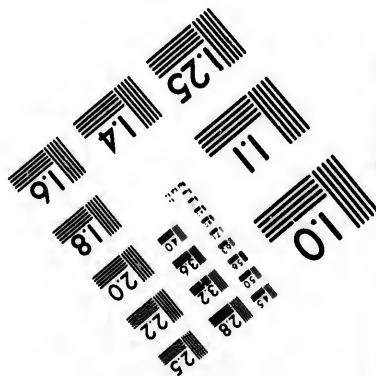
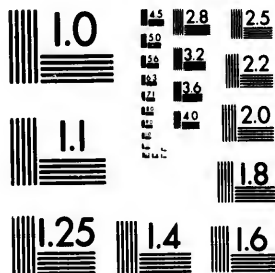


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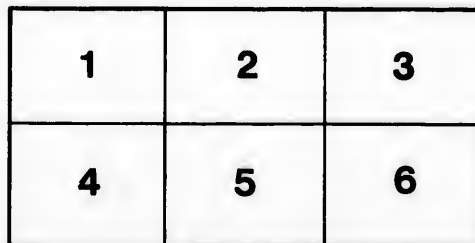
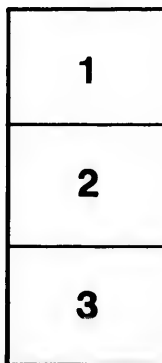
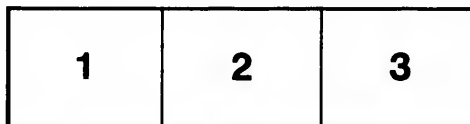
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'IMPERIAL FEDERATION,'

BY G. E. FENETY,

QUEEN'S PRINTER,

PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK, CANADA.

FREDERICTON, N. B., SEPTEMBER, 1888.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

Within the last twelve months the subject of Imperial Federation has been frequently engaging the attention of the Press, public meetings and leagues formed for the purpose, in England and Canada. Ottawa, Toronto and Halifax have held forth upon the platform, and spoken out through prominent men on the side of a united Empire; but as nothing definite can be gathered from the sentiments expressed, or resolutions passed as to what is really wanted, it is next to impossible to join issue with its advocates and discuss the subject in all its bearings, whether for or against, unless in an anticipatory or speculative way. In fact this is the only great question that has ever been presented to the British public, having no special side to it; and yet it is one of many sides and capable of various definitions, all more or less reconcilable or divergent as the case may be—for even men who agree upon the principle of federation, differ among themselves as to methods and possibilities. It is not enough, however, for the friends of federation to advocate an abstract principle, and expect all who are in anywise interested in the subject, to accept their dictum as one of practical force. But then, after all do the federationists themselves know what they are aiming at? England and her Colonies united against the world, is a very sublime idea, to which exception in the abstract cannot be taken; but the idea itself does not seem to contain a single germ capable of fructification—nor does it offer even a ray of hope that it can be worked into shape or form by the usual methods, through the Press and the Platform, while the difficulties are so insuperable. The whole world—(the Colonial Empire embraces every sea) England particularly—has not only to be educated to see alike but to act alike by one common impulse; and the object of this writing is not for the purpose of opposition, so much as to ask information, after showing from different authorities wherein the difficulties of union present themselves, and why, according to the judgment of the writer, Canada can never become a partner in the alliance without

a surrender, in many respects, of the independence she now enjoys. This remark is made advisedly, and will be explained hereafter.

Imperial Federation means, if it means any thing, the revolutionizing of all existing relationship between England and her Colonies, and between the Empire at large and the rest of the world; and if ever consummated the old channels of trade must become so deranged that the entire commercial policy of England for the last forty years must not only be reversed, but acknowledged as an entire failure, and her former Statesmen no Statesmen at all. To federate, as before remarked, must also mean the surrender of a large measure of Colonial independence and self-government; for however comforting the idea that the Empire federated means a voice in the Imperial Councils of the Nation, it should be understood that that voice can only amount to a mere whisper when world-wide foreign questions are up for discussion, and the issues are peaceful or warlike. Now Canada is independent of any foreign complications, and while ready to assist is not willing to be forced into measures which make against her interests, but to which she would have to submit, and justly so, when having a vote either in Parliament or at the Colonial Office. It would however, be as one vote in fifty; and even the Colonies united upon any fundamental question, would weigh but very little if in opposition, and English politicians were determined to carry a measure. Take for instance the question of Colonial defence (which appears to be the paramount question among English Federationists—in fact, it forms the stock in trade of all their utterances, and it is only discovered now that the Colonies have anything to fight for)—how would Canada stand in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in time of war, when he came to parcel out the respective burdens of taxation to be borne by the respective Colonies? The commercial advantages, were such possible, would go but a short distance as a countervailing offset.

It is remarked that the Colonies should bear a fair share of the outlay in their defence and for the general interests of the Empire. Indeed the only argument put forward by parties in England on the side of Federation, is in relation to Colonial defence, in perfect ignorance of the facts of his-

tory that Canada about which we are more concerned, has never failed to fight the battles of the Empire, as will be hereafter shown, as often as occasion required. An "Imperial Federation League" has been formed in London, among whose members are some of England's best men, but few very prominent ones in the public eye, holding office, and very few, if any, in opposition to England's free trade commercial policy, although this is not stated for the purpose of emphasizing the fact. This organization publishes a paper called "the Journal of the Imperial Federation," in which it is set forth:—"A military organization of the whole Empire is worthy of consideration, especially when we look at the vast armies of the great Continental Powers as compared with that of the United Kingdom, and contrast them with their relations to each other at the beginning of the century. Wars are now short and decisive, and the country best prepared has an overwhelming advantage. It may therefore be well to consider whether our condition is a safe one as regards ourselves, or such as entitles us to the respect we ought to have from the other Great Powers."

