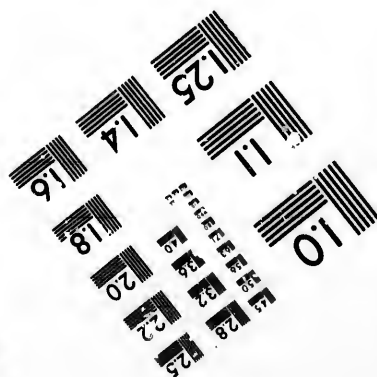
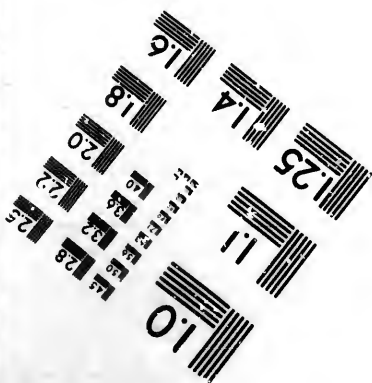
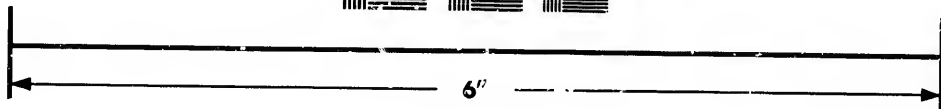
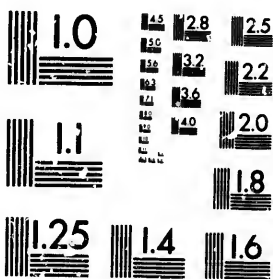


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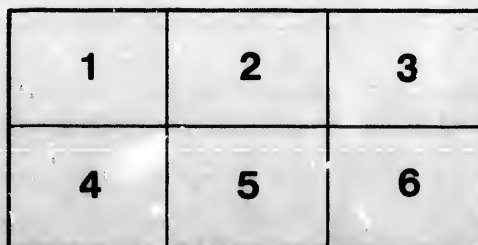
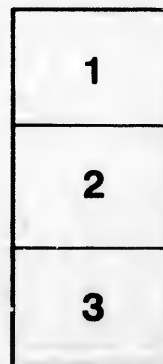
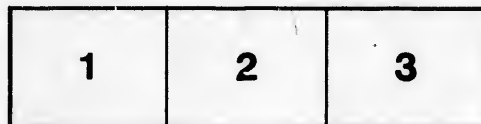
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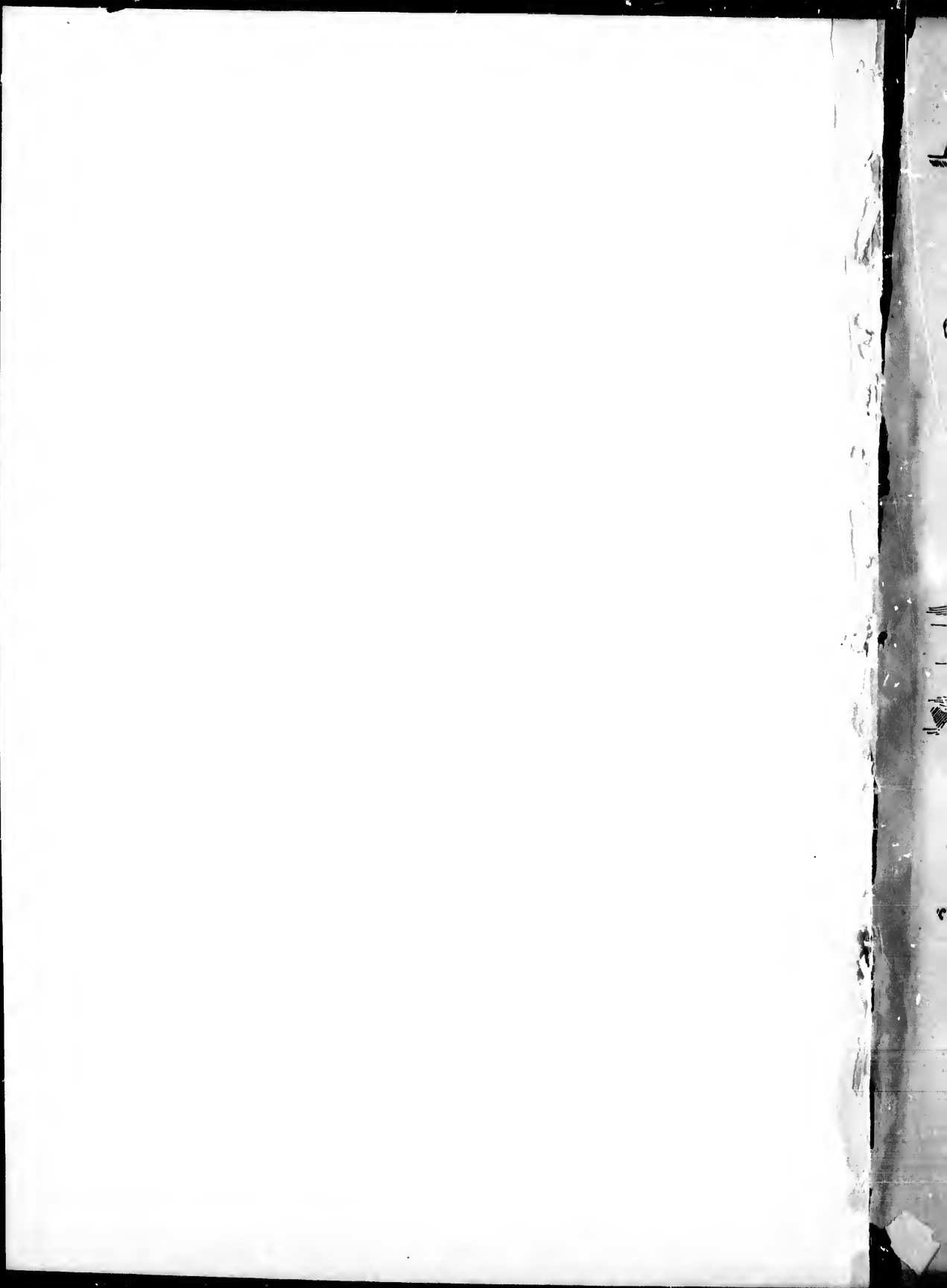
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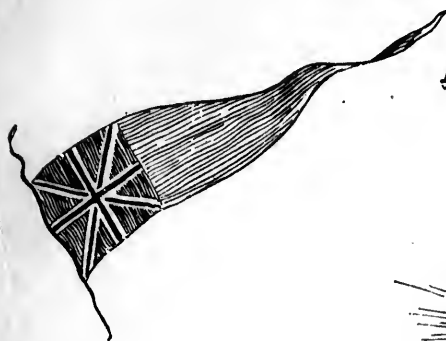
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Britain
and
Her People.



*'United we Stand
Divided we fall'*

By *J. Van Sommer Junr.*
1893 of *Toronto.*



INTRODUCTION.

