doubt cost the Crown a great deal more than any value that could be obtained for them now. We have obtained some large sums for those lands perhaps from \$60,000 to \$100,000 but no very large sum compared with the expenditure we have to bear.

With those lands we embarked in the defence of the country with agreement that we were to spend at least \$1,000,000 a year. In 1872 which was the first year that we began to spend money under that head we spent \$1,670,000.

In 1873	- - - - -	\$1,406,00
1874	- - - - -	1,121,000
1875	- - - - -	1,194,000
1876	- - - - -	1,736,000
1877 to 1885	- - - - -	9,437,000

so that we have lived fully up to our agreement.

We have created a Military College for the education of officers. The Royal Military College was the creation of the Government of Mr. Alexander Mackenzie between 1873 and 1878. I have put in a copy of the *Syllabus* of the College and of the rules and regulations. That College is well officered as regards professors; there are thirteen or fourteen professors, all men of eminence in their departments; and the result has been to turn out men who have competed on equal terms with the young men who are turned out here at Sandhurst and Woolwich; and I have no doubt that the various officers who have commanded in Canada, and the various Governors-General who have visited that College, would say that it was a good and well managed institution, and that it has turned out men who are useful to the country.

The number of men in our large force who are drilled we can calculate by the number of men between 18 and 55 years of age in a population of five millions. We have had enrolled about 800,000. In addition to that we have 40,000 drilled. Those men are no doubt insufficiently drilled, as I have already said, but they are drilled, and they are very good material for soldiers, and very amenable to discipline, and very willing and ready; and upon the only occasion upon which they were called into action or use, they showed very considerable and commendable powers of endurance. Of those schools one, I should mention, is for mounted infantry, one for cavalry, two are for artillery, and the rest for infantry drill. So that gradually, and as fast as we can reasonably do so, we are spreading through the country what we hope will be a sufficient

knowledge of military matters to enable those who reside in Canada to discharge their duty to their country. After recounting shortly the stirring event of the North West Rebellion, Sir Alexander said, that is the kind of Militia force which has been raised and from which I think an opinion may be formed that the money which we have expended in Canada has been spent usefully and with some judgment.

Those are the preparations which I was anxious to state to the Conference have been made in Canada for the purpose of land defence. Those are the military preparations. You all know also that we have made what we consider may be used as other preparations. We have constructed at enormous expense the Canadian Pacific Railway. By means of that railway, and by means of the Intercolonial Railway, which was constructed some years ago under the management of my friend Mr. Fleming, we have extended the possible communication from London to the extreme north-west on the Pacific Ocean, and reduced the time occupied in traversing that distance to a period of a fortnight. So that Her Majesty's Government could send reinforcements of men and material to Esquimaux in 12 or 14 days from this place. To construct a railway which can put such a power in the hands of Her Majesty's Government is undoubtedly a great contribution to the defence of the country. (*Hear, hear.*) Few things can be more valuable to the defence of a country than the power of ready communication. (*Hear, hear.*) That has all been done without calling upon the Crown for any money whatever. They have given nothing to Canada for the purpose of building the Canadian Pacific Railway. It might have been very justly said to Her Majesty's Government: "Here is a great work which will be of great use to the Empire; you ought to contribute to it." But nothing of the kind was said. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company built the road with a contribution from the Government of Canada of \$25,000,000 in money and 25,000,000 acres of land and of 627 miles of railway constructed, or to be constructed by the Government, and costing many millions of dollars more. We afterwards assisted that Company by lending them a considerable sum of money.

In reference to other defences which have occupied in a manner so interesting the minds of the gentlemen from the other Colonies, the naval defences, we set out with that agreement with the Government that they were to undertake the naval defences. It was not at that time a very burdensome undertaking upon them; I do not think it is so now. They maintain for Imperial purposes, as for other purposes, the North American Squadron, and so long as that Squadron is at our doors, Canada does not need any other naval defence. Since that agreement was made by Her Majesty's Government, the Colony of British Columbia has been added to the

Dominion, and therefore there is a coast of Canada now on the Pacific Ocean. That coast is defended for the present by Her Majesty's North Pacific Squadron, which goes to Esquimault once a year, and is more or less there all the time, as the North American Squadron is more or less at Halifax all the time.

If our budding ambition had been then encouraged, and we had got anything like a reasonable ship, we should have established a Naval School. We have a large and valuable body of fishermen calculated at 80,000, as good men and probably as fully up in the knowledge of seafaring life as the naval authorities could find. Use might be made of that, and the use that should be made of it would be to have a Naval School, and to give the sons of these fishermen an opportunity of learning ordinary discipline, and you might then have a very useful addition, I think, to your material for naval purposes.

MR. STANHOPE. I confess that I entirely agree with Sir Alexander Campbell in saying that it is not possible to exaggerate the advantage from a military point of view which the Empire has gained by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. (*Hear, hear.*) As regards the Canadian Militia, I am glad to believe also from the reports which reach us that the words of praise that Sir Alexander Campbell has uttered are no more than justified. We had the opportunity last year of conferring here in this country with Sir Adolphe Caron, who was the Minister of Militia in Canada, and from him we obtained particulars which certainly convinced me that in time of need the Canadian Militia would be able to give a very good account of themselves. I take note also of what we have seen in the papers which have been circulated amongst the members of the Conference as to the efforts which are being made by the Australian Colonies and by New Zealand. That I must say came as a surprise upon me. I had no idea, and I do not believe that the people in this country had any idea, of the very large sums of money that have been spent in the Australian Colonies for the purposes of defence, or of the thoroughly efficient manner in which they are endeavoring in so many cases to preserve themselves against hostile attack. I take note also of what is being done at the Cape. The very great internal difficulties that have from time to time arisen at the Cape have occasioned to them a very large military expenditure, but we take note with great satisfaction of what they have done with regard to providing a force there, which would be capable, as I believe, of giving a good account of itself in case of need.

Now I come to the work of the Imperial Government. And here I might say that it is only quite recently that we here in England have attempted to take a comprehensive view of our Imperial duties in this respect. (*Hear, hear.*) For a long time we

voted no doubt large sums of money for our Army and Navy, but it is only in recent years, stimulated, I am bound to say, largely by the efforts of the Colonies, that a comprehensive survey has been taken of all that we can accomplish, and of all that we ought to endeavour to accomplish, towards making the Empire secure in time of difficulty. We have now had the opportunity, in various ways, of very carefully considering how we can utilise our existing resources to the utmost; how we can protect the main lines of our commerce throughout the world, and in particular provide (I know you will easily guess to what I am specially alluding) alternative routes suitably defended in the event of any one particular route being blocked. We have also endeavoured to take into consideration how far we can improve the telegraphic communication between the different parts of the Empire; and how we can, by protecting the points at which the cables are landed, add materially to the advantage which those cables would render in time of war. Much of course, I am aware, remains to be done in all these respects; and I can only to-day indicate to you, in particular, the efforts which we have made in regard to the coaling stations which have been selected for defence in different parts of the world. But of course it is for the Conference to remember that, in addition to these coaling stations, we undertake the defence of certain Imperial fortresses which have a certain strategic importance in addition to their value as coaling stations; I refer of course to Malta, Gibraltar, Halifax and Bermuda. Upon the defences of all those fortresses an enormous sum of money has already been expended; but the changes of modern armament are causing and will cause a very large additional outlay in this direction.

The coaling stations to which I am about to refer are those which were selected by the Royal Commissioners on the defence of British possessions abroad, with only one or two additions. The Royal Commissioners pointed out that of the Admiralty coaling stations outside this country no less than 21 are in British territory, and after considering them all in detail they selected certain stations as being indispensable, and they recommended their defence upon an adequate scale. Now the only addition to that list to which I would call attention is the case of Esquimaux. This has sprung into a sudden prominence, far beyond what was contemplated at the time of the Report of the Royal Commission, owing of course to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The importance of fortifying that position at the western end of that railway would, I think, be admitted by everyone; and the Imperial Government has accordingly undertaken to provide certain armaments, the Colony constructing the works.

Tuesday, May 3rd, 1887.

MR. HOFMEYR. The fourth of the eight subjects proposed to be brought before the Conference by the Cape Delegates in their letter of April the 1st reads thus :—"To discuss the feasibility of promoting closer union between the various parts of the British Empire by means of an Imperial Customs Tariff."

Now this Conference has devoted a very considerable part of its time to matters of defence, and we have done something ; but I take it upon myself to say that, from an Imperial point of view, the proceedings of the Conference, in connection with the subject of defence, cannot have been perfectly satisfactory. What have we arrived at ? Simply this :—that the Australian group of Colonies will pay a certain amount annually towards the support of a few ships in their own waters. But what has the rest of the Colonial Empire done towards the maintenance of the Imperial Navy ? Nothing at all. The Cape has not agreed to do anything : Canada has not agreed to do anything : and none of the other Colonies have agreed to do anything, for reasons which I think are weighty, and which this Conference will not overrule. At the same time it is admitted by some high naval authorities (although perhaps not by the authorities whom we have had before us) that the British Fleet is not quite so strong and powerful as it ought to be, in view of the tremendous interests that it has to protect, when compared with the French and German Fleets, and having regard to the limited interests that they have to protect. Supposing that the Imperial Government were to find by and by that it required very considerably greater assistance from the Colonies toward the maintenance of the fleet than it has hitherto obtained. I doubt very much if you would find a system of subsidies answer in the long run. You would in that case find very soon that the principle of representation would be asserted by the Colonies. The system of subsidies would practically amount to a tax at a where you have a tax the people who bear the tax sooner or later ask to be represented.

The Empire should have some other consolidating force than sentiment, it should have the force of self-interest ; greater contributions might be required from the Colonies than have been paid hitherto, and then the Colonies might not object to some indirect taxation which practically admitted their right to greater fiscal privileges within the Empire than are accorded to foreign Powers.

The scheme which I wish to lay before the Conference is one which would promote a closer fiscal union between the various parts of the Empire and which at the same time would leave the various fiscal tariffs of the different parts of the Empire, of the Colonies, as well as of England, untouched.

We have two Republics on our borders, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State ; and one of our Customs' Acts has a provision to this effect : that all South African produce, including produce either from the Transvaal or from the Orange Free State, with the exception of some articles, such as tobacco, spirits, sugar, and coffee, shall be admitted duty free, and they are admitted duty free. While, for instance, all grain imported into the Cape from Australia has to pay duty to a very considerable amount, Free State and Transvaal grain pays nothing whatever. Moreover, I believe that in India a similar practice obtains : that any imports coming overland from the northern border States outside of India are admitted duty free, or at all events not under the same tariff as those which come into India by sea.

But if it should after all amount to an infraction of existing treaties, then I should say that it may be as well that for the future England should take care that when treaties are entered into, the Most Favoured Nation Clause is not applied against its Colonies to the same extent and in the same way as if these Colonies were Foreign Powers, instead of being integral parts of the Empire itself.

I moreover find that the system of favouring Colonial above foreign trade is one which is adopted by almost every other Colonial Power. France adopts it, Spain adopts it, Portugal adopts it. Holland does not adopt the system herself, but she allows her West Indian Colonies to levy a differential duty as against foreign goods, but not as against Dutch goods.

We may be told, thirdly, that it means Protection. I aim at something that shall supply a cohesive force to the Empire, and shall at the same time provide revenue for defensive purposes. It may even be that in the course of years this system, may, instead of proving a protective tariff, lead to absolute Free Trade as between the mother country and the Colonies. If the various Representatives of the Colonies and of the Empire jointly should agree that there should be only one tariff, an Imperial tariff, and no local tariffs, you would have a Zollverein which involves perfect Free Trade between the various parts of the Empire.

We may be told, fourthly, that it would revolutionize the fiscal system of England. England now-a-days obtains a revenue of some 20,000,000*l.* from customs. But that revenue in 1885 was levied

upon imports amounting to only 28,900,000/., whilst articles free of duty were imported to the value of no less than 342,000,000/. If the plan I have sketched were to work, the bulk of the articles imported into England should be taxed, however low the tax may be.

As a fifth difficulty it would probably be advanced, that the food of the poor man in England would be taxed. Now, a tax of two per cent. or thereabouts would not raise the price of the bread of the poor man very much, especially as the poor man would get bread-stuffs duty free from all the Colonies, from Canada, Australia, and India; and the grain-producing power of those and various other Colonies might be developed to an almost unlimited extent, so that ultimately hardly any rise in price would be observed.

There is another objection which I believe to be of a somewhat more vital character. It is this, that the tax would be one upon the raw materials required for British manufacture. But it would be a tax not on all raw materials, but only on those not coming from the Colonies. The Colonies might develop their producing capacity to such an extent that after the lapse of some years the tax would hardly be felt at all in England. In this respect also the tax might be considered less objectionable, if the English people found that the chances are that they would be indemnified for any loss they suffered by reason of a tax on raw materials by having a better market in the Colonies, than they have under the present system of free competition between foreign goods and their own all over the Empire.

Then I have heard it said that an Imperial tariff would lay additional burdens upon the already over-burdened British taxpayer, but that on the contrary it would relieve the British taxpayer of some part of his burdens. The British taxpayer at present has to pay for the maintenance of the army and navy single-handed, alone, by himself. Under my plan he would share that burden with the Colonies, and he would know at the same time that whilst he contributed something under the heading of a new tax, he at the same time obtained a better market for his industry in the Colonies.

Then it is attempted to frighten us with the threat that foreign Powers might retaliate. But how would they retaliate? They would retaliate, I suppose, by levying duties on British trade; but they do levy duties upon British trade already (*hear, hear*); they do levy Protectionist duties on British trade. But if this matter be discussed, and if it be continually borne in mind, it stands to reason that in future treaties which may be entered into between the Imperial Government and foreign countries, the fact that the Colonies are not foreign countries, but are inseparable parts of the

British Empire, will be remembered, and the Most Favoured Nation Clause will not be brought to bear against England's own kith and kin. At this moment the scheme may be utopian, but even as utopian I venture to lay it before the Conference. I can only regret that it has not been taken up by an abler Delegate than myself, and more especially by a Delegate who is a greater master of the English language than I am. (*Cheers.*)

SIR SAUL SAMUEL. I should like to ask Mr. Hofmeyr one question. At present England admits nearly all the products of the Colonies free of Customs duties; is it likely that in the future Colonies will do the same for England?

MR. HOFMEYR. That is a question which does not effect my proposal in the least. (*Hear, hear.*) My proposal is an addition of say two per cent, upon all foreign produce imported into the United Kingdom and the Colonies, whatever the fiscal tariff of the kingdom or of each Colony may be. I want to leave the liberty of the British Parliament and of the Colonial Parliaments unfettered in the arrangement of their own Customs. (*Hear, hear.*)

AUSTRALIAN MAILS.

Memorandum of Sir Alexander Campbell and Mr. Sandford Fleming, Canadian Delegates, circulated by them.

It is suggested that the subsidy which the Canadian Pacific Railway deem necessary to warrant their establishing the line, should be divided between :—

1. Imperial Government.
 - a. Admiralty—from "Armed Cruiser Fund."
 - b. Post Office—in proportion to amount now paid for monthly Pacific service.
2. New Zealand.
3. Australia.
4. Canada.

It is thought that under this arrangement their service will be secured at a positive saving upon existing mail contracts to the Imperial Government, New Zealand, and Australia.

PROPOSED CANADIAN MAIL SERVICE TO AUSTRALIA.

MEMORANDUM circulated by CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company offer to undertake a fortnightly mail and passenger service to Australia, to alternate with other mail services via Suez, in connexion with a fast Atlantic service, for which the Government of Canada have advertised for tenders.

The service to be a fortnightly one each way between Halifax or Quebec and Vancouver, British Columbia, and between Vancouver and Moreton Bay, Queensland, calling at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, and Suva, Fiji Islands.

The steamers to terminate the outward voyages and commence the homeward voyages at Sydney, New South Wales.

The Australian mails to be delivered and received at Moreton Bay, but mails for New South Wales and Victoria to be delivered and received at Sydney, if desired.

The service to be performed by five new vessels, to be specially constructed for the service, of great speed, and with the most approved passenger accommodation, so designed as to meet the requirements of the Admiralty for vessels to be placed upon the list of the "Royal Naval Reserved Cruisers," thereby establishing upon the Pacific a fleet of splendid merchant cruisers, available for the use of the Empire in the event of war, and to develop commerce under the British Flag in the Southern Pacific Ocean during times of peace,

COMPARISON ON ABOVE LINES via SUEZ and via CANADA, 1888.

From LONDON via BRINDISI (NAPLES) & SUEZ			From LIVERPOOL via CANADA.		
To	P. & O. Co.	Orient. Co.	A.	B.	C.
Adelaide -	34 days 20 hrs.	34 days 8 hours	32 days, 2½ hrs.	33 days 12½ hrs.	34 days 2½ hrs.
Melbourne -	35 " 16 "	35 " 4 "	31 " 9½ "	32 " 19½ "	34 " 6½ "
Sydney -	36 " 12½ "	36 " 0½ "	30 " 13 "	31 " 23 "	33 " 10 "
Brisbane -	37 " 14 "	37 " 2 "	29 " 7 "	30 " 17 "	32 " 4 "

The Canadian Government have called for tenders for a new Atlantic service at 16, 17 and 18 knots per hour. That an 18 knot service between England and Halifax is quite feasible has been proved by the average voyages of the fast Cunarders during the year 1886. Via Liverpool and Quebec the ocean distance is 210 miles longer, and the rail distance 586 miles shorter than via Liverpool and Halifax.

SECTION IV.—*TRADE.*PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CUSTOMS TARIFF
BUREAU.

PRECIS of NOTE from the BELGIAN GOVERNMENT, received through the FOREIGN OFFICE.

The Belgian Government has, within the last year, drawn the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the want experienced by traders and manufacturers of authentic information as to the Customs tariffs of the countries with which trade is carried on.

The complaints of traders and manufacturers have led to the idea, on the part of the Belgian Government, of organizing at Brussels, with the co-operation of all Governments concerned, an International Bureau, which would undertake the duty of publishing, as they came out, all Customs duties of the world, with their modifications, and of translating them into the languages most generally used in trade, such as German, English, French and Spanish, though there would probably be no inconvenience in adding to the number of languages if the Governments interested expressed a desire to this effect.

A sketch of complete organization will be submitted to the countries interested in the principle of the International Bureau as soon as the Belgian Government knows exactly what countries are prepared to entertain the project.

The States which have so far accepted the principle are 22 in number, being England, Switzerland, Mexico, Spain, Russia, Roumania, Italy, the State of the Congo, Servia, the Republic of South Africa, Turkey, Sweden and Norway, Portugal, the Argentine Republic, Salvador, Venezuela, Denmark, Siam, Costa Rica, Hayti, the Netherlands and Belgium.

The Belgian Government, through the Belgian Legation in this country, has now invited the Governments of Her Majesty's Colonies to consider the subject.

Sir Sanford Fleming also brought forward the subject of a Pacific Cable from Vancouver to Australia. This was also circulated among the members as a joint contribution, and published in the appendix to the report of the Conference. An estimate of the then cost and prospective profits was given, together with distances and also a proposal as to the share of expenses to be borne by the different Colonies interested.

Monday May 9th, 1887.

SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH, Premier of Queensland. Before you formally declare the Conference closed, I should like, as the oldest actual Minister present, to say a few words as to the work of the Conference.

No one can have been present on this occasion, which will be a historical one, without being greatly impressed, not only with the importance of the work we have done, and with the advantages that we, I think, have all derived from the interchange of opinion, and from the contract of mind with mind, but with the possible future advantages which will be derived from the example that has been set here. (*Hear, hear.*) It has occurred to me that this Conference has had, in itself, many of the essential elements of a Parliament. A Parliament in its essence does not depend upon the form in which its Representatives are selected, or upon the manner in which its deliberations are conducted, or upon the particular mode in which effect is given to its conclusions. But I take it that a Parliament consists in its essence of an assemblage of Representatives from different parts of the realm in question, met together to consider and agree to certain rules for the general good guidance of the whole community. (*Hear, hear.*) In these particulars I consider that this Conference does comprise what may perhaps be called the rudimentary elements of a Parliament; but it has been a peculiarity of our British institutions that those which have been found most durable are those which have grown up from institutions which were in the first instances of a rudimentary character. (*Hear, hear.*) It is impossible to predicate now what form future Conferences should take, or in what mode some day further effect would be given to their conclusions; but I think we may look forward to seeing this sort of informal Council of the Empire developed until it becomes a legislative body, at any rate a consultative body, and some day, perhaps, a legislative body under conditions that we cannot just now foresee; and that, indeed, meetings such as this will before long be recognized as part of the general governing machinery of the Empire. (*Hear, hear.*)

I shall look forward to some day being present again in London on a similar errand, with, perhaps a somewhat modified form of Conference; but that is far enough ahead.