Here, then, is the pith of the whole matter, viz., to convert the British world into one great military camp; and for this object Canada is not only to surrender her means, but her independence, in order that the Empire may remain intact, or as a tower of strength against aggression, wherever her foes may appear, whether in far off Hindostan, Australia, or the Isles of the sea in both hemispheres, and always vulnerable to attack, no matter how great soever the combination. And then the congeries of the German Empire and the Federated States of America are pointed out as examples of success; but there is no parallel at all in the respective cases, which are as wide asunder as the poles themselves. The United States or the German States are not separated by vast oceans.

At one of the League meetings held in London last year a number of speeches were delivered by prominent members, all of which are at hand in pamphlet form, and from which a few extracts will be made, that the reader may understand the general drift.

The Earl of Roseberry, after taking exception to Mr.

Bright's expressed opinions to the effect that this Federation of the Empire cry was "childish and absurd," said—

"I suppose the position of the Imperial Federation League is this, that the armaments and fleets of this country may have to be increased in order to afford protection to our colonies and coaling stations. The colonies might, in that case, wish to contribute to the support of these armaments, and of course the contribution would be raised in whatever way the colony thought fit—whether by a protective or free trade tariff is a matter it does not occur to us to investigate."

Mr. J. Brice, M. P. "enumerated several points in which the Colonies gained by their political connection with the mother land. Were they separated *they would be at the mercy* of great foreign powers such as Germany and France, and would have at much greater cost to themselves, to provide for their own defence." Wherever italics occur they are made by the writer.

This passage involves several propositions. The *gain* to the Colonies and the gain to the mother country are about equal; the one is necessary to the other under present conditions. But the time was, before England introduced free trade, when her Colonies were her chief customers under her protective system, and although we had great advantages forty years ago in her markets, she had greater in ours. The attendant expenses upon her military occupation of the Colonies were only such as any owner of property incurs in holding possession. Nor does it follow that because her troops have been withdrawn from the citadel of Quebec, the expenses do not go on as before, for the same number of men must be clothed and fed by England wherever they exist, and it is as cheap to board them in Canada as in Ireland. But this expense of the Colonies to England is a mere hallucination, and conceived in ignorance of the real facts.

Another proposition involved in Mr. Brice's statement also requires notice. Why suggest the opinion that the Colonies would be unable to stand alone, or be at the mercy of France or Germany, if separated from England, and liable to heavy costs for defence? In the first place England is not going to give up her colonies—nobody ever before entertained such a notion—therefore why speculate upon a mere hypothesis in connection with a subject so sublime? As far as Canada is concerned, she is so situated that Germany or France

would stand but a sorry chance if her eagles came down here to swoop us up. Either would have to fight half a continent in arms, and then go home bleeding at every pore. It is not likely that two cousins living in the same house, although in separate rooms, would allow a stranger to molest them without uniting their forces to repel, no matter what their political differences. The fate of Maximilian would be that of the French or German invader, for royalty with our neighbors does not pass as current coin. Mr. Brice's arguments in favor of Federation will, therefore, go but a short distance in the cause, unless he devotes more of his attention to possibilities. But Mr. Brice further says:—"The main common object to be regarded [in Federation] was naval and military defence. England had now all the liability, nearly all the expense, and had also the control of foreign policy involving the issue of peace or war, for the Colonies as well as for herself." Mr. Brice, however, would give us a voice in shaping the Imperial policy, and in the war business, provided the Colonies would be willing to bear their share in the expense. It is feared that this voice, if the conditions be accepted, would scarcely prove to be anything more than the fatal coils of the constrictor, and from the effects of which (viz., our acceptance) there could be no escape. Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M. P., remarked:—

"Federation is the watchword in vogue. I care not for the name, so long as the thing is done. But there are some few, who ought to know better, who call it Utopian. Utopian! when within one short week Canada, New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, all flash through the ocean offers of their gallant sons as soldiers to fight for the Mother Country. Utopian! when our Queen accepts their willing services, and we, their fellow countrymen, grasp the hands held out to us, not so much because we at present need them, but because of the loyal and friendly spirit of which they are tokens."

Why federate then for purposes of defence or offence, with such an effusion of loyalty as is here presented to the world—a willingness to fight the battles of the Empire, as the Colonies have always been, without compulsion, without extraordinary taxation, as a soldier goes into battle without questioning the cause of quarrel, but do as ordered? We want no change in our system, since the present works

so well, according to the statements of Mr. Ashley. But then the speaker goes further. He says that the Colonies would under federation be represented in the great Council of the Nation. Then again (he says) "what the Colonies most need, in my opinion, is the power of bringing, directly and without delay, *pressure* upon public opinion in this country and on the Cabinet." It is our opinion that we have now greater leverage upon the Cabinet of England, or at the Colonial Office, than could possibly be obtained if represented at Westminster. If Ireland for centuries has been unable to make herself felt in the Imperial Parliament, what would be the chances of disjointed Colonies, without interests in common, to form a bond of union; or even if so formed, the representation at the utmost would not likely be that of Ireland to-day? But the solidarity of the Colonies could not be counted upon under any circumstances, while individuals are constituted as they are, when personal interests take the place of patriotism—when men are swayed by their ambition, even at the expense of their country's welfare. If the representatives of the Maritime Provinces in the Dominion Parliament were actuated by a single motive for a particular purpose, agree in common for the obtainment of a certain measure, (say, if you like, the fishery award of four and a half millions, leaving out Newfoundland which received its portion—insisting that this money should go to the Maritime Provinces) their united influence would be felt and respected. But how stands the case? We are divided by sharp party lines and dominated by cabinet officers, subject to one common head or a vast Western preponderating influence, so that our representatives might almost be chosen from Ontario or British Columbia, so far as any great advantages are concerned in respect to the Maritime Provinces, if they ask for special favours or conceivable rights.

