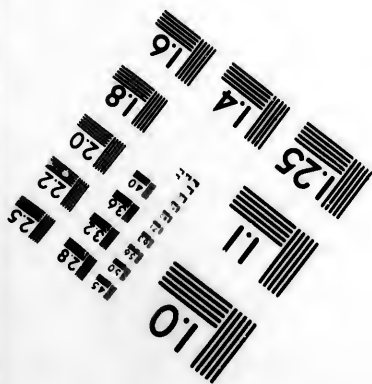
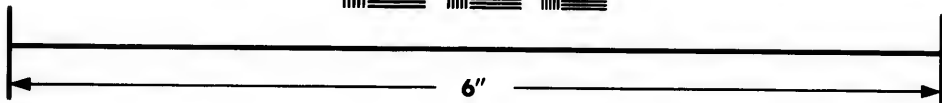
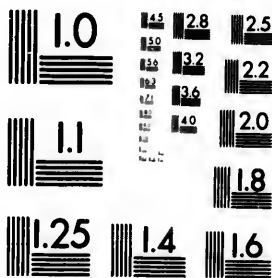


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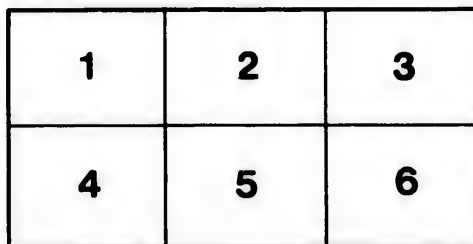
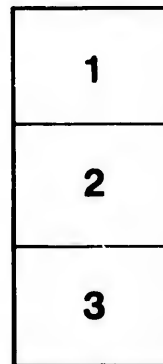
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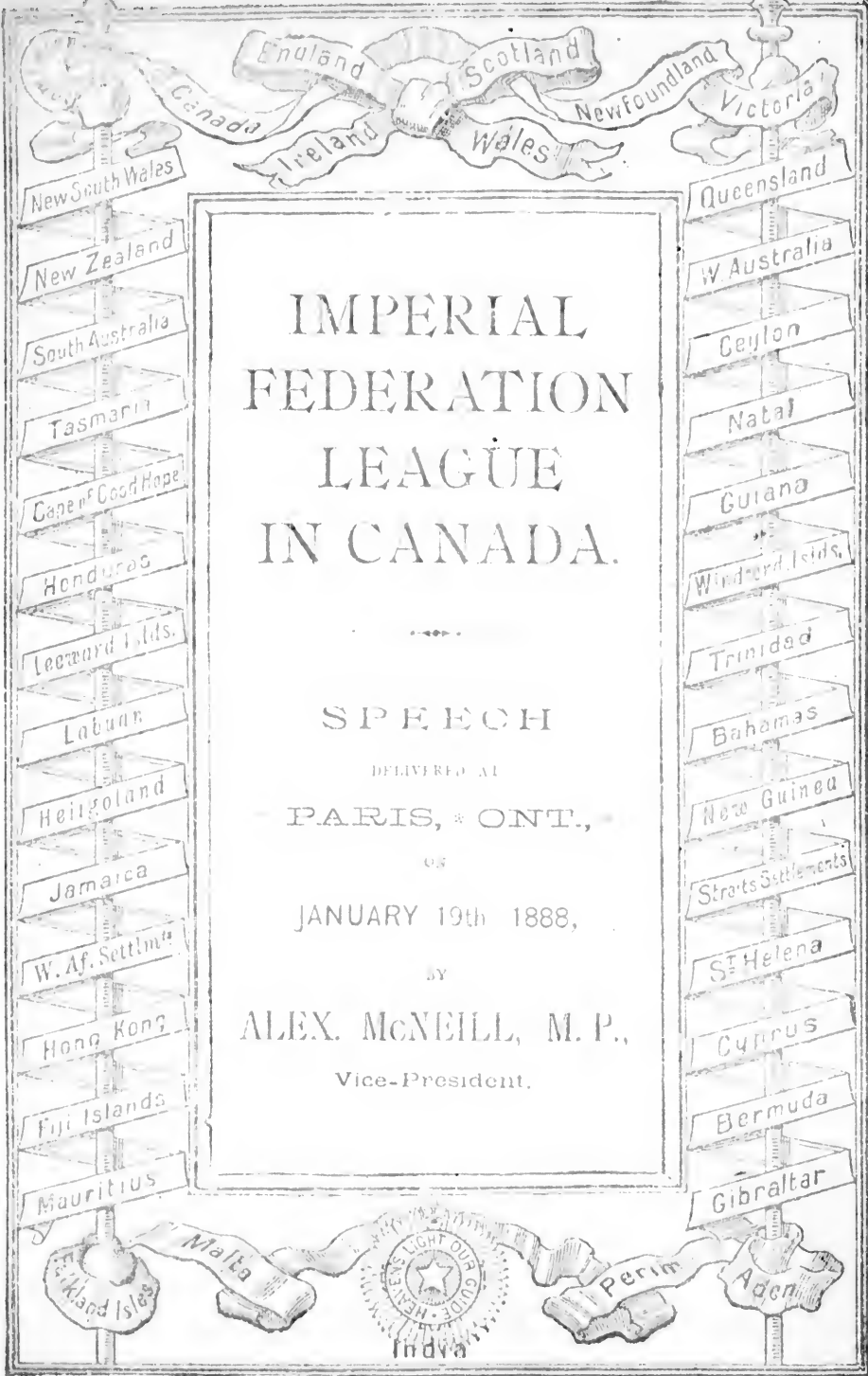
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IMPERIAL  
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SPEECH