In the meantime, we have seen that the difficulties which in the distance seem insuperable can be easily removed when men meet together with an intention and determination to overcome those difficulties. (*Hear, hear.*) For myself, and I am sure for all

the rest of the Delegates here, I have to express the great satisfaction that we have felt at being here, our regret that our labours are ended, and our hope that they may be at some future time renewed with equal benefit. (*Cheers.*)

The *Times* in its leading article May 10th 1887, said :—

"The Colonial Conference held its final sitting yesterday. It was closed by the Secretary of State in a speech in which he expressed the satisfaction of the Imperial Government at the results achieved, and their hearty concurrence in the hope expressed by Sir Samuel Griffith, on behalf of the assembled Delegates, that the result of the Conference would be to strengthen the Empire and draw the Colonies more closely together.

"The most important questions discussed at the Conference were those connected with the adoption of a joint policy of naval defence.

"A considerable portion of the time was devoted to questions connected with the further development of commercial relations between the various parts of the Empire. These important questions were again discussed yesterday at the meeting convened at the Mansion House by the London Chamber of Commerce. At this meeting Mr. Baden-Powell delivered an address on "The Commercial Relations of the British Empire."

"The trade of our Colonies yearly increases in volume. It is manifestly worth our while to make an effort to secure it by all legitimate means. Among these means nothing is more important than the improvement of our postal and telegraph communications."

The following day the Colonization Committee of both Houses of Parliament met the Colonial Representatives in the Grand Committee Room to discuss the question of colonization.

The points discussed were :—

1. How far the Colonial Governments should assist in encouraging Colonization.
2. What was the best form of agency to adopt to carry out the work.
3. Whether the Imperial or Colonial Government should take the initiative in carrying out any Colonization scheme.

PART II.

—:O:—

THE
Chamber of Commerce Congress
1892.

— — —
(*Extract from the Report issued by the London Chamber of Commerce.*)
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FIRST DAY, Tuesday, June 28th, 1892.
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The Congress was held in the ancient Hall of the Merchants Taylors' Company. The President the Rt. Hon. Sir John Lubbock, President of the London Chambers of Commerce, after words of warm welcome to the Delegates, outlined the business to be brought before the Congress under the resolutions standing in various names.

The first Resolution, one by Lord Brassey in favour of the advantages of closer commercial union within the Empire,

The second resolution was in favour of a free trade basis as tending to be permanent and promote prosperity.

And after that there was to be a resolution in respect of the very great and important question as regards the relations between the British Empire as a whole and foreign countries,

LORD KNUTSFORD. After referring to the Colonial Conference of 1887 spoke of the material prosperity of the Empire depending so largely on her trade and commerce.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, SIR REGINALD HANSON, also welcomed the Delegates.

LORD BRASSEY moved a motion in the same form as outlined by the Chairman. He referred, giving statistics and figures, to the trade of the Empire, and spoke of the essential services tendered the Colonies by the Mother Country in supplying capital

required on terms almost as honourable as the Home Government could obtain. In December 1890 the aggregate debt of the Colonies was as follows :—India \$1,050,000,000, Australia \$900,000,000, South Africa \$140,000,000, Canada \$25,000,000, West Indies \$15,000,000. The loans had been raised almost exclusively in London. In addition to Government Loans, vast sums had been provided for railways in the Colonies amounting to over \$1,500,000,000. It was possible that further help might be given by liberal subsidies to the great lines of steamships. France and Germany had adopted the policy of subsidies on a lavish scale. British enterprise had suffered severely from competition artificially stimulated by subsidies granted to general trade by Foreign Government.

The motion was seconded by Sir Malcolm Fraser, of Western Australia.

MR. NEVILLE LUBBOCK moved that :

“ A Commercial Union on the basis of free trade within the Empire would tend to promote its permanence and prosperity.”

This was proposed as a further step to the resolution just agreed to. If he said we find we could make the whole Empire one as regards Customs surely we have the same right of Zollverein as Germany has with Bavaria or the United States among themselves. He thought his hearers would admit the right, but how near were they to any exercise of it ?

Probably Australia and Canada were so far away that they never gave the necessities of the other Colony a thought, but ought they not so to do ? Some sacrifice might be required, but the speaker though it would be rather a sacrifice of views and predilections than of material interest. If the Colonies are prepared to accept this as a basis, the question may arise of privileged treatment. His confident belief was, that a very limited privilege would have a large influence in maintaining industry in the channels in which all members of the Empire would naturally wish to see it flow, but he expressed an opinion that any privileged treatment to have a chance of acceptance in this country must be within very moderate limits.

HON. R. R. DOBELL (London, Canada), speaking on behalf of one of the Canadian Chambers, claimed that from their standpoint the influence exercised by Great Britain had not tended towards the advancement of what was predicted by her leading statesmen 40 years ago, viz : Universal Free Trade. He claimed by treating free trade and protectionist countries alike, she has placed her followers in a disadvantageous position. For years Canada tried free trade and only imposed a duty which averaged about 7 per cent.

The United States in 1864-5 adopted a strictly protective policy. She abrogated the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada in 1868, it was not till 1879 that Canada adopted what is known as the National Policy. He thought it would have been to the benefit of England if she had combated the aggressive policy of foreign protection, and would advocate free trade within the Empire. He therefore seconded Mr. Lubbock's amendment.

Mr. P. H. BURTON (Toronto), thought he could say representing the sentiments of the majority of the Toronto Board of Trade, with their 900 members that there was no prospect of Commercial Union between Great Britain and Her Colonies so far as Canada is concerned on the basis of Free Trade at the present time. There is no doubt you have been most liberal to Canada, but the question is, what have you to face to-day? You have not to face the same conditions that you faced when you adopted Free Trade. You had hardly at that time any source of supply of grain except from Russia; you had little from America, nor were the United States, Germany, France and Russia competing against you. We want to see the British Empire perpetuated and I believe the only way to perpetuate it will be to have a Commercial Union between the different parts of the Empire.

A motion for postponement of the resolution was put and agreed to.

Mr. G. W. MEDLEY then moved and Mr. R. LLOYD-PATTERSON, of Belfast, seconded,

"That any fiscal union based on Protection would be politically dangerous and economically disastrous, and that the arrangement which more than any other, would conduce to an intimate Commercial Union would be by the self governing Colonies adopting as closely as circumstances will permit, the non-protective policy of the mother country."

SIR CHAS. TUPPER, K. C. M. G. (High Commissioner for Canada), moved as an amendment:

"That in order to extend the exchange and consumption of the home staple products in every part of the British Empire a slight differential duty should be adopted by the Imperial and Colonial Governments in favour of the home productions against the imported foreign articles."

He said this was the view of the Montreal Chamber of Commerce, which had been established by the French Canadians. He expressed his hope that England would abrogate the clauses in the treaties with Germany and Belgium, which he claimed forced Great Britain to treat her Colonies on the same footing as foreigners. He combated the idea that a small duty on grain would increase the cost of bread, actual prices proving the contrary at that very time in England and on the Continent, and that a 5 per cent. duty on

foreign products would be all that was necessary to vitalize this great Empire, all that would be necessary to build up those outlying portions of her Empire as she is here in the heart of it.

SIR DONALD A. SMITH, K. C. M. G. (Montreal), in supporting this amendment, said :—We may not be loud in our professions of loyalty, but we are loyal to the core and we ask from Great Britain only very little indeed, and that is that we should be put on a fair footing, and that we should have such Fair Trade relations as will enable us to stand together hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder as an Empire even greater than at this moment.

HON. A. T. WOOD (Hamilton), was thoroughly in accord with the original motion and said that Sir Charles Tupper, with all his eloquence, could not alter facts. He referred to the poverty and distress which over-spread the land under the barbarous age of protection and thought it would be an evil day when Great Britain threw a shadow of a doubt on the policy which had maintained her in the proud position of being the greatest commercial nation.

SECOND DAY.

Wednesday, June 29th, 1892.

MR. D. PLEWES (Dominion Millers' Association, Toronto), expressed himself as a Free Trader, but wanted to know what advantage it would be to the British workman to have flour as cheap as might be, if he had not the money to buy it. He strongly advocated a 5 per cent preferential tariff as being likely to turn the stream of emigration to the British Colonies in preference to foreign ones, where the British manufacturer had no chance of selling. He had also found in his experience that the price of meat in the producing countries was affected by any change in a tariff, and not the bread, in the country of the consumer.

MR. M. C. ELLIS (Toronto), speaking from a merely Canadian standpoint and expressing the opinion of the commercial centre from which he came, said, in reference to the idea expressed as to retaliation, that Canadians had not been afraid to take their stand for British interest in preference to American. But if the Mother Country continues to treat her Colonists with no better consideration than that of others, how can she expect that the Colonies will remain always in a contented condition? If an

Imperial differential duty should be imposed preferring her Colonies as against foreign nations there is no question of a doubt that the means will have been found to cement the Empire, powerful and enthusiastic. Mr. Medley had stated that the English imports from her Colonies were that of food and raw material. Then all the more reason that Great Britain is in a position to do much for her Colonies. Canada had the land on which to grow the food supplies of the Empire and if a discriminating rate encouraged production, emigration would be attracted thereby.

SIR CHAS. TUPPER, by leave of the Congress, altered his amendment so as to read :

"That in order to extend the exchange and consumption of the home staple products in every part of the British Empire a slight differential duty not exceeding 5 per cent should be adopted by the Imperial and Colonial Governments in favour of certain home productions against the imported foreign articles."

MR. J. X. PERRAULT (Montreal), said we had come there to express the unanimous opinion of the Dominion that something must be done to improve the circumstances of trade between the Mother Country and her Colonies. We think it hardly fair that we who have to bear the responsibilities of being part of the Empire should meet with unfair rivalry in the home market, and on the other hand we feel the manufacturer of Great Britain has a right to better treatment than a foreigner who comes to the Colony simply to sell his goods in opposition to the Mother Country.

We are prepared to give to the working class of Great Britain the preference of our market to that of the other countries. He was surprised in that great commercial centre of the world to hear the question discussed, "Who pays the duty"? We know when we send out hay to the States we have to pay \$4 a ton to get that hay to the market. We the producers have to pay that duty, every cent of it in the States. On Canadian horses, there is a duty imposed of 30 per cent—on oats and barley 40 per cent.

We cannot stand in the position in which we are. There is no country to-day in Europe that has not differential tariffs. We alone stand in this position with the Mother Country, who has not given us a single advantage over her bitterest enemy whenever she deals commercially with us.

HON. J. BALLANTYNE, Speaker of the Ontario Legislature and Delegate from Woodstock : I have noticed throughout the whole of the discussion what to my mind was a clear misapprehension, that the people of Canada were unanimously in favour of differential duties, that they were in favour of a protective policy. That is not my opinion. It is not my theory. In the Country of Perth, the North Riding of which was considered for all time a

hopelessly protectionist county, we fought out an election on the lines of Free Trade. Posters were put out "Free Trade with Britain" and we carried the election on that issue. (*Cheers.*)

I will only say we want no protection in Canada but what is required for revenue purposes. There is no evidence that although the Government of the day are in favour of the tariff, that the people are in favour of it. We want to increase our productions and their value, and in the town of Woodstock, the County town, which is in the Garden of Canada, where the farmers are best off, three to one are Free Traders.

MR. MEDLEY'S motion was further supported by Mr. John Waugh of Bradford, Mr. W. H. Williams of London, Mr. W. McMillan of Sydney, Mr. McArthur, Liverpool, Sir Thomas Farrer of England, Mr. W. Adamson of Singapore, Mr. T. Balteel, Plymouth, Mr. J. W. Jagers of Cape Town, Mr. B. C. Wates of Leicester, Sir John Lubbock of London, Mr. John Horsfall of Keighley, and Mr. T. W. Harding of Leeds.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER'S amendment was also supported by Mr. Henry Hibbert of Blackburn, Hon. W. B. Escent of Jamaica, Mr. T. Stiebel of Nottingham, Mr. Touks of Birmingham, and Mr. James Huddart of Melbourne.

The amendment was then put and the votes were: For, 34, against, 79.

SIR CHAS. TUPPER asked that the vote be taken according to the rules, one vote for each Association represented, and the vote was postponed to the following day.

THIRD DAY.

Thursday, June 30th, 1892.

The President stated the practice was to take the vote by show of hands unless the vote by Chambers was claimed in time. That was not done, owing to inadvertence, and he would now take it in that way.

A vote was then taken on Sir Charles Tupper's Amendment, and the votes were 33 in favor of the amendment and 58 against.

Mr. Medley's resolution was subsequently carried by 47 votes in favor of the motion to 34 against it.

After a few short debates the following resolution was passed :

" That this Congress is of opinion that every effort should be made by Her Majesty's Government to promote closer commercial relations between the United Kingdom and her Colonies and Dependencies, and to this end desires the abrogation of the European treaty clauses which at present hinder the same."

And immediately after :

" That a commercial union with the British Empire on the basis of freer trade would tend to promote its permanence and prosperity."

Other resolutions passed at the Congress were in favor of

Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration.

Codification of Commercial Law.

Merchandise marks.

Bills of Lading Reform, to make each or any of the carriers on a through Bill of Lading responsible to the consignee for damage.

Factory Legislation.

Commercial Education.

Emigration and Colonization.

International Monetary Union.

Imperial Penny Postage.

Abolition of Light Dues.

The Congress concluded with a banquet at St. James' Hall, at which 300 delegates and guests attended. The Chair was taken by the Rt. Hon. Lord Knutsford, G. C. M. G., (Secretary of State for the Colonies).



PART III.

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EXTRACT FROM REPORT

... ON THE ...

MISSION TO AUSTRALIA,

By the Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce,

SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL, K. C. M. G.

The mission to Australia was undertaken under authority of an order in Council dated 7th September 1893 and the Report to His Excellency The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor General of Canada, is dated Ottawa 1st March, 1894.

The order in Council was passed on the recommendation of the late Sir John Thompson, then Prime Minister, and was as follows :—

“ The Honorable Sir John Thompson, Prime Minister, recommends that the Minister of Trade and Commerce be requested to proceed to Australia as soon as possible to confer with the several Governments there with a view to promote the extension of trade between Australasia and Canada and also to confer with those Governments on the subject of a telegraph connecting Canada with Australia. The Committee on the same recommendation advise that Your Excellency be pleased to communicate by telegraph with the Governors of the several Colonies of Australasia, announcing the mission of the Minister of Trade and Commerce in order that facilities may be furnished by the respective Governments for forwarding the business with which the Minister is charged.”

SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL left Ottawa on the 7th September and arrived in Vancouver on the 12th following. Meetings were had with the Boards of Trade of Vancouver, New Westminster and Victoria respectively, and the problems of trade with Australia and the islands of the Southern Pacific were carefully discussed. On the morning of the 17th September he sailed from Victoria on the R. M. S. “ Warrimoo ” for Sydney, N. S. W.

At the commencement of the report we find statistics regarding the Honolulu group of Islands.

The population was given at 89,990; imports, \$7,438,582 and exports \$10,707,315, divided between the importing countries as follows:

	Total.	Per cent.
	\$ cts.	
United States.....	5,294,278 57	71'16
Great Britain.....	1,201,329 43	16'15
Germany.....	384,145 95	5'16
Australia and New Zealand.....	185,156 60	2'49
China.....	227,392 38	3'05
Japan.....	60,563 96	'82
France.....	21,665 96	'29
British Columbia.....	28,464 00	'38
Islands in the Pacific.....	10,168 69	'14
By whaleship.....	16,825 75	'23
All other.....	9,491 91	'13
Grand Total	\$7,439,482 65	100'00

The Hawaiian Treaty with the United States and the Hawaiian Customs Tariff are fully set out.

On arrival at Sydney, N. S. W., a cordial welcome was accorded our Minister by the Premier, Sir George Debbs, and several members of his Cabinet, and, in company with Attorney-General Barton and Hon. H. Copeland, Minister of Lands, every opportunity was afforded for seeing and judging of the resources of the Colony. Soon after his arrival Sir Mackenzie Bowell met the Chamber of Commerce of Sydney and discussed with its members the exchange of products between Canada and Australia and expressed his gratification to observe how keenly alive they were to the subject, and subsequently at a luncheon given by the Government, at which some 400 distinguished public and business men sat down. Speeches were made at which the desire for closest possible commercial relations with Canada were clearly stated.

Queensland was the next Colony visited and the trip is recorded over the rich tract of country known as the Darling Downs, and through the extensive fruit growing and sheep raising district in this semi-tropical adjunct of our Empire and their Premier Sir Thomas McIlwraith, the Governor and His Excellency Sir Henry Norman and a large number of members of the Queensland Government and interested business men afterwards met on board the "Lucinda," when the matter of direct cable communication between Canada and Australia was favourably talked of.

In October Melbourne, in the Colony of Victoria, was reached and the Hon. J. B. Patterson, the Premier, evinced the utmost cordiality and gave assurance of his and his Government's sympathy with every reasonable effort to bring Canada and the Australian Colonies into closer trade relationship; and subsequently the Chamber of Commerce volunteered a hearty and active co-operation in any effort put forward to build up trade between the two countries, which was thought would best be accomplished by steamers calling at Melbourne, as this would materially affect the trade of Victoria. The enormous wool warehouses and other industries of the capital were visited.

At Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, the distinguished visitor was met by a deputation consisting of the acting Lieutenant Governor, Chief Justice Way, the Premier, Hon. C. C. Kingston, and a large number of citizens, all evincing the interest they felt in the prospect of closer relations with Canada.

The report is replete with tables of Exports and Imports, Tariffs, prices of articles, etc., etc.

In regard to the proposal for a Conference Sir Mackenzie Bowell said :

The proposition for a Conference with delegates from the seven Australasian Colonies arose primarily out of the impossibility of visiting and holding interviews with the Premiers of the different Colonies, within the time at my disposal. New Zealand was five days' journey by sea from Sydney, Tasmania two, and Western Australia, six. The four principal colonies on the main land had been visited and it would have implied a sojourn abroad for five or six weeks longer if the three other Colonies were to be seen. This fact was realized soon after my arrival at Sydney and suggestions were made to have a Conference at some central point in Australia before my departure. It was found, however, that at least four of the legislatures were in session, and that a meeting of delegates could not be arranged in time. After consultation with the Premiers of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia, respectively, it was deemed advisable that all the colonies should send delegates to Canada for the purpose of a Conference upon matters of joint interest. The two chief subjects were understood to be : 1st. Closer trade relations between Canada and the Australasian Colonies; and 2nd. The laying of a Pacific cable of an exclusively British character, and a proposition was made to the Premier of New Zealand, the Hon. Sir J. B. Thurston, for a Conference in Canada for the consideration of these questions.

The following extracts from the Australian papers show how the mission was regarded :

(*"The Sydney Morning Herald," 20th November, 1893.*)

The pleasant "sending-off" given to the Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce on Saturday, is the close of an interesting mission. The close of the mission, so far as the visit to Australia is concerned, is but the beginning, we confidently hope, of a new page in the history of relations between these Colonies and British North America. In several ways Mr. Bowell's coming has been useful. It has not only given us a more vivid and a personal interest in Canada, and taught us practically how really desirous the people of that country are to form closer bonds of brotherhood and commercial interchange with us, but the Canadian Minister has furnished a telling object lesson to us on the benefits and possibilities of federation. Mr Bowell has been surprised and puzzled to find everybody everywhere in favour of federation of the Colonies, and still we have not federation. It sometimes seems a puzzle to ourselves, only that we can see from time to time the various little rocks and stumbling blocks that rise up here and there, and temporarily cause a diversion from the track. But we know as truly as the Canadian Minister has found that we are bound for federation. Our visitor exhibited some political shrewdness when he said that perhaps the blocking of federation had come of each one of us being afraid of one man taking the lead and obtaining more kudos than the others. If he had not made a bull's-eye, he has made a good shot at the truth. But Mr Bowell has dropped on us at a stage when the personal element is fast disappearing from the question, and when, as we believe, nothing but technical steps necessary remain to be taken to give realization to the universal wish. There is no doubt that an encouraging stimulus has been administered in this direction by the presence and words of the Minister from the federated Dominion of Canada, hardly less to be appreciated than the encouragement which has been given by him to the opening up of business relations between the two greatest sections of the British Colonial Empire. We have had a period, extending over several years now in the Australias, of regulation and control by "Conference." The effect has been in the highest degree efficacious in breaking down the differences, or imagined differences, among the Colonies. Now the system had been extended to Canada; and whether the first Conference, as proposed, is held in Ottawa or Sydney, we may see in it the harbinger of a system that will ultimately work wonders in the relations between Canada and Australia.