THE extent to which our attention is called to the future is just now a special feature in the public press. The success of life, however, is dependent on a due appreciation of the opportunities of the day; so the object of this book, while dealing somewhat with the nearer distance, which is at least above the horizon, seeks to present the aspect of certain events now in course of evolution. I presume on a considerable knowledge of the subject of colonial history in my readers, but if they do not share this presumption, I would commend to their attention a careful study of even such an old acquaintance as Froude's "History of England," Vols. VII, VIII, IX, X, as history does repeat itself; and of modern publications, Martin's "Australia and the Empire," the "Life and Letters of Lord Sherbrooke, Vol. I," Dilke's "Problems of Greater Britain," Keltie's "The Partition of Africa," Parkin's "Imperial Federation," and the Reports of the Intercolonial Conferences in London, published, I think, by the London Chamber of Commerce. There are, however, several others. Without being acquainted with some of these books, the meaning of much that is in this one will be lost, and the authors of opinions expressed will not receive proper recognition, as I have left out the names, finding it impossible to name any one in particular, when the same opinion is expressed by several. The "small caps" are used to denote the objective points to which previously recorded

INTRODUCTION.

facts have led up to, axioms of the argument, so when you come to them stop and think before passing further. The many acts of friendship that the writer, with all others, has received when visiting the Colonies, make one realize the kinship that exists between us, as comrades under the same flag, and as everyone is influenced by those with whom he comes in contact, it is to be hoped that those I have met, will feel a due share of responsibility for this book, and for what echoes from its pages. Studying the question as I have, I believe they but voice the feeling of a majority at the present time. The course of events is surely tending towards a critical period of our Empire. Nearly every past crisis has turned on the action of some commanding mind, but now the people act collectively. So it is to the friends I have met specially, and to the people generally, to whom I now leave what will soon be an additional interest to their own history and life: this consideration of the national business, the commercial and personal advantages they may receive in many different ways from the solution of the problem of the maintenance of the Union between Britain and her people. There is a system of government which is the ruling natural characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the following pages seek to trace the rise, the development and the necessity of continuing this policy throughout our dominions. Political union has always preceded an era of commercial activity.

THE AUTHOR.

TORONTO, August, 1893.

P.S.—A few paragraphs have been added between the time of writing and printing.

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CHAPTER I.

POLICY.



PROGRAMME.

THE question of British Union is soon to take foremost rank among the problems of the platform. The feeling of mutual support and defence is hereditary in our people, and is carried by them wherever they go. The whole aspect of the controversy in regard to the British dominions has been changed during the past few years by the means of quick travel and instant communication, and with the times the trend of thought is now towards union, when before it may have been independence.

Amid the street roar of London, you can hear from some of the belfries, chimes which hour by hour ring out a wish for prosperity to the people of the city. At the opening of the Imperial Institute the bells in the towers in like manner rang out a peal of well-wishes for the welfare of the people of the Empire. In the music of the bells we heard the sound of harmony and of unison. Let us use the present time of harmony to effect our Union.

These few pages bring in review incidents that influence the national personality of us all, and which give and gave that native force and collective character to a great sea-going population; that made ships and shipping and sailors the king of trades and

traders, and the seaports the centre of the people's life and affections. That energy which had descended in the people from the time of the Viking and Visigoths seemed from a sudden struggle of a moment, some three hundred years ago, to receive the impetus which carried the explorers over the seas until what there was to find was found, what there was to know was known, and, dearer still to an English heart, what there was to be obtained was gained. Not until then did this people's passion for adventure, discovery, and flying the flag on unowned lands and islands, and claiming all the unoccupied world that could be found for the use and support of the British people, seem to come to an end for want of further unknown latitude and longitude where they could be first to enter and lay claim.

The wild daring of a Drake, knighted for his reckless and successful voyage round the world, and return with a million ducats in the hold, his ability to command, his determination to succeed, quickened kindred spirits in the kingdom as magnet brings magnet into the circle of activity. As a thousand swords will leap from their scabbard to hail a chieftain, so a thousand arms were bared, a thousand minds were nerved, and a thousand ships were built to follow in the wake of this beau-ideal of a sailor.

This wild, wandering sea-bird's life, this sailor's life of war and struggle against untamable nature, which relished the breeze and watery seas, and storms and southern suns, brought, as it were, a stern resolve to succeed and conquer, to wander and return, a love for home, a strength of muscle and sinew and a crispness of good nature which no other parentage ever gave to an active people.

The large population afloat in their ships or on land at the ports, escaped the often degrading and threatening phases of the social life ashore which led to internal dissensions or family feuds, or luxury or debasing persecution that swept over the land from time to time. The mariners returning brought a tide of refreshing salt water into muddy political streams and heated shallows, like a tide that would ebb and flow, and on the ebb bear back a larger fleet with eager voyagers. Some went out for adventure, and some for trade, and some for lands, and some to escape the turmoil at home, and some to escape their foes, but in the time of the early colonization, the "adieu" to the English cliffs and the

sail down the channel was "a farewell," and the "au revoir" was an unexpressed, if distant, hope. The first view of the far-away land was a first insight to a new life, new home, new work. A separate existence from all old associations was begun on landing on the half-built wharf and amid a scattered village of small wooden houses with streets yet unmade—a future home, a future city with all its possibilities yet in the land of the sweet by and by. England then became a land of the past, beyond the waves, beyond the storms, away beyond the months of travel, the life in the Old Country a time of memory, the then present life the real life, mingled with the energy of a new world. So our colonies progressed and ever prospered, individual work here, a little there, a little now by one, then by many, and the ships went back and forth, and their coming was like the annual rising of a constellation from the sea. Still the transient ships floated, like sea castles outward and homeward, with their high poops and monster cables and heavy rigging, slowly there and slowly back, months on the passage, and THE DISTANCE OF MOTHERLAND TO YOUNG COLONY WAS EQUAL TO THE TIME IT TOOK FOR INTER-COMMUNICATION. The merchant clipper waited long in his counting-house for the news of his merchandise, the market and exchange, and his ship would drift in the Downs for as long as a voyage takes now.

This was before the trim clipper spread its sails like seagulls' wings and raced round the Cape for the new China teas, but soon her lines were known in every port and the tall spars traced on the sky the but half understood, "nearer, nearer" as the distance of months became but weeks apart, and our grandfathers looked round a world much reduced in seeming vision to the almost boundless expanse of Elizabethan oceans; but still the Colonies while leaning on home support, naturally looked forward to the day as far off yet, but one to be proudly looked to by themselves and the British people when they would attain their majority and claim their independence. But soon the steamship was on the horizon, and in the line of smoke floating on the wind astern, might be read the "nearer yet." That long hold from rope's end to rope's end is replaced by an iron link, as weeks of travelling are reduced to days, and then begins the time of home comings and quick returns, and the British people mingle one with another, and London and Canada are no farther apart in time than the Metro-

polis and Dublin used to be a few years before; and the *Australian Statesman* says, "the time may be coming when Britain and her colonies will be united in arts and arms." And a ship comes paddling quickly over the waters, as she trails the commercial cable astern, and in the click, click, click, click of the needles in unison from pole to pole, could be heard the secret quietly told, "you are united."

It hardly required then the Rath and Urath of the House of Wisdom, of whom we have read in Sir Arthur Help's "Realma," to tell of change in the next twenty-five years, to know that it was historically impossible for those conditions of time and place to last, and there are now equally certain known factors that could destroy our present harmonious condition.

In the following pages we shall trace the enunciation in Australia of a principle of union for the Empire.