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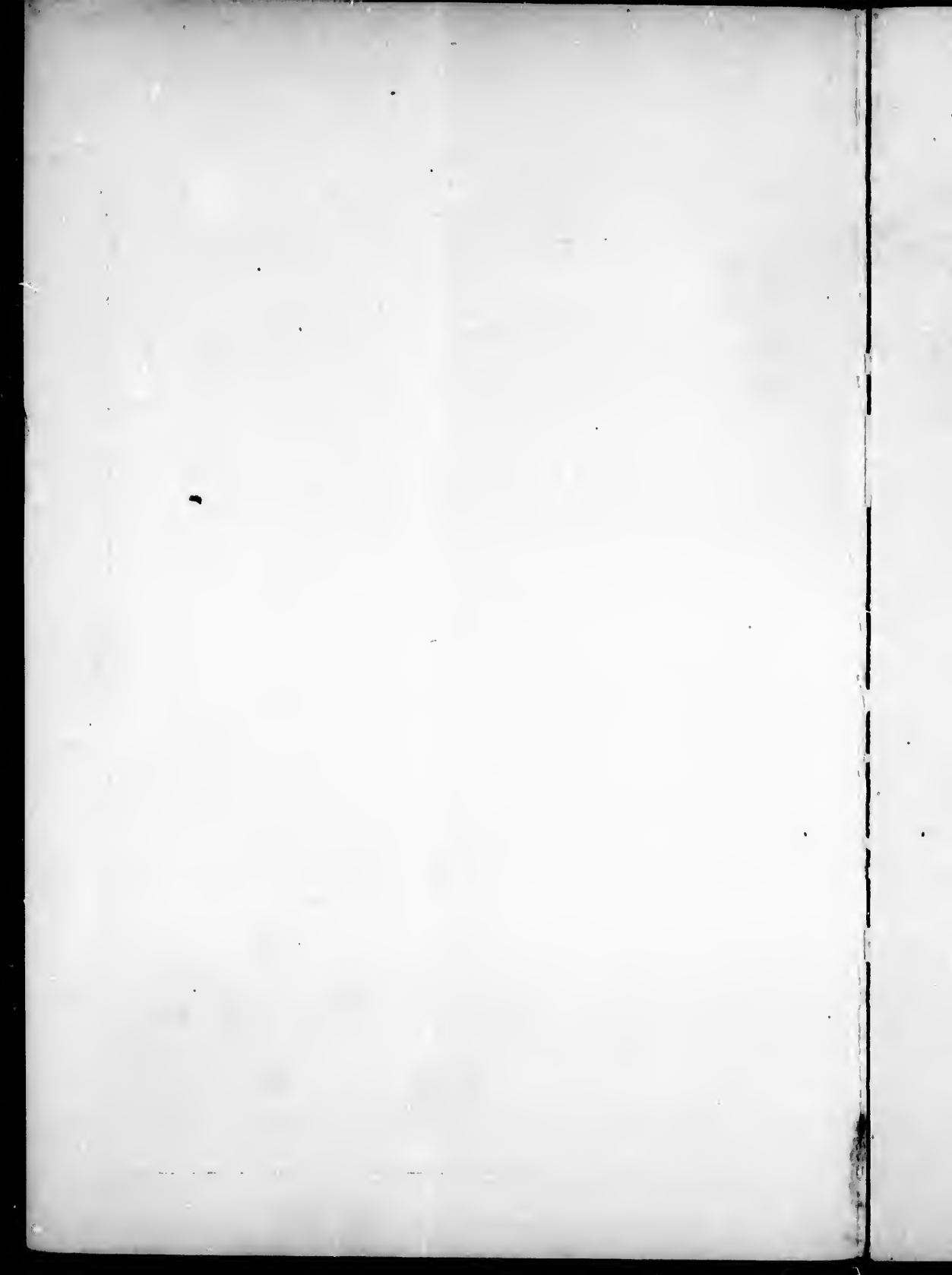
ON

JANUARY 19th 1888,

BY

ALEX. McNEILL, M. P.,

Vice-President.



# SPEECH

DELIVERED AT

PARIS, ONT.,

— ON —

THURSDAY, JAN. 19th, 1888,

— BY —

ALEX. MCNEILL, M. P.,

*Vice President "Imperial Federation League in Canada."*

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MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a great pleasure to me to be here in Paris to-night. I account it a great privilege to be permitted to address such a meeting as this of my fellow-countrymen, and of my countrywomen too, on that great theme which has touched the hearts and stirred the enthusiasm of so very many of the most eminent and practical statesmen in the Mother Country and the colonies, and which in its magnitude and importance to the British race dwarfs almost into insignificance all other political issues.

Imperial Unity or Imperial Disintegration—Empire or no Empire—that is the question. Fortunately it is not a party question. So little of a party question is it, that I see by the last number of *Imperial Federation*, the admirable journal of the Imperial Federation League, that public meetings in the interest of Imperial Federation are being held in England, under the joint auspices of members of Parliament and the political opponents they defeated at the polls. Those who know anything of political election contests—and I take it you are not all utterly ignorant of them in Paris—will admit that this is a tolerably conclusive proof that Imperial Federation is not a party issue in England; and, further, that it has taken a deep hold of the public mind.

The fact is, as Lord Rosebery happily remarked the other day the greatest discovery of the century by the people of England is the discovery of the British Empire. The colonies, he added, have not made the discovery, for they have always been perfectly aware of the existence of their Empire. Great popular movements in England are like the making of the young flood tide upon her coasts. They are slow movements at first, and even when they have gathered volume and grown deep, and full, and strong, like the advance of the flood in its spring, they are often like that mighty movement of ocean, so silent that they are unheeded and unobserved till the appearance of rising waters in some unexpected quarter startles the loiterer on the beach and warns him that the world of waters is at hand. And so it has been with this movement in favor of Imperial Federation. It has for years past been silently but surely making head; but it was altogether unheeded, till one day, the 29th of July, 1884, it startled the British public by welling up in a most unmistakable way in the city of London itself; and from that point it has with astonishing rapidity overflowed the land. This generation has witnessed no such marvellous political movement in England as this movement in favor of Imperial Federation. But it has not been confined to England; it has extended to the remotest confines of the Empire. It has swept over Australasia, and it has kindled afresh the hopes and aspirations of our fellow-countrymen in South Africa. It is here with us in Canada too; and—Professor Goldwin Smith to the contrary notwithstanding—I say it has made great and substantial progress in the Dominion. It was only in 1885 that the Canadian branch of the league was formed, and already it comprises among its members some 60 members of the Dominion Parliament, and many others of the foremost men in the Dominion. Why, only the other day a branch of the League was formed at Ottawa, and there in the capital itself some 140 or 150 of their leading citizens, with Mr. Sanford Fleming as president, enrolled themselves as members. And why? I will tell you. Because the people of Canada have a warm heart to their kindred beyond the seas; because they regard with veneration and gratitude the mighty mother of nations from whom they spring; because they glory in their own Empire; and because they are also firmly persuaded that their material interests are best



served by the maintenance of the connection between Great Britain and her colonies.

" We rejoice in the connection as it exists now. It has been one of unmixed good." And again: " It is impossible to exaggerate the feeling of loyalty and affection that exists in Canada," *i. e.*, towards the Mother Country.

These are strong expressions. About as strong as can be framed in English ; and they are specially significant as coming from an experienced lawyer and politician accustomed carefully to weigh his words. They are the words of the Premier of this province, spoken during the summer of 1884, only some three years ago, in the city of London, the heart of your Empire, which we are proud to remember is also the metropolis of the world. " The connection," he says, " has been one of unmixed good." " It is impossible to exaggerate the feeling of loyalty and affection that exists in Canada."