(*"The Argus," Melbourne, Thursday, 2nd November, 1893.*)

Mr. Mackenzie Bowell will not be able to show any scalps of Australian Premiers to the Indians of Canada as he passes them on the train journey from Vancouver. All he will be equal to will be to promise that in a few months' time some Australian representatives will follow him over the same line to see what sort of a place Canada really is, what it has to produce that Australia can buy, what it can take of Australian products, and, generally, if its public men are as sincere in desiring union with Australia as they profess. Probably Mr. Bowell will be satisfied with having done so much. "Things might have been worse," he may say to himself. But for our part we must confess to disappointment that he has not been able to take away something more tangible than a promise to send delegates to a Conference next year. So far as Victoria is concerned it would have been a good thing if the Canadian representative had been assured, for instance, that we would at once become contributors to the Huddart service between Vancouver and Sydney as an earnest of our desire for wider trade, and especially trade with our British neighbor—the Canadian Dominion.

A commercial treaty would have been a comparatively easy matter once the subsidy was placed beyond question. But the position is that before venturing upon the expenditure of a few thousands of pounds yearly, the Government will first send delegates to Canada to see if there is the promise of substantial trade.

On the Pacific cable question, Mr. Mackenzie Bowell will be able to speak of at least something achieved when he returns. He found the principal Colonies apparently bent upon different schemes for telegraphic connection with Canada, but he leaves them all looking the one way. The Governments which entered into agreements calculated to give the impression that they were pledged to a French cable now aver themselves eager for one that will be British.

The future connection will, it is promised, be under British control, for which again credit must, to a large extent, be given to Mr. Patterson.

The point has to be discussed as to whether the cable should be owned by the Governments interested or by a subsidized company, and Mr. Sandford Fleming has yet to prove his case that it would be better to have state ownership.

(*"The Evening News," of Sydney, N. S. W., Monday, 20th November, 1893.*)

The Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Trade and Commerce of the Dominion of Canada, left Sydney on Saturday, on his way to his own country, after one of the most successful visits here ever paid by any "distinguished stranger."

With Canadian protection Australians have no concern; they have enough to do to manage their own affairs. For this reason Mr. Bowell's defence of the tariff system that he administers may be left uncriticised. It is sufficient for people here to know that Canada has a free list that might possibly be enlarged by negotiation to Australia's favor; that Australia produces many things which Canada does not; and that the difference in the seasons would enable many Australian products to arrive in Canada at exactly the time when supplies from any part of the northern hemisphere are most scarce. The mutual advantages which this state of things affords opportunity for securing should render an agreement certain.

An agreement between Canada and Australia need not interfere with Canadian trade with the mother country, or any of its dependencies. As for the advantages to Australia itself, Canada as a trade ally has this superior recommendation over the United States, that Canada is destitute of all the peculiar products of tropical and sub-tropical lands, as sugar and the more delicate fruits, whereas the United States in their southern region produce all these things in abundance.



PART IV.

THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE

June, 1894.

FROM THE OFFICIAL REPORT.

Pursuant to an invitation extended by the Government of Canada, and contained in an Order in Council of that Government, dated 5th of February, 1894, the following delegates presented themselves for conference, namely :—

The Right Honourable the Earl of Jersey, P. C., G. C. M. G., representing the Government of Her Majesty ;

The Honourable Mackenzie Bowell, P. C., Minister of Trade and Commerce ; the Honourable Sir Adolphe P. Caron, P. C., K. C. M. G., Postmaster-General ; the Honourable George Eulas Foster, P. C., LL. D., Minister of Finance ; and Sanford Fleming, Esq., C. M. G., representing the Government of the Dominion of Canada ;

The Honourable F. B. Suttor, M. L. A., Minister of Public Instruction, representing the Government of New South Wales ;

The Honourable Nicholas Fitzgerald, M. L. C., representing the Government of Tasmania ;

The Honourable Sir Henry de Villiers, K. C. M. G., and Sir Charles Mills, K. C. M. G., C. B., representing the Government of the Cape of Good Hope ;

The Honourable Thomas Playford, Agent General, representing the Government of South Australia ;

A. Lee Smith, Esq., representing the Government of New Zealand ;

Sir Henry Wrixon, K. C. M. G., Q. C., Honourable Nicholas Fitzgerald, M. L. C., and Honourable Simon Fraser, M. L. C., representing the Government of Victoria ;

The Honourable A. J. Thynne, M. L. C., Member of the Executive Council, and Honourable William Forrest, M. L. C., representing the Government of Queensland;

Mr. Theo. H. Davies, representing the Chamber of Commerce, Honolulu, Hawaii.

The proceedings of the day were open to the public and were presided over by His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen, the Governor General of Canada, who delivered an address of welcome.

The Right Honourable Sir John Thompson, K. C. M. G., Premier of Canada, also delivered an address of welcome, and addresses, in reply, were delivered in the following order:—

Imperial Government.—The Earl of Jersey.

Tasmania.—Hon. N. Fitzgerald.

New South Wales.—Hon. F. B. Suttor.

Cape of Good Hope.—Sir Henry de Villiers.

South Australia.—Hon. Thomas Playford.

New Zealand.—Mr. Alfred Lee Smith.

Victoria.—Hon. Simon Fraser.

Queensland.—Hon. A. J. Thynne.

SIR JOHN THOMPSON. After the address which Your Excellency has made, little remains for me but to express, in a few words, the heartiest of welcomes to the delegates assembled, on behalf of the Canadian Government, the Canadian Parliament and the people of this Dominion. (Applause.) Your Excellency, I can assure the delegates who are assembled, that the Canadian people, filled with zeal for the greatness and development of their own country, and for the strengthening of the Empire are delighted to see the kindlings of the same ambition in the sister Colonies throughout the world. (Applause.) We realize fully that the questions which you shall have to deliberate upon are questions requiring the greatest care and the closest examination of details. When we are to consider questions relating to the promotion of trade between the different Colonies, trade with the mother country, the facilities of communication throughout the different portions of the Empire, we realize that while there is ample field for patriotism and loyalty, methods of business have to be followed. Matters connected with trade, with tariffs, with steamboats, and with telegraphs, will require the most practical as well as the most patriotic deliberations of the gentlemen who are assembled to-day. That they may be guided to useful conclusions with regard to all these matters is the great

ambition to-day of every portion of the Canadian people among whom they are assembled. The great object of our hope is that as a result of the deliberations of the Conference, the ocean which divides the Colonies shall become the highway for their people and their products. (Applause.) On this happy occasion these delegates assemble, after long years of self-government in their countries, of greater progress and development than the Colonies of any Empire have ever seen in the past, not to consider the prospects of separation from the mother country but to plight our faith anew to each other as brethren and to plight anew, with the mother land, that faith that has never yet been broken or tarnished. (Loud applause.)

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, THE EARL OF JERSEY.
During that last Conference many questions of importance were mooted and discussed, but were not brought to any determination or solution; but during those seven years these questions have not been allowed to sleep by those who have been deeply interested in them. My friend Sir Charles Tupper, in London, has always shown himself ready to meet any opponent and to point out his weak points whenever he thought he could advance the interests of Canada, (Applause.) looking upon Canada as part of this great Empire and not in any selfish spirit. Then we also know that Mr. Sanford Fleming has never hesitated (Applause) to press his views with a considerable amount of success. And I cannot pass by the visit, to which His Excellency has referred, of the Honourable Sir Mackenzie Bowell to Australia. He undertook a great pilgrimage and he has had the satisfaction of making many converts. In fact, any one who will read his valuable and interesting report will soon see how he has stirred men's minds upon this point, and how gradually those minds are ripening to a solution. I should like also to express thanks to Sir John Thompson (Applause) for having had the boldness and the fore-sight to call this Conference together in order to bring these subjects within the range of practicable consideration. We who are the representatives of various parts of a world-wide Empire may well feel proud of the privilege which has been intrusted to us—for there can be no greater privilege intrusted to any body of men than to try and bring various countries, various Colonies, together for the purpose of increasing the happiness and prosperity of all. (Hear, hear.)

The business sessions of the Conference were held in the office of the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell was appointed President and Sir Adolphe Caron Vice-President, and, on request, Mr. W. H. Mercer, of the Imperial Colonial Office, was given permission to be present.

Lord Rosebery cabled the President his interest in the Conference, "which should be of such happy augury for the future of the Empire."

The Edinburgh Imperial Federationist also wired its congratulations and expressed the hope that the "great question of naval defence will also be considered and Imperial unity consolidated."

June 30th, 1894.

SIR HENRY WRIXON moved, and Hon. W. Suttor seconded the following resolution :

"That provision should be made by imperial legislation enabling the dependencies of the Empire to enter into agreements of commercial reciprocity, including the power of making differential tariffs with Great Britain or with one another, without foreign nations being entitled to share therein."

During the debate one set of opinions numerously supported throughout the Empire was urged by Hon. Mr. Fraser, who said:

"I would fondly look forward to the day when the Colonies, including Australia, could have one customs tariff. I would hear with great pleasure of the consummation of such a customs union with the other Colonies. I think it would be one of the wisest steps that we in Australia could take if we could receive the goods of Canada and the Cape free and *vice versa*."

The objection to the motion came very clearly from Mr. Forrest :

"The consideration of this question should 'give us pause.' I will mention two facts in regard to Queensland. In 1892 we exported over \$45,000,000 worth of our products. In that year Great Britain's foreign trade (exclusive of the United States) amounted to \$1,000,000,000. Now England does not produce wool to any great extent, but she is a large exporter of woollen goods, which are manufactured chiefly from Australian wool. Therefore, by England's assistance, Australia finds a market for her products in foreign countries, and that is why I say we must be careful not to do anything that might interfere with or limit or cripple her trade with foreign nations."

The motion finally carried as follows :

"Moved by Sir Henry Wrixon, seconded by Mr. Suttor, That provision should be made by imperial legislation enabling the dependencies of the Empire to enter into agreements of commercial reciprocity, including power of making differential tariff with Great Britain or with one another."

July 2nd, 1894.

MR. SANDFORD FLEMING presented an able and masterly statement in regard to the proposed Pacific cable, illustrated by plans and replete with information and statistics, and, after discussion, the meeting adjourned, and on the following day consideration of the matter was continued and assented to under a motion by Mr. W. Suttor :

" That in the opinion of this Conference immediate steps should be taken to provide telegraphic communication by cable, under sole British control, between the Dominion of Canada and Australasia."

COMMERCIAL RECIPROCITY.

This discussion was brought forward by Sir Henry d'Villiers, and a subsequent proposal by Hon. Wm. Suttor in the following form met with unanimous approval :

" That this Conference is of opinion that any provisions in existing treaties between Great Britain and any foreign power, which prevent the self-governing dependencies of the Empire from entering into agreements of commercial reciprocity with each other, or with Great Britain, should be removed."

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

This discussion was again taken up, competing companies, future competition, the necessary Imperial and Colonial aid, and points of connection after leaving Vancouver were all factors sometimes difficult to decide on or reconcile, and the resolution was finally passed in the shortened and abstract form,

" That in the opinion of this Conference immediate steps should be taken to provide telegraphic communication by cable free from foreign control between the Dominion of Canada and Australasia."

CABLE EXTENSION TO THE CAPE.

SIR CHARLES MILLS considered that it was for the interest of the Empire that in case of the construction of a cable between Canada and Australasia such cable should be extended from Australasia to the Cape of Good Hope, and for that purpose arrangements should be made between the Imperial and South African Governments for a survey of the latter route, and received permission to bring the subject forward as a substantial motion.

THE CABLE AS A NATIONAL WORK.

HON. MR. THYNNE brought forward a resolution expressing the desirability that the construction and maintenance of the cable from Vancouver should be undertaken as a joint national and public work by Great Britain, Canada and the Australasian Colonies, and the opinion of the Conference was expressed thereon in a resolution submitted by Hon. G. E. Foster and passed as follows :—

That the Imperial Government be respectfully requested to undertake at the earliest possible moment, and to prosecute with all possible speed, a thorough survey of the proposed cable route between Canada and Australia ; the expense to be borne in equal proportion by Great Britain, Canada and the Australasian Colonies.

CABLE EXTENSION TO THE CAPE.

The following motion was submitted to the Conference and passed on the motion of Sir Charles Mills, seconded by Sir Henry de Villiers :

" That it is for the interest of the Empire that, in case of the construction of a cable between Canada and Australasia, such cable should be extended from Australasia to the Cape of Good Hope ; and that for that purpose arrangements should be made between the Imperial and South African Governments for a survey of the latter route.

July 5th, 1894.

The Hon. G. E. Foster introduced the following resolutions, seconded by Sir Henry Wrixon :

" *Whereas* : The stability and progress of the British Empire can be best assured by drawing continually closer the bonds that unite the colonies with the mother country, and by the continuous growth of a practical sympathy and co-operation in all that pertains to the common welfare ;

" *And whereas* : This co-operation and unity can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the cultivation and extension of the mutual and profitable interchange of their products ;

" *Therefore Resolved* : That this Conference records its belief in the advisability and practical possibility of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries.

" *And further Resolved* : That, pending the assent of the mother country to such an arrangement, in which she shall be included, it is desirable that the colonies of Great Britain, or such of them as may be disposed to accede to this view, take immediate steps to place each other's products, in whole or in part, on a more favoured customs basis than is accorded to the like products of foreign countries."

The debate that followed may be characterized as the debate of the Conference.

MR. FOSTER, after a few preliminary, remarks, said :—

The flag is a bond without doubt from what it typifies, the Queen is a bond because of her position, because also of her estimable qualities, because she has lived the whole life of the present, and almost of a past generation, and because the feeling or the sentiments which exist towards a ruler are made stronger and deeper because of the affections which centre about her personally, considered as the Queen of our great Dominions. The constitution of Great Britain, wide and elastic as it is, is a bond ; the institutions which, in common with the mother country we possess, are bonds, on account of their strength, on account of their freedom, on account of their beneficent character. The army and navy, which embody the defence of the Empire, both at home, at its heart and centre, and in its outlying parts, is also a bond of unity, and a bond of strength ; but underneath all this there is one thing which is stronger, in its way, than any other, and which is, to my mind, essentially necessary in order that that unity shall be preserved between parts of an Empire so far removed from each other, and, in some respects, with such divergent interests. I refer, gentlemen, to the common blood of trade and commerce which flows from the heart of the Empire out into the limbs of the dependencies, and back again with its strength, and vivifying influence, to the heart of the Empire. Trade and commerce carry with them knowledge and sympathy. It is impossible for the commercial community of Great Britain to have to do with the commercial interests, with the trade interests of any country, especially with the trade interests of the parts of the Empire, without getting a large knowledge of the resources, the capabilities of these different parts, and without, having bound up with that a material, and if you wish, a selfish interest, and the powerful and common bonds of a material and social interest are continually forwarded, continually widened, and continually strengthened. And, this is, to my mind, the guarantee of the future unity, the future stability, and the future prosperity of the great British Empire. When in Great Britain a year or so ago, I was often met by this statement :—Well, but you in Canada have free entry to our markets, everything comes in free, and you put a duty upon goods which we send back to you. Are you treating us right in that respect ? That is a point of argument which is often brought up, and which is specious in its way, but there is this reply to that : True, you give an open market to the goods of Canada, but you give an equally open market to every competitor of Canada, and, consequently, you are doing no favour to Canada for which you can ask a favour in return. But, again coming to the point, is there any theoretical reason why she should not treat her own colonies better than foreign countries ?

A Colonial consumer is worth to the British producer more than six European consumers. So that every colonial dependency that she possesses has become her customer and her commerce could never have expanded as it has if it had not been for these dependencies.

Put a cordon around England for 24 days and her people will starve. That cordon could be pretty nearly as effectual if it were 500 or 1000 miles away from England.

Canada, Australia and Africa can easily supply all the food that Great Britain needs. The resolution does not include all products, the only thing to affirm is that more favourable trade arrangements be given to the colonies than is given to foreign countries.

My wish is that the colonies may commence now to enter into some arrangements by which their trade shall be developed. It may be done in two ways :

A small differential rate would give the advantage.

Utilize what we have done in steamship subvention and what we propose to do in cable communication.

It was moved in amendment by Hon. Mr. Hofmeyr, seconded by Sir Henry de Villiers :

"That this Conference, in view of the resolution on commercial reciprocity unanimously adopted on the 30th of June, deems it desirable, for the present, to leave the practical initiation of reciprocal customs arrangements to separate agreements between the colonies and Great Britain or any of them."

All the Delegates took part, although Lord Jersey, while not wishing to be counted as expressing an opinion, read the figures from Sir Ramson Ramson's reports for 1890 and 1893 as to the percentage of trade between the Colonies and Great Britain and said that England would have to consider what effect any great change in her fiscal policy would have on her enormous trade, over 85 per cent, which she carries on with the world, and, as had been pointed out a good deal of that trade consists of articles which are manufactured from the raw products of the Colonies.

HON. MR. HOFMEYR expressed his hope that the Orange Free State and the South African Republic would be admitted into any British commercial union.



July 6th, 1894.

The following portion of the discussion illustrates one of the points of difference:

HON. MR. SUTTOR. With regard to the proposition submitted by Mr. Foster, I think the objection is this: We ask England to be good enough to assist the trade between the colonies and England, to enlarge and increase the trade between the colonies and the mother country by putting duty on foreign goods. For the sake of argument, we will say that England proposes to put a duty of 10 per cent. on foreign goods received into England, and allows the colonial goods to go in as at present, under no duty at all. The position would surely be this: England would say to her Colonies:—"We have now handicapped the foreign trade in favour of you, to the extent of 10 per cent.; we will allow your goods, as we always have done, to come in free; are you prepared to reciprocate and allow all our goods to come into your territories free?"

HON. MR. FOSTER. That would be most unfair.

HON. MR. SUTTOR. Why?

HON. MR. FOSTER. We have 30 per cent. on woollen goods; if England gives us on equal volumes of trade a differentiation of 5 per cent., is she so unfair that she would ask us to give her a differentiation of 30 or 40 per cent.?

HON. MR. SUTTOR. But if we are going to enter into such an arrangement as this, that she is going to check the introduction of foreign goods to assist her colonies, in order to increase the volume of trade between the colonies and herself, she may fairly ask us to reciprocate and allow her to send her manufactured goods on the same terms that she receives our products. I want to ask my fellow delegates if they are prepared to pledge their governments to that extent, that in the event of England allowing our goods to go in that way, and taxing the foreign goods, we are prepared to reciprocate and allow the manufactured goods of England to come into our ports free? I for one, must say that I am not prepared to do that.

HON. MR. FOSTER. I must protest that that is not a fair statement of the case. No man carrying on business with a business man would attempt for a moment to do business in that way. When two business men come together to talk about business, they are supposed to ask only fair advantages of either side, and one man does not say to the other "You give me £10 and I will give you

£1." Neither would Britain or other commercial communities make such requests. If Great Britain gives us to-day no advantage over another nation, we give Great Britain no advantage over another; and if Great Britain comes and says, "We will give you 5 per cent. over another," will she ask us to give her 35 or 40 per cent. advantage? That would not be fair; it is not contemplated. We send wheat to Great Britain, and get woollen goods from Great Britain. What is the volume of the wheat trade sent to Great Britain? What is the volume of the woollen trade they send here? If they give us 5 per cent. on the goods we send there, we will give them 5 per cent. on the same volume. That would be fair. But would not it be unfair to say, "We will give you 10 per cent. advantage on a million bushels of wheat, and we will ask you to give us 35 per cent. advantage on a million dollars worth of goods in return?" That is not a fair request. It is not a business statement of the case. It is not in the resolution, and it is not fair to the delegates to base an opposition to the resolution on a statement like that. Let us vote on this as it is; but do not let us vote on an unfair statement of the case, and I must contend that is not a fair statement of the case.

HON. MR. FORREST. I think in this particular case that probably Great Britain would say: "Doubtless you have a duty of 35 per cent, but we never admitted that the duty was a fair thing to start with." And I would ask members of the Conference this question: Where does the fairness or unfairness come in? Is it in Great Britain admitting our goods free; or is it in the Australian or Canadian colonies charging a duty of 35 per cent? You see, from a free trader's point of view, there is a strong argument on the other side.

HON. MR. FOSTER. Yes, on the principle.

HON. MR. FORREST. The mother country might also fairly say: "If you, say on a 30 per cent. duty, will only allow us 5 per cent., what is to prevent you putting on 60 per cent., and saying we will only give you 5 per cent. on that?" And the principle would apply just as well. I think it is necessary for us to consider the matter, and ascertain where the unfairness is.

HON. MR. THYNNE. I think it would be well to define our terms. If 10 per cent were allowed off some article in Canada, 10 per cent would have to be put on in Great Britain. I think that must be a mistake. I think Mr. Foster meant that the total value, in money, of reduction of the receipts of Canada on the particular goods was the amount for which Canada would seek from Great Britain a similar concession; that is, that they would impose such a duty on goods coming in as would amount to a preference, an encouragement to Canadian material to the extent to which Canada is reducing the duty on the other goods.

