

**CIHM
Microfiche
Series
(Monographs)**

**ICMH
Collection de
microfiches
(monographies)**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1999

Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming are checked below.

- Coloured covers / Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged / Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated / Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing / Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps / Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black) / Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations / Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material / Relié avec d'autres documents
- Only edition available / Seule édition disponible
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin / La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure.
- Blank leaves added during restorations may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming / Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- Additional comments / Commentaires supplémentaires:

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured pages / Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged / Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated / Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed / Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached / Pages détachées
- Showthrough / Transparence
- Quality of print varies / Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material / Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image / Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.
- Opposing pages with varying colouration or discolourations are filmed twice to ensure the best possible image / Les pages s'opposant ayant des colorations variables ou des décolorations sont filmées deux fois afin d'obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below /
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

	10x		14x		18x		22x		26x		30x	
	12x		16x		20x		24x		28x		32x	

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

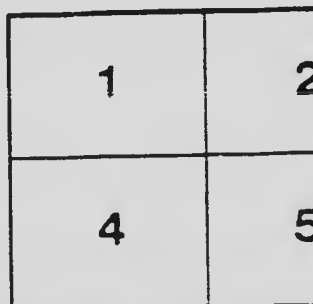
National Library of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

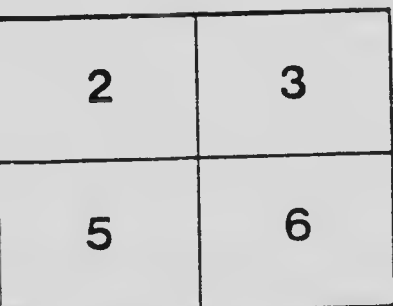
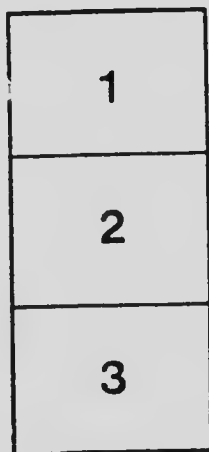
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont le couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

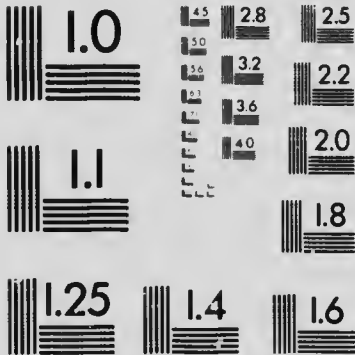
Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier

**Foremost Statesman of
Greater Britain**



A LIBERAL OF THE ENGLISH SCHOOL.

He has re-arranged the Canadian Customs tariff "so as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain, and the United States."

AC901

A7

1911

NO. 0023

PXXX

NOTE.—The purpose of this pamphlet is to give the public some idea of the part played by Ft. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier during his several visits to Great Britain. The subjects of British Preference, Canadian Reciprocity with the United States and other Canadian Governmental acts are dealt with in other also widely circulated publications.

British Preference and Reciprocity.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER, when attending, June 1911, in London, England, at the Coronation of Their Majesties, King George V., and Queen Mary and the meetings of the Imperial Conference, took occasion to re-assert his faith in, and advocacy of, the British Preference adopted and placed by his Government on the Canadian Statute Book, in 1897. He asserted, in a public address in London, that the British Preference was nailed to the mast.

Sir Wilfrid, when in London, proclaimed and recommended the great boon to be obtained by Canada by entering into a Reciprocity arrangement, in natural products, with the people of the United States.

Of the Reciprocity arrangement, Rt. Hon. David Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Imperial Government, expresses himself as follows:—

“I rejoice that it has been negotiated, and heartily trust it will carry to a successful conclusion. I regard it as a great triumph of common sense, and an immense stride in the cause of free trade, inculcating a step towards the fraternity and co-operation of the English speaking family.” (See Canadian Associated Cable, dated London February 17, 1911.)

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C., D.C.L., (Oxford) LL.D., (Member for Quebec East). Son of the late Carolus Laurier, Provincial Land Surveyor, and his wife, Marcelle Martineau. Born at St. Lin, Quebec, November 20th, 1841. Educated at mixed schools in his native parish and at L'Assomption College. Entered office of late Honourable R. Laflamme, as a student at law, 1860, and McGill University (D.C.L., 1864). Called to the Bar 1864; Queen's Counsel, 1880. Was head of the law firm of Laurier & Lavergne. In earlier years of professional career edited and contributed to several newspapers. Married May 13th, 1868, Miss Zoe Lafontaine. Elected to Legislative Assembly for Drummond and Arthabaska, 1871. Resigned to contest same riding for House of Commons at general election, 1874, and was elected. Sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Inland Revenue in the MacKenzie Administration, October 8th, 1877. On going back for re-election was defeated by O. D. Bourbeau, who obtained a majority of 40. I. Thibaudeau, Member for Quebec East, resigned and Mr. Laurier was elected in his place. Re-elected for Quebec East at general election, 1878, 1882, 1887, 1891, 1896 and 1900. Also elected for Saskatchewan, N.W.T., at general election, 1896. Re-elected to House of Commons at general election, 1904, for Quebec East and Wright. Decided to sit for Quebec East. At general election of 1908 re-elected for Quebec East and also returned for the City of Ottawa. Again decided to sit for Quebec East and resigned Ottawa seat. Resigned with MacKenzie Government, October, 1878. Elected leader of the Opposition, House of Commons, 1887. Issued the call for Dominion Liberal Convention, which met at Ottawa, 1893. On the defeat of the Tupper Ministry at general election, June 23rd, 1896, was called on by Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General, to form a Ministry, July 8th, 1896, on which date Sir Charles Tupper resigned. Sworn as President of the Privy Council, July 11th, 1896, and formed his Ministry July 13th, 1896. Was of the sub-committee of the Privy Council appointed to arrange for settlement of the Manitoba School question, an agreement being reached in November, 1896. Represented Canada on the occasion of the celebration of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee at London, June, 1897, when created a Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George. Was received in audience by the Sovereign and accorded the leading place in great Jubilee state procession of all the Colonial dignitaries. Oxford University conferred upon him degree of D.C.L. (Honourable) and Cambridge University as well. Sworn of Imperial Privy Council, July 6th, 1897. Made honorary member Cobden Club and received from it gold medal in recognition of services in the

cause of international free exchange. Presented by President of France with the Star of a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, at Havre, July 29th, 1897, the highest rank but one of the national order. Received in audience by His Holiness the Pope, August 12th, 1897. While in England the Prime Minister succeeded in securing from Her Majesty's Government, notice to Germany and Belgium of denunciation of the commercial treaties with those countries which stood in the way of Canada's new tariff extending a preference to the United Kingdom. On his return to Canada was accorded public receptions at Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa. Received from University of Toronto and from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, honorary degree of LL.D. Went to Washington, November, 1897, in the interest of better relations between the two countries. A member of the Joint High Commission, which met at Quebec, August 23rd, 1898, to discuss questions affecting jointly Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Welcomed the Duke of Cornwall and York, now His Majesty King George V., to Canada, September, 1901, and accompanied the Royal Party during the progress through the Dominion. Was invited to England to witness the coronation of His late Majesty King Edward VII., in 1902. Sailed June 14th, arrived in Liverpool June 21st, and in London, June 22nd. The coronation fixed for June 26th was postponed on June 24th, but took place on August 9th. Attended Colonial Trade Conference, which began in London June 30th. On July 26th received freedom of the City of Edinburgh, and Edinburgh University same day gave him honorary degree of LL.D. Entertained by City of Glasgow, July 28th. Visited the Continent and sailed for Canada, October 7th, arriving at Quebec, October 17th, and in Ottawa, October 18th, receiving a civic welcome at the City Hall. On New Year's Day, 1904, the Prime Minister was presented by His Excellency the Governor-General with the Fenian Raid Medal. In 1907, attended the Imperial Conference at London as one of the representatives of Canada, and received the freedom of the cities of London, Bristol, Liverpool, etc. In 1911 attended at London, England, to witness the coronation of their Majesties King George V., and Queen Mary, and during his stay attended the sittings of the Imperial Conference.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier the Central Figure

A few days after the coronation of their Majesties King George V. and Queen Mary, a thanksgiving service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral. The high place which Sir Wilfrid Laurier occupies in the esteem of the British people of all classes is indicated by the manner in which he was greeted on his way to the cathedral and received there. The cable message reproduced

below from the *Montreal Star* (Conservative), of June 29th, 1911, gives a brief summary of this grand cordiality:—

“Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as he passed through the crowded streets from the Palace to the Cathedral (St. Paul’s), had, perhaps, the greatest reception of his entire visit. In his full levee uniform and cocked hat, he sat alone in the first of the State carriages, looking every inch of him a great personage.