Is there a man in this hall, be he Conservative or Reformer, who is prepared to deny these statements of Mr. Mowat? Not one. There is not, I venture to say, one man present who does not from his heart fully endorse them. There is not one man present who does not know full well that there is no other political sentiment in Canada that exceeds (if indeed there be any that at all equals) in volume and intensity that sentiment of loyalty and affection to the old Mother Land, which pervades all classes of our people. There is not one man present who does not in his heart and conscience know that Canada's connection with the Mother Country has been to her a source of almost incalculable benefit and blessing. Who does not know full well that by and through that connection this noble young Canada of ours, that we all so glory in and love, has been enabled to advance by leaps and bounds towards a place in the forefront of the nations of the world, unimpeded in the progress by the jealousies or hostility of any powerful competitor? There is not a man who hears me that does not know full well that by and through that connection it is that we can stand up to-day in the face of the civilized world, and, without risk of successful contradiction, make the proud boast that, except within the confines of our own Empire, except under the sheltering folds of our own flag, there never was since the world began, there never was under the broad canopy of

heaven, a people who enjoyed so full a measure of true and perfect liberty as that which is the blessed portion of our people in Canada. For it is a full measure of British liberty. And what is that? It is absolutely uncontrolled freedom of thought, word and action, within the bounds of wise and just laws. Outside those bounds lie license and anarchy. There British freedom wilts and dies; and just in proportion to the degree in which those bounds are jealously guarded, just in proportion to the degree in which those wise and just laws are carefully administered and firmly enforced, do we have a more or less perfect form of that British liberty which the good sense and patriotism of the people of this country have so happily conserved for themselves and their children after them. I say there is not a man present who does not know that to this British connection we owe this British liberty, and there is not within the four corners of this broad Dominion a man who does not in his heart know and confess that it is through and by virtue of that British connection alone that Canada, with her 5,000,000 of people, has been enabled to maintain her just rights against the high-handed encroachments of her powerful neighbor to the south, and is to-day enabled to treat upon terms of the most perfect and absolute equality with that great republic and her 55 or 60 millions of inhabitants. Talk of using our fishery rights as a lever with which to move the United States to trade with us upon fair terms! I should like to know where our lever would have been to-day were it not for the protecting power and influence of Great Britain; and I venture to think the value of our lever is none the less that we have the weight and might of Britain at the right end of it. But, thank God, it is there for us to-day as it has ever been of yore, ready, aye, ready, at our need. And yet, oh, burning, blistering shame! oh, poor, frail humanity! there are those among us who would strive to persuade themselves and you that we might in all honor and with conscience clear use this power with which the Mother Country thus willingly and affectionately supplies to us and fashion with it a weapon to wound her own breast; that at the very moment when she is lending us her strength to struggle with our adversary, we should use that (her own) strength to betray her own best interests and dismember her own empire. In other words, that we might as honest and honorable men use those fishing rights which, but for the sheltering power and influence of

the Mother Country, would long since have been filched from us and which are to-day ours to use solely by reason of that power and influence, that we might use those fishery rights as a bribe to induce the United States to enter into such trading relations with us as would virtually exclude the Mother Country from our markets.

The proposal is horrible. It is unnatural. It is altogether too hideous and monstrous a thing to be born of this glorious, beauteous young Canada. She must, she will disown, she has disowned it.

But to return to what Mr. Mowat said : After stating that it was impossible to exaggerate the benefits that Canada had derived from British connection, that it had been for us unmixed good, Mr. Mowat went on to say that in his opinion and in the opinion of many of the people in Canada, it was quite impossible for the present state of things to be permanent. The people would sooner or later demand some voice in Imperial affairs. (In this view of the situation Mr. Mowat is, I think, sustained by all the leading statesmen of England.) The difficulty was, Mr. Mowat said, to see how that could be arranged. He was not as sanguine as some as to the discovery of a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. But what, he asked, were statesmen for, if not to solve difficulties? And for his own part he could say that no man was more anxious than he that this difficulty should be solved; and he (Mr. Mowat) accordingly, on the 29th of July, 1884, the day to which I have already referred, seconded this most important resolution. "That for the purpose of enlightening and instructing the people, both in the United Kingdom and the colonies, as to the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of political organizations, a society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principle of Federation."

The meeting in London to which I have referred, and at which Mr. Mowat spoke, was the conference held by leading men of all parties for the purpose of considering the advisability of forming a Society to promote the cause of Imperial Federation; the resolution which Mr. Mowat so gladly seconded was, as you see, the resolution by virtue of which the Imperial Federation League has its existence.

It is for the purpose of saying a few words to you about this principle of Federation of the Empire, thus advocated by Mr. Mowat,

that I am here to address you to-night. I have sought to emphasize the fact that the principle meets with Mr. Mowat's approval, because I am anxious that you should all understand that from the very inception of the movement until the present time the promoters of Imperial Federation have striven by every means in their power to keep it clear and pure from all taint of party politics. We have felt that the maintenance of the unity of our Empire was a principle upon which Conservative and Radical, Grit and Tory, could well agree. We have felt that upon this one issue at least we might well lay aside our local differences and jealousies, and remembering only that we are alike citizens of a matchless Empire, strive with all our strength, with all our energies, to preserve intact the mighty heritage bequeathed to us by the prowess and wisdom of our forefathers. And thus we find that as we have the leader of the Reform party in this Province actively engaged in promoting this movement by seconding the resolution on the strength of which the League was founded, so also you have Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper countenancing it by their presence and their utterances at the great initial meetings in London. And in England, while the first president, the leading spirit of the association, was a Liberal—one of the truest and ablest and most single-minded statesmen of modern times—I mean the late Mr. Forster—and while the present president is also a Liberal, and a Gladstonian Liberal, too, Lord Rosebery, yet Conservatives have just as warmly espoused the cause, and public opinion there has, as I have said, moved in favor of Imperial Federation with a rapidity, volume and power which has utterly astonished its warmest and most sanguine supporters. And now what is Imperial Federation? What do we mean by it? What is the object we have in view?