HON. MR. FOSTER. That might be one way.

MR. HOFMEYR subsequently withdrew his amendment.

The debate having continued, it was suggested and agreed that in the submission of Hon. Mr. Foster's resolutions as then amended should be voted upon *seriatim*.

The following was then moved by Hon. Mr. Foster, seconded by Sir Henry Wrixon :

" *Resolved* : That this Conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries."

This resolution, having been submitted, was adopted on the following division :

Yeas :—Canada ; Tasmania ; Cape of Good Hope ; South Australia ; Victoria.—5.

Nays :—New South Wales ; New Zealand ; Queensland.—3.

It was moved by Hon. Mr. Foster, seconded by Sir Henry Wrixon, and

" *Resolved* : That until the mother country can see her way to enter into a customs arrangement with her colonies, it is desirable that, when empowered so to do, the colonies of Great Britain, or such of them as may be disposed to accede to this view, take steps to place each other's products, in whole or in part, on a more favored customs basis than is accorded to the like products of foreign countries."

The preamble was then agreed to, and the resolutions, as finally amended, were submitted and adopted in the following terms :—

" *Whereas* : The stability and progress of the British Empire can be best assured by drawing continually closer the bonds that unite the colonies with the mother country, and by the continuous growth of a practical sympathy and the co-operation in all that pertains to the common welfare ;

" *And Whereas* : This co-operation and unity can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the cultivation and extension of the mutual and profitable interchange of their products ;

" *Therefore resolved* : That this Conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favorable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries ;"

" *Further resolved* ; That until the mother country can see her way to enter into a customs arrangement with her colonies, it is desirable that, when empowered so to do, the colonies of Great Britain, or such of them as may be disposed to accede to this view, take steps to place each other's products, in whole or in part, on a more favoured customs basis than is accorded to the like products of foreign countries."

" *And further resolved* : That for the purposes of this resolution the South African Customs Union be considered as part of the territory capable of being brought within the scope of the contemplated trade arrangements."

PART IV.

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THE STATIST COMPETITION

It was shortly after the close of the Ottawa Conference that the proprietors of the Statist, we were told, had long considered the question of Imperial Federation as "the really vital one before the British Statesmen, and they held so strongly that it was desirable to bring this about that they offered a prize of \$5000 for the best scheme for removing what seemed to be the main obstacle in the way of Federation.

The attainment of this ultimate object, they believed, should be a guiding principle in evolving a scheme for a Customs Union.

It should be specially remarked that in the above offer, the scheme to be evolved was not put forward as a condition precedent to Imperial or Representative Union. A Customs Union may be the chief reason for it or it may not. A defensive alliance may be a reason of more paramount self-interest. But given a practical scheme for an Inter-Imperial Commercial Union and you immediately have a sufficiently attractive programme to make the necessity of Imperial Federation apparent and pressing.

The writer has always held that the only way to arrive at an Inter-Colonial agreement on commercial matters is through an Imperial Representative Union. This view has been held by many parliamentary leaders during the past 50 years, as more fully shown in Part IX.

LORD ROSEBERY addressing a Trade Conference in July, 1884, said: "In England in this 19th century there were two things absolutely necessary to any scheme of administrative reform, the first was that, *it should be preceded by enquiry*, and the second that *it should be tentative*."

The form of official enquiry is a Parliamentary Committee, and such a form of enquiry for solving the problems of Imperial Federation and Commercial Union might most appropriately come before an Inter-Parliamentary Committee, which would in itself be a tentative form of Colonial representation.

The more the varieties of suggestion, the financial needs of each separate Colonial Government, the historic proclivities and tastes of their respective people and the maintenance of the present channels of business are considered, the more I am sure will the Empire in general come to the conclusion that these matters can only be adequately considered and adjusted through the means of popular representation.

All these diversities of question were fully considered in the 136 essays contributed in this competition and those that obtained recognition were printed in the Statist from May to July, 1896.

In the different Imperial policies put forward there is no thought of in any way diminishing or narrowing the legislative functions in any Colony. The constitutional powers will remain intact, in fact they will be augmented by the power of consent in Imperial affairs.

Mr. Chamberlain put forward his plan in the opening speech at the Congress of 1896 on the ground that it would insure the more extended use of the financial power accumulating in one part of the Empire in the development of the natural resources which form the wealth of the Colonies and Mr. Colmer sums up the advantages in the "conclusion" of his essay as follows:—

"It may be asked what advantages would the Mother Country on the one hand and the Colonies and possessions on the other derive from Commercial Confederation? It would bring the Mother Country into closer union with the Colonies. By giving preferential treatment, on a modified scale, to British trade within the limits of the Empire the bond of unity would be material as well as sentimental. By such preference the doctrines of free trade, more than at present, would be made possible with the Empire. On the other hand the British manufacturer would retain control of the rapidly increasing colonial markets. There would be a unity of defence of the outlying parts of the Empire and a Colonial Council for mutual consultation on matters of general interest. Greater attention than ever would be attracted to the Colonies. Emigration would flow in larger numbers to their shores. The powers of production would be increased and the United Kingdom would year by year depend less upon foreign source for her food supplies. Such advantages would seem to open up a profitable field of questions for our younger traders and an enlarged scope of business for our larger traders."

Then again there would be new openings in the political and official field for those among us whose ability is political, either executive or legislative. The Civil, Indian, and Consular services of the Empire might well be open to all British subjects, and with advantage, in stimulating the interest of our schoolboys in the management of the Empire they will some day share in ruling.

The main points which the writers of these essays had to consider were :—

1. The form of Colonial representation in England.
2. The Trade Policy.
3. Proposals as to defence.

The variations on these will be found to be somewhat on the following lines :

1. (a.) Colonial representation by popular election.
 - (b.) Or by an elective Council.
 - (c.) Chosen by the Colonial Parliaments.
 - (d.) Or by the Colonial Electorates.
 - (e.) Through a committee of the Privy Council corresponding to the existing Judicial Committee.
 - (f.) Advisory only.
 - (g.) Or advisory and partly administrative.
 - (h.) By an elective Imperial Senate.
 - (i.) By a council partly elected and partly nominated, and ex-officio.
 - (j.) By an Inter-Parliamentary Committee appointed from all the Parliaments within the Empire (as a tentative measure) to formulate the scheme.
2. (a.) Free trade throughout the Empire.
 - (b.) Free trade within the Empire.
 - (c.) Discrimination on foreign goods and Preferential tariffs for British goods.
 - (d.) A Preferential tariff in Great Britain on Colonial produce, and
 - (e.) As to what the Colonies should offer in return.
3. (a.) How the fund or contributions should be raised for the purpose of defence.

- (b.) How it should be used.
- (c.) Where it should be used.
- (d.) By whom it should be administered.
- (e.) Whether it should be *per capita*.
- (f.) A percentage on the Exports.
- (g.) Or on the Revenue.
- (h.) Or a direct tax levied on imports for the special purpose.

(*The Statist*, London, Saturday, February 2, 1895.)

COMMERCIAL FEDERATION of the EMPIRE

PRIZE OF 1,000 GUINEAS.

The proprietors of *The Statist* offer a prize of 1,000 guineas for the best scheme of an Imperial Customs Union.

Lord Salisbury nominated Lord Lorne to act as judge in the Competition.

Lord Rosebery nominated Lord Playfair.

Both nominees kindly consented to act.

CONDITIONS OF THE COMPETITION.

The conditions of the competition were as under :—

1. An endeavour should be made to show that the scheme proposed will maintain the integrity and strengthen the defence of the Empire, and that it is permanently advantageous to the various interests whose consent is requisite to its adoption.

2. The possibility of practical application without long delay is an important element of merit, but the judges have been instructed that obstacles in the way of immediate adoption should not bar success in the competition.

(*The Statist, London, Saturday, April 25th, 1896.*)

CUSTOMS UNION PRIZE.

AWARD OF THE JUDGES.

We have carefully read and considered the 136 essays sent in competition for the Statist Prize.

We selected eight which appeared to us to be clearly superior in merit to the others, and we then divided them into groups according to their economic views.

The first group contained essays which approached the subject under misgiving as to whether it was ripe for speedy adoption. They propose councils and conferences — to improve telegraphic communication, to increase the facilities for and the speed of transportation of commodities, to increase postal services and to enact uniform commercial laws.

Two essays based on these laws deserve special commendation.

Their mottoes are :—"Libra," (T. B. Browning, England.)
"Pontcanna Leckwith," (H. Read, Wales.)

The second group of essays, which propose various modes of taxing foreign imports in order that colonial imports of a like kind may have a preference in the home and colonial markets.

These essays were written with ability and care. The mottoes named in alphabetical order are : "Amalgam" (T. H. Haynes, England) ; "Defence not Defiance," (J. G. Colmer, C. M. G., now Sir Joseph G. Colmer, Acting High Commissioner for Canada, Nova Scotia, Canada) ; "Ex Occidente Lux," (J. Van Sommer, Ontario, Canada) ; "The thoughts of men are widened by the process of the Sun," (Seward Brice, Q. C., England.)

The third group, written with care and knowledge, is based on Free Trade, which the authors consider necessary for the continued prosperity of the United Kingdom.

The mottoes are : "Nec Temere, Nec Timide," (Joseph Wrigley, England) ; "Scrutator," (Ralph S. Ashton, England.)

We had no difficulty as Judges in selecting these eight essays for their conspicuous ability, but we were unable to agree as to which essay should receive the prize.

One of us was named as a judge by Lord Salisbury and the other by Lord Rosebery, for our economical views were known to be different when we were appointed and it is natural that we should differ as to the lines of policy which would be most advantageous for a fiscal union of the Empire.

We propose, therefore, that the prize of 1000 guineas should be divided into two equal parts of 500 guineas.

The majority of the self-governing colonies have been in favor of placing differential duties on foreign goods, and we both agree that the essay best deserving the prize for this policy of fiscal union is :

“ Defence not Defiance.”

Legislation in the United Kingdom, on the other hand, is now based on the system of free trade and does not tax foreign imports of food and raw material, in favor of a free importation of like articles from the colonies. The most able essay representing the policy of free trade is that with the motto

“ Scrutator ”

and we both agree that this essay should have the other prize.

LORNE.

PLAYFAIR.

— :O: —

SIR J. G. COLMER'S SUGGESTIONS WERE :

1. That an import duty of 3% *ad valorem* should be placed on certain articles (specified), received from foreign countries in the ports of Great Britain, thus giving a preference to similar articles from the Colonies.

2. A contribution by the Colonies of 2% from their revenues to an Imperial Defence fund.

3. The creation of a Colonial Council appointed by the Crown and the Governor Generals of the Colonies for consultative purposes and to administer the Defence Fund.

The essay (42 pages) was divided under the following headings :

Nothing more nor less than the future of the British Empire.

Area, population and trade of the Empire.

Development of Inter-Imperial Trade.

The Colonial Debts and Local Defences.

Local Government in the Colonies.

Inter-Imperial Fiscal Relations.

Up to 1842 colonial production had enjoyed preferential treatment in Great Britain and as late as 1860 many articles were likewise favored. (Appendix K. of the essay).

Duties on wheat had been regulated on a sliding scale.

Preferential treatment between foreign countries and their colonies was prevailing.

Efforts to promote better imperial commercial relations.

In 1859 efforts had been made by the North American colonies for preferential treatment among themselves. Their federation took place in 1867.

DETAILS OF SCHEME PROPOSED.

Under this heading Mr. Colmer named the specific articles on which a duty should be levied in the United Kingdom, also stating the value of the articles imported and the probable revenue to be derived from the proposed import duty.

Oxen and sheep, duty proposed \$2.50 and 25c per head ; meats, 35c per cwt. ; cheese, 36c per cwt. ; butter, 50c per cwt. ; wheat, 4c per bushel ; flour, 9c per 100 lbs. ; hemp, \$3.75 per ton ; ivory, \$5 per cwt. ; leather, undressed, 50c per cwt. ; sugar, unrefined, 50c per cwt. ; refined, 75c per 100 lbs. ; goat's hair, 75c per 100 lbs. ; wool, 55c per 100 lbs. ; tallow, 18c per cwt. ; sealskins, 18c per skin ; fish, \$2.50 per ton ; logwood, \$1 per ton ; mahogany, \$1.25 per ton ; nuts, \$1.75 per ton ; cocoa, 2c per lb. ; coffee, \$3 50 per 100 lbs. ; tea, 8c per lb.

A net additional revenue would be derived of \$3,500,000,

What the Colonies and India might do.

The Colonies might formulate a preferential arrangement.

India might allow 1 per cent. preference off the prevailing 5% ad valorem.

SUMMARY.

The conditions of the competition provide that the essays shall conclude with a summary of the proposals sufficiently clear to form the basis of instructions to a Parliamentary draughtsman.

So far as the United Kingdom is concerned, the scheme may be summarised as follows:

(1) That Great Britain should extend to the Colonies and India preferential treatment in the matter of customs.

(2) It might be provided in any Bill submitted to Parliament that its provisions be applied after a given date by Order in Council to any of the Colonies or Possessions of the Empire. This is to provide that the arrangement should only come into operation when the Colonies or Possessions had agreed to extend to British imports a *quid pro quo*, as might be agreed upon.

(3) The establishment of the Colonial Council might not necessarily require legislation, although it would be desirable. So far as regards the United Kingdom, the fund to be administered by the Council would be provided for annually in the estimates, and the same course would probably obtain in the Colonies.

(4) As a preamble to any Bill, the following resolutions of the Ottawa Conference, altered to suit the occasion, might be utilized:

"Whereas the stability and progress of the British Empire can be best assured by drawing continually closer the bands that unite the Colonies with the Mother Country, and the continuous growth of a practical sympathy and co-operation in all that pertains to the common welfare:

"And whereas this co-operation and unity can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the cultivation and extension of the mutual and profitable interchange of their products:

"Therefore resolved: That this Conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her Colonies, by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries."



APPENDICES

GIVING VARIOUS STATISTICAL TABLES.

APPENDIX K.

PRIOR to 1842 many articles of Colonial production enjoyed preferential treatment in Great Britain. Some instances are given in the following table of duties :—

Articles.	British Possessions.	Foreign Countries.
Arrowroot	1s. per cwt.	2d. per lb.
Ashes (pearl and pot.)	Free	6s. per cwt.
Bark	1d. per cwt.	8d. per cwt.
Cocoa	2d. per lb.	6d. per lb.
Coffee	6d. per lb.	9d. to 1s. 3d. per lb.
Furs (undressed)	About 100 per cent. less than foreign countries.	
Hides (untanned)	£5 17s. 6 l. per cent.	20 to 30 per cent.
Hides (tanned)	3d. to 4½d. per lb.	6d. to 9d. per lb.
Molasses	9s. per cwt.	£1 3s. 9d. per cwt.
Rice	1s. per qr.	2s. 6d. per bushel.
Sugar	24s. per cwt.	63s. per cwt.
Timber	About 700 to 1,000 per cent. less than foreign countries	
Tobacco (unmanufactured)	2s. 9d. per lb.	3s. per lb.
Whale fins	£1 per ton	£95 per ton
Wines	2s. 9d. per Imperial gallon.	5s. 6d. per Imperial gallon.
Wool	Free	¾d. 1d. per lb.

The duties on wheat were regulated by a sliding scale, according to the market value. The average duty on foreign wheat in 1840 was 15s. 7d. per quarter, and colonial wheat about 3s. 2d. per quarter.

Even in the famous Act of 1846, practical discrimination was made in favour of wheat imported from the Colonies. The duty on foreign wheat between 1846 and 1849, when the price was under 48s. per quarter, was fixed at 10s. per quarter; the duty decreasing until it became 4s. per quarter, when the wheat was valued at 53s. per quarter and upwards. On wheatmeal and flour for every barrel of 196 lbs., the duty was equal in amount to the duty payable on 38½ gallons of wheat. During this period, the duty on colonial wheat was 1s. per quarter, and on flour 4d. per cwt. The duties on

foreign and colonial grain and flour were equalised in 1847, when they became 1s. per quarter for wheat, and 4d. per cwt. for flour. These latter duties were abolished in 1869.

Notwithstanding the great changes in the fiscal policy of Great Britain in 1846, discrimination was continued in favour of the Colonies, as seen in the following table :—

Articles.	British Possessions.	Foreign Countries
Barley	6d. per cwt.	1s. per cwt.
Butter	2s. 6d. per cwt.	10s. per cwt.
Cheese	1s. 6d. per cwt.	5s. 6d. per cwt.
Cotton manufactures	5 per cent.	10 per cent.
Hair manufactures	5 per cent.	10 per cent.
Rice	6d. per cwt.	1s. per cwt.
Rough	1d. per qr.	1s. per cwt.
Skin manufactures	5 per cent.	10 per cent.
Soap (hard)	14s. per cwt.	£1 per cwt.
Soft	10s. per cwt.	14s. per cwt.
Tallow	1d. per cwt.	1s. 6d. per cwt.
Tongues	2s. per cwt.	7s. per cwt.
Twine	5 per cent.	10 per cent.

It was not until 1860 that the most of these duties were abolished.

Since 1860 the Colonies have been treated the same as foreign countries in connection with the imports into Great Britain.

MR. RALPH S. ASHTON'S SUGGESTIONS WERE :

1. Free Trade to be adopted by the Empire.
2. Direct contributions of \$10,000,000 towards the Imperial Fleet.

(3) An Imperial Fiscal Union Council elected from such part of the Empire as they represent to administer the Defence Fund and advise on Imperial and Commercial affairs.

The headings under which the essay were divided are as follows :

- I. Free Trade the only sound basis of a Union measured by the results in this country for half a century.

II. Examination of schemes suggested as the basis of an Imperial Customs Union.

III. Comparison of Revenue Customs, Excise and Debts of the self-governing Colonies with those of the United Kingdom. Customs duties of the said Colonies reduced to the scale of duties levied in the United Kingdom.

IV. Loss by reduced tariffs have to be made up.

V. Discussion of the share that the self-governing colonies should bear of the Imperial defences. The plan on which the appropriation should be worked in connection with a Customs and Excise Union.

VI. Constitution of the Customs and Excise Council. Work to be done. Probable growth. Conditions summary.

MR. ASHTON proposed in the protective colonies entire freedom on certain articles and a gradual reduction of duties on others, the reduction to be spread over a period of five years. The duties of the Council would be :

(1.) To supervise the working of the plan therein sketched out, receiving from the respective treasurers advices of the various receipts, calculating and allocating the respective shares of contributions and liabilities and issuing a precept on the contributory parties for payments to be made over to the Imperial Treasury.

(2.) The right of discussing and advising the respective governments.

(3.) To have power to sanction loans to the various colonies or confederacies.

SUMMARY.

The summary indicates the basis on which a Bill for the constitution of such a Customs Union as is herein advocated should be drawn :

1. The Act may be cited as the Imperial Fiscal Union Act.
2. The Act shall come into operation immediately.
3. Constitution.

(a) The Imperial Fiscal Union Council constituted by the Act shall consist of members representing the United Kingdom and

its self-governing Colonies, together with the *ex officio* members, consisting of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Agents General.

(b) Power shall be given to include the Crown Colonies in the Union, and India when the time is ripe and the Imperial Sovereign thinks fit.

(c) Elected members of the Council shall serve five years, and shall be paid salaries.

(d) Voting shall be by a majority of votes, a plural number being assigned to each constituent according to population, with extra votes to the United Kingdom as may be determined.

(e) The Secretary of State for the Colonies shall be *ex officio* President of the Council.

(f) The summoning of the Council shall rest with the President as he thinks fit, or at the request of a certain number of the elected members of the Council.

4. The powers of the Council shall be :

(a) To take cognisance of the system of excise and customs adopted by the members of the Union, with power to call for papers and information from the various Treasurers, and to advise the various Governments.

(b) To receive every month accounts of the receipts from excise and customs.

(c) To advise on matters of Imperial defence.

(d) To determine at the end of each financial year the respective amounts of debits and credits belonging to each constituent of the Fiscal Union.

(e) To give sanctions, with Imperial guarantee, to loans to the colonies, borrowed for purposes of Imperial defence, and to sanction payments of instalments of the loans as the work is done.

(f) To advise on the subject of strategic railways, steamship lines, and sub-marine telegraphs, with a view of an Imperial contribution to existing or future undertakings of this nature, in return for special rights and control in times of war.

MR. J. VAN SOMMER'S ESSAY WAS FOR :

1. A preferential rate to be given Colonial produce coming in competition in the English markets with foreign goods of a like nature from protectionist countries.

2. Contribution towards Imperial defence.

3. The calling of an Inter-Parliamentary Council to consider and report on the method most in accord with the Home and Colonial wishes.