“Premier Fisher of Australia and his wife were absent; hence Sir Wilfrid’s splendid isolation.

“Upon the box of the carriage were two magnificently attired Royal servants, whose brilliant scarlet coats flashed all down the line of route, and as the prancing steeds drew the carriage along the broad centres, between strictly kept lines of police and soldiers, the London populace, who crowded the sidewalks, cheered again and again.

“‘That’s Laurier’, they cried. ‘That’s Canada. Give them a cheer,’ and they did it right heartily.

“Sir Wilfrid Laurier was obviously delighted. He kept his hand moving up and down to and from his cocked hat, thus giving a military salute of the Royal pattern and not raising his hat as lesser mortals might do.

“When Sir Wilfrid reached the Cathedral, another honor awaited him. The Lord Mayor of London and other dignitaries, no matter how gorgeous their attire, were sent around to the smaller north or south doors; but Sir Wilfrid’s carriage was directed by the police to none other than the Royal and crimson carpeted entrance at the main west door, where the Bishop of Ripon received him on behalf of the Anglican church. As he passed up the steps into the Cathedral, his uniform, slashed with the blue band of a Knight of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George, came into full view, and made him a most notable figure.”

A Liberal of the English School.

“I am a Liberal of the English school. I believe in that school which has all along claimed that it is the privilege of all subjects, whether high or low, whether rich or poor, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, to participate in the administration of public affairs, to discuss, to influence, to persuade, to convince—but which has always denied even to the highest the right to dictate even to the lowest. I am here representing not Roman Catholics alone but Protestants as well, and I must give an account of my stewardship to all classes. Here am I, a Roman Catholic

"of French extraction, entrusted by the confidence of the
 "men who sit around me with great and important duties
 "under our constitutional system of government. I am
 "here the acknowledged leader of a great party composed
 "of Roman Catholics and Protestants as well, in which
 "Protestants are in the majority, as Protestants must be
 "in the majority in every party in Canada. Am I to be
 "told, I, occupying such a position, that I am to be dictated
 "the course I am to take in this House, by reasons that can
 "appeal to the consciences of my fellow Catholic members,
 "but which do not appeal as well to the consciences of my
 "Protestant colleagues? No. So long as I have a seat in
 "this House, so long as I occupy the position I do now,
 "whenever it shall become my duty to take a stand upon
 "any question whatever, that stand I will take not upon
 "grounds of Roman Catholicism, not upon grounds of Prot-
 "estantism, but upon grounds which can appeal to the con-
 "sciences of all men, irrespective of their particular faith,
 "upon grounds which can be occupied by all men who love
 "justice, freedom and toleration."—Extract from Wilfrid
 Laurier's speech on the Remedial Bill. See Hansard,
 March 3rd, 1896, Vol. 1, Page 2758.

British Opinion of the First Statesman of Greater Britain.

In 1897 Sir Wilfrid Laurier made his first visit to Great Britain
 to attend the Diamond Jubilee of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria.
 This was immediately after the adoption of the Preferential Tariff
 in the Canadian House of Commons. A few years later, 1902,
 he again visited Great Britain to be present at the ceremonies in
 connection with the crowning of His late Majesty King Edward
 VII., the Sovereign of the British Empire and British Dominions
 beyond the Seas. Again in 1907, Sir Wilfrid attended with a
 number of Ministers upon the invitation of the Imperial Govern-
 ment, a Conference of all the Premiers in His Majesty's possessions.
 Upon this, as upon the other occasions he was admirably received
 by the Press and people wherever he went throughout Great
 Britain. In 1904, the "London Daily News" of September 14th
 of that year, remarked that "Sir Wilfrid Laurier is easily the first
 statesman of Greater Britain."

The following are some of the Press comments on Sir Wilfrid
 during the Imperial Conference of 1907:—"The Daily News" of
 London in a review of "The Race Question in Canada," declared
 "Sir Wilfrid Laurier has won his title to be considered as a true
 statesman because, although always a faithful Catholic, he has
 declined to be dominated by the forces of Ultramontanism.
 'The hope of the fusion of the races,' Sir Wilfrid Laurier has
 declared, 'into a single one is Utopian. It is an impossibility.'

The distinctions of nature will exist always'. But he went on to say, if we remember rightly, that the two races would none the less form a great nation under the British Flag, and it is, of course, the supreme achievement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's political career, that he has devoted himself to the attainment of this ideal."

"The Western Daily Press" of Bristol, England, stated:—"Sir Wilfrid Laurier is in himself an excellent illustration of the success of the British plan of making various great parts of the Empire responsible for the control of their own affairs. There was a time when the race problem in Canada was one affording cause for gravest anxiety; that belongs to the past; and the world is familiar with the fact that Sir Wilfrid, the first French-Canadian who has been Premier of the Dominion, is a man probably without a rival in the confidence felt in him in this country."

"The London Times" of April 15th, 1907, editorially stated:—"Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whom we welcome as probably the best known of all Canadian statesmen, comes of French-Canadian stock but he has shown by his career that this is no disqualification for doing valued service to the Empire."

"The Tribune" of London, referring to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's stirring speech at the Guildhall in 1907, characterized the Canadian Premier's deliverance on that occasion as:—"A speech that will certainly find a place in future histories of the British Empire."

"The Daily News" of London, stated:—"The destinies of Canada were not settled by the war which made England instead of France supreme in North America. There came the second crisis, and if that second crisis had not been faced with the courage, genius, and imagination of Liberalism, there would have been no men of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's race and blood at yesterday's lunch, and the Colony which is proud to count in its ancestry the heroism of a Montcalm as well as the heroism of a Wolfe would have sent no representative to the capital. For the distinction of the British Empire consists not in the conquests of its arms, but in the reconciliation of its statesmanship, in the generous wisdom which has shown that the British flag can shelter and respect the traditions, the sympathies, and the consciences of races that are not British by blood or history. This is what was in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's mind when he pointed with pride to the great British act of the present Government." (The Great British Act was the Constitution granted to South Africa, or the Transvaal.)

A Former Canadian Premier Endorses Sir Wilfrid's Attitude in Great Britain in 1907.

Some of the notable expressions regarding Sir Wilfrid's achievements in 1907 in Great Britain were penned by Sir Charles Tupper, ex-Premier of the Dominion of Canada and formerly for some years High Commissioner at London, England. Writing in the "Nineteenth Century," May, 1907, Sir Charles expressed himself as follows:—"My distinguished successor in the Prime Ministership of Canada has during these past few memorable days asserted with a persuasiveness all his own that the British Empire rests upon foundations firmer than the rock and as enduring as the ages." Further on in the same article Sir Charles says:—"Passing to another of the main subjects of Imperial discussion, namely, the constitution and perpetuation of the Imperial Conference, I find myself in substantial agreement with what I conceive to be the views of Canadian Ministers. The term 'Council' is liable to misconstruction as applied to a body which does no more than confer and has no executive functions, and I cannot see why anyone should object to the word 'Conference.' It is essentially an Imperial Conference inasmuch as the Colonies are invited by the Imperial Government to confer with them. Nor can I see any valid objection to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's claim that other members of his Government should take part in the Conference with the full status of membership * * * * I am also in agreement with Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the attitude of opposition he is assumed to take up respecting the active agitation carried on for some time in favour, ostensibly, of effecting the continuity of the Conference during the intervals between its meetings."