Canada will be seen as a country soon to be of the first commercial importance, as an inter-oceanic means of communication, and as rapidly developing her foreign trade.

Africa will present the colony that in time will be both one of the richest in herself and the best market for other colonial produce, and if properly defended will become a centre of defence, the citadel of the oceans.

Some readers have said, Why Chapter II.? The reason for its insertion is that it refers to the birth-time of our colonies, to the last time when we were all together, when we all fought together. But the world has grown apace. It is no longer a period in the history of men when kingdoms can arise from small beginnings, when the weak can cope with the mighty or the unsuccessful can retire for a time from the scene of action to recoup, or resist the insistence for instant surrender. The same mighty forces which have developed the British lands, and drawn them together in one great confederacy, have enabled other nations to count their ships by the hundred and their armies by the tens of millions. Is this a period for separation and a new beginning, or a time for perfecting a national organization and seeking to make each part take its place in developing the latent resources and strength of its component parts, of seeking to develop the science of government and raise the feeling of nationality to a position where each man is in his own sphere a help, a strength, a support, the needful com-

plement in the great economy of national life to all his fellow-citizens?

So began to think the British people, and from 1843 to 1870 this idea began slowly to spread in the British mind, and then to become a national thought and to take the form of action. Being one race and of one national faith, their hopes, their aims, methods, trades and resources, credit and debts, armies, navies, histories past, present and future, being the same for one and each alike, a feeling of comradeship began to be felt by the reduction of distance one from another and the quickened means of inter-communication.

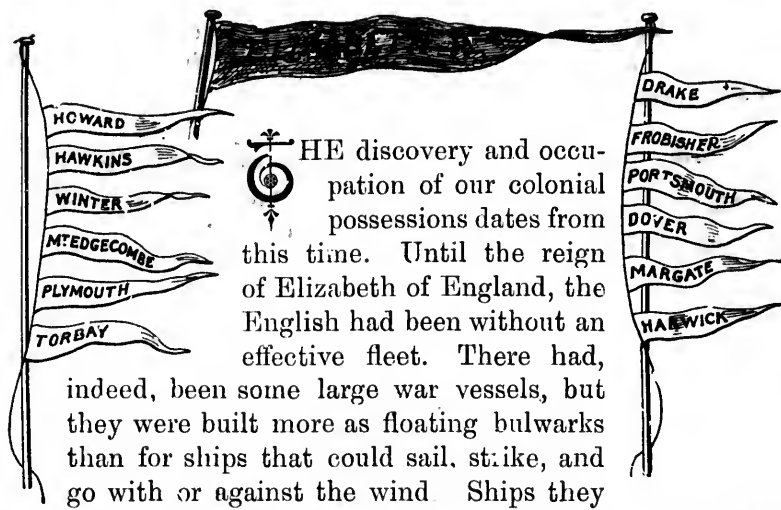
This feeling of union being hereditary in our race, becomes again and again a ruling spirit in the people, and the grand principle evolved by King Edward I. lives on, and is as true for the Empire now as it was for the counties of England alone at the time of the first Parliament he called together, when in the speech from the throne the royal words were :

"As it is a just rule, that what concerns all should by all be approved, so it is very plain that we should meet common dangers, by remedies devised in common."



CHAPTER II.

BUILDING THE FLEET.



THE discovery and occupation of our colonial possessions dates from this time. Until the reign of Elizabeth of England, the English had been without an effective fleet. There had,

indeed, been some large war vessels, but they were built more as floating bulwarks than for ships that could sail, strike, and go with or against the wind. Ships they were, with courtiers for commanders, soldiers for crews, which could float with the tide or a favoring wind, but were not the ships which required sea captains and sailors to navigate them in the time of the storm and the battle.

Before this time the chances of a voyage were greatly increased by the piratical rovers of all nations, a smaller ship being almost looked upon as lawful prey for a stronger one. England was one of the weaker people on the sea. Enterprise was rendered almost impossible; the only safety of a crew was in their defensive strength. Every ship was armed.

The Atlantic had been traversed. The unknown shore beyond,

with the cry of *El dorado yo e travado*, aroused the long lain latent instincts of a maritime population living around the natural harbors of their land, and the stories of an adventurer here, and an adventurer there, kindled in the minds of the boys such wild longings for a ship and the sea, that it threatened the destruction of the benefit of the youthful race to the plow or the 'prentice trade, by an epidemic of ennui if they stayed at home, and if they had not in their day lived in a generation which was suddenly compelled to build ships by the hundred to meet a foreign fleet. So there were the ships when the fight and the storm was over, like horses ready with saddle and bridle tempting the crews and luring the men to take them out of the harbors again, to ride the waves of the wide open ocean for a race over the sea. Drake had led the way round the world, many would follow.

Such was the condition about A.D. 1560. Ships had been built by Henry VIII. for defensive purposes, and a few more something like double castles, the fore joined to the aft by a lower deck, while ships with oval prows and galleries round the sterns, and windows to the high deck cabins were used for longer voyages, soon to carry fugitives like exiles from home, as if the people were by a Providence, whose kindness was then unseen, compelled to begin to take the rich prizes in store for the mariners. But bright, fearless minds were needed, with men who dared their lives day by day away from human help. It was not men like Jonah's ship-mates, who would leave working the ship to cry to their idols who could risk the open oceans, and have the courage to encounter the blasts and blows of sky and sea, but men strong and reliant on themselves who looked on the storm and the engulfing wave as the opening to a brighter voyage. Such a spirit as this arose in victorious strength with the coming of Elizabeth, with the light of truth and courage to her people.

Have you ever noticed how the whole atmosphere seems filled with a bright radiance on a sunny day? The light is not only falling on the upturned sides of objects in the sunlight, but seems to circle round and envelop all things. In a modified way it fills, as it were, the air itself, fills it up high as the hills, fills it up to the clouds and beyond, making all lights soft and pleasant, and adds a warmth, and comfort, and feeling of repose. That is what the light of Christianity does to the social and political life of

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those who rejoice in its freedom. This is the life of the British people, for the enjoyment of which for themselves and their fellow-citizens they contend the world over, and this light was woven into the strands of the main sheets of their ships, bleached their skysailyards, and could be seen in the foam that ever led their track, as the sailors on deck flung their songs to the coming breeze. England was, at the earlier part of this reign, constantly at war declared or not, but her naval force at sea consisted of but seven coast-guard vessels, eight merchant brigs and schooners, and twenty-one ships fit for service in the harbors. But the time had then come when the trade of the Channel grew and spread to the North Sea, to the Spanish coast and as far as Africa, and across the Atlantic to the Azores, with a ship now and then to the Westward and Plymouth Rock. The chief inducement, however, to build ships to sail and fight, was the constant provocation from the French and Spanish navies that led to retaliation from English Privateers, a fleet led by daring navigators who became the future adventurers to distant oceans, and formed the nucleus of the navy that was soon called upon to show their mettle.