The essay was divided into two parts.

Part I. "As to the policy to be acted upon."

Part II. "As to the Executive to be formed."

Part I. contained the history from 1847 of the movement for closer political and commercial union.

The Colonial powers of self-government and how they were derived.

Requisites in forming a Customs Union tending to Freer Trade within the Empire.

Part II. Policy proposed.

Procedure for the formation of an Imperial Assembly as an Inter-Parliamentary Committee.

Objections to an Imperial Council.

Examples of Foreign Parliamentary representation.

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS.

1. That resolutions should be introduced into both Houses of Parliament at Westminster for the appointment of a joint committee to report upon a Customs Union within the Empire and matters connected therewith.

2. That the Colonial Governments be invited to appoint similar committees for the purpose of a joint conference and report with the committee of the Imperial Parliament.

Matters for consideration in committee :

- (a) Amendment to the Australian Constitutional Acts.
 - (b) A Draft Bill in respect of the bonus towards an accelerated Atlantic service.
 - (c) A Draft Bill for divisions of the expense of survey for a Pacific Cable.
 - (d) Recommendation and Draft Bill to amend British Customs Act for the purpose of placing a revenue import tax on certain products to be named therein.
- Preparation of schedule in proposed Inter-British Customs Tariff.
- (e) Report as to Colonial contributions towards the Imperial Navy.
 - (f) Consideration and report as to what, if any, alteration should be proposed in existing foreign treaties.
 - (g) Recommendation in regard to Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament.

MR. SEWARD BRICE'S essay commences with reference to the various tariffs of the United Kingdom and the Colonies and gives statistics of exports and imports.

The author says under Part II. : There can be no reasonable doubt that there is no alternative between (1) A Union more or less closely assuming the form of Federation, and (2) A breaking up of the Anglo-Saxon dominion.

To write an epitome of Mr. Seward Brice's essay shorter than the 7 pages in *The Statist*, May 1896, p. 675, is inadequate. The essay is written after months of thought and elaboration to detail, historical, legislative and as to organization which a knowledge of the Colonial history and constitutional law can produce. There is however, wanting an acquaintance with the self-reliant spirit of the colonists, and the character of the Customs Union propounded in this essay always reminds me whenever read of the character of the king in Samuel's answer to the appeal of the Children of Israel.

A Council is proposed in which the people have no direct voice, and which is to have the collection, disbursement and legislative authority over all the Imperial Customs, free from any veto from the Sovereign or other governing body.

Such Council to consist of 107 members, partly elected by the different Houses of Parliament and partly nominated by the Secretary for the Colonies, and of 10 co-opted members specially chosen by the elected members for their expert knowledge of trade and commerce. It would be impossible to have such a Commercial Council with unbiased political feeling on the two great and divergent questions of Free Trade and Protection, and if the party feeling was equally divided, I am sure the election of the 10 co-opted members would be on their expert knowledge as a certificate of candidature but on their political bias as the ground for their selection.

The Council, after organization, was to have administrative powers for the first three years. Partly legislative and administrative for a following period, and during this second period any part of the Empire aggrieved or damaged in business or trade by the new regulation of tariff rates would be entitled to compensation. The final period of existence would commence on a special resolution by the Council to that effect and then the levying and distributing of duties would come completely into their hands, and all customs dues carried to a general fund.

The essay is divided into seven parts.

- I. Introductory.
- II. The constitution of the self-governing colonies.
- III. Essentials of an Imperial Customs Union.
- IV. The Crown colonies.
- V. The Council of the Union.
- VI. The constitution of the Union.
- VII. The Act of Union (being a draft in outline of a proposed Act).

PART VI.

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THIRD CONGRESS OF THE
Chambers of Commerce
 OF THE EMPIRE.

June 9th - 12th, 1896.

LONDON, - - - - - ENGLAND.

The Third Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, for which the invitations were sent out by the London Chamber of Commerce in May, 1895, was inaugurated in the hall of the Grocers' Company on June 9th, and continued to June 12th.

OFFICERS OF AND DELEGATES TO
 THE CONGRESS.

HON. PRESIDENT, THE RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M. P.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

PRESIDENT SIR ALBERT KAYE ROLLET, M.P., *President of the London Chambers of Commerce.* Among the Honorary Vice-Presidents there were : SYDNEY C. BUXTON, M.P., *Late Under Secretary of State for the Colonies*, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN, THE EARL OF JERSEY, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT KNUTSFORD, *late Secretary of State for the Colonies*, THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, THE HON. SIR DONALD A. SMITH, THE RT. HON. SIR CHAS. TUPPER, MR. R. R. DOBELL, *representing the interests of Canada.*

List of Canadian Associations which appointed delegates from Canada :

BELLEVILLE, THE HON. SIR. MACKENZIE BOWELL, K.C.M.G.

BRANTFORD, FRANK COCKSHUTT, ESQ., AND LLOYD HARRIS, ESQ.

CALGARY, HARRY SYMONS, ESQ., Q.C.

FORT QU'APPELLE, H. B. JONER, ESQ.

FORT WILLIAM, G. T. WARE, ESQ.

FRASERVILLE. QUE., J. X. PERRAULT, ESQ.

GUELPH, THOMAS MACFARLANE, ESQ.

HALIFAX, J. H. HUGILL, ESQ., JOSEPH WOOD, ESQ., WILLIAM MILLER, ESQ., F. C. MAHON, ESQ., THOS. SUTCLIFFE, ESQ., A. F. FIRTH, J.P., JAS. BOOTH, J.P., and T. S. SCARBOROUGH, J. P.

HAMILTON, HON. A. T. WOOD, F. C. BRUCE, ESQ., W. H. GILLARD, ESQ., JOHN A. BRUCE, ESQ., C. S. WILCOX, ESQ., JAS. PROCTOR, ESQ.

LONDON, M. MASURET, ESQ., J. B. SMALLMAN, ESQ., SAMUEL MUNKO, ESQ.

MONTREAL, SIR DONALD A. SMITH, K.C.M.G., HONORE BEAUGRAND, ESQ., K. NICHOLSON MCFEE, ESQ.

OTTAWA, JOSEPH KAVANAGH, ESQ., SANFORD FLEMING, C.M.G., JOHN COATES, ESQ., ANDREW HOLLAND, ESQ., W. G. HINDMAN, ESQ., H. A. BATE, ESQ.

PERTH, J. PINK, ESQ., ANDREW MCARTHUR, ESQ.

REGINA, STEPHEN NAIEN, ESQ.

TORONTO, F. B. OSLER, M. P., WM. CHRISTIE, ESQ., JAS. KERR OSBORNE, ESQ., FRANK ARNOLDI, Q.C., EDGAR A. WILLS, J.P., W. F. COCKSHUTT, ESQ., FREDERICK WYLD, ESQ., J. CASTELL HOPKINS, ESQ.

VANCOUVER, MAJOR GENERAL JOHN TWIGG.

WINNIPEG, HON. T. M. DALY, HON. EDWARD BLAKE, M. P., FRANK L. PATTON, ESQ.

EDGAR TRIPP, *Canadian Commercial Representative in Trinidad.*

In all there were about 600 delegates and representatives.

FIRST DAY.

Tuesday, June 9th.

THE RT. HONOURABLE JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M. P.
Secretary of State for the Colonies, in opening the Congress said :

I think I may say that the omens were never more favourable, and I am encouraged to hope that you will make an important advance in the direction to which all our patriotic aspirations and our material interests are steadily tending. Insensibly the bonds between us are strengthening. Your claims, your wishes, the resources of your separate countries are becoming as familiar to us as if we were all Provinces in one great kingdom. (*Cheers.*)

I think that further knowledge must tend to complete the agreement between us, and that it will bring within the range of practical politics that splendid dream which has been cherished by the most patriotic statesmen at home and in the colonies, when we may reach a union in which free states, all of them enjoying their independent institutions, will yet be inseparably united in defence of common interests and the pursuits of mutual obligations, and will be held together by ties of affection, of blood, and of religion. (*Cheers.*)

I find you are called upon to consider the necessity of improved communications within the Empire, that you are asked to consider the possibilities of greater facilities in Inter-imperial postage, that you are asked to see whether some approach may not be made to greater uniformity in commercial law relating to inter-Imperial commerce, and I notice one resolution in favour of the creation of an Imperial Council for consultation and advice.

No one nowadays denies the enormous benefit to the British race throughout the Empire if we could arrange some union which would lead to closer relations and which would retain within the Empire the trade and the subjects which are now donated to foreign lands.

I pass on now to a proposal which found expression at the great Congress of Ottawa and which was that we should abandon our trade system in favour of the Colonial System. It is in effect that we should be expected to change our whole system and to impose duties on food and on raw material. There is not the slightest chance that in any reasonable time such an agreement would be adopted. the foreign trade of this country is so large and the Foreign

trade of the Colonies is comparatively so small that a small preference given to us upon that foreign trade would make so slight a difference and would be so slight a benefit to the total volume of our trade that I do not believe the working classes of this country would consent to make a revolutionary change for what they would think to be an infinitesimal gain. We have therefore, if we are to make progress, to seek a third course, and I admit if I understand it correctly I find the germs of such a proposal in a resolution to be submitted to you on behalf of the Toronto Board of Trade. That resolution I understand to be one for the creation of a British Customs Union.

We know how strenuously the Colonies cling to their own independence, to their own initiation. If they desire as we desire, and as we believe they do this closer union. If they are willing to make some sacrifice of their present arrangements and convictions in order to secure it, let them say so. Let the offer come voluntarily from them.

This practical result in bringing us nearer to the object which we all have in view is the greatest object which Britain can pursue in what I believe to be a critical stage in Imperial history.

MR. E. B. OSLER, M.P. for West Toronto, and President of the Toronto Board of Trade, moved the following resolution :

"Whereas in view of recent events and the attitude of other nations towards Great Britain and of the fact that there exists within the British Empire resources in men and materials and arable land for its every requirement ;

"Whereas while the trade legislation of other nations is framed to subserve their local interests, all British trade and legislation should aim to secure within the Empire a union of interests of a federal character and the policy of each British community should be designed to retain within the Empire subjects whose labours would otherwise go to foreign lands ;

"Whereas Canada has already found a basis for closer relations with the Mother Country and other Colonies by building a highway across British America, by creating steamship connection between Vancouver, Hong Kong, New Zealand and Australia, by offering a large subsidy for a fast Atlantic steamship service, as well as by her established precedent of Confederation making for British unity ;

"Whereas closer commercial relations between the Mother Country and her Colonies and Dependences will be hastened by further subsidizing fast steamship services and completing postal wire and cable communications with the different portions of the Empire, thus making such routes for commerce, food supply and munitions of war the fastest and most secure from attack ;

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this Congress the advantages to be obtained by a closer union between the various portions of the Empire are so great as to justify an arrangement as nearly as possible of the nature of a Zollverein based upon principles of the freest exchange of commodities within the Empire consistent with the tariff requirements incident to the maintenance of the Local Government of each Kingdom, Dominion, Province or Colony now forming part of the British family of nations."

Mr. Osler continuing said : As Canadians we feel first that we belong to the British Empire and that our destiny is to form a part of that great Empire, and I think that we are recognizing more and more that if we are to attain an interchange of commerce between the Colonies and the Mother Country, the Colonies must to some extent make concessions. We have within our country sufficient land to supply Great Britain with all the wheat and produce she requires and the wish of Canadians is that more of the emigration from the Mother Country should be directed to the Colony so as to build up the Empire with her own people.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY, President of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, seconded the motion.

W. K. N. McFEE, (Montreal). At the Conference of the Delegates held yesterday this resolution was adopted, but I called attention to the fact that my instructions compel me to advocate a different course. I should like, Mr. Chairman, with your permission to read a short extract from my letter of instructions which will show how strenuous this body is that the resolution should be amended : "The Committee, however, wishes you to be thoroughly possessed of its desire that its resolution on the subject as follows shall govern your vote thereon, the committee being strenuously opposed to any arrangement whereunder the tariff discrimination in favour of the Mother Country and the Colonies would be other than of reduction of present tariffs. The Committee would assist upon the principle that any arrangement made shall include a substantial reduction of the present Colonial tariffs in favour of the Mother Country and that it shall not be possible for any Colony to fulfil the letter of the arrangements and evade its spirit by placing a prohibitory tariff on imports from Great Britain and the Colonies and the still higher one of imports from foreign countries."

Mr. Chairman, these words are pregnant words and patriotic words. I am very much in favour of the resolution being so changed that the words I have read shall be incorporated in it. We offer this to show our great desire for a preferential trade treatment of the Mother Country.

SIR DONALD A. SMITH, K.C.M.G., moved the following amendment :

"Whereas the stability and progress of the British Empire can be best assured by drawing continually closer the bonds that unite the Colonies and the Mother Country and by the continuous growth of a practical sympathy and co-operation in all that pertains to the common welfare ;

"And whereas this co-operation and unity can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the cultivation and extension of the mutual and profitable interchange of their own products ;

"Therefore resolved, That this Congress records its belief in the advisability and practicability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her Colonies and India on the basis of a preferential treatment and recommends that steps should be taken by Her Majesty's Government to bring about an interchange of opinions on the subject between the Mother Country and the other Governments of the Empire."

I should like to state, in moving this amendment, I do so in no spirit of opposition to the proposals of the Toronto Board of Trade.

If Her Majesty's Government will grasp the matter boldly and invite an expression of opinion from the Governments of the Colonies, we are not without hope that it may lead to the calling together of another great Colonial Conference in London, when the details of a measure might be arranged. Why should every part of the Empire treat every other part as they do foreign countries? Gentlemen, union is strength. We have competition everywhere, and if we hope to compete with them we must look after what we consider to be our interests.

What we strive to offer is some plan, the adoption of which may the least unsettle the fiscal system in force. I believe that now a scheme could readily be arranged.

Canada's attachment to the Mother Country is such that it cannot be touched in any way so as to make it less than it is; the desire is, too, that we shall in the end, and we trust in a very short time, feel that we are one people—Britons throughout. (Cheers).

MAJOR GENERAL TWIGGE (Vancouver) seconded the amendment.

MR. ADAMSON, Singapore, in concluding his remarks, said the change Canada asks us to make is too big; it involves tremendous consequences. The solution of the question is, I venture to think, not to be found in adopting an arrangement of the nature of a Zollverein but by the Colonies accepting some system which is not incompatible with that freedom of trade which has so greatly benefited and continues to benefit the Mother Country.

MR. CHAS. McARTHUR, Liverpool, on behalf of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce: I have to say that I object on principle both to the resolution and amendment in so far as they propose to make preferential duties. In so far as you seek to bring about that and by promoting postal, steamship and telegraphic communication this resolution has our most earnest approval. We do not regard free trade as a fetish. So far as I can gather free trade is still popular among us. Any Zollverein would set up fresh barriers between Great Britain and the rest of the world, even though the United Kingdom does three-fourths of the trade. Our commerce

has increased 200 per cent.; our shipping has increased 200 per cent. The value of property has doubled. The increase of the savings of the working classes shows a corresponding improvement. There has been a vast diminution in pauperism; we have paid off £169,000,000 of our national debt, therefore it seems we should persevere in the path we have entered.

MR. THOMAS MACFARLANE (Guelph, Ont.) took up the question of Naval Defence, referring to W. Hoffmeyrs' idea, and said: Now, this question of Naval Defence is attracting a great deal of attention. The result of the discussion of the question was that the principle of this scheme was adopted by the Imperial Federation League in Canada. More than that, Mr. McNeil, of Ottawa, the author of the so-called loyal resolutions which met with so much approval in England, brought forward a motion in the Canadian House of Commons that a small ad valorem uniform import duty should be made on all imports of foreign goods into the Empire and that the proceeds of that duty should be devoted to naval defence.

It was in response to a resolution so brought in that the Secretary of State delivered his celebrated speech at the Canada Club in which he accepted the hint given as some indication for preferential trading.

MR. W. H. HOLLAND (Manchester): We are as anxious as any one to have closer relations with the Colonies. We want to have closer relations with Canada, and I should like to point out to our friends from Canada that it is not we who are hindering closer commercial relations at present, but rather Canada herself. We value, depend upon it, our Canadian trade and we wish it was very much larger.

Produce a plan that will make access easier and that is the plan, depend upon, we shall cordially welcome. How would a preferential tariff work in Oldham, where American cotton is used, and in Bolton, where Egyptian cotton is used?

Is it possible to tax raw material without increasing the cost of production? Is it possible to tax the food products without increasing the cost of living?

Establish a Zollverein and how would Canada fare? I imagine Canada would greatly gain; her imports might increase from four to six per cent., but what would happen to the remaining 94 per cent. of British imports?

For these reasons I have been commissioned, with much regret, to oppose the resolution.

MR. W. FOSTER COCKSHUTT (Brantford Ont.) We must remember that to-day there are issues arising that were not present during past years.

It is too often said we are separated by 3,000 miles of ocean. I contend that, in the right sense, we are connected by 3,000 miles of ocean.

I think our friends who have just spoken for Liverpool and Manchester have failed to grasp the situation. They have not pointed out a single privilege that Canada is receiving at the hands of the Mother Country that is not extended to Russia, the United States or any other part of the world which is hostile to British interests. You say your markets are free to Colonial produce: so they are. We admit it. What do you charge to other nations who are not in the Empire? They are free also to them. Is there any advantage, so far as trade is concerned, in being part of the British Empire?

You have little idea, sitting here as you do to-day, not having visited Canada, of what an heroic fight has been fought upon Canadian soil during the past ten years to retain British connection in the matter of trade. (Cheers.) I tell you that fight has been a heroic one and Canada, up to the present, has been a sufferer in this respect. The spirit of loyalty has forbade that we should accept the American tariff as against England.

It is not right and just that you should listen to proposals which are so one-sided, as we understand it. Appoint a committee, appoint representatives from various parts to confer. I contend that close commercial union between England and the Colonies is all that can maintain the Empire in its integrity.

MR. J. CASTELL HOPKINS (Toronto Manufacturers' Association): You do not, I think, fully realize that the people of Canada have to stand under the pressure of 70 millions of people upon their southern borders; that since your declaration in favor of free trade and abolition of preferential policy which you had previous to that period, Canada has been more or less subject to the external influence of elements hostile to its commercial development under British auspices. We had for 10 or 15 years a revenue tariff, under which the import trade with Great Britain decreased from 60 millions of dollars to 30 millions as a result of the failure of the prosperity of the country. Under the protective tariff which followed British imports of goods have steadily increased.

Is the Canadian manufacturer offering you nothing when he offers you a substantial reduction upon your goods in return for a preference upon some of the food products you buy from Canada? How are you going to prepare for any future contingency of war?

Do you know as commercial men that you were within an inch (if one may use such a phrase) of war with the United States a few months ago? I assert it conclusively and assuredly. We know the situation in Canada; we read the American press; we know the American voter.

When you are feeding a great number of people you ought to support a policy which will help to guarantee that the food you require for your people will come from within the Empire, and save you from danger at any particular crisis. (Cheers).

What we would ask you is that you should develop this phase of the question slowly, not by assuming that we, with our limited financial resources, could at once jump into a free trade system.

SECOND DAY.

Wednesday, June 10th.

MR. J. G. COLMER (Cape Breton, Nova Scotia): I think I may be safe in saying that not so very long ago it would have been deemed impossible for two gentlemen in the position of Mr Chamberlain and Mr. Sidney Buxton, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the late Administration, to have risen in this Hall, and stated boldly and plainly that if the Colonies came forward with a proposal of free trade within the Empire and some small discriminations against foreign imports that a proposal of the kind would not be met with a blank refusal. That is a great step in advance. I think we all look upon an Imperial Zollverein as a goal which may be reached in time and that a commercial arrangement between the Mother Country and the Colonies would be a distinct step in that direction.

Of course our Colonies have to raise revenue. Our foreign imports in the Colonies are not very large, they only come to about thirty millions, and you see how difficult it would be to raise an adequate revenue largely upon the taxation of foreign imports.

The total imports in the country, foreign and British, amount to about 400,000,000, pounds; all we ask for is preference on about 145,000,000 pounds. Referring to his essay (the prize essay printed in the Statist May, 1896.) Mr. Colmer controverted the idea that the preferential case would tend to an increase in price in the home

market. I think therefore we may say that the figures relating to the imports into the Colonies show conclusively that there has been nothing in that system that has retarded the import of British products to the Colonies. A gentleman has said that Canada and other Colonies have pretty high duties and why did they not do something to lower their tariffs?

My answer is that we cannot do it; you have tied our hands. You have made treaties with Belgium and Germany, and those treaties bind us to give to Belgium and Germany any concession that may be given to the Mother Country. I do not think there is any difficulty in the way of securing their modification.