Imperial Conference of 1911.

The Imperial Conference met in London, England, on May 23rd, 1911, sitting intermittently as convenience required, up to and including June 20th, 1911. This was the sixth of the series of Conferences, now known as Imperial and formerly as Colonial, which have been held. Canada was represented by Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir F. W. Borden and Hon. L. P. Brodeur.

Bonds of the Empire Spiritual and Sentimental--not Governmental.

One of the most important matters brought early to the attention of the Conference was the Resolution proposed by Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand, providing for "An Imperial Council of State with representatives from all the governing parts of the Empire in theory and in fact, advisory

to the Imperial Government on all questions affecting the interests of His Majesty's Dominions Overseas."

This Resolution attracted great attention in the Press of Great Britain at the time, and according to the "London Daily News", of May 27th, 1911, "Sir Joseph Ward's proposal setting up an Imperial Council of State in theory and in fact advisory to the Imperial Government, found not a single supporter, and was withdrawn. Sir Wilfrid Laurier; Mr. Fisher, Prime Minister of Australia; General Botha, Prime Minister of South Africa; Sir Edward Morris, Prime Minister of Newfoundland; and Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister of Great Britain, hastened to pronounce the plan impracticable and the soundness of the criticism is obvious. The separation of domestic from defence and foreign affairs and the allocation of each to a different and independent authority are quite grotesque. As we all know, the whole course of social policy depends upon naval and foreign policy, and a conflict between the Imperial Parliament of defence and the parliaments of the various states would arise inevitably and shatter the Empire."

In the face of this opinion a number of the Unionist and Conservative papers of the City of London, with an air of superiority and assumption of dictation attempted to criticise the stand then taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier on this matter.

The "Manchester Guardian", of May 27th, 1911, referring to Sir Joseph Ward's proposition, said: "With one member for every 200,000 electors, the United Kingdom would have about 220 members, Canada 37, Australia 25, South Africa 7, and so on. In addition there was to be a Council of Defence consisting of twelve members; two from the United Kingdom, and ten from the others. The Council apparently was to be advisory merely, but the Parliament was to have enormous powers, including the control of all questions of peace and war, of foreign affairs and of defence. The Parliament and an Executive responsible to it were also to have the right to make financial laws on the colonies for the support of its policy, and a contribution of ten shillings per head was airily mentioned as a likely levy and the provision of twenty-five Dreadnoughts as a suitable policy. By way of meeting the Colonial objection that the overwhelming majority of 200 British members of the Parliament would have the power of taxing the Dominions, Sir Joseph Ward suggested that their contribution per head should be only half the English contribution, and we suppose it was by way of a further concession to colonial nationalism that he proposed giving Newfoundland equal representation with England on the Council of twelve. As was to be expected, no one could think of anything to say in support of the project."

"The Statist," London, England, in advising its readers to avoid meddlesomeness, states in its issue of June 27th, 1911: "Our readers should realize once for all that the self-governing Dominions and Commonwealths beyond the Seas are to all intents and purposes independent States, with authority not only to govern themselves according to their own good pleasure, but also to maintain armies and navies, and even to conclude treaties with great nations like the United States, France and Germany. It is a matter of common knowledge that Canada has already concluded with these three great powers, commercial treaties, and that at the present moment a Reciprocity arrangement is under discussion both in the United States and in Canada. What Canada has won for herself, she has won for all the other self-governing portions of the Empire, and we take it to be as certain as anything in politics can be, that the self-governing Daughter Countries would not give up one iota of what they have thus gained."

"The Nation," in its issue of May 27th, 1911, speaking of the proposal of a Council "advisory to the Imperial Government" refers to the suspicion with which Sir Wilfrid Laurier viewed this proposal at the last Conference and states that on this account, the minds of the other Premiers attending the Conference, were strengthened against the proposal. "The Nation" states that formal advice involves responsibility and concludes by saying: "there has never been anything like the Empire of the Five Nations, and if it is to subsist, it must obey the peculiar laws of its being. Its bonds are spiritual and sentimental, not governmental."

The above idea has been over and over again expounded and discussed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

What Sir Wilfrid Did Say.

On June 1st, Hon. Andrew Fisher, Prime Minister of Australia, moved the following Resolution:—

"That it is regretted that the Dominions were not consulted prior to the acceptance by the British Delegates of the terms of the Declaration of London: that it is not desirable Great Britain should adopt the inclusion in Article 24 of food-stuffs in view of the fact that so large a part of the trade of the Empire is in those articles: that it is not desirable that Great Britain should adopt the provisions of Articles 48 to 54, permitting the destruction of neutral vessels."

During the discussion that took place, Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, spoke as follows:—

In the proposition which was moved by our colleagues from Australia, especially as commented upon by Mr. Fisher, certain principles were laid down which seemed to me to be very far reaching. If I understand him correctly, the proposition he laid down was that the Dominions should be consulted upon all treaties to be negotiated by His Majesty. There are two sorts of treaties between nations. First of all there are commercial treaties; and secondly, there are treaties of amity, which are calculated to prevent causes of war, or to settle afterwards the effects of war. With regard to commercial treaties, His Majesty's Government has already adopted the practice of never including any of the Dominions beyond the seas, except with their consent. That implies consultation prior or afterwards. Liberty is left to us to be included or not included in such a treaty as that, and I think that is very satisfactory.

In Canada, I may say, we have gone further and claimed the liberty of negotiating our own treaties of commerce, and, so far, since the time we applied for this privilege, which was given to us, of course the negotiations have been carried on with the concurrence of the Foreign Office in conjunction with the Ambassador, but at all events our liberty was not restricted at all in that respect.

Coming now to the other class of treaties, which I characterized as treaties of amity, it would seem to me that it would be fettering, in many instances, the Home Government—the Imperial authorities—very seriously, if any of the outside Dominions were to be consulted as to what they should do on a particular question. In many cases, the nature of the treaty would be such that it would only interest one of the Dominions. If it interested them all the Imperial authorities would find themselves seriously embarrassed if they were to receive the advice of Australia in one way, the advice of New Zealand in another way, and the advice of Canada, perhaps in a third way. Negotiations have to be carried on by certain diplomatic methods, and it is, I think, not always safe for the party negotiating to at once put all his cards on the table and let his opponent know exactly what he is after.

I noticed particularly what was said by Mr. Fisher a moment ago, that the British Empire is a family of nations, which is perfectly true; but it must be recognised that in that family of nations by far the greater burden has to be carried on the shoulders of the Government of the United Kingdom. The diplomatic part of the Government of the Empire has of necessity to be carried on by the Government of the United Kingdom, and that being so, I think it would be too much to say that in all circumstances the Dominions beyond the seas are to be consulted as far as the diplomatic negotiations are concerned. That is what I understood Mr. Fisher to desire.

MR. FISHER.—My last point was that it should be done whenever possible.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER.—I have no doubt that wherever possible the Government of the United Kingdom will do its duty.

MR. FISHER.—And primarily when our interests were involved.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER.—Yes, but now let us apply this general doctrine to the Declaration of London. This is a thing which, in my humble judgement, ought to be left altogether to the responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom, for this reason: This is a treaty which lays down certain rules of war as to in what manner war is to be carried on by the Great Powers of Europe. In my humble judgement, if you undertake to be consulted and to lay down a wish that your advice should be pursued as to the manner in which the war is to be carried on, it implies of necessity, that you should take part in that war. How are you to give advice and insist upon the manner in which war is to be carried on, unless you are prepared to take the responsibility of going into the war?

MR. FISHER.—Do not we do that in a manner by coming here?