The object we have in view is to preserve to ourselves and our children after us for ever the unity of our Empire. There are, I think, sir, few people in Canada, still fewer of the British breed, who will deny that this is a good object. The preservation of our Empire—our Empire—mark you, my friends! It is just as much ours as it is the empire of the British people living in any other part of it—living in England, Ireland, or Scotland, for example. We have, in fact, to all intents and purposes, a greater share of it under our own immediate control than they have; and no one who has

given even a casual thought to these matters can have failed to observe that our influence is year by year becoming more and more potent in reference to matters of a less strictly local nature. Our right to be consulted as to matters of imperial moment is being more and more fully recognized. The most obvious and striking proof of this fact is the summing of the Imperial Conference last year. But on this subject the present leader of the Imperial House of Commons has said,—on the same day on which Mr. Mowat seconded the resolution by virtue of which the League has its existence—“We regard our colonial friends as Englishmen in the full and true intent of the word, and they are entitled and should obtain as complete a place in the management and in the control of the affairs of the Empire as we Englishmen claim in our own little island.” And again he said: “Let us at least assert the principle that unity is to be maintained, that some method shall be found, some course adopted, which shall give our colonists all the rights, and the interests, and the advantages which belong to resident Englishmen in Great Britain and Ireland.” This statement of Mr. Smith’s was received with cheers. And he emphatically added: “I believe it can be done.” That is the deliberately expressed opinion of that eminently practical statesman who at present leads the greatest legislative body in the world, that was the opinion of the late Mr. Forster, than whom no man in England was more prized for calm, clear-sighted sagacity; that was the opinion of Lord Shaftesbury; that is the opinion of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, of Lord Carnarvon, of the present Secretary for the Colonies, of the present Prime Minister of England. I understand that to be the opinion of Mr. Chamberlain. That is the opinion of premiers and ex-premiers of colonies in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; that is the opinion of scores and scores of the most eminent and practical statesmen of the Mother Country and the Empire over. And yet, as I have said once before, we are to be told by one or two anonymous writers, by half a dozen Yankee sympathizers, and forsooth by Professor Goldwin Smith, that the deliberately formed and openly expressed opinion of all these great, experienced and practical statesmen is mere childishness—a dream, a vision, a phantasy—something quite unworthy the consideration of sober-minded, sensible people.

Now, who is Professor Goldwin Smith? What weight ought to be attached to his opinions on this subject? Mr. Goldwin Smith is a man of learning and culture, who writes singularly graceful and forcible English. He is a gentleman who for his great literary attainments is deservedly held in much esteem by the people of Canada. But no one dreams of regarding Mr. Smith as a statesman. His opinions on such a subject as Imperial Federation are not for a moment to be weighed against that of any one of the phalanx of great Imperial statesmen who have approved the principle; and it simply vanishes from the calculation altogether when opposed to the combined weight of the opinions of them all.

The fact is that Professor Goldwin Smith is a good deal like the old harper in Sir Walter Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. And it occurs to me that we have a representative of the Orphan Boy, too, in the person of poor, innocent Erastus Wiman, who so prettily prattles one version of his little story in Canada, and with childlike unconcern quite another version of it in the United States. Professor Goldwin Smith is an interesting relic of a bygone time, and almost as great a curiosity as that famous ornithological specimen, a live dodo. He is, in fact, about the only extant specimen left to us of the once famous Manchester school. That was the school that would have confined England within the bounds of the famous "silver streak." That was the school that taught that England's colonies were a source, not of strength but of weakness—that they were prepared to turn their backs upon her on the first favorable opportunity. That was the school of disintegration and surrender that urged the cutting adrift the Empire of England the getting rid of the obligation to defend the colonies, and the leaving them to shift for themselves as best they might at the earliest possible moment. I will show you that Mr. Goldwin Smith was one of the leading apostles of that school which was once influential in England, and I will show you what is thought in England of his teaching to-day.

"The dominant party in the State was," (at that time) says the *Times*, "powerfully influenced by the ingenious and passionate arguments of writers like Mr. Goldwin Smith, and by reaction against the policy of Lord Palmerston."

"Cut and dried schemes of deliberate separation, such as that

which Lord Rosebery connected truly enough with the name of Mr. Goldwin Smith," says the radical *Daily News*.

The Goldwin Smith propaganda is thus described by the London *Globe*: "If Imperial disintegration resulted, what matter? Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa would still be open to our trade as ever, while we should save a great deal of money by withdrawing from their protection."

These are the views and sentiments of the gentleman who is, all unconscious of evil—for to him it seems no crime—seeking to foul the fountains of Canadian loyalty to that old Mother Land that guards in her bosom the bones of our forefathers.

But let us see what is thought of Mr. Goldwin Smith's doctrines in England now. The *Pull Mull Gazette* is, as you all know, one of the ablest exponents of the views and principles of the Liberal party in England. It says: "To-day, when we take up newspaper after newspaper, we are in amazement. The advocates of a little England, where are they now? \* \* \* \* \* Judging from the comments of the newspapers, the journalist of the school of Mr. Goldwin Smith is as extinct as the Megatherium. The contraction of England has not one articulate advocate left in the daily press, and Liberals and Radicals vie with Conservatives in professions of enthusiastic patriotism in that larger sense which regards all the English, whether they live at home or are dwellers beyond the seas, as fellow-citizens of a common realm."

You see that Professor Goldwin Smith is therefore, as I have said, a relic of a bygone time, and with but little variation Sir Walter Scott's lines accurately describe him:

His fad, his sole remaining joy,  
Was managed by an alien boy.  
The last of all that School was he  
That deemed disgrace in chivalry—  
That urged on Britain infamy.  
For happily its date is fled:  
Its sordid doctrines all are dead:  
And he, discredited, distressed,  
Could he grow wise, would be at rest.

But one of the interesting things about Professor Goldwin Smith is that, clever though he be, he can't grow wise. He is like the

schoolman of old who made facts conform to their preconceived theories, not their theories to the facts. He has lived to see the confederation of the great German Empire, and the unification of Italy. He has seen Alsace and Lorraine torn from the bleeding side of France, and all Europe shuddering at the prospect of the death-struggle which in consequence will sooner or later be waged. He knows that Canada is teeming with the descendants of men who hold their worldly gear as dross in comparison with that precious jewel they cherished in their hearts,—loyalty to king and country. And yet a country is still, for Professor Goldwin Smith, but a geographical expression; and the human beings who possess it are, with all their hopes and fears, their joys and griefs, their sentiments and aspirations, but money-making machines.