MR. EDGAR TRIPP (Trinidad Chamber of Commerce and Canadian representative in the Colony): With regard to retaliation from foreign countries, I thought that had been threshed out long ago. But there is one particular part which strikes me with regard to that, namely that Belgium and Germany, which only take from Great Britain 25 millions annually against exports to the Colonies and India of between 70 and 80 millions, should be able by those treaties to dominate the Empire.

We have had the President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce with a guileless innocence and confidence that as a rule we poor Colonists do not associate with the names of those shrewd Liverpool merchants assuring us that he still believes after all these 50 years of disappointment that the whole world is going to see the error of its fiscal way and that the continental Protectionist lambs are going to lie down with the British Free Trade lion and tell the dear old beast that his fad is right. (Cheers and laughter).

I could not help thinking, when visiting the docks, how many of those noble ships would never have been built, and how many of those would never have been freighted if it had not been for those sons of Great Britain who went abroad and established English trade in every part of the world.

I belong and I have therefore been more especially pleased to see the prominent position which has been taken by Canada in this movement. Canada occupies half of North America. Does it never occur to you that the other half of North America was lost through a fiscal mistake?

Canada and the Colonies have proved themselves your friends.

"Those friends you have, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to your soul with hooks of steel."

SIR G. WILLIAM DES VŒUX, while admiring the Imperial note which Mr Chamberlain struck, said that it seemed to him to indicate that a condition precedent was that the Colonies should refuse any longer to tax British products.

Now my knowledge of Australia and Canada shows us how utterly impossible that would be. It seems to me that not only would they lose the revenue they obtain now, but the object we have in view would be defeated to a large extent by the impoverishment of their exchequer.

MR. W. H. MITCHELL (Bradford): If I might venture to suggest to these gentlemen from the Colonies I would say: "If you want us to come to another view of these matters, do not try and argue in favor of Protection as against Free Trade, but touch a far stronger and far deeper chord which lies in the heart of every one of us, namely our desire for greater union among all parts of this great and wonderful Empire of ours."

F. ARNOLDI Q. C., Toronto. We come here asking no favours, we come here as constituent parts of this Empire, we come here as the great English people asking you to take care of your property (cheers.) It is not for us to come before you with a proposition, it is for you to calmly consider the situation and act yourselves. "How are we to maintain that great heritage of British North America?" It has received no assistance from Great Britain for the great public works throughout that land of Imperial importance. It has in the matter of the Pacific Railway expended \$100,000,000, and this is now available for Imperial objects and transport across the continent to complete the communication of the British Empire around the world. We come to you and ask you to join with us in devising a scheme by which we will not only with our hands but with our swords retain that heritage.

If Canada by herself has accumulated the population of 5,000,000 and established these public works without assistance, she asks that she be assisted to fill up that country; she asks that you, the representatives of the British Empire, should put her in a position to make homes for the millions for which there is room.

I ask this Conference, in considering this question, to direct their attention to the one question: How are these closer relations to be brought about? Not to consider whether there is to be Free Trade or Protection. We cannot have absolute Free Trade, we all concur in that. What we are asking is not that you should adopt a protective policy, but that if it is proper to put the "argumentum ad hominem," if it is proper for you to put a duty on tea and coffee, we ask you, if the exigences of the question call for an extension of



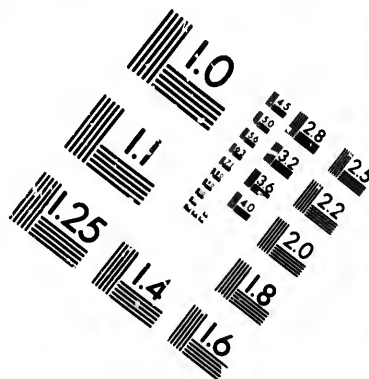
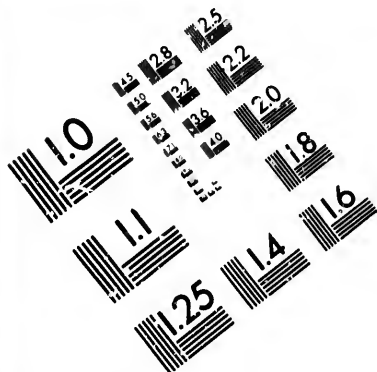
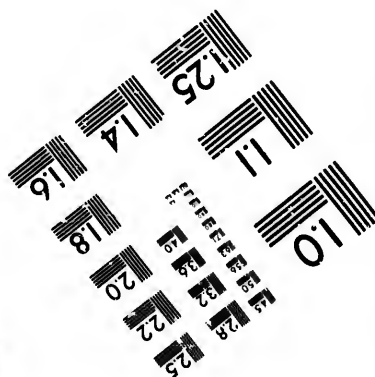
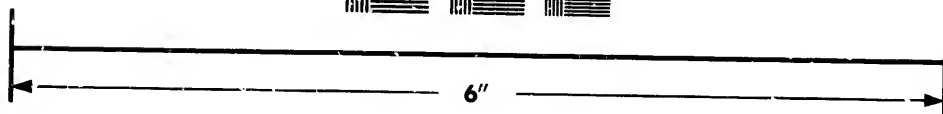
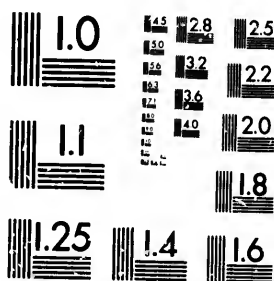


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that principle that you extend it. I do object to the terms upon which some of the speakers have alluded to the thin end of the wedge. You have introduced it yourselves, in fact you have never rid yourselves of it; all we want is for you to put it in a little deeper. But at any rate, gentlemen, effectuate and implement the terms of the resolution in any way which may meet the wishes of all.

MR. R. A. LOCKHART (Edinburgh) proposed to move as a further amendment, when the one before the meeting was disposed of, a motion looking towards political as well as commercial union. The resolution being as follows :

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, it is the duty of the Government to take immediate steps for the attainment of a closer political and commercial union between the Mother Country and the Colonies; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

MR. JOHN W. WILLIAMS, J. P. (Leeds): I have always understood that it is well to distinguish between patriotism and the practical work of Commerce. So I think we had better begin by clearing our minds of this confusion between what is patriotism and what is commerce. By all means let us do all we can to unite ourselves as one Empire—a grand Imperial Federation—but do not let us confuse the practical work of commerce with the ideal work of an Imperial Federation.

I so identify the Colonists with ourselves that I find it difficult to separate them from ourselves in such a matter of discussion as this. All those proposals of preferential duties are but different degrees of the system of protection, all shades of it, whether preferential or differential duties, I distrust. It is injurious to those who adopt it and one of the most fruitful sources of international jealousies and hatred.

HON. W. P. REEVES (Agent General for New Zealand): I rise to call the attention of the Congress to the great value of the speech made by a delegate representing Leeds, not because I agree with it, for I disagree with almost every word the speaker uttered, but it brings us face to face with the real issue. The question now before us is whether we are prepared to consider the taking of any such step at all, or whether we think the whole proposal a mistake, and one that ought to be opposed.

As to the question, "Why mix up Imperial Federation with commerce?" If this great question is to be faced at all it can only be approached by some great step, as has been hinted at to-day. I do not believe the Colonies of Australia as a whole are prepared to

go any further than at present, but I do believe that if the case were fairly put to the masses of the people they would say, "This is a question for our most earnest and careful consideration."

If there is one thing that the self-governing Colonies would be reluctant to do, it would be to commit themselves to heavy burdens now undetermined for Imperial defence without some kind of quid pro quo.

MR. JONATHAN PEATE (Leeds): Considering certain references made to Leeds, I must say, in dealing and considering the Toronto Resolution, the Leeds Chamber came to a practically unanimous decision in its favor.

The discussion was taken part in by Mr. S. T. Mander, Wolverhampton; Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P.; Mr. Thomas, Morgan, Southampton; Hon. R. Reed, Victoria; Mr. James Huddart, Melbourne; Mr. R. D. Burnie, Swansea; Col. Howard Vincent, M.P.; Mr. Thos. H. Haynes, London; Mr. A. M. Mond, Northwick; Mr. C. J. Dunn, Cork; Mr. G. P. Brown, Plymouth; Col. Robson, Sunderland; Mr. H. T. Hibbert, Blackburn; Mr. B. F. Stibel, Nottingham; Mr. E. Helm, Manchester; Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., South Africa; Hon. John Henry, Hobart; Mr. R. L. Patterson, Belfast; Sir G. W. De Voex, Sir C. F. Blaine, Mr. W. H. Mitchell, Bedford; Mr. W. T. Appleton, W. Firth, London; Mr. John Ross, Dunedin; Mr. John W. Williams, Leeds; Mr. W. Field, M.P., Mr. R. A. Lockhart, Edinburgh; Mr. Frederick Ellis, Danesbury; W. R. Grigg, Middlesbrough; W. E. Rider Cook, West Ham.

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—Before I put the resolution I may be allowed one or two remarks with a view of attaining what has been desired by so many members of the Congress, viz., the means of some general agreement.

We have had a long and able and exhaustive debate. The sympathy and regard of the English members of the Congress to our Colonial friends is of the very deepest and if they may be unable to completely agree with them, it will be from no want of desire on our part, but because of the regard and respect which we are bound to pay to the truth and sincerity of our connections. (Cheers.)

As the result of the interchange of friendly though firm opinions, I may be able to suggest some resolutions which will carry the respect of the Congress generally. The result is one of enormous consequence for what you determine should be the basis of action of those who should be in even more responsible positions. What do we find especially distinctive of this Congress? We find a sentiment which excites the deepest enthusiasm on the part of all British people. Commercial union is a splendid ideal if, practicable. We

have heard it spoken of as a dream. I would rather say that the time has come when you have the realization of that splendid poetic dream of Milton when he said of his country :

“ She stands with all her daughter lands about her,
Mistress of the Seas and heiress of the lands beyond the seas.”

Let me remind you that the unity of which we are speaking has a political aspect in the widest and last sense of the word “ politics,” I mean in its ancient connection, “ the welfare of the State.” The very basis of our Commerce is the exchange of our manufactures and food, and our people under all circumstances of peace and war should be assured of the food and raw material on which they rely.

I believe that end would be greatly conduced to by such means as commercial union and by united Colonial and Imperial Defence. There is one thing on which we are all agreed, and that is that this matter shall be considered and the statesman who has charge of the Colonial interests has come among us and invited us to help him and his colleagues in the ministry in the solution of this important question.

It is with this object that, in concert with many who have taken different views, I have endeavoured to frame a resolution expressive of your points of agreement and indicative of the course that you think would be most likely to lead to their fulfilment. The resolution is this :

“ That this Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire is of the opinion that the establishment of closer commercial relations between the United Kingdom and the Colonies and Dependencies is an object which deserves and demands prompt and careful consideration. The Congress therefore respectfully represents to Her Majesty's Government that if the suggestion should be made on behalf of the Colonies or some of them, it would be right and expedient to promote such consideration and the formation of some practical plan by summoning an Imperial Conference fully representative of the interests involved or by such other means as Her Majesty may be advised to adopt. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President, to the Prime Minister, the First Lord of the Treasury, The Secretary of State for the Colonies, the leaders of the opposition in both Houses, the High Commissioner for Canada, and the Agents General for the other Colonies.”

The Montreal amendment was then withdrawn.

The Toronto Board also withdrew their motion.

The Fort Qu'Appelle and Montreal Chambers of Commerce accepted the resolution and the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce withdrew their amendment, reserving the right to again bring it forward.

The President then moved the resolution from the chair and Mr. E. B. Osler seconded the motion.

After Mr. W. H. Williams, Chairman of the Council of the London Chambers, had spoken (at the request of the President) and who had been instrumental in getting the resolution into the form in which it could be agreed to unanimously, the leave of the Congress was given for the withdrawal of the original motion and amendments and the resolution, as proposed, was carried unanimously amid loud cheers.

The following subjects and matter for consideration was brought before this Congress :

By MR. W. J. TONKS and MR. T. J. WALSH, of Birmingham :

" That, as a first step towards Imperial Federation, it is desirable that a consultative Imperial Council should be formed and that this Council should consist of members elected by every self-governing Colony.

—:0:—

THIRD DAY.

Thursday, June 11th.

—

PROFESSOR DAVE WILSON, of Aberdeen, and MR. JOHN MACDONALD, LL.D., London :

" That it is highly expedient that the commercial law of the whole British Empire should now be embodied in a code and for the appointment of an Inter-Imperial Commissioner summarising the contents of this code, the chapters would fall into the following groups :

- (a) Partnerships.
- (b) Companies.
- (c) Agency.
- (d) Sale.
- (e) Lien.
- (f) Contract of Guarantee.
- (g) Insurance.
- (h) Merchant Shipping
- (i) Carriers by Land.
- (j) Shipping.
- (k) Bills of Exchange.
- (l) Bankruptcy

By MR. R. F. DALY, London, and MR. JAMES ANDERSON, Edinburgh :

" That the Law of Copyright should be uniform throughout the Empire."

By J. X. PERRAULT, Montreal, and the Hon. ROBT. REID, Victoria :

"For an alternate and direct line of communication between Australia and Canada without further delay, and for Imperial and Colonial Government aid."

And a further motion subsequently moved by MR. PERRAULT, and MR. K. N. McFEE, Montreal :

"For a reduction in the rates of postage."

By RT. HON. SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M. P, and MR. W. GARLAND SOPER, Capetown :

"In favor of universal arbitration."

By MR. S. P. BOULTON, Chairman of the London Labour Conciliation and Arbitration Board, and MR. B. F. STIEBEL, Nottingham :

In satisfaction of the principle of arbitration in Labour Disputes and in favour of the extension of the movement.

—:O:—

FOURTH DAY.

Friday, June 12th.

—

Motions made by MR. E. T. DOXAT, Sydney, and MR. JOHN COOKE, Melbourne :

"In disapproval of the method adopted in Bills of Lading of inserting clauses contracting ship-owners practically out of all liability."

By MR. Charles McARTHUR, Liverpool, and MR. A. SCHOFIELD, Newcastle :

"Against proposed new sound signals at sea."

By MR. B. PLUMMER, Newcastle, and SIR DONALD SMITH :

"Against the levying of Light dues of shipping and charging the maintenance of Lighthouses, Buoys etc., to the consolidated fund."

By MR. J. CARLICK, Capetown, and MR. W. GARLAND SOPER :

"In respect to obtaining lower freights to South Africa and enable shippers to compete against German subsidies."

By MR. JOHN W. WILLANS, Leeds, and MR. H. F. HIBBERT, Blackburn :

"For railroad connections in Burmah and China."

By HON. T. M. DALY, Winnipeg, and W. STEPHEN NAIRN, Winnipeg :

"For the encouragement of emigration to the Colonies."

By MR. FRANCIS HART, Perth, Western Australia, and MR. JAS. HUDDART, Melbourne :

"In favor of emigration to Western Australia."

By MR. J. X. PERRAULT, and MR. H. HARRISON, Handsworth :

"In favor of the decimal system for weights, measures and currency."

A valuable resolution was handed in too late for consideration by the Halifax Board of Trade through Mr. Millar, which the President read.

The resolution was to further the appointment of a Committee to prepare a scheme according to the suggestions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and as much as possible in accordance with the resolution of the Toronto Board of Trade.

After the usual resolution of thanks to the President and Chairman the third Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire came to a close with the singing of the National Anthem.



BANQUET

AT THE NATIONAL CLUB, TORONTO.

The appreciation with which Toronto viewed the part taken by the delegates from their city was shown by a complimentary banquet tendered the delegates at The National Club.

A large number of representative men gathered in the rooms of the Club.

The delegates, who were the guests of the Club, were Mr. E. B. Osler, M. P., President of the Toronto Board of Trade; Mr. Frank Arnoldi, Q. C., Mr. William Christie, Mr. J. Kerr Osborne, Mr. Frederick Wyld, Mr. W. F. Cockshutt, of the Board of Trade, Mr. Edgar A. Wills, Secretary of the Board of Trade, and Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, who represented the Canadian Manufacturer's Association at the Conference.

Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison, President of the British Empire League in Canada, presided. To his right sat Mr. E. B. Osler, M. P. for West Toronto, Mr. Frank Arnoldi, Q. C., President of the Club, Mr. W. F. Cockshutt, (Brantford), Mr. J. Kerr Osborne, Mr. Edgar A. Wills and Mr. J. S. Willison, Editor of the Globe, whilst to the left of the Chairman were Mr. Faithful Begg, M. P., Glasgow; Mr. W. Christie, Mr. D. R. Wilkie, Mr. F. Wyld and Dr. Parkin; and Mr. Hugh Blain, Mr. O. A. Howland, M. P. P., and Mr. W. K. McNaught occupied the vice chairs.

COLONEL DENISON'S SPEECH.

In proposing the toast of "Our Guests" Lieut.-Col. Denison said that the occasion which had caused the gathering, namely, the Conference of the Chamber of Commerce, was one of the most important events in the history of the Colonies and the Empire. The meeting in London was specially interesting because it was opened by the most prominent statesman who had ever held the Colonial Department in the British Government. The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain was a man of the greatest administrative ability, and one who was in the foremost rank of the statesmen of the Empire.

Canada, the fifth maritime country in the world, did not pay a cent for her naval defence. It was necessary to make arrangements for the consolidation of the Empire, we should move from one step to another, and the first and most important point was a scheme for a commercial Zollverein which would unite the Empire by the bonds of trade. This was the principal question which the delegates had to bring before the Conference in London. There was no need to say a word in favour of preferential trade. The advantage to be obtained by such a system would turn the whole tide of British emigration and wealth into the Colonies instead of having these forces used to build up foreign countries. England consumed 29,000,000 quarters of wheat, of which 4,000,000 were grown in the country and 8,000,000 imported from the Colonies. If, for instance, there was war with Russia, the latter country would place an embargo upon grain, and England's magnificent army and navy would be of no avail if the food supply was cut off. Therefore, it was for the advantage of both England and Canada to have preferential trade, because the Colonies would then be filled with British settlers, who on British soil would grow food to feed British people. (Cheers.) At the Conference Mr. Chamberlain threw out a suggestion that England would meet the Colonies in a friendly spirit in regard to any proposition seeking this end, and the idea was endorsed by the Conference. Therefore it only remained for the Colonies to act.

Mr. E. B. OSLER, M. P., thanked his friends for the magnificent reception given to him and to the other representatives of Canada at the Congress.

At the opening of the Congress two or three delegates expressed themselves strongly on one side or another; but before the end of the Congress arrived almost every man felt that a scheme could be devised for preferential trade in England without interfering with the shibboleth of free trade.

We in Canada have in our hands the power to set the ball of preferential trade rolling. It did not enter his mind that there was a possibility of Canada ever becoming a part of the nation to the south. (Applause.) He had every desire to see the continued existence of the closest possible friendship between the two countries. ("That's right," and "hear hear.")

But he would not like to see them add their little—or their much—to the problems of their friends to the south. Those problems were connected more with the conditions arising from vastness, and greatness of population, than with anything else.

Canada had to work out her own destiny. He believed it was in her interest to work it out on the broad principle of being an import-

ant member of a great empire, the empire that, if the dream of the Imperial Federationists takes place, has only begun her march to greatness. (Applause.)

Since confederation they had completed the consolidation of Provinces that reach from sea to sea. They had completed the greatest railway commercial undertaking of the continent. Despite the doubts and forebodings of a large portion of their own people, they had carried out successfully one of the greatest commercial and financial undertakings of the world.

PROGRESS OF THE NORTHWEST.

It has over and over been said that there has not been the progress made in filling up the Northwest which had been expected. There had not been the progress. That, however, was due to other causes, causes not under their control. Yet, in spite of all, he asserted that no more prosperous body of people existed on the earth than the farmers who went to Manitoba at the first. Despite a hard struggle, he thought them the best-off farmers on the continent. He knew of instances where from the crop of this year farmers had paid the entire price of their land.

He believed that we were now beginning a period of prosperity, such as no part of this continent has ever seen. (Hear, hear.) They had opened up the mountains of British Columbia, which at one time were such a bugaboo, and from one end of that country to another, two thousand miles, they found everywhere enormous mineral wealth. The hills were filled with mineral wealth, the valleys were filled with fertile soil, on the mountain sides were stores of wood and water; there was going to be the greatest development in British Columbia. The result of mining was to benefit agriculture, and the development of the mineral resources of the country would assist the Manitoba producers, and would cause the prairies to rapidly fill with settlers. He would say in conclusion that they had in England the sympathy of all the leading minds there. If their Government quietly took hold of it, and gave here and there a little preferential trade to England and the Colonies against those discriminating against them, it would very soon set the ball rolling.