What would it therefore be like in England? Our leading men if not placed in the lords, would have their heads taken off in some other exalted position, and continually bask in the sunshine of the Court and grand London Society, and be so influenced by the charms that surround them, that the *pressure* (to which Mr. Ashley refers) to be exerted in our behalf would be of a very negative character. The strength and power would be on the side of England, and our leading

men become consenting parties in spite of themselves, whatever might be their disposition. How different at present, (not having yet taken the fatal leap), Canada or Australia standing alone, acts unitedly as one people whenever her interests are at issue. For example, New South Wales passed laws for the suppression of the Chinese, who like locusts had been overrunning the country, devouring every thing, and interfering with the course of civilized labour, so that it was resolved to put a stop to their emigration. The English Government resisted, and remonstrated with the Colony, on the ground that the sanction of the measure would interfere with her treaty obligations to China; but the Colony was implacable and determined, so that England at last yielded and consented to the Act, and John Chinaman had to submit. If federated with England, where would Mr. Ashley's *pressure* be found? Against New South Wales, to be sure.

But again, some time ago, when Canada in her tariff sought under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, to impose discriminating duties in favour of the United States, the Duke of Newcastle, who was then Colonial Secretary, remonstrated, and was about to advise Her Majesty to disapprove of the measure. Mr. Galt was Finance Minister in the McDonald-Cartier Government, and he insisted upon the right of the Dominion to impose such duties as they thought proper. He said—“The Government of Canada, acting for its legislature and people, cannot, through these feelings of deference that they owe to the Imperial authorities, in any manner waive or diminish the right of the people of Canada to decide for themselves both as to the mode and extent to which taxation shall be imposed. In the imposition of taxation it is so plainly necessary that the administration and the people should be in accord, that the former cannot admit responsibility or require approval beyond that of the local legislature. Self-government would be entirely annihilated if the views of the Imperial government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada. It is, therefore, the duty of the present government distinctly to affirm the right of the Canadian legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial ministry.”

The tariff was acceded to; but where would Canadian statesmen be under federation, when such matters as these

come up? In the language of a recent number of the *Montreal Herald*, "all our colonial success has been the outcome of our own management—it has been the legitimate product of independent control of colonial legislation and trade by the people on the spot—the people most interested, not by people in England or a parliament thousands of miles away. It is this desirable state of things the Colonies propose to retain. They will not give up the making of their tariff to Englishmen, or Scotchmen or Irishmen, or to other colonists. Canadians, we are confident, will not assume quarrels or responsibilities in which they have no interest. When the integrity of the Empire comes to be attacked they will be found ready to do their part in its defence, but they can be no party to rows over the European balance of power, or Zulu wars, or Afghanistan troubles, or disputes over New Guinea."

It was remarked by Professor Seely, one of the League speakers, the Earl of Roseberry in the Chair, that "another prejudice is that the Colonies are involved by their connection with the mother country in all the accidental quarrels with European States in which England may engage, and in which the Colonies have no interest or concern," and then the Professor goes on to answer this prejudice by stating that the great causes of quarrel in which England has been engaged for the last century or two, have arisen out of the Empire not strictly England, but in behalf of the Colonies themselves. Hear him:—

"The great eighteenth-century wars of England, I assert, were mainly Colonial Imperial struggles. Apart from the Empire we have scarcely any interests. It can scarcely be said that England has any European policy in which the Colonies are not concerned. When we have fought it has been for Colonies or trade; trade is only colonies under another name."

And *trade* is at the bottom of the whole story! If a man's workshop, in which he makes his living, takes fire, will he not do his utmost to subdue the flames and save his property, not on account of the value of the shop itself, but on account of the value it is to himself by what he gets out of it? But even then the man is not expected to put out the fire alone, the persons occupying the building render assistance as they should, although they may not be the bona fide

owners of a single stick in the edifice. So with England and her Colonies—they stand in the same relation to each other as the man with his shop and tenants. The Empire is England's—it is the Empire that has made England, and renders her the great power she is.

It would be impossible to go over in a single Pamphlet the ground occupied by the many speakers on the side of Federation, and keep pace with them at every step. But the arguments and reasons presented by them, all run upon a single thread—a thread so attenuated to the eyes of any one who carefully examines it, that it might be snapped at any part; and the only wonder is that at those great one-sided *ex parte* gatherings, there has not been a single voice raised on the other side, even for the elicitation of information,—for there never was a cause yet, however weak or strong, without two sides to it; and this remark is still more applicable to our local Colonial gatherings. In England those who address themselves to the subject, seem to be very illy informed as to the state of the Colonies and their feelings. In Toronto, Ottawa, and Halifax, where federation meetings have been held, and in which prominent citizens have engaged, there is less excuse for the disposition shown for bringing about this great civil revolution in the status of the Empire; and yet even on this side of the Atlantic, the respective speakers had every thing their own way, and carried their resolutions *nem. con.*

But the thread of argument before referred to is strung upon only two or three propositions, viz., Colonial defence and commerce, the former, defence, being the predominating feature and inspiring cause of the whole movement, and all the speeches so far delivered.

Let us now examine for a few moments the *ipse dixit* of Professor Seely, when he says that all the wars of England have grown out of Colonial interests, or the preservation of those interests, as he must mean. For what follows the writer depends chiefly upon his memory of history, but considers it safe enough for the passing purpose. What interest had Canada, (for as before remarked, Canadians are, or should be, more concerned in this question than any other Colony) in the great Napoleonic wars, say from the beginning of this century up to the downfall of the Empire in 1815? None