SIR WILFRID LAURIER.—No, we come here to discuss certain questions; but there are questions which seem to me to be eminently in the domain of the United Kingdom. We may give advice if our advice is sought; but if your advice is sought, or if you tender it, I do not think the United Kingdom can undertake to carry out this advice unless you are prepared to back that advice with all your strength, and take part in the war and insist upon having the rules carried out according to the manner in which you think the war should be carried out. We have taken the position in Canada that we do not think we are bound to take part in every war, and that our fleet may not be called upon in all cases, and, therefore, for my part, I think it is better under such circumstances to leave the negotiations of these regulations as to the way in which the war is to be carried on, to the chief partner of the family, the one who has to bear the burden in part on some occasions, and the whole burden on perhaps other occasions. I say this by way of general observation upon the first proposition which was made by Australia.

Continuing, Sir Wilfrid dealt with the article in the Declaration of London regarding foodstuffs, and in concluding his remarks, said:

I think the Declaration of London is humane in every respect, and, for my part, I think the duty of the Dominions is to

stand by the Imperial authorities in this matter. I go further. Sir Edward Grey is negotiating at the present time a Treaty of Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, and since we have been in England we have learned with great joy that France is likely to go into that arbitration treaty also. No greater step, I think, has been taken for the higher civilization of mankind than the negotiation of that treaty, and we all agree here, that if Sir Edward Grey is able to negotiate for, and have such a treaty enacted, it would be one of the greatest honours of his career and the greatest act of this century. If you prevent this agreement being passed, you put a bar and a stop at once on that treaty, and the reason is overwhelming, therefore, why the hands of the Government should be strengthened by this Conference, as far as it can, being in favour of the ratification of the Declaration of London.

Sir Wilfrid's Views Prevail.

This matter was discussed on June 1st, and continued on June 2nd, with the result that Mr. Fisher, with the consent of the Conference, withdrew his Motion, and submitted the following:—

“That this Conference after hearing the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs cordially concurs in the proposals of the Imperial Government, *viz.*: (a) that the Dominions shall be afforded an opportunity of consultation when framing the instructions to be given to British delegates at future meetings of the Hague Conference, and that Conventions affecting the Dominions provisionally assented to at that Conference shall be circulated among the Dominion Governments for their consideration before any such Convention is signed”—that deals with matters like the Hague Conference and such things as the Declaration of London. Then “(b) that a similar procedure, where time and opportunity”—those are limitations which you will remember were suggested—“and the subject matter permit,” shall as far as possible be used when preparing instructions for the negotiation of other International Agreements affecting the Dominions.”

Sir Edward Morris, Premier of Newfoundland, suggested that the word “concurr” be changed to “welcomes”. To this Mr. Fisher agreed, and Premier Asquith suggested that after the words “time and opportunity” there should be inserted the words “and the subject matter permit.”

Premier Asquith then remarked—I really think that this gives effect to both views in the resolution. Speaking on behalf of the Government, I think it does. Then is it the pleasure of the Conference that this resolution be adopted? Carried.

Sir Joseph Ward then moved—Seconded by Sir Wilfrid Laurier—"That the Conference after full consideration and debate, approves the ratification of the Declaration of London." This was carried, Mr. Fisher abstaining from voting.

Incident Illustrates Conflict Between Unity and Mechanical Union.

Comments appeared in the British Press on the remarks made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier on June 1st, and brief accounts of these were cabled to Canada and considerable misunderstanding arose. The comments in the British Press arose largely on the discussion and not on the conclusions. Sir Wilfrid's remarks on the first day of the Conference on this matter are given above in full, and from them it will be noticed that he took the stand which commended itself to all the other members of the Conference, with the exception of Mr. Fisher, who modified his view so far that he would not vote on the Declaration of London. It would appear from some of the comments cabled to Canada at the time, that Sir Wilfrid was not supported by the other members of the Conference, whereas on an examination of the report, it appears his views were the views that prevailed.

"The Yorkshire Observer" of June 3rd, 1911, takes the "Morning Post" to task for its criticism of Sir Wilfrid and the conclusion which it (the "Post") draws from his remarks, and the "Observer" says: "It is as safe as ever it was to assume Canadian sympathy and aid in case of emergency. The willingness of Canada to assist at need, does not at all involve here in the necessity of committing herself in advance to those steps out of which the need may arise. She may think emergencies less likely to occur if responsibility is left in the hands of British statesmen, just as opponents of conscription believe wars less likely to happen if the youth of the nation is not predestined for service abroad. The incident illustrates once more the conflict between unity and mechanical union and reflects its own light on the danger of Imperial fiscal bonds".

Summary of Some Resolutions Adopted.

Other resolutions were adopted as follows:—

For the consultation of the Dominions as to International Agreements affecting them.

To encourage the employment of British seamen on British ships, and raise the status and improve the condition of seamen employed on such ships.

To provide for uniformity of law in copyright, trademarks and companies.

To arrange for concerted action on International Exhibitions.

That the various Dominions encourage British emigrants.

An International scheme of Imperial citizenship based on the five following propositions:—

(1) Imperial nationality should be world-wide and uniform, each Dominion being left free to grant local nationality on such terms as its Legislature thinks fit.

(2) The Mother Country finds it necessary to maintain five years as the qualifying period. This is a safeguard to the Dominions as well as to her, but five years anywhere in the Empire should be as good as five years in the United Kingdom.

(3) The grant of Imperial nationality is in every case discretionary and this discretion should be exercised by those responsible in the area in which the applicant has spent the last twelve months.

(4) The Imperial Act should be so framed as to enable each self-governing Dominion to adopt it.

(5) Nothing now proposed would affect the validity and effectiveness of local laws regulating immigration and the like, or differentiating between classes of British subjects.

Providing for more uniformity in the law of Accidents Compensation.

Providing for the deportment of aliens.

Providing that for deserted wives and children reciprocal legal provisions should be adopted in the constituent parts of the Empire in the interests of such destitute and deserted persons.

Providing for the celebration of the birthday of His Majesty the King on June 3rd.

Providing for continuation of efforts for cheaper cable rates and for state-owned Atlantic cable service between England and Canada.

Appreciating the great importance of wireless telegraph stations and universal penny postage, and that the Imperial postal order scheme be extended to all parts of the Empire.

Other Resolutions of minor importance to Canada were also adopted.

Sir Wilfrid Moves Two Important Resolutions.

It is worthy of mention, however, that two of the most important Resolutions were submitted by Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada. They are as follows:—

To be Relieved from Favored Nation Clause in British Treaties with Foreign Countries.

“That His Majesty’s Government be requested to open negotiations with the several Foreign Governments having commercial treaties which apply to the overseas Dominions, with a view to securing liberty for any of those Dominions which may so desire to withdraw from the operation of the Treaty without impairing the Treaty in respect of the rest of the Empire.”

To Investigate Trade in all Parts of the Empire.

“That His Majesty should be approached with a view to the appointment of a Royal Commission representing the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland, with a view of investigating and reporting upon the natural resources of each part of the Empire represented at this Conference, the development attained and attainable, and the facilities for production, manufacture, and distribution; the trade of each part with the others and with the outside world; the food and raw material requirements of each and the sources thereof available; to what extent, if any, the trade between each of the different parts has been affected by existing legislation in each, either beneficially or otherwise; and by what methods consistent with the existing fiscal policy of each part, the trade of each part the others may be improved and extended.”

These Resolutions were carried unanimously. The words “and by what methods consistent with the existing fiscal system of each part, the trade of each part with the others may be improved and extended” concluding the Resolution as to trade within the Empire, were suggested by Rt. Hon. Mr. Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, accepted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and embodied in his Resolution.

Misunderstanding Gives Place to Appreciation.