At the same time the inland counties were becoming the birth-place of a race as fresh and healthy as the woods and brooks, and trained in mind and manners to what was brave and gentle, a people to be leaders of people, a new race like the crusaders of old, but this time to be marine crusaders. There may be many who almost envy the English landed birthrights of the families whose acres are linked one with another over the counties, but one powerful characteristic of the English landowner's family, never denied but hardly recognized, is their ready self-sacrifice wherever the safety of the British people is attacked. Show me the estate if you can whose present or former owners cannot point here and point there to the grave of a son or an uncle, a nephew or, maybe, a father who fell in the ranks of the British army or navy in the turmoil of battle defending what was his and perhaps is now yours. If the title deeds had claimed as a covenant running with the land that when and wheresoever the people of the realm were in danger the estate should furnish a soldier or sailor for defence in the war, no stipulation would have surer proof of its strict observance than by the records at the Horse Guards: "Died" in defence of his country, this great British

Dominion, to give peace to millions now living under the same flag in which he was buried. Honor the American people for keeping a day for decorating the graves of their soldiers. Where is a British colonist, whose forefathers or some of their sons have not been in the service and formed a part of our past history? The army and navy belongs to the Empire, and are looked upon as belonging alike to every inch of British territory.

The gentlemen of England whose homes have been in the country, have always been the leaders—at least, nearly always—of development at home or advance abroad. Let them still lead on—their place is in the forefront of commercial councils, the smoke and heat of the field, the dust of the political campaign and on the platform of social improvement. There is much work before us that is specially in need of the British Spartan nature. Like regiments able and eager for the fray but disbanded, such men as those listened at that time for the bugle-call to “assemble” on land or sea. For one of those periods in the world’s history had arrived when, “Man proposed and God disposed.” British ruin and destruction with the cry of anguish was the programme. The rise of the Star of Colonial Empire with the chant of the mariners was the disposition.

Early in the year 1588, the sun rose over harbors falling into disuse, but the night echoed with the sound of hammer and saw, and the day-light came to the crowd waiting to lay down another keel. There was no time to lose. Timbers and planks and ribs of ships were joined together with bolts hot from the forge, and decks were laid while the pitch boiled over their bulwarks and the ropes were strained overhead. No time for rest; another crew and yet another, captain and crew both shipbuilders and sailors. Arms and canon are the cargo on the merchant ships and anything that can float. These formed the British navy. The fleet was built! It was probably at this time of threatened danger, that Shakespeare’s words rang out from the boards over the chords of his hearers’ nerves strained to the aching pitch, his own soul thrilling between hope and fear—because of the Spanish Armada:

“Come the three corners of the world in arms
And we shall shock them! Naught shall make us rue
If England to itself do rest but true.”

And the echoes of the answering shout of approval have found no resting place yet. For eight years the people had been expecting a navy concealed in foreign ports and reported to be overwhelmingly strong.

The friars of Valladolid and monks of Madrid still held high carnival and rejoiced, and all unmindful crowded their ships, and the Armada was ready to sail. Under the shadow of the black cloud, the evil drifted northward to a doom of darkness like the hearts within those wooden walls, and yet a merciful fate compared to the lot of ill and torture purposed by them for the fresh and rosy, happy and merry children of the bright green English fields.

Onward, downward, the bay was passed, the channel entered and the white cliffs in sight, but no fleet to be run down by their towering weight in the freshening wind, no ships to sink with cannon-shot and clear away as they sweep onward. But like hounds pouring out from cover after the escaping quarry, so came the swifter sailing, better fighting English ships out from Plymouth Sound. Who can be first? Was ever such a race for war? Did ever squadron make such wild manœuvres? Bang! Thunder! Did they think that shot would win for you, reader, Newfoundland, or that broadside gain Canada for their grandsons? Did they think as they grappled with this high galleon that it was Australia they were winning, or as ship after ship succumbed, that it was the Cape, New Zealand, pretty Tasmania and the Indies that they were adding to the British Union? But so it was! The foreign fleet was strong but the wind blew high, and as night came down chaos and confusion reigned supreme. The English ships sought shelter along her shores. The Armada was no more. Swept off the seas by the mighty waves, forbidden by the undefiled rocks, driven away by the pure strong winds of the sky, denied by the ocean, rejected by the land, the life of this array of evil was expelled from the earth.

These naval battles were essentially victories won by the people. Every ship on the coast, every boat on the shore put out to fight for defence of their land and the mastery of the sea. The strength and resources of some, the courage and endurance of others were linked together, and the bounding spirit of victory found a fitting scope of action in world-wide discovery to which the British people now turned their attention, and which led to

the founding of our Colonial Empire. England at last possessed a merchant fleet, had built a navy, and her ships were free to sail the ocean over.



DATES OF DISCOVERY OR SETTLEMENT OF
BRITISH COLONIES:

- | | |
|----|-----------------------|
| 7 | Australia, 1606. |
| 10 | New Zealand, 1642. |
| | Tasmania, 1642. |
| 8 | Bermuda, 1609. |
| 9 | Bahamas, 1629. |
| 11 | Cape Colonies, 1486. |
| 5 | Canada, 1535. |
| 5 | Gold Coast, 1580. |
| 3 | Natal, 1498. |
| 2 | Newfoundland, 1497. |
| 4 | Trinidad, 1498. |
| 9 | Ceylon, 1486. |
| 12 | Fiji, 1646. |
| 14 | Falkland Isles, 1771. |
| 13 | Jamaica, 1655. |
| 15 | Borneo, 1690. |
| 16 | Bechuanaland, 1850. |
| 17 | Zambesia, 1855. |
| 18 | Saloman Isles, 1893. |

CHAPTER III.

AUSTRALIA.

SOME 1,900,000,000 acres form the country of bright, sunny, brave Australia, the land of sunshine and the Southern Cross, happy in her past with a future happier yet. Here live a people that the nature of their land and climate seems to take in hand and improve from generation to generation. Many are wealthy, and like the patriarchs of old have kept their fathers' sheep, and now their flocks keep them. They live surrounded by broad acres, while their sons and daughters, our cousins, grow tall, and fair, and strong. A land where there is room for all who have the early courage to endure. We would not say that everything in Australia is on the jump, like the kangaroo, but we will say that the spicy breezes from the forest trees, curling the hair on the temples of their boys while they ride and race over the miles of grassy lands, make their pulses bound with life, and their hearts become like what their volcanoes on their prairies used to be, full of fire and energy; they will yet find the wide shores of their continent and island too confined for a British nature, and follow the lead of the wise and noble policy, which was an offspring matured and reared in their own councils just fifty years ago (1843) of knitting her destinies with her own people and her own race around the earth, and going forward in confidence fearing no evil.

Measure the length and breadth from east to west and from north to south of the Australian continent (2,600 miles by 2,000 miles), reckon the miles of iron for the railroads necessary for the development of the country, and estimate the capital required to establish the banks, supply the business loans, to carry on the

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TYPICAL AUSTRALIAN SCENERY ON A RANCH FORMERLY BELONGING TO THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE AND OTHERS,
NOW THE PROPERTY OF NEIL BLACK, ESQ.



commerce of the people who will populate these districts, and the amount will require the protection of the British Empire to give value to the security on which all people who have the money to invest will rely, on Australian stocks and bonds, debentures and shares in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania.

We can take our starting point in the modern Australian history from the time of the independence of Victoria, not that Australian history began then, but that the present momentous questions of Imperial Union arose at the time of her political, separation from the legislative power of New South Wales—these great questions of the future of Australia, of her different dependencies—these questions wrestled with by great and bright political minds in their younger days and now being brought into the arena of practical politics.