whatever, unless it was a suffering interest. Had England kept out of Spain, she would not only have saved herself much blood and treasure, but also the American war of 1812, one of the offsprings of her intermeddling in the Peninsula, and through which Canada was made to suffer—as if we on this side of the Atlantic cared two snaps whether it was a Bourbon or a (Joseph) Buonaparte who occupied the Spanish throne, or even the Parisian Tuilleries. If the great Napoleon had all the powers of Europe at his feet, it could only have been for a season, and this is said upon the principle that all evils work out their own cure. England, it is true, gained glory and renown, but she paid dearly for it, rolling up her debt, some hundreds of millions sterling, a load she is carrying up to this day. Her insular position rendered her impregnable, and her fleets, and what they did at Trafalgar, impossible of subjugation. Had she therefore stood alone with arms folded, and surveyed the battle from afar, she might have saved herself and the world a power of misery, Canada particularly. There need have been no Berlin and Milan Decree on the part of Buonaparte, interdicting all European commerce with England—or on the part of England “Orders in Council,” for counteracting the machinations of the usurper, and thus circumventing him upon his own threshold—all of which led to the right of search set up by England, by which American vessels were overhauled on the high seas, and what she called her subjects abducted, without respect to the flag that covered them—so that the United States declared war against England in 1812, as England intended doing against the United States in 1862, when Mason and Sliddell were taken from the English packet steamer on her way from Cuba to England, by Captain Wilkes, but were again surrendered by the American government, and thus a second war growing out of a similar cause was averted. But the action of England in 1812, so far from being of Colonial origin, and for the benefit of the Colonies and the cause of trade, as the Professor would have it, the very opposite was the effect. Canada at once became the battle ground, and it will be seen presently how nobly she acquitted herself.

Then take the Chinese War of 1840 (?) when Hong Kong fell into the hands of England, and the capital of the Empire, Pekiù, was taken and looted. What interest had Canada

in that war, brought about through the cupidity of the East India Company, which sought to force her opium upon a people who for years did their utmost to keep it out of their country, as its use was destroying the inhabitants? At length they confiscated a ship load of this villainous stuff and refused to make compensation, and so war was declared against them. Under Imperial federation, Canadian money would be spent for similar purposes, and we could not help ourselves. Then let us ask the Professor to consider the Crimean War of 1853, what interest had Canada in that? Wherein was Colonial trade benefitted through this most calamitous undertaking, brought about by one of the most reckless men that ever sat upon any throne, Napoleon the Third, and England was drawn into it at a time when Earl Aberdeen and her statesmen in the Cabinet were fast asleep. "The Life of John Bright," in two Volumes, is fierce and eloquent upon this chapter in English history. A quotation from one of that gentleman's able speeches against the Ministry of the day for joining the French on that occasion against Russia, bristles with indignant utterances, but space will not permit a quotation.

But, again, what cares Canada about the balance of power in Europe—whether Turkey *belongs* to Turkey, Austria, Russia, or even Germany. England would be no weaker, whichever way the pawns were moved upon the chess-board, or map of Europe. If the infidel Turk must go, the sooner he is cut up and divided among the European birds of prey, the better for the peace of the world, since peace is a balance weight of such sensitive qualities. In short, Eng'and's wars from the beginning have never been waged with an eye to Colonial interests, but strictly to English interests. Nor have the Colonies been allowed to stand in the way, whenever shaping her policy—whether in the direction of war or of commerce; and if we were federated a thousand times would our interests be considered in view of her trade relations and advancement with foreign Nations?

But it is asserted that federation has become a necessity for Colonial defence. Why now, more than heretofore? But let it be understood by English leaguers what Canada is likely to do in the future by what she has done in the past, when no such word as "Federation" was thought of.

Was not the brunt of the American War of 1812 borne by Canadians, and the tide of battle turned in several great encounters by Colonial militiamen ere British reinforcements arrived; and did not New Brunswick's 104th Regiment march through mid-winter snows and distinguish itself on the battle-fields of Little York and Sackett's Harbour, in defence of Canadian soil and loyalty to their King?

Then take the difficulty of 1839 on our North Western boundary. The whole Province as it were flew to arms to drive back the invader. It was in winter time and six hundred men rushed from the woods and made for the disputed territory. Every part of the Province responded with alacrity and enthusiasm to the call of duty. The Legislatures of all the Provinces—then five in number—met and voted away their revenues, not less than half a million of money, for carrying on the war and in support of the national honour. Happily, however, the difficulty was adjusted and there was no blood shed. As in the past so in the future. Why then talk of Imperial federation on the ground of National defence, and that it is only fair we should contribute towards the protection we get from England? The mere fact of imposing this duty upon Canada, to which these remarks especially apply, would not render her a bit more willing to do her duty—whereas in assuming the responsibility, under Federation, she is committed to contribute towards the National defence in all parts of the world, even in remote India, in which Canada has no more interest than she has in Siberia. The Imperial Parliament federated would vote the supplies without reference to where the money comes from or goes to, each Colony contributing its quota towards the war expenses no matter in what quarter of the globe assailed. True the Parliament that votes the money would contain a voice from each Colony; but a very feeble voice! If the loyalty of Canada is not to be depended upon in the future, for many years, no compact she may enter into under the Federation obligation, will ever save her to the Crown. To raise the issue that the political and commercial unity of the Empire is an absolute necessity in order to prevent the disjointed parts from disintegration, or flying off from the common centre into unknown directions, is a groundless fear—in the judgment of the writer. We may talk of free trade and pro-

tection and of commercial union, or reciprocity with other countries, with as much freedom now as we did in former years; but this fact does not give colour to the idea that Canada is in a transition state, or that there is any wish on the part of the people to change their allegiance. Every subject affecting our interests is discussable, as it has always been, so long as it is conducted with moderation, and does not grate harshly upon the prejudices of our neighbours, or a sound tolerant public opinion.