This gentleman and these few others I have mentioned either cannot or will not see how a federation of the Empire may be achieved. Those whose hearts are full of the great theme refuse to formulate from any particular locality, without consultation with representatives of the interests involved, a cut and dried scheme for federation of a world-wide Empire. Many Imperial Federationists hold that the work of the League is to inculcate the principle of unity, to urge upon Local and Imperial Governments the adoption of all measures tending towards unity and consolidation, and to leave federation to develop and shape itself gradually as the exigencies of the times may require—even as the British Constitution shaped itself out of the practical business capacity, the saving common sense and the self-governing instincts of the Anglo-Saxon race. And so because no such cut and dried scheme is propounded you are to be told that Imperial Federation is an impossibility, that the Imperial Federation League is of no practical utility, and you are to sit down and fold your hands, twirl your thumbs, and let your Empire fall to pieces before your eyes if it will—let slip from your nerveless grasp a heritage dazzling in splendor beyond the dream of man. I say No! A thousand times No! Perish the thought: and perish the dastard who would be so false to himself, to his fathers and to his children after him, as to refuse to raise his voice, and, if needs be, his hand, too, in defence of the matchless Empire of England of which this glorious young Dominion of ours forms so great and important a part. The Empire of England! Your Empire! And what an Empire! One is almost



afraid to say what an Empire it is. For the palest description of it sounds like spread eagleism. It is an Empire four times greater than the world famous Empire of Rome. The German Empire of today is a mighty Empire. Yours is forty times its extent. It comprises within its limits one-fifth of the whole habitable globe. The sails of your innumerable fleets whiten every sea, and on every sea yours is the proudest flag that floats at a mast-head. Just think of this world of ours and see what a shaping, forming power your Empire has been upon the face of it. Think of the shocks of battle it has withstood. Think of the glorious deeds of arms it has achieved. Think of the lion deeds it has done in the cause of liberty and justice. Think of the incense-breathing deeds of pity and mercy. Think of all its triumphs in science, in literature and art, and then tell me is not the preservation of this Empire of yours something worth planning for, something worth working for, something worth fighting, and, if needs be, dying for? Certain it is that man never died in a holier cause.

But because we refuse (simply to please our critics) to formulate some crude cut and dried scheme of Imperial Federation, therefore you are to be taught that the thing is impossible, the enemies of Imperial unity are to have a free hand to work their own sweet will among our people, and the friends of the empire are to sit stock still and "grin and bear it." Did we do so we should deserve to lose our cause and to go down to posterity branded as the men who had betrayed their trust, and had stood idly by while their own Imperial heritage crumbled into the dust before their very eyes.

Mr. Forster said that he "thought they were the real foes of union, or at least the disbelievers of its possibility, who would ask to day what should be the form of Federation or demand at this moment a written Federal constitution." And Lord Rosebery said that "if an absolutely perfect and complete scheme, to which no possible objection of time or space could be urged, were introduced to the Parliament of Great Britain, it would have no chance of acceptance. The British Parliament would say, and wisely say, 'we will go gently; we wish to see how this scheme works in minor matters before we proceed to any cut and dried constitution of the British Empire.'"

The object of Imperial Federation is Imperial unity. What is Imperial Federation itself? It is Imperial consolidation—Imperial organization—the so ordering the great forces within the Empire that they shall not oppose one another, shall not conflict with one another—the so marshalling them that they shall act together for the common good. The word "*Federation*" has been a stumbling-block to many who are heartily in favor of Imperial unity. They have imagined that it necessarily implied a confederation like our own but on a vastly larger scale, and they have feared it would be unworkable. But Mr. Forster, the chief organizer of the movement in England, as to this again says that "The word does not necessarily imply a Federal Parliament. It may, for instance, be fulfilled by a council of representatives of the different colonies. In fact all that is implied is that there should be some combination together of the colonies with the Mother Country which would bind them so that separation would be felt to be a most improbable result." Mr. Freeman, the great historical and constitutional authority, defines a Federal Commonwealth in its most perfect form as "one which forms a single state in its relation to other nations, but which consists of many states in relation to its internal government." It is one of the fundamental axioms of the Imperial Federation League that must never be lost sight of, but which has carefully been kept out of sight of the public by the opponents of Imperial unity, that "no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments in relation to local affairs." So that when you are told that it is the intention of Imperial Federationists to interfere with your local self-government, you are told what is exactly the opposite of the truth. The word Federation, in its ordinary acceptation, means simply, "a league, a compact." The object of that league or compact is the preservation of the unity of the Empire. The terms of the compact and the details for carrying it out can only be arranged by consultation among the parties interested—and that probably only gradually and as occasion may require.

My friend, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, whose great name and influence has been so valuable to the League in the Dominion, thinks that the negotiations for closer union between the Mother Country and her colonies will result ultimately in the formation of an Imperial Federal Parliament, in which the colonies will have representation.

The representation of Canada in such a Parliament would (on the basis of population) be to-day about equal to that of Ireland, and Australia would send about as many representatives as Scotland. The representation from all the colonies would, therefore, even now be a powerful factor in any such Imperial Parliament. And when we think of what it would become by colonial growth and development by the end of the century, it is apparent that the objection so often urged that the colonies would have no influence in any such body and would be hopelessly swamped is simple, unadorned nonsense. And I might ask, has the treatment of her colonies by the mother country been such as to justify us in assuming that she would wish to swamp us?

The objection of distance, too, falls to the ground. For if the proposed fast transatlantic service so much spoken of lately be effected—and such a service we must soon have—Canadian representatives from Ottawa could reach London in about half the time required to bring members from British Columbia to Ottawa at the commencement of the last Dominion Parliament.

But, on the other hand, as we have seen, Mr. Forster did not think an Imperial Federal Parliament necessarily implied in Imperial Federation; and Sir John Macdonald takes the same ground, and holds that the Federation is more likely to take the form of a close and intimate alliance between the mother country and her offspring.

Last year witnessed, as you all know, for the first time in the history of the Empire an imperial conference. Delegates from all the colonies, summoned by our common Sovereign, met together on English soil to plan together with members of the Imperial Government, for the weal of the whole Empire. It is simply impossible to exaggerate the importance of this event. The experiment proved eminently successful, and it can scarcely be doubted that recourse will be had to it again. Here then we have a very apparent, a very tangible advance towards Imperial unity, towards Imperial organization and consolidation. Let us each and all help on the glorious work, by giving to it our countenance, our sympathy, our support, by pronouncing with no uncertain voice in favor of every measure making for consolidation and unity and against every measure tending towards a loosening of those golden links of loyalty and

love that bind our Empire together. That is our work for the present. The future will take care of itself. The descendants of the men who framed the British Constitution may safely be trusted to know how to shape a scheme that will give effect to the desire of kindred beyond the seas for more intimate political relations with one another.

But of this rest assured, the constitution of your Empire—if I may use that term for want of a better—will be worked out by wise heads, and defended, if needs be, by strong arms, in accordance with the self-governing instincts of the race to which you belong. A mighty movement is spreading over the Empire making for a more perfect unity. And I have too much "faith in the breed" to doubt its being able to attain its object. I say more, I say it would be a slander and a calumny upon the British race to assert that they were incapable of guarding and keeping whole that Empire which has been won and bequeathed to them by their forefathers.