The situation in Sydney at that time (1844-45) forms one of special interest. The authority of the New South Wales Government extended over the continent, but with the discovery of the gold fields and rich pastures in the district, then called Port Phillip, and now known as Melbourne, a large population had suddenly settled down in this new territory and claimed local control for their new possessions. Communication between Melbourne and Sydney could only be had by sea.

A Bill was brought forward in the New South Wales Legislature for the formation of the separate colony of Victoria, and the position was this: In the first place, we see the Governor, Sir George Gibbs, representing the influence of the British Crown, seeking to hold together the Australian colony. At the other extreme, there was the Victorian party, keen and intent on their financial interest, which they saw would be much benefited by their obtaining the political control over their gold fields, sheep runs, and town sites; and thirdly, there were the members of the New South Wales Legislature with whom the decision rested. To some of these the proposed measure seemed to threaten the disintegration of the continent; to others it appeared as the only possible means for the full development of different local and separated landed advantages. Among the members of the Legislature, one stands out in the controversy more prominent than the rest, namely, Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke, an

ambitious young barrister who had the extra advantage of being the nominee of the Governor in the Legislature, and afterwards editor of that well-wielded literary weapon, *The Atlas*. His sympathies were with the Victorian party; his duty, to support the view of the Governor. It was probably this dual condition which led him to take what has since become an historical standpoint on the question of colonial representation.

In the Legislature, after first resigning his seat as a nominee and being returned by a constituency, he threw his heart and soul into supporting the measure, which was carried; but in his newspaper, as if, perhaps, in some measure to atone for taking a contrary course to what might have been expected from him, he elucidated in a series of articles a more comprehensive policy applicable to the Empire, and like a good editor, probably expressed opinions in which others shared.

The two great principles put forward were these :

1. *Local Self-Government.*

2. *Representation of the Colonies in the British Parliament.*

First Declaration of Federation by Representation. Apart from the personality attaching to those positions it is a peculiar point to note that it was this act of separation that evoked the declaration of a policy of confederation of Australia, of Australasia and England. The first of the two political claims being naturally a division of labor, leading to the greatest development in agriculture and commerce; and the second, the most effective means of supporting, extending and protecting their ever-increasing foreign trade and relations.

At that time the critic who replied that an Imperial Parliament would have an unwieldy weight of business to handle, spoke the truth for the time being, for it was supposed that such a question for causing mental disturbance as the Australian School Laws would be a question dealt with by the Imperial Parliament, and that the members for Victoria, Middlesex, Quebec and the Punjab would all have a vote on the Bill. Since then, however, the science of politics has been better understood, and political art relegates questions which affect some and not others, to those whom they may concern, to be decided; the germ of this policy taking deep root and growing well, nurtured in the ground of the first above-mentioned claim of

“Local Self-government,” which alone makes possible the second, “Imperial Federation through the British Parliament.”

This is a line of policy which, if it had been incorporated in Magna Charta, would almost have rounded out that document to the lines of perfection, but as it happens, though it was enunciated by King Edward I. in his first parliament, the full force and benefit of this policy leading so far forward to “Peace on Earth,” is only now being recognized as the true and constitutional solution for many a political problem, at least, in England; for at the separation of the New England States, the principle was incorporated as a part of the Constitution, and since then has become for the United States at the same time, as it were, the mortar, that unites individual interests in separate states and that marks the line of the division between them.

We will in future refer to this principle as the “AUSTRALIAN PRINCIPLE” in the ethics of Federation, that is, “THAT MATTERS SHOULD BE DECIDED BY WHOM THEY CONCERN, AND WHERE ALL ARE AFFECTED, THE COMMON CAUSE SHOULD BE DEALT WITH BY REMEDIES DEVISED IN COMMON.”

It is often in the earlier stages, the experimental stages, that the inherent success of an undertaking can be foreseen, or fails to materialize. Again, this same period in Australian history furnishes us with an example of the success of a vital principle. Discord and division at once became rampant in the new and mixed parliament in Victoria, which was composed of appointed and elected members together in the same House, the same difficulty does not arise where there are two Houses. Elected and appointed members

Representatives. Elective “ Appointive.	can have no part one with another. They cannot fraternize. One represents the people, the other does not. One voices the feelings of the constituencies, the other cannot because he has none. One is a fitted occupant of a seat in a Parliament, the other has no part or share in the deliberative councils of an elective House. This was the first discovery on the assembling of the Victorian Parliament, and the dual method at once collapsed after a short and sharp parliamentary contest. The members had to be elected and chosen by ballot. What commingling of spirit there may be on account of the contest and heat of an election, we know not in the measure, but we see it in the results. The chosen representative first works
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with the people and for the people, and people for him, and after the fight he seems to carry within his breast a spirit composed of the thoughts, feelings, aspirations and hopes of his supporters. An appointee is like the counsel for a case, not a plaintiff or defendant, and without the inner feelings of either. The success of the representative experiment in Victoria again vindicated the great principle *that the people may be safely trusted to arrange affairs in which they are personally concerned, when the liability to carry out the programme rests with themselves, and its effect will be felt by them all individually.*

What shall we say of this great lesson when applied to what is known as the Australian Council, which seeks to be a connecting link between the Australasian colonies, but is itself wanting in the essential elements for strength necessary for union, its members being appointed and not elected. One of the fundamental rules of law, we might call it a legal postulate, is *delegatus non delegare*, and the theory of politics, which has for its end the making of laws, has for its foundation many corner-stones of the identical form as the Common Law of which this is one, but one which is continually being broken, and when broken causing an unstable footing. A delegate cannot delegate, because the party he appoints becomes, in no legal relationship to the party for whom he then acts but does not represent, a sort of cousin-german, perhaps, but not one of the family. Accordingly, if a minister of one of the Colonial governments appoints a person to this Confederated Council, such nominee does not represent his own constituents at the Council Board, much less his whole Colony. A who represents B, not only appoints C to represent B, but appoints him to represent D, E and F as well, which is impossible. There becomes no privity of relationship then between the members of the Australian Council and the people of Australia, but let them be elected and returned by the popular vote, and that wonderful correlation of elector and member will cement Australasia into a pyramid of united strength. This same argument applies to the proposition for an Imperial Council of Commerce or for other purposes. When the time comes that the Australian colonies shall decide in their different parliaments on the question of being represented at the centre of British influence, let them accept no compromise of an official

Appointed
Councils
are a failure.

appointee to act for them, but let the people claim their right of having a directing influence in those questions which affect the British nation, by each one voting on the name of the man who they may consider will best express their local views in an Imperial Parliament.

That quick reflection from their continent and islands of the same feeling and interest which the English took at the time of the trouble on the Dardanelles in 1878, showed the British in Australia one with the British in England, and if their ready effort in the Egyptian campaign was at least in its place, if not called upon for action, let us learn the further lesson and impress it on others, that Federation will be for defence and not attack, and will hope to reap its fruits of reward in peace and prosperity and not by success in turmoil or martial victories, and that men's hearts have pride in local patriotism.