But again, Canada is now spending about half a million of dollars for military purposes, upon the principle, perhaps, of preparing in peace for time of war—nor will she be found wanting in the hour of need, whenever her services are required by England. Could she do more in the right way if federated? If memory is not at fault, a whole regiment was volunteered by a Canadian Colonel during the Crimean war, but the offer was politely declined at the Horse Guards. Other Colonies, especially Australia, have been equally zealous and warlike, and manifested a strong sense of duty from time to time by offering assistance, even going so far as to volunteer for service abroad. This is all very well, Federationists may say, but England in union must have the power to control, direct and tax all the Colonies alike without reference to their geographical position, for the maintenance, not only of the army but the navy as well. If a mutiny breaks out in India, or the Affghanistan frontier be invaded by Russia, or the Soudan be in a state of commotion, or the Zulus or the Ashantees be in insurrection, or Abyssinia holding within her grasp English prisoners, Canada must be in a position to ask no questions, but transport her troops wherever ordered, as though they were residents of the British Isles. There is no escaping the conditions. In connection with this subject the most grand idea that presents itself is interwoven with its commercial aspect; and here the difficulties in the way appear to be insurmountable—but which, if they could be overcome, a platform might be laid, upon which all parties could meet and probably shake hands. It is argued by some of the friends of the measure in favour of a common commercial bond of union between England and all her Colonies, that one tariff might be established, wherein the whole business of the Empire, em-

bracing nearly 300,000,000 producers and consumers, should trade together and prosper, shutting out, as it were, the rest of the world, especially those nations that now discriminate in their tariffs so greatly to the disadvantage of the Empire. Sir John Lubbock, the Chairman of one of the League meetings, remarked—"we might have a Customs union such as now existed between England, Scotland and Ireland; and he thought that this was more peculiarly the time to face the question." Sir Alexander Galt (of Canada), at the same meeting said—"that the commercial union of Great Britain with her Colonies and India should be undertaken and pressed upon the people both at home and abroad, with one leading principle in view—of treating British industries as entitled to peculiar favour as distinguished from that of foreign Nations." Perhaps such views as these expressed at a meeting so nebulous upon what is really wanted may be excusable, but as to the practicability of the utterances is another question altogether,—for Mr. Galt [notwithstanding what this gentleman said on a former occasion when in office, as previously quoted, giving strong reasons as it were, why Canada should not be federated], must know that Canada is in no position, with her immense debt of \$250,000,000, to abate her duties of 35 per cent., in order to enter into a free trade or moderate-tariff compact, although as a free trader from his youth upwards the writer would gladly hail such a change. The Hon. Senator Wark (also of Canada), contributed a well written article to "The Journal of the Imperial Federation League" dated October 1, 1886, on the Federation subject, from which the following quotation is made:—

"If we are to become one people, a united Empire, we cannot too soon set about revising our revenue laws and removing the restrictions on the trade between the different parts of the Empire. This will require time, but it may be brought about much more speedily than many would think possible. It has only to be gone about energetically and judiciously, and men will gradually see its advantages and consent to the tariff changes. Different modes of raising revenue will be adopted which, while unshackling commerce, will not add in the slightest degree to the burdens of the people; and the ultimate result will be that every producer able to choose, out of a population of three hundred millions, the best market in which to dispose of his goods, and every

consumer will have a like privilege to choose the cheapest market from which to supply his wants. Thus the best interests of every individual, and of the whole population, will be promoted, and the result, general prosperity. * * * The Empire could then treat the hostile tariffs of other states with indifference, as their influence on the general prosperity would be scarcely perceptible. Such states would soon begin to seek to form liberal commercial treaties. With the freedom of trade would come more equal distribution of capital. Instead of money being pent up at some points where it cannot find profitable investment, it would find its way to where a demand for it existed, and thus add to the general prosperity."

To these sentiments the writer can fully subscribe, and if it were not for that little word *but*, they might be capable of fulfilment. There is however, no argument, no combination that can convince John Bull, that in order to bring in the Colonies for special purposes he should reverse, or considerably modify his commercial policy, after an experience of nearly forty years. But what is to prevent the Colonies *out of federation* agreeing in common for reciprocal trade relations? England would have no objection. If it is at all practicable why not call a meeting in London of representatives from all the Colonies, and form an agreement to exchange commodities free of duty, and to discriminate against "the foreigner;" if business is meant and is wanted, here is a plan to work upon. But what is the position of Canada? Simply one of financial inability to attend such a gathering, in or out of federation. Only a year or so ago, Jamaica knocked at the doors of our Dominion Parliament for reciprocity in native productions, but her delegates returned home disappointed men.

Mr. Dalton M'Carthy at a late federation meeting held in Ottawa, theorized *ad libitum* in the same strain. This gentleman (according to the *Globe*), thought that England should put a tax upon all imports from foreign countries while giving colonial imports free entry. But the practical absurdity of this would be quite plain to the common sense Englishman, who desires the markets of the world for the sale of his wares, and to whom the friendship of the great nations like the United States, France, Germany, Austria, are of far more practical value than any colonial relationship. In the year 1886 (continues the same paper), England imported

from foreign countries goods to the value of £267,979,429 sterling, and from the Colonies she took only goods to the value of £81,884,843. Her total trade with foreign nations in 1886 was £404,905,546, and with her colonies only £136,926,116. In 1886 Canada bought in England £7,000,000 worth of goods, and the United States bought four times that amount. What reason is there to assume that in the face of facts like these England will discriminate against her best customers? Is it common sense to assume that she will tax herself on her foreign imports for the benefit of her colonies?

Sir W. Rawson having given special attention to Colonial tariffs, numbering 44, enumerates their peculiarities under successive heads—1, 2, 3, 4, 5—some being high, some low, and some almost nil, according to the indebtedness of each Colony, the situation, and the expenses of maintenance. They rate from 4 to 25 per cent. until he touches Canada, (and two or three other places in the East), when the figures run away up. But what is more important (says a late journal), is the conclusion which Sir Rawson reaches after a contemplation of these multifarious tariffs. He concludes that uniformity of tariff is hopeless at present; that tariffs suited to new countries are not equally adapted to old countries; that new countries will not readily submit to direct taxation and will continue to raise their revenues largely from custom duties, and that any movement toward uniformity is rendered difficult by the desire which exists in various Colonies to favour the production of different articles. Sir Rawson has thrown a good deal of light upon the question which he discusses, but the light only renders more apparent the almost impossibility of framing one tariff for the whole Empire.