Mr. FAITHFUL BEGG, M. P., member of the British House of Commons for one of the divisions of the City of Glasgow, said he was here somewhat under compulsion, as he was near the completion of a long journey, and had only been prevailed upon to remain in order to be present at this affair. He felt rewarded for having remained by the unanimity of opinion here expressed. Opinion

on this subject in the United Kingdom is rapidly ripening, and the Cobden Club, notwithstanding the condition of the United Empire propaganda, is improving. Lately many men of prominence have come out into the open, and perhaps nothing has so consolidated public opinion on the matter as the recent Conference of the Chambers of Commerce, which proved that there is a definite policy of trade between the Kingdom and the Provinces. This is something larger than a Canadian question. Up to now we have had a gigantic Empire, but the parts have not been welded together. Now we are finding more and more every day that the resources of this Empire are practically limitless. There are enormous coal fields in all parts of British territory, and the traditions dependent upon those mighty deposits are part of the marvellous history of Great Britain. Now we have gold prospects which constitute an almost new resource. In West Australia, in New Zealand, in South Africa, in British Columbia, in Ontario, immense developement is going forward. Coal supply means the command of the sea; gold supply means command of the sinews of war, because it is the one metal which must always be the only measure of value.

Now, it should not be forgotten that there is a double point of view on this question. We have to look not only to the Zollverein, but to the Kriegverein, for so soon as trade relations are satisfactorily arranged we shall have to arrange the military part. The Duke of Devonshire is the titular head of the Unionist party, and it contains many of the brightest minds of public men in the Empire, men who represent influence impossible to estimate without intimate knowledge of the home politics. I would very strongly advise that great attention be given to the words of the Duke of Devonshire. It is a happiness to know that the British Empire League is the body responsible for this statement of the Duke of Devonshire. I should like to refer to a recent statement of the Lord Mayor of London, that no more fitting tribute could be offered her Majesty than such a scheme of British unity as this.

DR. PARKIN'S opening words described the subject as one of the greatest and grandest which had ever occurred to the human mind. Dr Parkin made a rapid survey of the field of Imperial federalism, remarking that the innumerable meetings all over the Empire on the subject were a sign of life and movement. This awakening, he said, was the result of the earnest labors of a band of men, who, as the editor of the London Times had remarked to him just before he came out to Canada, "had shifted England."

Another sign of the amazing progress was the men who in Britain were turning to this policy. Lord Rosebery had taken a journey around the world and come back with enthusiasm on the

subject. Mr. Chamberlain, a man of keen, incisive mind, had seen that the main current was setting in that direction and had thrown himself into it.

Day by day and hour by hour the Empire was becoming more in a position to maintain and to feed itself. Whilst we wanted to throw ourselves open to the whole world, we did not want to be dependent upon the whole world.

In the past we had been a poor people, and as such we had developed a steadfastness of purpose which would make us one of the strong northern nations of the world. A Conference was sitting in London discussing the question of laying a cable across the Pacific, the country was to have a system of cold storage, whilst in the west enormous mineral deposits had been discovered which were going to strike the imagination of the whole world, and which would bring an immense population to British Columbia. This large population would have to be fed, the crops of the prairies would thus be turned westward instead of eastward. When Canada looked at the Empire, and its constitution, and compared this with the reeling chariot of State in the great republic to the south, it must think that there was some difference in the constitution which wrought this great distinction. There was not a single man who did not believe it would be great danger for this country to be closely connected with that republic.

Canada should look to the British idea of national honor, and should consolidate with the Empire, by doing which it would carve out for itself a greater sphere and ensure itself a nobler destiny than by any other means.



PART VII.

— 30: —

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS.

COMMERCIAL No. 17, (1893.)

... Return of ...

Most Favored Nation Clause

In existing Treaties of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Foreign Powers. Stating the Period when terminable, and showing whether they apply to the British Colonies. In Force on the 1st August, 1893. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, December, 1893.

The object of these Treaties known under the designation of Foreign Treaties of Commerce and Navigation, is to afford equal rights to the countries and colonies of each of the contracting parties.

There are two special Treaties regulating such reciprocal treatment, namely, Treaty with Belgium, 23 July, 1862, and Treaty with the Zollverein, 30th May, 1865.

Article XV. of the Treaty with Belgium is as follows :

“ Articles, the produce of manufacturers of Belgium, shall not be subject in the British Colonies to other or higher duties than those which are imposed upon similar articles of British origin.”

This Treaty is terminable in 12 month's notice.

Article VII. in the Treaty with the Zollverein is : The stipulations of the preceding articles therein to VI. shall also be applied to the Colonies and foreign possessions of Her Britannic Majesty. In those Colonies and possessions the produce of the States of the Zollverein shall not be subject to any higher or other import duties than the produce of the United Kingdom or any other country of the like kind nor shall the exportations from these Colonies or possessions to the Zollverein be subject to any higher or other duties than the exportation from the United Kingdom.

This treaty is terminable on 12 month's notice.

While these two Treaties remain in force the express stipulations above quoted are extended to all countries whose commercial treaties with Great Britain contain a "most-favored-nation clause and they apply to the British Colonies."

It has been decided by the authorities in England that there is nothing in the above Treaties that precludes the United Kingdom from making any preferential arrangements with the Colonies.

The report of the Earl of Jersey on the Ottawa Conference states, under the authority of the legal advisers to the Crown, that these Treaties do not preclude the Colonial Governments from making preferential arrangements among themselves, but the United Kingdom is precluded from receiving better terms in the Colonies than other countries who could claim the same rights under the most favoured-nation clause in their Treaty with Great Britain. The Colonies can give each other any preference they wish.

For some years the practice has been to insert a clause in the Treaties that they shall not bind the Colonies unless their assent is given to them within a certain time.

The following table shows in which of the Treaties the Colonies are included and specifies whether Great Britain included them in the Treaty, or if liberty was given them to assent or decline, which course they adopted. The Treaties affect 752,000,000, providing for reciprocity of trade on the most advantageous terms offered by any one nation to any other. The Treaties with Germany and Belgium on which the others mainly depend for the most favoured treatment of their goods now terminate pursuant to 12 month's notice given by Great Britain on the 1st, July 1898.

TABLE OF TREATIES WITH GREAT BRITAIN CONTAINING THE "MOST-FAVORED-NATION"
 CLAUSE.—Continued.

	Serbia. Population 1,910,000.	Rumania. Population 1,000,000	Russia. Population 95,000,000.	Salvador. Population 700,000.	Sandwich Islands. Population 65,000.	Siam. Population 5,750,000	South American Republic. Population 900,000	Spain. ^b Population 17,000,000.	Sweden and Norway. Population 6,700,000.	Tunis. ^a Population 1,500,000.	Turkey. ^d Population 20,800,000	United States. ^e Population 60,000,000	Uruguay. Population 600,000.	Venezuela. Population 2,800,000.	Number of Treaties included in	Number of Treaties as- signed to.	Total.	No. of Treaties dissented to or not included in.
India.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	27	27	27	10
Canada.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	22	22	22	13
Cape of Good Hope.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	23	23	13
Natal.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	23	23	6
Newfoundland.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	23	23	6
New South Wales.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24	24	24	17
New Zealand.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	23	23	11
Queensland.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24	24	24	10
South Australia.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24	24	24	7
Tasmania.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	23	23	11
West Australia.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	23	23	5
Victoria.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	23	23	8

^a Applicable to "British Dominions."

^b Treaty applicable to Colonies, but Colonies to make special arrangements.

^c Treaty expired, but effect on "British Trade" continued by Royal Order.

^d Most-favored-nation clause granted to the "English," 1869.

^e Treaties with the United States from 1815 to 1827.

S. R.—Special rights.

PART VIII.

—:O:—

COLONIAL TARIFFS.

	Canada	Cape Colony	Great Britain	India	Natal	Newfoundland	New South Wales	New Zealand	Queensland	South Australia	Tasmania	Victoria†	West Australia	
a - per cent.														
b - lb.														
c - 100 lbs.														
d - bu														
e - barl.														
f - free														
g - gal.														
h - ton														
Agricultural Implements	20 to 35 a	F to 10a	F	5 a	F	F to 30 a	F	F to 15a	15 a	15 to 25 a	5 a	20 a	5 a	Notes.
Beef	1½ b	2 b	F	5 a	5 a	4/c	F	1 a b	d 1 b	10 a	d 1 b	s 7 c	d 1½ b	
Boots & Shoes	25 a	12a	F	5 a		25 a	F	20a	* s s 8 to 22	* 1½ to 33	20a	s s 30 to 60	s s 10 to 15 a	* per a dozen pair.
Books	7½ b & 20 a	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	35 a	F to 15 a	
Cambries	25 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F	10a	5 a	15 a	20a	F	10 a	
Carpets	25 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F	15a	15 a	15 a	20a	20 a	10 a	
Cheese	1½ b	12a	F	5 a	d 2 b	s 3/c	F	15a	d 4 b	15 a	d 2 b	d 2 b	d 3 b	
China	30 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	s 3/c	P	20a	25 a	15 a	12½ a	15 a	15 a	
Clothing	15 a & d 2½ b	12a	F	5 a	15a	30 a	F	25a	25 a	25 a	20 a	15 to 50 a	10 a	
Cloth	30 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	30 a	F	20a	15 a	F	20 a	35 a	15 a	
Coal Oil kerosene)	g 2½	s 1/g	F	* 1g	d 6 g	d 6 g	F d g	d 6 g	d 6 g	F	d 6 g	d 7	d 4½ g	† 1 anna
Coffee (raw)	10 a	s 12 1/6 c	s 14 /c	5 a	d ½ b	d 2½ b	F	d 3 b	d 4 b	10 a	d 3 b	F	d 1 b	
Cotton Goods	20 a to 30 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F	10a	15 a	F	20 a	F	10 a	
Earthenware	30 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F, a	20a to 25 a	20 a	15 a	12½ a	d 8 *	15 a	* per cubic ft
Electroplate	30 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F	20a	25 a	25 a	20 a	20 a	15 a	
Fish (dried or in barrels)	d ½ b to 1 b	F	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	d 10 b	s 2/-	* 1 b	d 1 b	d 1 b	d 2 b	d 1 b	† per doz lbs.
Flour	20 a	s 5/c	F	5 a	5 a	s ½ c	s/c	F s 1/c	s 20 a	10 a	2 c	d 2 b	10 h	
Furniture	30 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F, a	25a	25 a	25 a	12½ a	40 a	20 a	
Hardware	30 a	12a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F	20a	15 a	10 a	10 a	F	15 a	

† Plus 1 per cent. primeage.

	a - per cent.	b - lb.	c - 100 lbs.	d - bu.	e - bart.	f - free	g - gal.	h - ton												
	Canada	Cape Colony	Gt. Britain	India	Natal	Newfoundland	N. S. Wales	New Zealand	Queensland	S. Australia	Tasmania	Victoria	W. Australia.							
Horses	20 a	12 a	F	5 a	F	s25*	F		F	s5*	s21	s2*	s1*							* each
Iron	s10h	10 d	F	1 a	1 a	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F							
Iron Rails	30 a	F	F	1 a	1 a	F	F	10 a	F		10 a	F	F							
Nails	$\frac{1}{2}$ b	12 a	F	1 a	1 a	F	F	10 a	s2 c	s3 c	s26c	s7 6c	5 a							
	35 a																			
Lead	15 a	12 a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F	F	F	s26c	10 a	s2 6c	s26c							
	25 c																			
Leather	10 a	12 a	F	5 a	5 a	20 a	F	d $\frac{1}{2}$ b	d 4 b	15 a	10 a	d 6 b	5 a							
	23 d							to 6 b				to 15 a								
Lumber (rough)	F	2 a	F	5 a	5 a	s2 6 to 10	F a	s2 s1 6	F	10 a	F	5 a								
Machinery outfits	10 d to 30 d	F	F	5 a	F	10 a	F	20 a	F	to 25 a	5 a	35 a*								* many exceptions.
Oats	15 b	s2/c	F	5 a	5 a	d2 $\frac{1}{2}$ b	F	d9 c	d8 c	s2 c	s1 6c	s3 c	d4 b							
Paper	25 a	12 a	F	5 a	F	25 a	F	15 a	F to 5 a	F	5 a	F 10 s6 c	F to 5 a							
Paints	10 a to 25 a	12 a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F s c	s2 c to s4 c	s3 c	s4 c	d $\frac{1}{2}$ b	s40 h	10 a							
Pork	11 b	2 b	F	5 a	d2 b	d7 c	F d2	d2 b	d3 b	d4 b	d2 b	d2 b	d2 b							
Rice	$\frac{1}{2}$ b	s3/6c	F	5 a	s1 c	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ a	F s	s6 c	d1 b	s3 c	d1 b	s6 c	s2 c							
Salt	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ cts a	s5 b	F	x	5 a	d10 h	F s h	s10 h	F	5 25 h	s16c	s20 h								
Sugar (refined)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ b	s63c	F	5 a	d1 b	s14 c	F s c	d $\frac{1}{2}$ b	s6 8 c	s3 c	s6c	s3 c	s4 c							Sugar
Silk	30 a	12 a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F a	25 a	15 a	10 a	20 a	25 a								Silk
Tea	10 a	d8 b	d4 t	5 a	d6 b	d3 b	F	d6 b	d6 b	10 a	d3 b	d3 b	d4 b							
Tin	F	5 a	F	5 a	5 a	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	5 a							
Tinned meat	25 a	d2 b	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F	20 a	d4 b	10 a	10 a	d2 b	d34 b							
Vegetables (in tins)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ b	d2 b	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F d	20 a	s1 6	10 a	F	s6*	10 a							* per do pints
Wheat	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ c	s2 c	F	5 a	5 a	F	F d	d9 c	d4 c	F	s1 6c	s2 11 c	5 a							
Woodenware	35 a to 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ a	12 a	F	5 a	5 a	30 a	F	15 a	15 a	25 a	20 a	35 a	15 a							
Wool	d $\frac{1}{2}$ b	12 a	F	5 a	5 a	F	F	F	15 a	10 a	F		15 a							
Woolen goods	35 a	12 a	F	5 a	5 a	25 a	F	15 a	15 a	15 a	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ a	40 a	15 a							

† Free from British possession.

A lesson we can learn from the history of the tariffs is the extreme difficulty of stemming the natural tendency of a tariff to extend and become higher when once it is formed for the protection of traders more than for revenue.

GREAT BRITAIN, or the United Kingdom as it is usually referred to, is in a very different position from the remainder of the Empire, her trade largely consisting of receiving and again distributing; hence her disinclination to any policy liable to restrict this trade.

The imports are reckoned at £408,505,000. The Customs revenue for 1895 £20,010,000. The total Public Income being estimated at £94,175,000. Population 38,000,000.

THE CANADIAN TARIFF ACT of 1897 has four points of special note:

The first is the preferential rates on British goods.

The second is that fish direct from Newfoundland are free, in comparison with duties from 1 ct. per lb. to 25 p.c. from foreign countries.

The third.—Salt imported from the United Kingdom or any British possession is free in comparison with duties at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cts. per 100 lbs on foreign salt.

The fourth—Tea and green coffee imported direct from the country of production or purchased in bond in the U.K. is free, in comparison with a 10 p.c. duty on other importations.

Revenue \$37,809,000.

Imports \$93,000,000. Exports \$123,000,000.

Population 6,000,000.

THE NEW CANADIAN TARIFF OF 1897.

Extract from the Globe, Toronto, Canada.

The cardinal feature of the tariff is the 25 per cent. reduction on British goods and on those of other countries which open their markets to Canadian products.

Protection shall be removed from or lowered, by order in Council, upon industries in which there are trusts or combinations to increase prices.

Iron and steel duties are reduced by from \$1 to \$1 50 a ton and the bounty is increased by \$1 a ton.

All machinery exclusively used in mining enterprises is put on the free list.

Manufactures will be benefitted by cheaper iron and other raw materials.

The general effect is to remove specific and substitute ad valorem duties.

Classifications are very much reduced and simplified.

Duties on spirituous liquors are increased by fifteen cents per gallon.

Rice uncleaned, unhulled or paddy, is increased, while the cleaned is left as it was.

The wheat is reduced from fifteen cents to twelve cents a bushel, and the duty on wheat flour is reduced from 75 cents to 60 cents per barrel.

Coal oil is cut from six cents a gallon to five cents; fuel oil from three cents to 2 1-2 cents.

Duty on refined sugar is reduced equal to about 22 per cent. on the former protection.

The main body of the tariff as it affects foreign countries is not materially disturbed. In some cases the duties are actually increased as against foreign countries.

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE under Act 1 of 1889 levied a duty of 12 per cent. upon all unenumerated articles. The schedule of specific articles is small, but it contains nearly all the staple articles of food on which the duties are high as shown in the above table. The Customs duties form the larger portion of the Government revenue. The trade is chiefly with the U. K.

The Imports were £11,364,836. The duties received, £1,495,882. The population 1,526,739.

THE INDIAN TARIFF Act—No. 8 of 1894 presents us with Act for Revenue only. A glance at the table shows that a 5 per cent. ad valorem duty is levied on Imports. There are but a very few exceptions. Populations 290,000,000.

We would call special attention to this Act as forming a model that might well be adopted by other Governments, perhaps partially by the Empire for a Customs Union. The general rate imposed of 5 per cent. places trade on an equal footing, and gives no favoritism to special dealers. It is an Act easily understood, impossible to avoid, or one likely to lead to different treatment of the same goods under different names or ports, and it cannot be charged with exclusiveness. We believe it to be a correct principle for a fiscal policy carried into practice.

NATAL.—Customs Tariffs, 1886-9-90-92-93. The Tariff is for revenue only.

The value of imports by sea was £2,236,738. Its revenue for Customs, £195,888"0"7. Total revenue, £909,866. Population, 600,000.

A registration fee is charged of 2s per ton or 6d per package. Nearly all the exports and imports are with the United Kingdom.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Customs return for the year 1893 shows a high rate of duty. The Tariff Laws No. 2 of 1887, No. 1 of 1888, No. 2 of 1889 and No. 2 of 1890. The imports from the U. K. and the Colonies were £1,210,000 and from foreign countries £367,400. Dutiable articles to the value of £720,000 were imported, paying £338,045 duty.

In these Customs Acts there is again a special feature and one to bear in mind in connection with the present subject.

It is this clause :

The following additional duties shall be imposed on goods, etc., hereinafter mentioned imported from countries, the fishermen of which have the privilege of taking fish on all parts of the coast of

Newfoundland and its dependencies, and in which countries duties are or shall be imposed upon fish and the produce of the fisheries exported from the Colony and its dependencies to such countries :

Flour the brl.	£0.3.0	Hay the ton	£1.0.0
Pork "	0.3.0	Oats the bu.	0.0.5
Butter 100 lbs.	0.3.0	Potatoes "	0.1.0
Tobacco "	1.0.0	Cabbage per doz.	0.1.8
Kerosene per gal.	0.0.2/	Vegetables "	0.1.3
Cornmeal the brl.	0.0.3		

Here we have a selection of articles on which additional duties are imposed, and the "selection" discriminates against certain of the countries which Newfoundland considers do not reciprocate the advantages they enjoy in her territorial waters, but without naming them.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The Tariff Act of 1895 came into force 1st January, 1896, and abolished all import duties except on spirits, wine, beer and tobacco, which remained as before. Even before this time N. S. W. had admitted all articles similar to those of exportation duty free, and under this policy received large quantities of goods of use or export from neighbouring countries.

NEW ZEALAND presents a well drawn Schedule under the Customs and Excise Acts of 1888 and 1891. The duties are becoming protective.

The imports were valued at £6,943,056. The Customs receipts were £1,655,503, out of a total of £4,653,038. Population 744,528.

Two-thirds of the imports were from the U. K., the remaining trade being chiefly with Australia.

The custom form over one-third of the revenue, which fact would make the adoption of free trade within the Empire a matter of financial difficulty for this and some of the other Colonies.

QUEENSLAND, under Act No. 14, assented to Oct. 4, 1892, has a fairly long list of articles on which specific duties are charged, a second moderate one on exempted goods, chiefly materials suited for fabrication within the Colony. There are also a third and a fourth schedule of goods charged with ad valorem duties of 5% and 15%. Articles not mentioned in these four schedules are admitted at 25%.

Customs revenue £1,035,638. Total revenue £3,343,069. Population 346,874.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA Tariff Act 45 of 1887, gives us five schedules—Specific duties, 25% ad valorem, 20%, 15% and free.

Customs revenue £331,298. Total revenue £681,246. Population 65,064.

VICTORIA, as shown by the Tariff corrected to 1893, has a long list of specific duties. A good plan is adopted of numbering the definite articles and their equivalents. There are 301 articles items numbered, with duties ranging up to 40% ad valorem, for the purpose of protecting home manufacturers, who are said to employ about 40,000 men.