One of our great British statesmen in his lighter moods, just before an election, warned his fellow-members of the Ministry in which a slight difference marred the strength of their union, by remarking "that if they did not hang together they would all hang separately," and when we consider the immense power to strike and rapidity of movement of the older nationalities in comparison to the newer Australian colonies, it is amazing to think that any one would want to risk a sure encounter with some of these stronger powers by a lonely and rash attempt at an independent corporate existence. Statesmen may have tried to smooth over these diversities of feeling which keep Australian colonies apart, but this fact of "Federation accomplished" seems as if it would not be left to the politicians, but to the people, to achieve.

What a great gathering that was in 1878 when the first Colonial Conference was summoned, and for the first time in history the leading Colonial statesmen met one with the another in London to discuss the welfare of the Empire. Called together by the Colonial office, under authority from the Crown. Many suggestions were proposed and agreed to, but both at this conference and the two others that have followed when the conference closed, there was no machinery to carry them into effect. How pregnant with results, but except as a precursor of further Union Conferences, how empty of effect! Many speeches, giving some of the thoughts of the greatest minds, papers read astute with logic

and reasoning for commercial progress, but where was the debate on Federation? What was it that stopped the plain and simple claim for representation in the British Parliament as necessary for the advancement of their commercial interests, their credit and their trade? Is it true that at a conference of the Colonies the question of the Empire was forbidden to be discussed? What was the reason for this, where the logic, who said "Hush," when the claim was mentioned, who ordained that the question be a forbidden subject, and why and where has been the use of such a prohibition? What was it that froze the Canadian tongue, what lassoed the Australian words? Sometimes this gathering of young lions seemed under a cloud. Who was the unauthorized author of "Hush?"

AUSTRALIAN TRADE.

The Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, who has lately returned from Australia, made a very able address, in Toronto, to the members of the Manufacturers' Association. In his remarks, which appear below, he repeated the motto: "Our Government—the keystone of the arch upon which rests the stability of our country and her progress." Now, that is precisely our point, that as the progress of a country is dependent on the government of the country, so the progress of the Empire, the commercial advantages from inter-communication of its different portions, is dependent on the government of the Empire. The highest commercial benefits are dependent on political union, as clearly shown in his further remarks. The need of a representative political centre of control would at once become essential, to maintain national unity among competitors and for the elaboration of the plan in respect of expenses towards the military and civil services, which all would in time have to bear proportionately. An English taxpayer would certainly expect an

Australian and a Canadian merchant to contribute towards the expenses of protecting a trade which was being carried on in the Pacific between those two great countries.

The trade of Australia during the year 1891 amounted to £41,408,315. Their imports during the same year amounted to £43,243,173, of which Great Britain, and that is where their trade principally lies, sent £30,323,478, and received in return from Australia no less than £32,638,841. This trade was distributed among the different colonies. South Australia, which is the oldest of the Colonies, received £14,259,000. New South Wales imported about fourteen and a half million pounds; Victoria, thirteen millions; Queensland, three and a quarter millions; South Australia, over four millions; West Australia, six hundred and ninety-five thousand; Tasmania, six hundred and ninety-eight thousand, and New Zealand five and a half millions. This trade was distributed over these different colonies, and the difficulty that presented itself to me was in attempting to come to any mutual commercial arrangement between these different colonies and Canada, from the fact that one has to deal with seven distinct governments, seven distinct tariffs, and seven barriers erected between each of the Colonies. Their exports, many of which we took, were as follows:—New South Wales, £14,340,850; Victoria, £11,097,653; Queensland, £3,378,816; South Australia, £5,520,561; Western Australia, £562,206; Tasmania, £382,381; New Zealand, £7,860,836.

In 1891, the United States sent to Australia £3,000,000, and imported about £3,250,090, of which a large proportion was wool. Over £3,000,000 was the value of the wool they bought from the Australian colonies. Portions of that import came to Canada. Last year we consumed in wool from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 pounds. Some of our manufacturers have in the last year or two been in the habit of employing agents in New South Wales and in Victoria, to purchase wool for their factories. In 1892, the imports to Australia were over \$11,000,000 worth of goods. What are the principal goods in which we can compete? I find that in agricultural implements the imports were \$323,936; breadstuffs, \$65,133; brooms and brushes, \$36,198; carriages and horses, \$497,008; patent medicines, \$148,543; chemical dyes and medicines, \$212,368; cotton goods, \$132,199; fish, \$55,909; fish, canned salmon, \$152,979; cordage, \$9,561; canned fruits, \$8,745; explosives, \$70,845; India rubber, boots and shoes, \$9,304; India rubber, manufactures of, \$45,292; iron, castings, \$62,513; machinery, \$466,193; nails, \$69,114; saws and tools, \$451,635; scales and balances, \$15,669; sewing machines, \$366,058; engines, stationary, \$4,334; boilers and parts, \$5,847; stoves, ranges, etc., \$59,861; wire, \$97,918; all other manufactures of iron, \$209,514; leather, \$186,925; boots and shoes, \$12,638; harness and saddles, \$58,318; other manufactures of leather, \$54,752; oil and cement, \$23,874; slate roofing, \$47,089; stone, manufactures of, \$25,437; musical instruments, organs, \$80,712; pianos, \$4,416; oil, whale and fish, \$14,662; kerosene, \$1,015,859; oil, lubricating, \$102,100; paints and painters' colors, \$46,091; paper, printing and wrapping, \$292,538; plated wire, \$52,430; soap, toilet, \$41,116; soap, common, \$3,465; vegetables, canned, \$5,462; timber, manufactures of, \$1,722,172.

There is no reason why carriages and horse cars should not be sent from Canada.

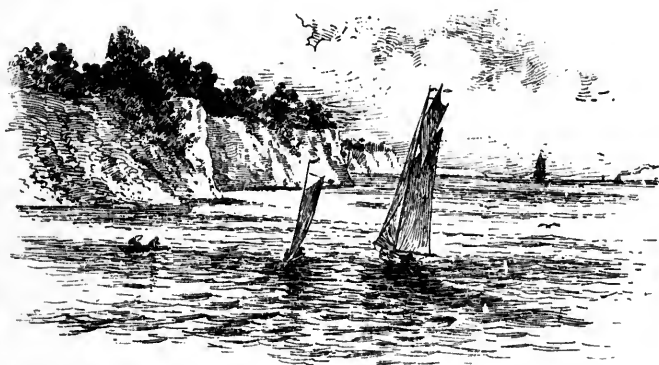
as well as the United States. I know that the manufacturers of these articles in Canada are about making a trial shipment, and I predict that they will find it both profitable to themselves and to those who use their product. Patent medicines also, I believe, could be manufactured in this country just as well as in the United States. And there is no reason why in these herbs, small as they appear to be in the great volume of that trade, Canada should not have her proportion as other countries. It is just the same with cotton, they would have to compete with the English to a great extent. There are millions of carcasses of sheep sent out of Australia and New Zealand, and every one of these sheep is covered with thin cotton. You will find that there is a very great market for that article alone. Let those who are in that industry in this country—and there is a combination which, I say, has done good to the country rather than harm, because it has enabled each mill to manufacture one particular article, and in doing that they have an output beyond the limits of this country, and they must have a market in other parts of the world—endeavor to extend their trade. They use stoves in every way in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The north is Australia is what the south is to Canada. Why should not the stove manufacturers occupy the same position in regard to that Australian trade that the agricultural implement manufacturers do? When I told the Australians that the Canadians had carried off prizes in Paris, competing with English and American manufacturers; that they carried off prizes in England, right at the door of the best manufacturers in the world, and that they had beaten every manufacturer in their own country, they were not a little astonished at it, and I have no doubt that the stoves that could be sent from Canada into that country will bear as fair a comparison as to quality, finish, beauty and utility as any made in this world. Wire and other industries are just exactly on the same ground. There are many of these articles that would be peculiar to the Pacific slope, particularly slate, if you could get into their market; there is a demand for the slate produced in British Columbia.