But it is unnecessary to enumerate further reasons or arguments in support of the belief that if ever federation is brought about it can be in favour of Imperial Colonial protection and monopoly of trade under the English flag exclusively. The battles of Free Trade and Protection in England have already been fought to the bitter end, and there is no retrogression; both Whigs and Tories are as one now upon this question—or rather agreed that the policy cannot be reversed. But then, there is rising up in England what is called “the fair trade party.” As this, however, has

very little influential following, it is unnecessary to consider it only *en passant*. By this party it is meant that England should levy duties in her markets to the same extent as her goods are treated in the foreign market—*i. e.*, if for instance the United States persists in saddling English goods with a duty of 50 per cent., England should do the same with United States goods, and so with every other foreign country. But as this is only another chimera of the federationists, about as practical as any yet submitted, we shall wait a long time for the substance while in pursuit of the shadow, Federation; for however reasonable the grounds taken on the side of “fair trade,” there is nothing to indicate that either of the great English parties is disposed in that direction, and there appears to be no room whatever for this third party to wedge in between the two. In her trade relations with the world, England is disposed to let well enough alone, and not be influenced by speculations, however much they may concern her Colonies. Under her free trade system she has reduced her national debt since 1858 from £822,513,000 to £706,796,000, or about \$575,000,000 in 30 years. In the same time the population of the United Kingdom has increased from 28,000,000 to 37,000,000, and the average rate of interest has fallen from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., so that she has lessened the per capita burden of her debt to less than one-half what it was thirty years ago. In face of facts like these, why talk of going backwards, when high protection was the commercial principle of faith in England and throughout the Empire? Fifty years ago Whigs and Tories alike held the Colonies in high esteem in Parliament. Why? Because free trade principles had not yet entered into the computations of British Statesmen and Political Economists. It was high protection, prohibitory duties everywhere. The Colonies served as the great markets for the English manufacturers. In Canada for instance,—or New Brunswick more directly, might be referred to as an instance of the prevailing system—there were two sets of officials in the Custom House—the Imperial and the Colonial. There was an Imperial duty of 20 per cent. (as well as it can be recollected, the amount does not signify) and our Provincial duty perhaps 15, levied for local purposes. The object of England was not to collect those duties for the Imperial Treasury—for the Province in

time got them all back—but the barrier was intended to shut out the foreign article, and compel us by this means to keep in motion the looms and shuttles and workshops of Birmingham, Sheffield, and other great manufacturing centres. Thus, with such restrictions as these—a united duty of about 40 per cent., and a Colonial Empire embracing two hundred millions of people and more, including India—is it any marvel that English trade under protection like this, with all her Colonies for a market, should flourish, and that she should in time become the great mart of the world—the seat of Empire—and the exemplar of Nations? It may be answered that if England controlled the trade of her Colonies, so did the Colonies on the other hand enjoy unchecked the markets of England? This was certainly the case. Had we no markets for our ships and our lumber we could not have existed at all, and hence England would have had no markets for her manufactures—we were thus protected and crippled at the same time. Had we been allowed to market for ourselves, we should have had the world to deal with, precisely like the United States after the bonds which held the old thirteen colonies for centuries, were severed—then the birth of a great Nation dawned. But worse than all is the fact that as soon as England found that her policy might be reversed with benefit to herself, she suddenly upset the props or ladders by which she mounted, and by her free trade measures completely threw us upon our backs for the time. Our usefulness was gone, and the only markets we had, so to speak, were then thrown open to our rivals all over the world.

Since that period England has extended her branches of trade in every direction. Her wealth and manufactures are interwoven in every fibre of commerce throughout the world. In spite of opposing tariffs her manufactures find purchasers, whether in Europe or America—and with all her disadvantages she increases in wealth and influence. There is not a country in the world but what would suffer by her downfall. Her capitalists and scientists are every where lending money and executing giant undertakings. Only the other day, word was received from Washington to the effect that the Argentine Republic had made a contract with a capitalist in England by which the latter agrees to construct ten steamers of at least four thousand tons burden and sixteen knots per

hour each, to ply between the North of Europe and the ports of the Argentine Republic, and four steam launches for emigrant service in Europe. Also four steamers to ply between the United States and the ports of the Argentine Republic. The capital involved in this transaction, amounts to between five and six millions of dollars. England wants a controlling influence in the Suez Canal, when she purchases stock amounting to twenty five million dollars. Even little New Brunswick is favoured by British capitalists to the amount of four millions, for the construction of a Marine Railroad. But there is scarcely a railroad or canal in America, but what has been largely subvented by British capital. Talk of cribbing and confining a Nation like this, and telling her that she must do business only with her Colonies, is like trying to extract sunbeams from cucumbers with the hope of enlightening British Statesmen to a full realization of our great Colonial importance.

Once more there is a disposition to rekindle the old Colonial enthusiasm, and it is suddenly discovered, by Englishmen out of office particularly, that the Colonies are worth something after all; but the nostrums propounded, as far as can be gathered, are far from being adequate to the case. We are told that we are on the verge of great events,—that England and her Colonies are in a transition state—that in Canada we must either confederate, or *annexation* will be our fate—that the Colonies cannot remain long as they are, in their disjointed condition, and that disintegration is at hand. It is only the fears of timid people that can be overcome by such shallow soothsayers. But it is an old story re-vamped. In order to hasten Confederation of the Provinces it was necessary in 1865 (?) to get up what was called the "Fenian scare," and it was urged that unless the Provinces united they would be swallowed up by the Americans and Irish combined, as if union would render us less vulnerable to attack, or more able or willing to fight in self-defence as we showed a disposition to do on the occasion of the boundary troubles in 1839. The Right Honorable W. E. Foster, one of the movers for federation, but since deceased, remarked in an article upon the subject in the 19th Century Magazine, "the idea of the permanent unity of the realm, the duty of preserving this union, the blessings which its preservation