“The Montreal Witness” and the “Winnipeg Free Press”, newspapers in the front rank of Canadian journalism, on the cabled reports of Sir Wilfrid Laurier’s remarks on Mr. Fisher’s motion of June 1st and amended on June 2nd, took issue with his views as cabled to Canada, and the remarks of the “Witness,” the “Winnipeg Free Press” and the “Winnipeg Telegram”, were in turn cabled across the water and furnished

texts for articles in the Unionist and Conservative press. In this respect, it may be serviceable to quote a fuller statement made by the "Winnipeg Free Press" on June 17th, 1911, which was as follows:—

The "Montreal Gazette," (Conservative), without mentioning names, makes a notable defence of the course taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the Imperial Conference which has been so savagely attacked by the British Tories and their Canadian namesakes. It says:

"The Imperial Conference of 1911 stands to be remembered chiefly for the proposals it has declined to sanction. The Conservatism of the majority of its members has been a steady check on those who would hurry events or make changes the meaning of which has not been thoroughly understood. It is not a bad thing that such should be the case. The mechanism of Government of the Empire may not be what a philosophic theorist would design. It has worked, and it works, however, with generally satisfactory results, meets the demands made upon it by the communities of varying interests who have devised it or live under it, and leaves them satisfied. In this, it is something like the Constitution of England, which is indefinable but workable, and while holding fast to certain great ideas, permits the people living under it to expand their administrative activities in whatever way the majority thinks is wise and well. The Imperial Conference had its origin in the minds of men who were idealists, perhaps, more than practical. It served a good purpose in awakening the people of all parts of the Empire to the knowledge that they had aspirations and interests in common. It gave opportunity for considering how these common interests might be advanced without matters of local concern being jeopardized; and all that has been done in this direction has been well done, and promises to be profitable. It was almost inevitable, however, that the existence of such a body should encourage theorists and create a desire among its more enthusiastic members to suggest big things for it to do. There has been rather more than the usual number of such things advanced this year."

Even in the matter of the relations of the Dominions and the Home Government in the case of foreign treaties (other than commercial) in which the propriety of Sir Wilfrid's position has been questioned by the "Montreal Witness," the "Free Press" and other friendly Canadian journals, the "Gazette" holds that the course suggested by the Canadian premier is the proper one. Sir Wilfrid on this point said that he preferred to leave it to the discretion of the Home Government whether, in such matters, the Dominion should be consulted. The "Gazette" says:

"There are treaties in regard to which the necessity of consulting with the colonies, or of getting their consent, might make action impossible. Great Britain is of Europe, and has interests

which may be gravely affected by the good or ill will of any of its nearby neighbours. Its statesmen must act in defence of these interests when the time seems ripe, and often it would be useless as well as risky to seek delay. Treaties are generally, also, a matter of compromise, and to increase the number of negotiations or the number of parties to be consulted would only be to increase the risk that the negotiations would fail. In matters of great principle, also, the interests of Great Britain and the colonies are alike, and are safe in Great Britain's hands".

The rejection of the proposal to have a standing Imperial Council, as the result of objections urged by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Louis Botha, is also approved by the "Gazette," which says:

"A good thing was done when the sentiment of the Conference showed itself to be against a standing council of the colonies in London. Members of such a Council could only speak on instruction, and would have but limited authority to diverge from their written orders. They could not be held to voice the ideas of the colonies as a whole. There might be a risk that as a body they would become something of no authority and a weak voice interposed between the government of a colony and the government at London in matters that properly concerned only the particular colony and the government in question. Even Canadian opponents of the presently proposed Reciprocity treaty with the United States will understand that a council made up of representatives of other colonies and sitting in London could condemn the arrangement without influencing one vote in this country. The usefulness of the Conference of 1911 will not be in what it builds, but in its showing where it is well not to build till it is found what the foundation is to be."

In concluding its article the "Winnipeg Free Press" points out that these impartial observations by the chief Tory paper in Canada, constituting, as they do, a strong vindication of Sir Wilfrid's course in the conference will be exceedingly unwelcome to other Canadian Conservative journals, which have been planning a furious campaign against Laurier as the wrecker of the Imperial Conference. Everything that has transpired during the past three weeks (May 23rd to June 17th) suggests a put-up job by the managers of the Canadian and British Conservatives, acting in concert, to disparage Sir Wilfrid's part in the conference, and to represent him as hostile to true Imperialism. The game has been played a little too openly and too recklessly. Its effects may well be to strengthen Sir Wilfrid with the Canadian people, who are by no means pleased to see their premier belittled and maligned by partisan and prejudiced London journals. The more sensible Canadian Conservatives appear to be of this mind, as evidenced by this emphatic declaration by the "Montreal Gazette".

Favored Nation Treaties.

In dealing with the Resolution which Sir Wilfrid submitted to the Conference on Commercial Treaties and which was un-animously adopted, the "Winnipeg Free Press" in its issue of June 9th, 1911, comments as follows:—

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's proposition that the British Government be asked to negotiate with certain foreign Governments, now having treaty rights with England, with a view to giving the overseas Dominions the right to decide whether they will remain under the operation of these treaties or not, has been greeted with the inevitable complaint by certain London newspapers that it makes a further tendency towards the dismemberment of the Empire. The "London Standard" appears to be particularly perturbed.

Let us apply a little common sense to the consideration of this matter. What has Canada asked? Simply that, with respect to the treaties antedating 1867, Canada shall be put in the same position as she has occupied since that date towards all commercial treaties made by Great Britain. If conferring upon the Canadian Government the right to choose whether or not it shall continue these treaties, spells the dismemberment of the Empire, what is to be said of the action of the British Government since 1867 in permitting the colonies at their discretion to contract themselves out of the operation of British commercial treaties? In adopting this policy, was the British Government desirous of forwarding the dismemberment of the Empire? If not, the present criticism of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's proposal is unfounded.

Conservative Memorial in 1892.

The Dominion of Canada declared its position on this matter of the old foreign treaties as long ago as 1892, when a memorial dealing with the matter was passed by the Canadian House of Commons and the Canadian Senate, and submitted to the British Government. We, (The Winnipeg Free Press), quoted yesterday from this memorial the emphatic declaration that the obligations of the most favoured nation clauses which were imposed on Canada by these ancient treaties were "incompatible with the rights and powers subsequently conferred by the British North America Act upon the Parliament of Canada for the regulation of the trade and commerce of the Dominion." Another paragraph in this memorial which is well worth a little attention at the present juncture reads:

"Your memorialists earnestly desire to foster and extend the trade of the Dominion with the Empire, with its great neighbour the United States, and with other countries throughout the world, wherever opportunity offers; and believe by mutual

concessions, and the adoption of measures for the rearrangement of trade relations between the various portions of the British Empire, and between the Empire and foreign nations, important and lasting beneficial results may be obtained, and that to the way of the attainment of these great objects the continuation of the restrictions imposed upon Canada and other portions of the British Empire by the so-called favoured-nations clause creates an unnecessary and unjustifiable obstruction."

This memorial was passed by a Canadian Parliament in which the membership was overwhelmingly Conservative. A Conservative Government was in power. This terrible man Laurier, who is charged with a design to bring about the disintegration of the Empire, was only the leader of the Opposition. Was this memorial of 1892 directed against the integrity of the British Empire? If not, is it not quite clear that the milder proposition of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1911 is not open to this criticism?

The situation to which attention was drawn by the Canadian resolution of 1892 is one for which the British Government is in no way responsible. The Dominions have inherited their disabilities in this regard from the days of their absolute dependency upon Great Britain. It might be held to be unreasonable for the Dominions to ask Great Britain to denounce these treaties if the consequence would be to disarrange the foreign commercial relations of the motherland. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it will be noted, does not ask that the treaties be denounced. He suggests negotiation with a view to an amicable adjustment of the difficulty by which Great Britain will continue the existing relationship with the foreign countries, and the Dominions will be given the option of accepting or rejecting the provisions of the treaties.