The question we have to ask ourselves is simply this: "Do we wish to preserve our Empire?" Every man who has that great hope in his heart is with us. To him we extend the right hand of fellowship, whether he be Liberal or Conservative, Grit or Tory. He is with us in heart. We ask him to be with us in deed also, and to become a fellow-worker in the cause. But it is objected in good faith by friends of our Empire that we should not expect public support for the policy of Imperial Consolidation until we have formulated a scheme for carrying it into effect. "How," it is asked, "can men support a thing that is without form, and void? Let us see the details of your scheme first, and then we will tell you what we think of it. But until you do so you have no right to expect our support."

Now, surely it is evident that the approval of the principle comes first, the details afterwards. The people of Paris made up their minds that they required and were determined to have a Town hall before they entered into the question of the exact details of the building they proposed to erect. So it is with Imperial Federation. The question to-day is, Do we approve of Imperial unity? If we do let us support it by strengthening the hands of those who are laboring to maintain and perfect it. If hereafter any details are

proposed which you disapprove, oppose them. But don't say you won't have your Town Hall at all, merely because an architect may perchance *propose* to make a ceiling too low or a window too narrow.

In the meantime we can see some of the things which are implied in and will go to make up the sum of this Federation of the Empire. One is that there shall be an organization for mutual defence. Let us suppose that this does not entail any additional expense. Let us suppose that each of the colonies is paying its fair share towards the common defence of the Empire. They may or may not be. But suppose they are. Is it not clear that a thorough organization upon the best and most scientific principles of the forces thus at the disposal of the Empire would add enormously to their effective value? Would not such an organization be in itself a great stride towards a more perfect unity of our Empire? Well, but this great stride has been taken. This organization for purposes of mutual defence is in progress. For among the matters dealt with last year by the great Imperial council was this very matter of an organization for mutual defence, and one of the outcomes from this great Imperial council was an arrangement by virtue of which the mother country agreed to supply a fleet of ships of war for Australian waters, the cost of the maintenance of which our brothers and friends in Australia cheerfully undertook to defray. So much for consultation and organization; and so much, too, for the Imperial Federation League, at whose instance it was that this Imperial Conference was convened. And which—visionary though its objects and impracticable though its methods may be made to appear—has in a very short space of time achieved this somewhat substantial result. I believe it was admitted at the conference that in the establishing and maintenance of the Military College at Kingston, in the maintaining of our militia forces, and in the construction of the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific railways, we have in the meantime been doing our fair share towards Imperial defence. But I venture to say that I express your sentiments when I assert and I hope you will correct me if I misrepresent you) that should the integrity of the Empire be menaced, or should the honor of the British race be assailed, no colony under the Crown, no portion of the British people would be prepared to make more substantial sacrifices than the people of Canada to preserve that Empire intact and that honor inviolate.

## IMPERIAL RECIPOCITY.

The summoning of this Imperial Council was a great stride towards a more perfect unity. The organization for mutual defence is another stride in the same direction. Soon we hope to be able to record still another advance. We hope soon to see a mutual arrangement effected, by virtue of which the members of the Empire will trade with one another on much more natural and much more profitable terms than they do at present. The different members of the Empire ought to trade with one another upon more favorable terms than with foreign countries. The Mother Country, for example, admits most of our products free of duty. The United States has raised up an enormous tariff against us. We ought to admit the products of the Mother Country to our markets on terms more favorable than we admit those of the United States. We purchase, per head of our population, much more from the Mother Country than the people of the United States do. The Mother Country ought to discriminate in our favor against the United States. In other words, she ought to rearrange her tariff at least so far as this, that it would advantage the producer in the Empire without materially adding to the expenses of the consumer. For example, she might begin in this way: In place of making poor people pay a duty of 50 or 60 per cent. on their tea, she ought very much to reduce the duty on China tea, and let in the tea produced by her own people in India free. She ought to reduce the enormous duty on foreign tobacco, and let in the tobacco of her own people free. She ought to treat coffee, chickory and dried fruits in a similar manner. She ought to give her own wine producers an advantage in her market over the foreigner, and the large revenues she thus lost she ought to provide by taxing, for example, the butter and cheese and dried fish, and horses and peas of the foreigner, letting ours in free. It is not, perhaps, known to all of you that the cheese alone we exported to the Mother Country last year and the year before almost equalled in value all the wheat, wheat meal, wheat flour, oats and oatmeal that we exported to Great Britain and Ireland during the same periods of time. England might put a tax on foreign lumber, too, and foreign furs, while admitting ours duty free. I don't think there would be much injury done to the consumer if

there were a tax levied on the vile oleomargarine or bogus butter with which our American cousins and commercial rivals flood the English market, to the injury of the English and Canadian farmer. All parties assisted in urging our own Government to exclude the vile stuff from our markets—as much for the sake of the consumer as of the producer of genuine butter—and this has been done. Neither do I think a tax on seal or other furs would hit poor people much harder than a tax on their tea and tobacco, which are as necessary to them as either cheese or butter. And a very much smaller tax than that now paid on tea, tobacco, coffee, etc., levied against the foreigner on the goods I have mentioned, and others that might be enumerated, would give to the Canadian farmer an enormous advantage in the English market. And this tax would be certainly, in part at least, borne by the foreigner, whereas the tea and coffee tax is wholly paid by the English consumer.

If it be said that this is not free trade, I reply neither is 50 or 60 per cent. on tea free trade. If it be said that England will never consent to anything like this, I say that, for my own part, I believe she very soon will. In fact, while Free Trade is still the politico-economic creed of the English people, there is a strong conviction rooting itself in their minds that the foreigner is getting very much the better of the bargain, and for my own part I am satisfied that it needs but energetic action on the part of the Colonies to make the movement in favor of Imperial Reciprocity irresistible. I have been asked by the *Toronto Mail* to show any good ground for this belief. I think the ground for it is very apparent. The difficulty is rather to understand how anyone can be blind to its existence. In the first place I may just remark that there is a very important and influential society, having its head-quarters in the great trading city of Manchester, formed for the very purpose of advocating differential duties in favor of members of the Empire. The *Mail* says there is not a responsible politician connected with it. Well, I don't know if the *Mail* admits that members of parliament are responsible politicians. Perhaps some are not held as responsible as they should be. But at any rate this society, I find, numbers amongst its members no less than twenty-eight of the Imperial House of Commons, and the Duke of Manchester is at its head. The London,

Sheffield and Glasgow Chambers of Commerce have approved the policy advocated by this society.