will confer, *the danger and loss and disaster which will follow from disunion* (the italics are made by the writer), are thoughts which possess the minds of Englishmen both here and over the seas." These thoughts so fearfully sketched out by Mr. Foster, certainly find no such expression on this side of the water. These Colonies remain as they have always done—stationary, or somewhat progressive and loyal; there are no more storm-clouds gathering in the political horizon than have been discernible within the last fifty years. We are at peace with our neighbours in the West; the only ripple of disturbance is in regard to our trade relations—both sides being more anxious than ever to form a closer intimacy in these respects, to cultivate the arts of peace and good fellowship. These hollow, disunion cries would have been quite pertinent forty years ago, when England adopted her free trade policy and invited the whole world as it were to enter her markets in competition with the principal trade upon which we had to depend, viz: our ships and timber. That was a blow that staggered us, and caused our people to be very outspoken. Talk of the bugbear annexation, and cries for independence at the present day in this Dominion,—why, they are mere whispers to what they were formerly. Did England in years gone by stop for a moment to consider our interests, and her leading men ask us to form a United Empire with a view of preventing disintegration? Not they. Nor is there any thing to warrant the present agitation. But the history of every movement has been ushered in with deep prophetic warnings; and in this case the warning of disruption in the event of not falling into line with the unfledged opinions of federationists, whether in England or America, will come to naught as on former occasions, when the cry of wolf brought no wolf with it.

The old thirteen Colonies set up in business for themselves with a population of three millions, while Canada is now closely verging upon five millions,—and in twenty years according to predictions made on the opening up of the great North West, twenty millions may be counted upon. Twenty years is but a short time in the life of a Nation. Will Canada then with such a population continue in leading strings, and be subject to a controlling power three thousand miles distant, under the guise of a graud federated hybrid?

All experience and common sense seem to point otherwise with the unerring finger of destiny, as the "survival of the fittest," according to the modern school of evolutionists.

If those who advocate the federation of the Empire were to enlarge the scope of their vision and embrace the world's English speaking population in their scheme, the prospects of success might appear more evident. Nor would it follow that the sixty millions of Americans on our West would necessarily have to change their flag, or England change her flag, in order to bring this about. It would be a commercial union, trade carried on as freely as if all belonged to the one National family—a reunion of interests between England and America,—all alike actuated by one principle, the desire to benefit each other as members of one concern, for mutual co-operation, good will and unbroken peace and advancement as the fruits thereof. Would such a change be less practicable or reasonable than that which the federalists are now after? This, however, is only by the way.

But the most remarkable thing about this new Utopia is in the fact that no man holding an official position in England and Canada has yet committed himself to it; while on the other hand those officials who have done so oppose the scheme on the ground of its hollowness or its impracticability, or because they desire it to be known that they do not wish to be misunderstood—for example, when the present Prime Minister was approached by a federation delegation to ascertain his views, he remarked that a 'Customs union should be of mutual advantage to both countries (England and her Colonies), and a union of this kind is what is mostly wanted.' No doubt of it, but the way or the possibility of bringing this about is not even suggested. And so with others in office; they are willing to agree in the *abstract* that union would be a good thing (it is a safe investment of a political idea), but the details do not appear to concern them. Take the remarks of Sir John M'Donald, Sir Chas. Tupper, even of the new Governor General (Stanley) himself, and there is not a single expression to indicate that their hearts are in the cause, or that they have made up their minds to assist in flying the kite. They seem to be actuated by the principle that the ball being in motion they will not interfere with its progress, even if so disposed; let others do the

engineering—for in case of success they are sure to reap whatever advantages there may be in official advancement, becoming great lords in England, instead of simple knights in Canada. Again, on a festive occasion in London a few weeks ago, at which were present some of our Canadian lights, as well as men of position in England—among them the Colonial Secretary, who remarked that if federation is to become a living issue, *it must originate with the Colonies themselves*,—which means that whenever you get ready to knock at the door of the Imperial Cabinet we will listen to what you have to say, and then we shall see about it. This and nothing more. Mr. Parnell is quoted as favouring Imperial Federation, but it is the voice of the prisoner in chains, to escape from which sympathy may be sought from any quarter,—for his condition can be no worse whatever betide him, with chances of commencing a new life under freer auspices; but it is amazing to find a Colonist already free, seeking argument from such a quarter in behalf of federation. Parnell wants home rule, which Canada has already, while the political condition of Ireland—never having had home rule, in its rightful sense—furnishes no case at all analogous to that of Canada or any other self-governing Colony. Mr. Parnell's opinion is therefore valueless in connection with the federation question, as to what the Colonies would lose or gain by its acceptance. Mr. Mowat, the Premier of Ontario, also spoke on the occasion, and he was non-committal although somewhat expressive that England and her Colonies should be drawn closer together, to which no one can object,—but in what way we are not told. In such a place and under such circumstances, and in such Company, and after dinner, no man would venture to say anything displeasing to the Company and its general tone,—for this was not an arena for debate or discussion, but for harmony and sociability.

But those officials who have been outspoken upon this federation story, have given forth no uncertain sound,—as for example, the Premier of Quebec (Mr. Mercier), spoke as follows in April last, on the floors of the House of Assembly:—

“The situation is a grave one; we are in face of the greatest danger that ever menaced our political organization. They wish to force us into a regime which can have but dis-

astrous consequences. Up to the present we have lived a colonial life, but to-day they wish us to assume, in spite of ourselves, the responsibilities and dangers of a sovereign state, which will not be ours. They seek to expose us to vicissitudes of peace and war against the great powers of the world; to rigorous exigencies of military service as practised in Europe; to disperse our sons from the freezing regions of the north pole to the burning sands on the desert of Sahara: an odious regime which will condemn us to the forced impost of blood and money, and wrest from our arms our sons who are the hope of our country and the consolation of our old days, and send them off to bloody and distant wars, which we will not be able to stop or prevent. We are Liberals, Nationalists, Conservatives, and the National party of Quebec does not want anything like this. We will combat such a scheme with all the energy at our command; and if they succeed in imposing this mad project upon us, it will be by trickery or by force."