Customs revenue £1,716,788. Total revenue £6,719,623. Population 1,274,022.

TASMANIA. The Customs Duty Act for 1894 has a distinct policy of its own. Manufactured goods imported are taxed 20 per cent., on food products produced within the Colony, there is a protective duty, other food products, raw materials and manufactured goods not produced in the Colony are free.

The former Act of 1890 levied a 12½ per cent. duty, where the present Act levies 20.

Customs Revenue £285,456. Total Revenue £704,641. Population 154,664.

THE UNITED STATES RECIPROCITY CLAUSE.

In the United States the following clauses are what are so often heard of as "The Reciprocity Clauses." The Act is designated "An Act to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States."

Section 4. That whenever the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, with a view to secure reciprocal trade with foreign countries, shall, within the period of two years from and after the passage of this Act, enter into commercial treaty or treaties with any other country or countries concerning the admission into any such country or countries of the goods, wares, and merchandise of the United States and their use and disposition therein, deemed to be for the interests of the United States, and in such treaty or treaties, in consideration of the advantages accruing to the United States therefrom, shall provide for the reduction during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of the duties imposed by this Act, to the extent of not more than twenty per centum thereof, upon such goods, wares, or merchandise as may be designated therein of the country or countries with which such treaty or treaties shall be made as in this section provided for; or shall provide for the transfer during such period from the dutiable list of this Act to the free list thereof such goods, wares and merchantise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries

and not of the United States ; or shall provide for the retention upon the free list of this Act during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of such goods, wares and merchandise now included in said free list as may be designated therein ; and when any such treaty shall have been duly ratified by the Senate and approved by Congress, and public proclamation made accordingly, then and thereafter the duties which shall be collected by the United States upon any of the designated goods, wares and merchandise from the foreign country with which such treaty has been made shall, during the period provided for, be the duties specified and provided for in such treaty, and none other.

Section 5. That whenever any country, dependency or Colony shall pay or bestow, directly or indirectly, any bounty or grant upon the exportation of any article or merchandise from such country, dependency or Colony, and such article or merchandise is dutiable under the provisions of this Act, then upon the importation of any such article or merchandise into the United States, whether the same shall be imported directly from the country of production or otherwise, and whether such article or merchandise is imported in the same condition as when exported from the country of production or has been changed in condition by remanufacture or otherwise, there shall be levied and paid, in all such cases, in addition to the duties otherwise imposed by this Act, an additional duty equal to the net amount of such bounty or grant, however the same be paid or bestowed. The net amount of all such bounties or grants shall be from time to time ascertained, determined, and declared by the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall make all needful regulations for the identification of such articles and merchandise and for the assessment and collection of such additional duties.

The following statistics are necessary to form an estimate, and to measure the effect of a Customs Union on the Home and Colonial trade :

The total import trade of the United Kingdom was lately reckoned at somewhat over £400,000,000, of which £320,000,000 worth was received from foreign parts, and £80,000,000 worth from the Colonies. The proportion being 85 per cent. foreign and 15 per cent from Colonies.

The total trade between the U. K. and Australasia is given as follows :

Total trade to and from Australasia.....	£52,045,290
Percentage to trade of U. K. with other British possessions..	29.1
Percentage to trade with Foreign Countries..	7.3

Total trade of U. K. with Canada	£ 23,093,986
S. Africa	14,058,112
India	59,560,393
United States	149,560,393
France	66,856,480
Germany	55,368,552
Belgium	29,827,272
The Imports into Australia from other British Ports were last stated to be	28,568,710
And from Foreign Parts	6,004,151
The Imports into Canada from other British Ports And from Foreign Parts	9,038,000 15,125,000

The population of the Empire is reckoned as follows :

United Kingdom	38,000,000
India, Burmah, etc	290,000,000
Other Eastern Possessions	4,000,000
Australia	4,200,000
Canada	5,500,000
Other American Possessions	2,000,000
South African Possessions	4,000,000
Total	347,700,000

The population of the world is reckoned at 1,900,000,000.

Looking at the variations in the above tariffs we cannot but remember what a "casus belli" each one has been, how the Parliamentary conflicts of a Cobden and a Peel have been re-fought by a Macdonald in Canada and a Parkes in Australia. What we look for now is some common ground for agreement within the Empire and the contemplated Federation of the Australian Colonies is a great step in advance to that end. All Inter-Australian Colonial Tariffs are to end in two years, except that Western Australia is allowed five years.

Five-sixths of the imports into the Colonial Markets are from British sources and $\frac{1}{6}$ from foreign parts, with the exception of Canada, where they are about equally divided.

The large volume of foreign trade which Great Britain transacts with every portion of the globe, makes her interest of paramount importance, and leaves her with no commercial reason for placing any restriction on her trade with foreign nations, except in return for some advantage that will counterbalance in an equal degree any disadvantage, such, for instance, as some contribution to the Imperial Defence. Her desire has been for unrestricted trade, or general reciprocity with the 1,900,000,000 inhabitants of the world.

PART IX.

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Federation by Representation.

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“ In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.”— *Proverbs*.

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LORD ABERDEEN said, in the opening address at the Ottawa Conference, that the purpose of the Conference was “ for developing and increasing the trade within the Empire, and to consider the means which could be taken to carry out such an extension.”

These two propositions of ‘ what we have to do,’ and ‘ how we should do it’ are naturally always connected and yet exact very distinct consideration.

To determine on the means that should be taken, requires that the procedure to be adopted should be settled upon, and we constantly find expressed in the thoughts of one speaker and another that this coming plan, whatever it may be, should be of much more extended and continuing use than for the temporary purpose of effecting the commercial programme in hand. We often find running through what is being said this idea, namely, of ‘ the permanent unity,’ and of ‘ the maintenance of the Empire.” The wish is older than the tower of Babel, as old as the human mind itself, a desire for the permanency of the work that is to be accomplished. This thought of the future becomes the vital part of the structure around which is woven the varying expressions of many a public speaker on British Union.

It is on account of the desire among our leaders to be sure of their ground that causes deliberation, the desire to find that ‘ there is safety’ in the next step to be taken that makes men cautious while seeking for some permanent bond of cohesion and formulating a plan of united action for acting in common.

As to what it is that embodies within itself the genius of cohesion in our nation, which is separated by Local Government but

joined by constitutional rule, we can find many examples in the history of the Anglo Saxon race at the different periods of union in Great Britain; we can find it also in Germany, in Austria, in Switzerland and in the Netherlands, and in the extended union of the Hanseatic League, and the modern example of the United States. It is the union of the people by their representatives, it is the united exercise of our constitutional powers.

A union of representatives is the one recourse that has always been adopted in forming a closer union, and it is the course that has been tried, trusted and proved. There is no other lasting union known in the political world except the union of representatives. 'Popular representation' is an incantation to conjure with in politics.

The past history of England will bear an important part in guiding the future organization of the Empire. The same spirit that founded the Saxon Heptarchy, and the union of England and Scotland, and Great Britain and Ireland, is yet the ruling influence in our people at home and over the seas. It is hereditary in our race, a living factor now in this very commercial controversy.

At the time of the discussion in Australia on the separation of Victoria in 1845 as tending to begin the disintegration of the Empire, Lord Sherbrooke, then editing "The Atlas" newspaper in Sydney, elicited in a series of articles a policy for the permanent union of the Empire of which the foundation principles were :

1. Local self-government.
2. Representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament.

Sir F. Napier Broom, Governor of one of the West India Islands, in a letter to the *Times*, wrote, "If the mother country can offer the Colonies a place in parliament with its share of the executive power, that will be Imperial Federation and may attract them."

Abraham Lincoln recognized this political fact when he closed hostile feeling by issuing writs for the return of the members of the Southern States to Congress.

The loss of the British vote may be more of a factor than many might think to an intending emigrant, and our policy at the present time is to encourage emigration.

We certainly have history and authority in support of this proposition.

Lord Beaconsfield once remarked as one of the causes that would tend to and had caused separation, the want of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. It was a matter which, at some future time, he said, "would have to be rectified if the Empire was to keep together."

He also stated that the Colonial policy of Great Britain should be, "To develop and consolidate our Colonial Empire, that we should stimulate not only their interests but their sympathies, 'and that thus treated' they would prove a source of strength and splendor to the Empire."

The leaders in Nova Scotia at the time of Canadian Federation wished to have representation in the Imperial Parliament.

In South Africa the feeling is very strongly in favor of this, especially in Natal.

The Hon. Simon Fraser from Victoria said, after the Ottawa Conference, "that as for Imperial Federation they were ripe for it."

The Hon. A. J. Thynne of Queensland, at the Toronto Board of Trade banquet to the Ottawa delegates, is on record as saying that he was firmly convinced, "that the welfare of all colonists would be promoted by the establishment of a central parliament to which they could elect representatives."

New Zealand and Tasmania echoed the same thought through their representatives.

Sir Oliver Mowat, then Premier of Ontario, said, at that banquet, "All they have said I entirely agree with, and it has given Canadians great joy to hear the sentiments expressed by them."

On the same occasion the expression by Hon. W. Laurier that "he looked forward to the time when delegates from all the Colonies might assemble at London in a federated British Parliament" was received with marked approval.

It has been asked as Lord Melbourne would say "why not let this matter stand for the present?" but on looking back over this small volume the reader will find many matters of much moment that never materialized. The leading purposes of the Inter-Colonial Conferences have been fully accomplished, these were so well expressed by Mr. Chamberlain when he said, "insensibly the bonds between us are strengthening, your claims, your wishes, the resources of your separate countries are becoming as familiar to us as if we were all provinces in one great Kingdom." In regard, however, to the claims and wishes expressed by resolution at the Conferences, it would be

difficult to find one that has already been carried into effect. We are not yet enjoying the fruit of all the thought, time and expense of these consultations. The tree of knowledge nurtured by them is still in leaf and flower at the Colonial Office.

It is for the purpose of effectuating what is proposed, of instituting the necessary executive machinery that representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament is required, as it is there that we find the centre of Imperial action.

Take for instance the question of the trade within the Empire. A policy for a preferential trade was brought forward but not taken up at the Conference of 1887. In 1892 the resolution passed by the Congress of that year was to emphasize the danger of any departure from free trade and against an amendment for a preferential duty in favour of Colonial produce. At the Ottawa Conference the Colonies were divided 5 to 3 in favour of a Preferential Policy, while at the Congress of 1896 the Toronto resolution on the same lines and the amendments were withdrawn and a substituted motion passed for the future consideration of the question. What the voice of the Colonial electorate would be on this policy is still an open question. The other matters relating to Commerce, cables, and legislation on matters of common interest are in the same position. We however, in addition to those matters requiring adjustment, anticipate different times than these in the future, when it may be that the blasts of war will drive over the sea, or commercial stress break men's hopes. It is to avoid such times we are preparing, or if they come we shall require to be in a position for prompt action, and the united support of a nation.

It must be recognized that the Ministry in London is much more dependent in its action on the previously expressed will of the electorate than is a Colonial Ministry in introducing new measures. It would seem to be irreconcilable with any former precedent for the Colonial Office to take the initiative in submitting any such change in the fiscal policy to the House.

The constitutional course would be for the Colonial Office to be placed in a position to act, by the wish of any Colony being expressed through its own House of Parliament, after a majority of the constituencies had expressed themselves in favor of the policy proposed.

It is this that we should now seek to lead up to.

The present legislative practice is to consider questions of legislation by a committee, and extending this well recognized method on the same lines of action in continuity of the present

practice to meet an enlarged sphere of operations, we should have these Inter-Imperial questions submitted to an Inter-Parliamentary Committee.

This would be a constitutional movement in the direction we are trying to go. The various Parliaments would come in touch with one another through this joint Committee and by their united action they could construct a definite plan. Such a Committee could best evolve the policy approved by the Colonial Governments and the British Ministry could intimate how far they could meet their wishes in regard to Inter-Imperial trade and other matters that any of the Colonies might advocate.

The formation of such an Inter-Imperial committee either appointed or chosen by the various Parliaments and confirmed by a Royal Commission would meet the essential requirements of modern changes. It would be a safe step to take; it would be experimental; it would be non-committal, and a tentative move in the initial work and would at the same time be both preparing and proving the scheme for British union.

The request for such a joint Parliamentary committee and suggestions for the proposals to be considered by it, could form a portion of the work of any future Conference to be called as asked for by the Congress of 1896.

FRENCH COLONIAL REPRESENTATION.

The chief Colonies of France are represented at Paris, and this certainly seems to be a bond of strength in their Republic. French Colonial representatives are in all respects on an equal footing with their metropolitan confreres as regards election, eligibility to office and voting power on all questions relating to revenue, taxation and expenditure.

The French Colonies do not contribute to the cost of national defence. Cochin China is probably the only French Colony in a position to pay a subsidy to the Imperial Exchequer.

A French citizen residing in a French Colony is not only eligible for a commission in the National army, but is called upon to serve his country exactly as he would be if resident in France. He is also eligible to appointments in the civil service.

"L'Organisation des Colonies Francaises," by Edouard Petit (Berger, Levraut & Cie of Paris editors) gives full details on the above matters.

The following list shows 7 Senators and 16 Deputies in the French Parliament representing her Colonies :

Algeria	returns	3	Senators	and	6	Deputies
Martinique	"	1	"		2	"
Guadeloupe	"	1	"		2	"
Reunion	"	1	"		2	"
French India	"	1	"		1	"
Cochin China	"				1	"
French Guiana	"				1	"
Senagal	"				1	"

The French Colonies have a right to impose import duties subject to the approval of the "Conseil d'Etat."

The fact that Colonial representation is in effect in Paris should dispose of the plea in abeyance to this proposition sometimes put forward that Colonial representation is impracticable. As these members at the Palais Bourbon and the Luxembourg are on an equal footing with their confreres it makes it seem an unnecessary suggestion that M.P's. from the Colonies at Westminster should be under certain limitations.

It was after the union with Ireland that Pitt, Castlereagh and Wellesley became the young British lions that defended the shores of England from the power of Napoleon. The coming policy should be the settlement, "development and consolidation" of the large areas now acquired and surely ^{France} ~~we~~ are more fitted for carrying out an active Colonization policy than Colonial pioneers themselves, and the interests and sympathies of the British people will be best stimulated by taking a part in it all, and having a share, a promoter's share, in building up the "strength and splendour of the Empire."

The only alternative that has been proposed is a Colonial Council, but the suggestion seems inadmissible in many ways. There is no precedent in English history for such an irresponsible body, and it is difficult to believe that the British Parliament would ever organize an outside council of advice to itself or to the Crown. It would also look as if a Colonial Council was an unnecessary addition to the Privy Council and the two Houses of Parliament. It would be a council of uncertainty, and gratuitous and inopportune advice from any body without power to carry out its own opinions, or responsible for their result to the Crown or an electorate, would embarrass a government and must be a source of weakness and a council of confusion. We should certainly eliminate all foreseen possibility of internal dissension. Two such bodies for advice to the Crown as a parliament and a Colonial Council constitute such a

foreseen possibility (see pages 73, 77, 79 and 80.) The creation of a council in London with executive powers which was not elected by the people, and not subject to dismissal by the Crown would be an anomaly in Great Britain. We believe the construction of a council is a danger to be avoided, and in contrast we have presented as a preliminary and straightforward step for the consideration of members of Boards of Trade, The British Empire League and others interested in these matters, the very simple and constitutional proposal for the formation of the committee suggested on the previous page.

There is, as Lord Jersey has said at Ottawa, in regard to the question as a whole, "an impatience for action."

Progress has generally to be made in the line of least resistance, and the welcome given by the English people to the suggestion of the Canadian Premier at Liverpool in June, 1897, would seem to intimate the way and an open door whenever we knock.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER said, "A picture which has long been familiar wherever the English language is spoken, or wherever English literature is appreciated, is the one drawn of the traveller from New Zealand taking his seat upon a broken arch of London Bridge or in the ruins of St. Paul's. But so far as our experience is concerned those melancholy forebodings have not been realized. The traveller from New Zealand we have here to-day. He is here among us not to gaze upon a spectacle of desolation but to be a witness himself, in his own person, of the development of British power, and the time may come when a New Zealander may stand at the door of Westminster Palace asking for admission into that historic Hall. (Loud and continuous cheers.)



EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH

OF THE CANADIAN PREMIER,

The Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G. C. M. G.,

AT QUEBEC,

On his return from England, August, 1897, after the
Jubilee Celebration.

Sir Wilfrid said, "let me say something regarding the jubilee procession. Throughout it was a wonderful sight, and I think the most impressive portion of it was the service at St. Paul's. I think it was at once an index to the English character and a credit to the English nation that the consummating ceremony of that day should have been the public thanksgiving to Almighty God for the prosperity of the Empire. It was truly a great spectacle to see Queen Victoria, the dignitaries of State, the representatives of the army and navy and the great men of the nation all there under the canopy of heaven, in the face of that grand cathedral, offering their thanks to the Creator for His mercies. The naval review was a spectacle of an altogether different character, and yet it was also most impressive to see all the strength of the greatest navy in the world displayed, from the biggest man-of-war to the tiniest torpedo boat. It was a sight never to be forgotten, and made one feel that if there is any one thing more than another that exhibits the strength of the British Empire it is a marine display with all the sea forces exhibited in this manner.

"Canada is now beginning an entirely new career, not only in England but in Europe. The denunciation of the German and Belgian treaties at the request of Canada has created a profound impression all over Europe. Without exaggeration I can say that Canada is thus recognized as among the nations. The feeling in England is very friendly towards Canada, and if my anticipations are not deceived we shall see a great flow of capital and population to Canada in the next few years."

"I have every reason to believe that the Canadian Atlantic fast steamship service is absolutely assured, and that it will be in operation before two years from now.

"The French people have always been very friendly in their disposition toward Canadians, and they are now still more so ; but I am sorry to say that Canada is not as well known to Frenchmen as it ought to be, and perhaps I may cherish the hope that my visit to France may have dispelled a few of the false impressions which may have existed prior to that time."

"Every country has a history. We also have a history. The volume of our history is not as compact as theirs, but page for page it is as well filled, and, further, if these countries have a history, if they have the past, we have the future, and it is towards the future that my soul, that all my faculties, are directed, and it was always with my eyes fixed on the future, it was always with my eyes fixed on Canada, that each time that I opened my mouth in England or in France, I sought, I found my inspiration. I am not of those who believe that Providence united us here, men of every race, to continue the fights of our fathers ; I am one of those who believe it is necessary to be inspired by the past in order to find there the source of national unity. I have the pride of my origin, I have proclaimed it a hundred times ; I have the pride of my civic status as a British citizen, and particularly I have the pride of the aspirations which I entertain for the future of Canada, our common country. I have defended its cause as best I could. I have pleaded its cause with the Imperial authorities. I assuredly do not attribute to myself the victory, but I say that victory crowned our efforts. We did not have commercial liberty as complete as we ought to have it ; there were treaties which spoiled our efforts, treaties which prevented us from making the arrangements and treaties of commerce which we wished ; there was the treaty with Germany and the treaty with Belgium, the denunciation of which we asked for years and years. These treaties were useful to England, and England hesitated to denounce them, because in denouncing them, in doing away with them, England made a sacrifice of its commercial interests. Well, gentlemen, at our request, at our insistence, England consented to make that sacrifice. It gave up its own interests to preserve those of Canada. We must march onward, now that we have this complete commercial liberty. I come back here to my country with a programme that is not new, but a programme which I am bound to affirm once more. The only programme which we have now is to develop the prosperity of this country. Whatever may be the struggle, and whatever may be the ground on which politicians can make war upon the present Government, as for us, we have only one struggle to make, and we have only one ground on which to fight ; we want one thing and one thing only : that is to develop the resources of this country, to make its prosperity more complete than it is at present.

"There was, gentlemen, one question which agitated for a long time public opinion in this country. That was the question of the rapid line. You have heard it spoken of for a long time. Promises were not wanting, but nothing was done. Well, I believe that I can say, I believe that I can assure you, that at the present hour the rapid line is a certainty. I believe I can tell you that within two years there will come from England vessels of a speed equal to that of any other fleet whatever now on the ocean. I believe I can tell you that within two years we shall have here ships which in comfort and in beauty will be the equals, if not the superiors, of everything which floats to-day on any sea in the world. I have reason to believe that, though Mr. Petersen, with whom we contracted, met with considerable obstacles, yet at the present time the success of his enterprise is not the least in doubt. I have this certainty, and I give it, gentlemen, to the electors for what it is worth, and I believe that you will see that my words are not belied by facts. (Applause.) Gentlemen, that is not all; we have in the northwest, on the slopes of British Columbia, mining lands, considerable gold mines which will attract the emigration of the whole world. The eyes of Europe to-day are turned perhaps for the first time on Canada."



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