The reason for the protests of papers like the "Standard" is not far to seek. The favoured-nation provisions of these treaties constitute, as has been shown clearly by the developments of the last few months, a very serious abridgment of Canada's power to control her external commercial relations. Theoretically, as the memorial of 1892 sets forth, Canada has complete power to deal with all matters affecting its commerce; yet, in practice, under the operation of these treaties, Canada subjects herself to very severe disabilities if she undertakes to make extensive trade arrangements with foreign countries. It is because these ancient treaties, containing provisions to which the Dominions would not agree today, limit, in operation, the commercial freedom of Canada, that certain influences in Great Britain, of which the "Standard" is the spokesman, are anxious to see them retained. They want to see Canada's commercial autonomy restricted in every possible way.

Concluding its remarks on the question of Foreign treaties the *Free Press* asserts that the situation, as it stands, is one that

cannot persist. British diplomacy must find a way out. Our freedom to make our own trade bargains and control our own traffic, which was conferred upon us by the British North America Act, and has been confirmed by the experience of over forty years, must not now be nullified by the operation of ancient treaties, some of which date from a period before Canada was British territory.

Canadians Well Satisfied.

The "Morning Leader", London, of June 10th, 1911, has the following to say on some of the criticisms on Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

Yesterday the Imperial Conference agreed to two resolutions—one urging the desirability of encouraging emigration to the colonies rather than to foreign countries, and one suggesting that reciprocal provisions should be made throughout the Empire with regard to destitute and deserted persons. The value of such decisions on the real life of the people is much greater than may be supposed by the stamp of Imperialist who is beset by a dream of rigid uniformity of the German or Zollverein type. It is inevitable that to these people the Conference should be a disillusion. The withdrawal of Mr. Harcourt's proposal to establish a sort of Standing Committee of the Conference—which we find ourselves disposed to regret, although the South African and Canadian fears and objections are quite intelligible—has been the last straw to them. The "Standard" yesterday was inspired by it to a long and bitter attack on Sir Wilfrid Laurier. "It almost seems" it wrote, "as if Sir Wilfrid Laurier's aim were to eliminate everything but the link of the Crown, so that Canada would in fact be a separate kingdom under the British Monarchy. But does this really represent Canadian sentiment?" We can only reply that the slightest rumour of any interference with Canadian autonomy has hitherto never failed to provoke an outcry in the Canadian Press, and that we have it on the reluctant testimony of the "Times" Toronto correspondent—no admirer of the Canadian Premier's—that "the masses of Canadians are well satisfied to have Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the representative of Canada in London." The whole incident only serves to show how dangerous is the attempt to force the colonies into any sort of unity for which they are not prepared. It should not have taken much foresight to see that if there is one thing calculated more than another to foster and stimulate the assertion of an independent colonial sentiment, it is the idea of a mechanical Empire on the Birmingham model; and experience already proves it to have been the sole result of Mr. Chamberlain's crude efforts in that direction.

Empire Problems.

The "Nottingham Express," in its issue of June 15th, 1911, refers to the attacks made by the Conservative Press of London, England, on the colonial premiers, in an editorial, part of which is as follows:—

A number of Conservative newspapers have combined during the last week or so in attacks on the Colonial Premiers, with the exception of Sir Joseph Ward, and special attention is paid to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Disappointed party hopes lead people to do and say extraordinary things, but it is a long time since we have noticed such disgraceful attacks as those which the Tory Press has directed against the Canadian Premier. He is charged with a desire to cut the painter and steer Canada clear of the Empire, and probably into union with the United States. Home Tories would restrict Canada's freedom and force her to consent to be part of an Empire, every section of which would be bound down by the cast iron uniformity of a tariff and ruled with disregard to local conditions. The charges are replied to in an extremely able letter to the "Times" by a correspondent who signs himself "Alec. C." and who is evidently by no means a Liberal. "History teaches us", he says, "that whenever England has tried a policy of tightened bonds, dissatisfaction, open revolt, and secession have been the result; whereas the enlargement of the rights and powers of the Colonies have always been followed by a stronger feeling of loyalty to the Mother Country." That is perfectly true. There never was a time when Empire loyalty was such a real thing. We have, however, to consider this. Colonies have to take into account Colonial interests first: Colonial Ministers have to give local considerations first claim. That is the true Imperialism. The various parts of the Empire must have full liberty to pursue that course which will tend to make them prosperous and strong. If they are so, then it stands to reason, it should be clear to the meanest intellect, that the Empire will be prosperous and strong. That is what Sir Wilfrid Laurier sees. To quote the writer mentioned above:

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it may be fearlessly maintained, is not a separatist, neither in aspiration nor in tendency, but a far-sighted statesman, seeing things clearly and acting wisely. Strong enough to resist the allurements of cheap popularity based upon pure Jingoism and class prejudice, he shapes Canadian policy on lines which history has proved to be safest to ensure the willing cohesion and unconquerable strength of the Empire, a strength based upon freedom of action, not upon tightened fetters."

Lack of Knowledge Misleads.

In the "Outlook", of June 17th, 1911, a writer criticizing Sir Wilfrid Laurier, refers to Canadians as "children of Scotch and

Irish clansmen in the woods of Columbia and by the banks of the Saskatchewan". With such knowledge as this of Canada, there is not much surprise that the Unionist and Conservative newspapers should be full of misrepresentations.

The "Newcastle Chronicle" of June 29th, 1911, points out that the British criticisms of Sir Wilfrid Laurier founded on statements in "The Canadian" a paper published in Sarnia, Ontario, cannot be considered fitting.

Premier Asquith Well Pleased.

Premier Asquith, at the closing session of the Conference, stated the results of these meetings of the Imperial Defence Committee:

"You will all, I am sure, remember our meeting in the Committee on Defence, when Sir Edward Grey presented a survey of the foreign policy of the Empire. * * *

"I do not suppose there is one of us who did not feel when that exposition of our foreign relations had been concluded, that we realized in a much more intimate and comprehensive sense than ever heretofore the international position in its bearings upon the problems of government in the different parts of the Empire itself. So again our discussions are conducted, also, and necessarily so, under the same veil of confidence. In regard to co-operation for naval and military purposes, there has resulted, I think, a most satisfactory agreement, which, while it recognizes our common obligations, at the same time acknowledges with equal clearness that those obligations must be performed in different parts of the Empire in accordance with the requirements of local opinion, local need and local circumstances.

"* * * We who have gone into it with the frankness which such confidential discussions admit of will agree that even if the Conference had done no more than that it would have been a landmark in the development of what I may call our Imperial constitutional history."

Both Lord Haldane, Secretary of State for War, and Mr. McKenna, Secretary of the Admiralty, have since expressed themselves in the same unqualified terms. The "Times" states that this meeting may not inappropriately be described as an Imperial Cabinet Council. Canada's Prime Minister is entitled to his full share of credit for this result.

The Preferential Tariff in Brief.

1897, 1900 and 1907.

In introducing the original Preferential Resolutions, the Canadian Finance Minister, Hon. W. S. Fielding spoke as follows:—

"But why should we wait for England to take action? England has dealt generously with us in the past. England has given us a larger degree of liberty, perhaps, than is possessed by any other country on the face of the earth. She has given us liberty to tax her wares even when she admits our goods free, and we have taxed them to an enormous degree. Why should we wait for England to do more? Someone must make a move in this matter, and we propose that Canada shall lead the way."

It is interesting to allude to the steps that have been taken by the Liberal party towards bringing the Preference about and thus creating between Great Britain and Canada better commercial relations.

The Canadian British Preferential Tariff as it was first enacted, 1897, provided for the admission of all articles except wines, malt liquors, spirits, spirituous liquors, liquid medicines and articles containing alcohol, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, that may be imported from Great Britain and certain of her colonies and possessions, at a reduction of twenty-five per cent. from the ordinary rates of duty. After July 1st, 1900, the reduction was made one-third. In the case of manufactured articles it is provided that such items to be admitted under the Preferential Tariff shall be bona fide the manufactures of Great Britain, and that the benefits of such tariff shall not extend to the importation of articles into the production of which there has not entered a substantial portion of the labor of Great Britain. This provision was intended to prevent the entry under the Preferential Tariff of Belgian, German and other continental manufactures which, but for the provision, might be shipped to Britain, thence to Canada, and entered as British goods.