Mr. John Bright in January last, remarked:—

"The federation project is mainly the offspring of the Jingo spirit, which clamors for a vast and continually widening empire; and seems almost ready to boast that the Empire can fight the world outside of its own limits. He would recommend sensible men to let the question rest."

But let us note what our late Governor General (Lord Lansdowne) said upon this subject at a dinner given to him in Toronto in May, on the eve of his departure for England; although having already been widely published, it will stand re-publication here:—

"I have never seen any scheme formulated on paper and worthy to be called a scheme of imperial confederation which would have been likely to work in practice for six months; indeed, the most conspicuous writers upon the subject have shown a most commendable spirit of caution in approaching it, and have wisely limited themselves to pointing out the imperfections of the present system without committing themselves to the remedy which they proposed. We all know that the Irish postboy usually keeps a gallop for the avenue at the end of his journey. (Laughter.) The writers of most of such essays, however, start at full gallop, lapse into a trot after they have travelled over a part of the ground and finally come to a standstill long before they get to the end of the course. We have yet to see a scheme, the execution of which would on the one hand leave unimpaired the strength and solidity of the central government of the Empire, and on the other afford to the Colonies a real and not a sham opportunity of influencing its councils without

depriving themselves to a great extent of the liberties which they now enjoy. (Hear, hear.) I am, however, very far from saying that there is nothing to be done in the direction of an additional strengthening of the ties by which the constituents of the Empire may be united. I was glad, for instance, to observe that amongst the subjects to which most prominence was given in the deliberations of the conference was that of Imperial defence. I do not for a moment think that it would be just or equitable to ask the country to undertake liabilities much exceeding those which it has already incurred in providing for its own defence. To ask a young country, which needs every shilling of its revenue for the development of its own resources, to sink millions in fortifications and armaments would, I think, be a most inequitable proposal. Your people have, and must for some time continue to devote the whole of their energies to the settlement of their own country and the consolidation of its scattered and sparsely occupied Provinces. (Applause.) You have already by a line of railway from ocean to ocean across your continent completed in a few years an imperial work for the execution of which you might, if you had thought proper, have taken the lifetime of a generation. You have provided a militia force large enough for the requirements of the country, a force which has shown itself capable of suppressing disorder in the remotest portions of the Dominion, in the face of very great difficulties and dangers, and without asking for the assistance of a single soldier from the imperial forces. (Loud applause.) All this has constituted a reasonable if not a sufficient contribution to the defences of the Empire. I do not think that there is any disposition here as at home to ask you to incur extended liabilities on a largely increased expenditure. There is certainly no desire on the part of the Imperial government to admit its own liabilities or to repudiate its existing engagements for the defence of any part of the Colonial Empire. (Hear, hear.) I do not hesitate to express my own preference for a reliance on feelings of this kind to any of those ingenious schemes for the creation of an Imperial Legislature, in which Canadian members would sit by the side of representatives from the antipodes to vote upon questions in which they have no common interest, or even of those more modest proposals, such as that for the admission of Canadian statesmen to the English House of Lords."

This extract may appear rather long, but it contains the pith and marrow of the whole story, as far as Canada is concerned, and exhibits a disinterestedness well worthy of the deepest consideration by those who have not yet studied the question, but are apt to be led away by high-sounding

cries for consolidation and glory. But as regards Canada, considering her peculiar geographical position, she, of all the Colonies, cannot enter into such a compact without losing far more than she can possibly gain. Nor is this a party question. Men in England and Canada of strongly pronounced political opinions, although not numerous, appear to gather together in this one great cause. Whigs and Tories, Liberals and Liberal Conservatives out of office, meet on neutral ground to talk, but all are equally vague and indefinite in formulating their ideas.

The advice offered in concluding this article is to let well enough alone,—do not attempt to disturb the settled order of things. Whatever is to be the destiny of Canada, no earthly power can prevent it. Australia and the other Isles of the sea may imagine that some good would come to them by a closer union; but in what manner, or by what means to bring this about, even they have not vouchsafed an answer. But as regards Canada, with an American frontier three thousand miles long, and fast ripening into National activity, as well talk of reversing Niagara and making the water to run up hill, as to expect to compact politically a vast country like this, binding it to Colonies having nothing in common and whose interests in most cases are as divergent as their natural productions. To read some of the speeches delivered in England on the side of federation, one would suppose that Macauley's South Sea Islander was already on his way to take his seat upon London Bridge to view the ruins of a wasted Empire, and that the glory of the Nation was all but extinct; that a process of sapping and mining was going on throughout the Colonies, so that the world was coming to an end, as far as they are concerned. It does not occur to those who are in such doldrums, that the flag that has "braved a thousand years, the battle and the breeze," may be good for yet another thousand years; nor do they see that the latter possibility becomes more and more apparent in the light of facts which present themselves on all sides, if they would look about them. The argument used now in this direction might have had some weight seventy years ago, when England was at war with the whole world, especially Europe and America; when her Colonies were a prey to every buccaneer who thought proper to rove

the seas. But how is it to day? The world is at peace. The old warlike fires have gone out. England has no cause of quarrel with any nation. But even if she had, she reposes within the strong, protecting arms of her ironclads. Was England ever better prepared for the worst than she is to day? Her fleets are everywhere, her wealth is everywhere, and her influence is felt and recognized by every Nation on the globe.

A word on parting. Let Canada stand fast—hold on and jealously guard the liberty she now enjoys—deepen her stakes and tighten her cords which hold together and protect the privileges which have been earned for her under Responsible Government, and only obtained after half a century of heroic struggle on the part of the Press and her Liberal Statesmen—hold fast until the maturing fruit has ripened into National semblance, and when England is ready and willing to send her benediction over the water—“DEPART IN PEACE.”