What does the *Mail* make of the fair trade movement? When this movement was first heard of it was derided as something quite too ridiculous to have a place in free trade England. Then a strange thing took place in the Imperial House of Commons. It was surely a piece of gratuitous effrontery on the part of these fair traders to ask for a committee to enquire into the whole fiscal policy of England. That was rather "too, too!" Mr. Gladstone rose in his wrath and declared that the granting such a commission would shake Free Trade to its very base, even in its stronghold, and the motion was defeated. Time went on. A general election took place, and we were assured that fair trade was annihilated. But this motion for enquiry into the causes of the depression of English trade came up again in the House of Commons, and, marvellous to relate, the motion was carried. The commission was appointed. The investigation took place. The facts were made public; and a few weeks ago, at the great convention of the Conservative party in England, when the question of fair trade *versus* free trade was submitted to the meeting, every hand but twelve was held up for fair trade; and there were at that meeting 1,000 delegates. I think that is sufficiently conclusive evidence that fair trade has grown to be a great power in England, and that it is a rapidly increasing power. Fair trade in England means the discriminating in favor of those who in their trade discriminate in favor of England. Every fair trader in England would be in favor of discriminating in favor of the Colonies, provided we returned the compliment.

Now we have it in our power to hold out very great inducements to the Mother Country to adopt such a policy. By slightly raising to the foreigner the duty on manufactured goods which England produces—by raising it to a much smaller degree than it has been lately proposed to raise it against English goods—we give her an enormous advantage in our markets over the foreigners. Our own manufacturer is not only not injured by this but is also a participator in this advantage over his foreign competitor. A policy framed on the lines of Imperial reciprocity is the trade policy advocated by the Imperial Federation League in Canada. It is the natural and I believe the



inevitable policy of the Empire, and it will, I am persuaded, commend itself more and more to the people of Canada the more it is enquired into and discussed. It is a policy that will act and react to the mutual benefit of the colonies and the Mother Country. Everyone knows that England finds her best markets within the Empire, and we have seen, not without a pang, that in some cases this market is slipping away from her, and falling into the hands of the commercial rivals of the Empire. This policy would enormously increase her market in the Colonies, both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, because the better market obtained by the Colonies would largely increase their purchasing power. It is a policy that would benefit both the Canadian farmer and manufacturer, not a policy which would put the industry of the one against that of the other, and thus divide the country against itself. It is a policy having a tendency to increase rather than diminish our revenue, and this largely at the expense of the foreigner. It is essentially a policy making for Imperial consolidation and unity; not a policy tending to disintegration or annexation; and it will, I am satisfied, be approved by the good sense, the patriotism, the instincts of affection, and the sentiments of loyalty of the Canadian people.

Now I don't wish to be misunderstood. I don't want anyone to suppose that I put this forward as a scheme for Imperial Reciprocity. I am speaking purely from a Canadian standpoint, and I wish to point out that a scheme of reciprocity between Canada and the Mother Country, mutually advantageous to each of them, could be arranged without calling upon the English consumer to pay one farthing more in custom duties than he does to-day, and this, too without entailing the duty on breadstuffs.

You will probably see the Mother Country go further than this, and the breadstuffs also. Be that as it may, I am satisfied that, as with Canada, so, too, with the other colonies of the Empire, reciprocal trading might be arranged between each of them and the Mother Country, and also between the colonies themselves, which would be mutually advantageous to all parties concerned.

Much better proposals than those I have made may be advanced. These are merely thrown out in the rough in order to show that reciprocity between the colonies and the Mother Country is not that impossible thing it is so often represented to be.

## COMMERCIAL UNION.

I know, indeed, that another and very different policy has been proposed to us—a policy which has been desperately and despairingly thrust forward at the present moment for more reasons than one, and for one, as a set-off to a policy of Imperial reciprocity. Our sharp-witted commercial rivals and very good friends to the south of the line are apprised by the Uhlans of their trading forces, their ever vigilant consular agents, that this Imperial policy is looming up in the near future. And the convening of the Imperial Conference in London last year, together with the important discussions on this very subject of Imperial Reciprocity, which afterwards took place there, lent emphasis to the warning. They have over and over again spurned our overtures for more intimate trade relations with them. Now they are alarmed lest they lose our markets at the same moment, and by virtue of the same policy which makes us to them more formidable rivals than ever before in those markets which are most valuable to them—the markets of England and the Empire. Hence the flutter and alarm, and the desperate efforts that are being made to absorb our rapidly growing trade with their own before it is too late; and to dominate our industries, and, if possible, to obtain control of that great railway which we have provided for ourselves, at the cost of so much money and so much anxiety, and which is destined to play so prominent and important a part in the Imperial Reciprocity of the future. The alternative policy proposed to us does indeed bear the stamp of Yankee thoroughness and audacity. It is to us slow going Canadians a somewhat startling policy. For the policy thus coolly proposed to us is a policy of national degradation and abject surrender—rendered wise and justifiable because of the squalid misery which has enabled our farmers and laborers and mechanics to increase their deposits in our Post Office Savings Banks, from *three* millions to only *seventeen* millions since June, 1879—*i.e.*, in eight years, and which is further evidenced by the substantial houses and commodious barns springing up by the thousand in every county in the Province; a policy rendered wise and justifiable also because of the extreme poverty in natural resources of this-half continent of ours, and because our finances are in such desperate

straits that the financiers of the world—regardless of reiterated warnings—will insist upon lending us their money on terms far more favorable than ever before ; and, above all, a policy rendered wise and justifiable because of the well-known business benevolence and trading tenderness of cousin Jonathan, by reason of which he never could or ever would seek to obtain an unfair advantage in any bargain !

Mark you, my friends, I am speaking of the policy called Commercial Union with the United States, not of a policy of mere Reciprocity with them. For my own part I should gladly see a fair and equitable Reciprocity treaty arranged between Canada and the United States. The people of the United States have many great and good qualities, and I hope we shall always live in neighborly friendship with them. But if you want a sure recipe for making neighbors unneighborly, you cannot have a better than to tie them fast down to an agreement for farming on shares, for example, by virtue of which one of the parties has an unfair advantage of the other. If they were good neighbors before that, it will very soon make a coolness between them ; if there was a coolness before, it will be fortunate if it does not now break out into open hostility. There is no doubt that a reciprocity treaty might be framed to the material advantage of both countries. But it is just as certain that such a treaty might be drawn up as would give more advantage to one country than to the other. Commercial Union, or anything the least like it, would, in my opinion, *give our country away* to the United States.