That in substance is the character of the British Preferential Tariff. To put it briefly—the result of it is that where goods from the United States or other foreign countries have to pay \$100 duty, the goods of Great Britain have only to pay \$66.66 duty.

At the revision of the Canadian Tariff in 1907, the flat rate of preference was abandoned and a special Preferential rate was fixed for each article. On the average the preference to the goods of Great Britain is about one-third reduction on the rates paid upon the goods of other countries.

The practical effects of the Preferential Tariff are, briefly, as follows:—

1. The Tariff has resulted in largely increased sales of British goods to Canada. For years prior to its adoption Great Britain's exports to Canada had steadily fallen off. The Preference at once arrested the decline and the trade has increased ever since.

2. It also has resulted in a wonderful increase in the exports of farm products of Canada to Great Britain. The British heart was touched by the action of the Canadian Government, and,

although there is no law on the Statute Books, British merchants are buying Canadian products as they never did before. The Conservatives tried to bargain in a huckstering spirit for a preference in the British markets for Canadian produce; the Liberal Government did not bargain for it, but actually got it through their wise actions.

3. It involves a very large direct reduction in the duties paid by the Canadian consumer, as compared with the duties paid by him under the Conservative tariffs.

4. It also operates directly to the benefit of the Canadian consumer. The foreign competitors of Britain in our markets must reduce their prices to meet the preference in duty granted to Britain. The Canadian consumer, therefore, is benefitted by the reduction in prices.

The Praise of the British Press for the Liberal Preference.

“The London Times”:—“The new departure (the Preferential Tariff, 1897) is most gratifying to all who desire to see the Empire knitted more closely together. It is the most remarkable step yet made towards the fiscal confederation of the Empire.

“If every British Colony should follow suit and the day comes that free trade exists from one frontier of the Empire to the other, it will be a mutual satisfaction to recall the circumstances of the first step in the intiation of that policy.

“Mr. Fielding’s statement (the Budget speech, 1900), contains many points of interest to people in this country. One point transcending all others is the patriotic spirit of Imperial solidarity in which the speech was conceived, delivered and acclaimed.

“It was not the mere statement that the past year was the most prosperous in the history of Canada, that caused the speech to be punctuated with patriotic cheers and followed by the singing of the National Anthem. It was rather the common feeling that the past year had witnessed and sanctified the close affection binding the Dominion to the Mother Country in a community of sacrifice, sorrow and achievement, these real cords of men, these true bonds of Empire. It was not the common felicitation over a prosperous balance sheet, nor even the new adjustment of fiscal relations, however advantageous and desirable in itself.”

After referring to the increased preference in favor of Great Britain, from 1st July, the “Times” adds:—“There is no immediate suggestion of reciprocity in this graceful, gratifying concession of Canada to the trade of the United Kingdom. The reciprocity so far is the natural consequence of a fiscal policy adopted by Canada with Great Britain to the advantage of both parties. Without recasting our whole fiscal policy, we have no other reciprocity to offer.

"We hold that the best form of reciprocity is, in the abstract, that in which two countries exchange their respective products as freely as possible without let or hindrance from fiscal barriers on either side. Perhaps in the concrete, the next best form might be a common fiscal tariff for all parts of the Empire, but the time for that is evidently not yet. The two ideals are economically irreconcilable perhaps, but some day it may be found politic to subordinate the purely economical ideal of a consolidated united Empire.

"It was perhaps within the bounds of possibility, said Mr. Fielding, that England might be induced to impose a duty for the benefit of the colonies. We do not question the possibility in the abstract, but inasmuch as Canada found her advantage in successive reductions of her tariff in favor of a country imposing no duties except for revenue purposes, perhaps it is equally possible that the solution of the problem of the Imperial Zollverein may in the end be found in the common acceptance of a policy of free exchange rather than in the reversion to a policy of protective duties and preferential tariffs."

"The Daily News":—"As patriots we welcome this significant display of attachment from the greatest of our Colonies, and as Liberals we congratulate the Leader of the Liberal party of the Dominion."

London correspondent, "New York Times":—"For the first time in my experience England and the English are regarding Canadians and the Dominion with affectionate enthusiasm."

British correspondent, "Montreal Star" (Conservative):—"The Budget Speech of the Hon. Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, Canada, attracts a good deal of attention. I heard a Conservative member of Parliament say, this morning, 'Our Ministers jaw, jaw, jaw, and do little but jaw about the unity of the Empire, but Canada keeps on doing, doing, doing.'"

"The London Standard":—"The 'Standard,' after congratulations on the prosperous year says:—"It is scarcely less pleasant to hear of the success that attended the experiment of preferential trade with Great Britain. On this question Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues adopted what on the face was a more sentimental policy than was considered proper by Sir Charles Tupper and the Opposition. While the latter always insisted that Great Britain must alter her fiscal system and give a preference to Canadian products if Canada lowered her duties on British goods, Sir Wilfrid, putting all such conditions aside, boldly made a reduction of twenty-five per cent. in favor of British imports.

After reciting the proposed extensions of the preference, it adds:—"This is to be carried out without any claim of reciprocity from us. Though the Imperial Government would no doubt be promoting Canadian interests if it would accept the arrangement for admitting colonials to the privilege of trust investments in this

country, the prospects of the adoption on our part of anything like a Zollverein, were discussed by the Finance Minister with complete appreciation of what is practicable in the United Kingdom.

"The supporters of preferential trade within the Empire will welcome the beginning made by Canada as the one way in which, if ever, such a thing might most easily be brought about. It is, however, not a question of immediate importance, and in the meanwhile, without complete reciprocity, it appears that both Canada and the United Kingdom reap the advantages of the one-sided preference now given. The Dominion obtains an increase of trade. The British importers pay a lower duty."

The "Financial News" says—We are not grateful merely for what Canada is doing for the Mother Country in the field, or in the less glorious sphere of commerce. What appeals most strongly to our instincts is the splendid example Canada is giving to her younger sisters. Let the Australian note well that the financial prosperity and the political vigor which shows in every sentence of Mr. Fielding's speech could be attained only by a federated Canada. Let the Australian colonies dwell on the fiscal stability of the Dominion. Let them emulate the course of Canadian statesmen.

"Meantime the example of what Canada has been able to achieve with her own financial credit should give a strong impetus to the Australian longing to make federation real and unimpaired by local and colonial jealousies. The privilege earned by Canada of having her debt recognized as trustee security is one the Australian colonies greatly desire, and they have now a good idea of what they must do ere it is conceived.

"We have need to envy the fiscal insight of the Canadian Government, and in the disinterestedness of her people she plainly shames us for sacrificing the welfare of the colonies which still reverence the Imperial connection, by refusing to discard the fetish of a fiscal policy that has survived its usefulness."

"The London Outlook":—"The zeal of the tariff Imperialists in Canada commands British sympathy and admiration all the more because a British tariff discriminating in favor of colonial products is as impossible to-day as ever. The pillar of the Empire's strength is its free trade; it must remain the Empire of the Open Door as far as home products are concerned."

The "London Financial Times":—"The prosperity of the Dominion, thanks to a Government which, with Sir Wilfrid Laurier at its head, has reached as near the ideal of a self-governing British colony as is possible in this imperfect world, has been extraordinary, and yet it has had few of these ephemeral features which will tend to the belief that it is short-lived."