CHAPTER IV.

CANADA ;

OR,

THE POLICY OF THE SEAS.



S SHIPS

sail on from inland harbors where they have taken on their

cargo, down the widening river and past the headland lights to the ocean which seems trackless to one who is not the navigator, so the affairs of men who form the people of a country pass on together as one existence from the time of their early formation to the distant future, and their course is alone known to Him who rules the hearts of men and guides their destiny according to their fitness for what they become qualified. So Canada goes forward the

Excelsior.

irrestrainable native force of the race for ever seeking to attain to something yet unaccomplished, some new territory to occupy, some new manufacture to build up, some new means of communication to obtain, until a widely separated, diversant and sparsely populated land is becoming politically and mechanically united by a parliament, railroad, and maritime connection. The

effect of her latitude has been to induce manufactures, mills and factories to spring up, one almost within sight of the other, and a bright and healthy, active or wealthy population takes possession of town and homestead. The people of Canada have successfully gone through the first century of the colonial state of existence.

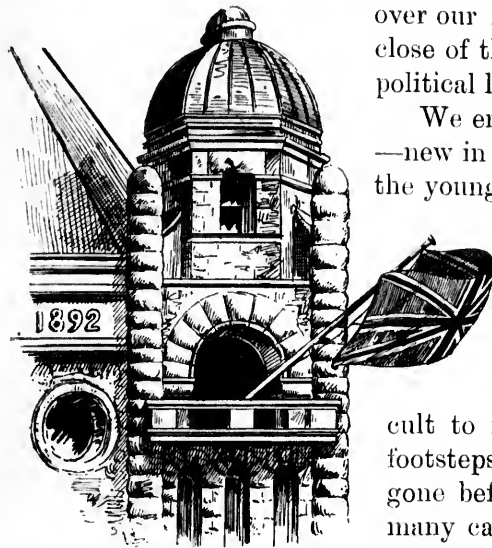
There is a time when the people of a country are very independent of outside influences. It is when the land is in the progress of being settled, cleared, developed, and the increase in the value of the land well supports and, in some cases, enriches the population as it naturally rises from a very cheap price to one of considerable value. This is the first stage in colonization, and is a happy one for a man without capital, and a young man without a business who can take up land, and who, indeed, seems as if he grew up with the country and prospered on the increase wrought by his own and others, means. But such halcyon days do not last long, some twenty years, at the most a century, and such opportunities are gone from that land never to return. Then a second condition

“The old order changeth
yielding place to new.”

is reached which differs but little, except in degree, from the state of the mother country from which we or our forefathers came. A less amount of worldly goods will, perhaps, go as far here as a larger accumulation there; but when businesses such as we see in the Old Country are carried on here, when manufacturers supply the home demand, large wholesale dealers take the place of smaller ones, banks show capitals so large that they become influenced by outside sources, and competition becomes keen between local traders, and men by being kept much more to one channel of business at home, and manufacturers by having the machinery to make much more than is needed in the home markets, begin to wish to be exporters and to look outside their own territory, and to view the other British possessions as fields for their own enterprise, shipments and agencies, then, indeed, we have arrived at a second stage in colonial life, and we find ourselves more than before in want of all that lends protection and firmness and reliability for similar institutions in the Old Country, for the defence, support, and credit of these institutions in the New. This is the time now with us.

It is a noticeable coincidence that this period of commercial development has commenced very much at the same time as the

second century in Ontario. All will yet remember the ceremonies in Toronto, in September, 1892, when we celebrated the event, and the clock of the centuries resounded over our land as it boomed forth the close of the first hundred years of our political life.



We entered a new century, indeed—new in every respect—very new to the younger business members of our community, as they find they will have to confront another order of things to sustain their position and business in the next few years, and it will be difficult to follow, with advantage, the footsteps of those who may have gone before them, and who may in many cases have built up a business to which they find themselves the

happy possessors or sharers. This new condition of things is plainly seen by what has been found of interest in our newspapers during the last few weeks. We have read many articles on the

Commercial
History.

fast steamboat service from Halifax to Liverpool or Milford Haven. We have heard two gentlemen from Australia representing another steamboat service from our western coast to the Australasians' continent and islands, and Commercial Cable is always with us in the quotations. Now, even these three new projects bring home to us very clearly the position which Canada is likely to take in the economy of nations. She will become the great highway of commerce between the two hemispheres—a highway studded with factories along the route for handling the products of any country, and with every advantage for shipments east or west, and also the great trans-continental carrier between two oceans. The atlas shows, however, that her geographical conformation is the very reverse of what one would call a strong and centralized power. The country, as shown on the map, and the lines of her railroads suggest this appearance of being a great

connecting roadway, a strip of British* glory across the North American continent, a pathway for civilization from east to west and from west to east again. This being so, Canada has a direct and ever-increasing interest in the commerce of the world, and especially in regard to the channels in which that stream of commerce may flow or be diverted for. To seek to hold a place in the great councils of the Empire, where she may take her share of building up and increasing this traffic in foreign ports and encouraging her own exports and imports, and to seek to have some control over these lines of international connection across the oceans is becoming even daily to her a matter of vital financial importance for her people. It is this line of action that is being marked out for her people to take, as leading on to national success that we name "THE POLICY OF THE SEAS." It is by endeavoring to maintain traffic over our highways that we shall draw together in closer union the provinces of our dominion. It is this right of way that will make Canada an invaluable part of the British dominions, as we hold in our hands the strategical position of British union in time of European commotion. To keep and extend our serviceableness as a safe and speedy accessory to marine transit means prosperity, to allow the trade to be diverted to other channels, or to escape from our control, means to have Canada relegated many commercial degrees nearer the North Pole than she is geographically.

We give two maps showing the countries around the oceans on either shore so as to give an idea of the enormous traffic that might in the future come to our ports and pass over our railroads. The railway may some day be continued across China to Europe.

If we take an historical view of the expansion of the self-ruling power in the Anglo-Saxon race, we find these two dominant ideas of government from the year 1050, A.D., running along side by side in different individuals all through the eight hundred and fifty years since that time: The old Norman love of ruling by governing, as a general governs his army by the word of command of a superior to an inferior, exists in many minds to-day side by side with the old British feeling of government by regulation after due debate, consideration and

* The word "British" is used throughout as applicable to the British race which includes Canadians.

decision by the people to be governed from as far back as the ancient Witenagemot assembly. The first is the rule of a minority, the second the general consent to the expressed wish of a majority. The first found its expression in the creation of dukes and Norman lords, who ruled their domains in olden times; and later, in governors, who ruled their colonies, and now in a parliament that rules the British Empire. The second idea of government, what we might call the ideal, found expression in the appointment of the ancient English earls, who were responsible for the well-being of their counties; and later in the Colonial Houses of Representatives, who were given by the colonists the responsibility for the conduct of their country. And in the near future this quieter, gentler, yet far stronger and more lasting form of English constitutional government will find a new development in the expression of the will of the British people gradually asserting itself at the centre of power, as the ruling element over the destinies of a united empire. That is as natural a rise and development in the growth of the modern form of parliamentary rule, as is the development and growth of a colony from a handful of adventurers to a country whose citizens first become equals and then enter a state where differences in interests, objects or pursuits as compared with the mother country disappear. Their national life becomes, as it were, one with the country from which they come, and for which they have ever maintained an allegiance.