Now, I am not going to enter upon a discussion of Commercial Union to-night. And for these reasons : First, because you are, I am sure, getting tired of me ; and, secondly, because I am getting tired—certainly not of you, who have so kindly heard me—but of myself. And in the third place, because, in order to discuss any question, we must first of all clearly understand what the subject of discussion is ; and just what is proposed to us by the friends and supporters of Mr. Wiman, is one of those things that, as Lord Dundreary would say, "No fellah can find out." One day it is Commercial Union, pure and simple, if either of these terms are applicable ; then it is Commercial Union with the union left out ; then it is unrestricted reciprocity ; then it is unrestricted recipro-

city restricted by custom houses on the frontier. What among these mutually destructive propositions is left to us to-day seems to me almost as difficult a problem to determine as the problem of the three snakes set by a famous senior wrangler of Cambridge. Suppose, he said, you have three snakes, each taking hold of the tail of the other so that they formed a circle. Now let them commence to devour one another; the circle will of course grow smaller as the swallowing process proceeds. How small can it become? How much will be left of it when the snakes have swallowed one another to the greatest possible extent? It is said that not one of the assembled wisdom of the University could solve the problem. Well, if I were inclined to guess, I should say that our Commercial Union snakes, when they had continued their consumption of one another a little longer, may resolve themselves into a harmless eel called simple Reciprocity—a slippery fish to catch by hand but which is sometimes caught by bait.

But mark you, my friends, we had real snakes at first—venomous snakes, too—though they don't care to show their fangs so plainly now.

You have had many reasons urged upon you in proof that you should approve Mr. Wiman's scheme for your well-being. Perhaps you have not had this one. It is Mr. Wiman's own. This is how Mr. Wiman is planning for the welfare of the Canadian people. Unfortunately it happened to be mentioned by him, not here in Canada but in the United States, so you may have missed it. But he would regret that you should be without it. Here is an extract from speech of Mr Wiman made in the United States.

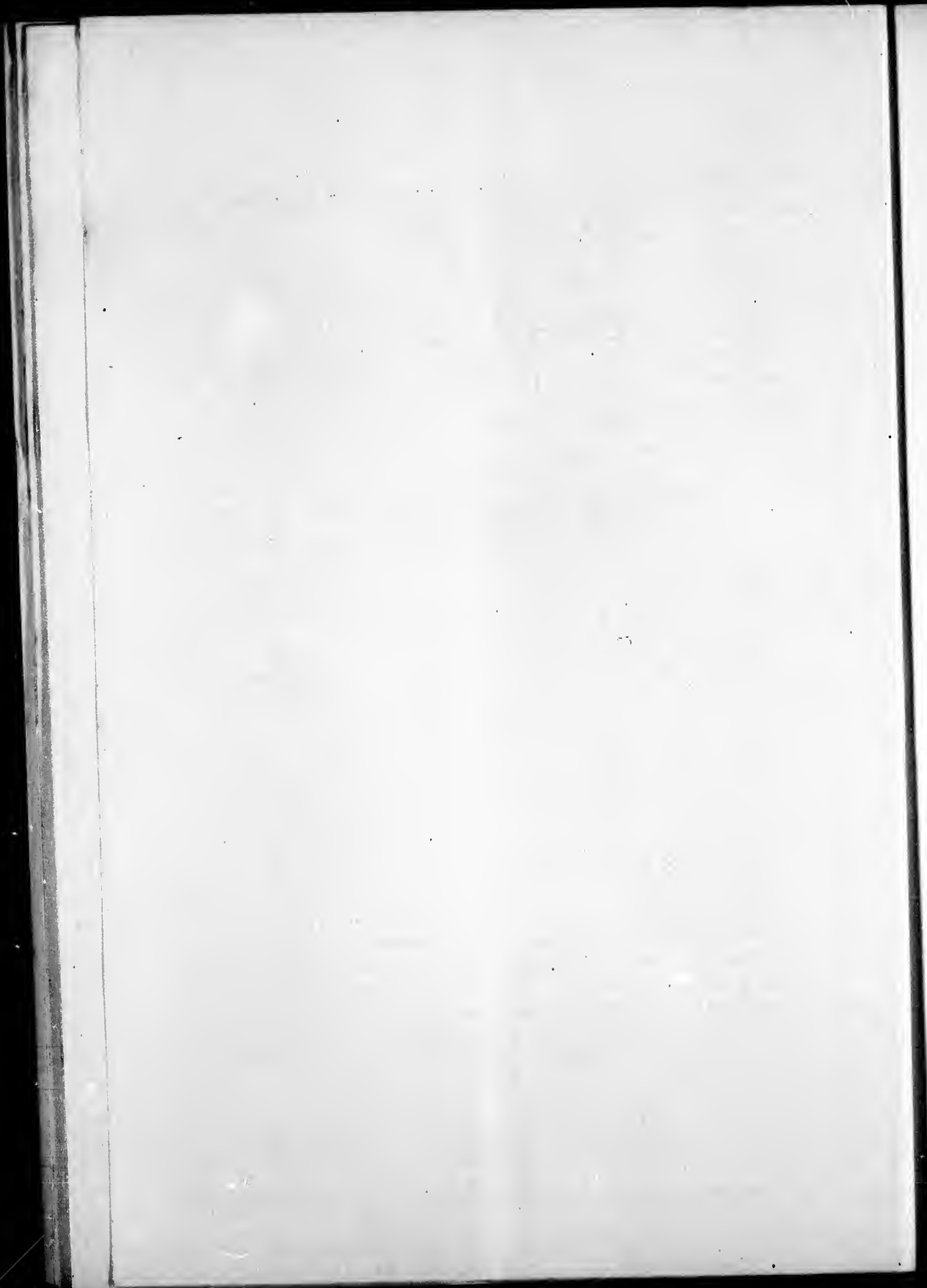
“When one recalls the 5,000 miles of coast line fishing privileges possessed by Canada; the limitless forests of timber greatly needed by the United States; the exhaustless hills of iron ore, the copper, nickel and other minerals; the mountains of phosphates, the miles and miles of coal in close proximity to eastern manufacturing centres and western needs, the infinite variety of riches which God in his Providence has placed in those regions for the good of all mankind; and when one recalls that for the most part these are lying silent, dormant and dead, *it needs only to turn and look into the earnest faces of the great nation on the borders of Canada to realize that the good*

*Providence has also provided a people whose high mission it is to take these vast riches and most gratefully enjoy His bounty ! ”*

Do you quite agree to that ? Do you think this Canada of ours was intended by the good Providence for the great nation on your borders and not for you ? Are you prepared to accept Mr. Wiman's views of the matter, and be guided by him, so that the Americans may take the vast riches of your own native land and most gratefully enjoy them ? I think if Mr. Wiman were here you would give him a decisive answer.

Now hear what Alfred Tennyson says :

Sharers of our glorious past,  
 Brothers, must we part at last ?  
 Shall not we through good and ill  
 Cleave to one another still ?  
 Britain's myriad voices call,  
 “ Sons, be welded, each and all  
 Into one Imperial whole,  
 One with Britain heart and soul !  
 One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne ! ”  
*Britons ? Hold your own !*  
 And God guard all !





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