The "Globe", April 27th, 1900, Toronto, in referring to the British Outlook, said:—"In the last issue of "The Outlook," considerable space is devoted to Canadian affairs, and the series

of actions by which the Laurier Ministry created a new Imperialistic era, are hurriedly recited. The first was in 1897, when tariff preferences were established for British goods. When the Government took up this policy there were obstacles in the way. Preferences for Great Britain would conflict with British treaties with Germany and other European nations. Canada, however, declared what its policy was, and for the first time in history the Home Government terminated treaties at the instance of a colony. The preference so brought about aroused immense enthusiasm in Great Britain—an enthusiasm which was revived in all its generous force when Sir Wilfrid Laurier represented Canada in the jubilee celebrations of 1897. His attractive personality, and the fact that he is a French Canadian, would have in any event secured for him a great popular reception. These combined with the fact that he is the author of the preferential tariff, made him tower above all the Colonial Premiers, and brought Great Britain and Canada into more hearty sympathy than at any time previously. The establishment of a penny post between Great Britain and all her large colonies, again on the initiative of Canada, grew out of the home-coming of the colonies at the Jubilee celebration. Then followed the despatch of the Canadian contingents to South Africa. And now, says "The Outlook," as a result of all this drawing closer of the colonies to Great Britain, British statesmen are confronted with the problem as to how the Empire can avail itself of the services of colonial leaders like Sir Wilfrid Laurier in its councils."

The Yarmouth, England, "Independent," (March 21st, 1900), says:—"In these circumstances the Canadian Government felt encouraged to increase the preference to 33 1-3 per cent., as from the 1st of July next. This generous and enlightened policy on the part of the Dominion cannot but be most acceptable, not only to British manufacturers, but to the nation as a whole, and it is to be hoped that it may be followed by similar actions on the part of other of Her Majesty's colonies. They may be sure that if they accept the lead of Canada they will lose nothing by it, for there is rapidly developing in this country a phase of Imperialism to which nobody can object, a disposition to accept the goods of our brethren across the sea in preference to those of foreign nations. It must be a matter of great gratification to the people of Britain to read of the almost phenomenal prosperity which Canada is enjoying. The financial returns for the year 1898 were satisfactory beyond all expectation, but they have been excelled by those of 1899, the most prosperous year in Canadian history. Without going into detailed statistics, it may be said that nearly all sources of revenue show a large increase, and that the outlook for the approaching financial year is equally favorable. One very practical result of this prosperity is found in an increase in the number of immigrants, and particularly in the eloquent fact that many

people are leaving the United States to settle in western Canada with the prosperous, contented and happy inhabitants of a country which has been foremost among British colonies in its devotion to the Mother Country."

Discussing the Canadian budget, "The Bristol Mercury" (March 27th, 1900) said:—"Apart from the question of sentiment, we have an additional interest in the finances of the colony through being its best customer. Canadian products are finding a greatly increasing sale, and the preferential reduction upon British goods has also helped to augment the volume of trade. Such good results have followed the preferential reduction that the authorities are going to make further concessions. - We need not dwell upon the loyal expressions with which the Minister of Finance terminated his admirable budget speech. The loyalty of Canada, as well as of the colonies, has been demonstrated in 'blood and treasure,' and the result is apparent in the deepening of the sentiment which binds the Empire together. Canada may well look forward with confidence to the future. Secure in the finances of the country and secure in the ties of relationship with the Mother Country, the colony has a prosperous career before it, and will do credit to us all as well as credit to itself in the race that the world has set."

Under the heading, "Canadian Imperialism," the London "Country Gentleman" (March 31st, 1900) said:—"Following as it does an extraordinary display of Imperial patriotism, Canada's latest patriotic effort is most gratifying. It is about three years ago that the Canadian Government first decided to give a preference to British goods by a reduction in the duty of 25 per cent. That came into operation in August, 1898; and now after eighteen months' experience of the operation of the new tariff it is announced that the preference to British goods will from July 1st be increased to 33 1-3 per cent. Of course it has been shown that a rebatement of duty to goods of British origin is a most advantageous policy from a fiscal and commercial point of view; but none the less it is satisfactory to see the genuine loyalty with which the proposal has been made and met in our great North American colony. Another example has thus been set to other British possessions, and the experiment which has already proved so successful both to the Mother Country and to Canada may encourage our cousins under the southern cross to make similar concessions, when forming the Federal tariff, which, it is hoped, it may be found possible to arrange for in connection with the scheme of federation under discussion."

The Bradford, England, "Observer" (March 27th, 1900) said: "The Laurier administration is so well satisfied with its preferential tariff in favor of English goods that it is about to increase the drawback from 25 per cent., at which it stands, to 33 1-3, so that after the 1st of July, in the words of Mr. Fielding, 'for

every three dollars imposed on the products of foreign countries only two dollars will be imposed on the products of Great Britain.' The Conservative Opposition, as voiced by Sir Charles Tupper, regards this policy unfavorably, and holds to reciprocity; preference to Great Britain is well enough if Great Britain is willing to give preference to Canada, otherwise it is mistaken philanthropy. Mr. Fielding vindicates his policy on the ground that the fact of concession generates a friendly sentiment towards Canadian products in British markets, and, as we have seen, he is able to render a very satisfactory account of his stewardship. But whilst he is at issue with Sir Charles Tupper on the point of waiting for British reciprocity, he is at one with him in desiring it. What is more, he thinks that it may come about some day. No British statesman of Cabinet rank had yet ventured to approve the scheme (surely Mr. Chamberlain gave it his blessing), but 'the splendid imperial movement which was now attracting the attention of the world might one of these days override the hitherto accepted principles of British political economy.' Well, the Imperial movement is doubtless very remarkable, but we imagine that others than political economists will have a good deal to say before the English people are persuaded into 'a re-imposition of the tax on breadstuffs.' "

"London Daily Chronicle," June 16th, 1897:—"In Mr. Laurier a great man has come amongst us, and, though he himself is far too diffident to say or even think so, he has a great message for England. In him we have the elected head of the only federation in the British Empire. The seven colonies of Australasia have sent Premiers, and they are teaching us much that we should know of the evolution of British institutions in all variety of forms. Canada, too, has seven colonies, with striking differences of climate, race and creed, but she sends not seven, but one Premier—the federal head of all. Thus Mr. Laurier stands out as a great object lesson in British rule, and no one who listens to his incisive and persuasive oratory can doubt that, judged by the standard of British statesmanship, he is an ideal spokesman for the people who have shown the path by which, first, each group of colonies, and then, perhaps, the Empire as a whole is destined to reach its full development."

The Wisdom of the Liberal Government's Policy.

The wisdom of the Liberal Government's policy has been amply and fully manifested. The Government saw beyond, they looked into the future and recognized that if ever the possibility of Canada getting a preference in the British markets were to become an actual reality, it would not be brought about by any huckstering policy on the part of Canada, but it would come as the result of a grand Imperial sentiment which would override all questions of an economic nature. The step taken by the Government did

more to create and develop that sentiment than any action that had prior thereto been taken in the history of the Empire.

Although the Liberal Government did not bargain for a preference in the British markets, as a matter of fact they got a preference. The hearts of the English people were touched by Canada's practical exhibition of loyalty and good-will, and although there was no law on the statute books compelling British consumers to prefer Canadian goods, it is an undoubted fact that since the adoption of the Preferential Tariff the demand for Canadian produce has greatly increased and still continues to increase. The trade figures substantiate these observations.

The Conservative Opposition to the Preference.

The Conservative party, while stigmatizing the Canadian preference as a myth, a sham, and a fraud on the British people never by a formal vote objected to its adoption by Parliament, probably because they did not have the courage of their alleged convictions. They were, however, forced to declare themselves on the question at the session of Parliament held in 1900. Dr. Russell, Liberal member of Parliament, moved an amendment on a motion to go into supply, which was in the following terms:—

“That this House regards the principle of British preference in the Canadian Customs Tariff as one which in its application has already resulted, and will, in an increasing measure, continue to result in material benefit to the Mother Country and to Canada, and which has already aided in welding, and must still more firmly weld together the ties which now bind them, and desires to express its emphatic approval of such British preference having been granted by the Parliament of Canada.”

After a long debate a vote was taken which resulted in the Conservative party unanimously voting against the amendment, and thus they condemned the Canadian British preference.