We maintain that these two forms of development have progressed side by side with equal pace—the commercial development of our colonies and the political development of the Empire—so that at the present time, when we find the growth and strength of our trade requiring the civil and military advantages of the Empire, we also find at the same time that the minds of men have become educated up to a level where a COMMUNITY OF POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS HAS BECOME A RECOGNIZED NECESSITY and a fundamental principle on which alone union can be maintained and united interests prospered. This two-fold union of commercial and political interests can only be harmonized and supported by following out for the Empire those grand principles of King Edward I., which he so prophetically laid down when calling his parliament together for the federation of his kingdom of England. (Page 11.) How applicable to the vast extension of his kingdom,

which he faithfully and victoriously tried in his time of trust to pass on unimpaired from those who had committed it to his care to those who followed after him !

Lord Beaconsfield had a remarkable leaning towards the policy of uniting the interests of the people of a country as a great means of insuring the peace and prosperity of themselves and their neighbors, as was shown in Turkey, Egypt and India. This character of his led him, from time to time, to give consideration to the present colonial problem ; and that was even before the wonderful commercial strength developed among our colonial people. He, however, even then advocated the practicability of the idea at some future time of the Colonies being more united and consolidated as portions of the Empire by representation in the Imperial Parliament, and he expressed it as a matter that must have been ignored or overlooked at the time the distant lands were being peopled, that those who took up their residence in them for the very purpose of extending the British domains, lost all representation in the Home Parliament which governed them. He referred to it "*as a matter which at some future time, if the Empire was to be kept together, would have to be rectified.*"

The people in the New England colonies, now part of the United States, made several claims for the privilege in return for the taxes they paid. That old map, however, which used to hang in the Colonial Office in Downing Street, showing this continent partitioned off into duchies and earldoms and other divisions, to give names for new titles, showed only too plainly how once upon a time the colonial lands were looked upon as being more in the gift of the British Government than subject to colonial control. That feeling still retained sufficient force at the beginning of this century to treat the claim of representation as a matter outside the range of possibilities, and when in later times the claim was again suggested, it was always countered by the "want-to-know-how-much-you-will-pay-for-your-defence" proposition promptly fired back. If a man remained at home he would have a voice in the control of Australia or Canada, because he paid some taxes and his executors afterwards some probate duty ; but if he comes out here and takes his share in adding indirectly thousands of pounds to the Imperial exchequer, by building up and extending

the Empire, he loses all right to say anything about the welfare of the Empire.

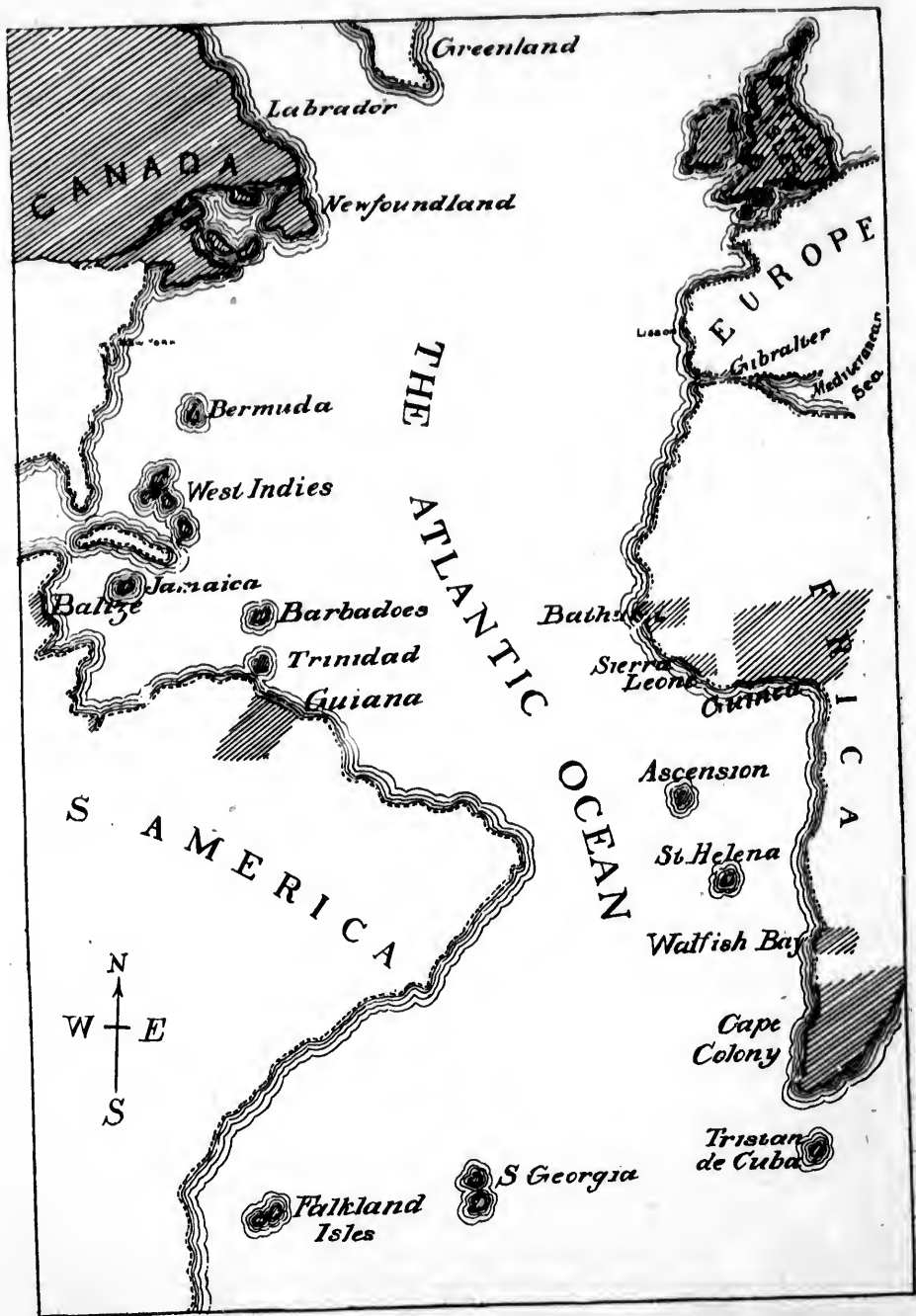
But "the old order changeth yielding place to new," and we find ready to meet our new commercial needs a political change in the British people. The very literature, as we may call it, of the Colonies, all leads up to the same solution of the problem, "UNION BY REPRESENTATION." This is what our friends advise, what our enemies fear.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men and nations,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

While generalities may be permitted in introducing a subject to the mind, yet specific objects which have a definite and beneficial bearing on a man's business must be given to obtain mental conviction that will lead on to action. When a subject has once been brought forward, and has taken a hold upon people's thoughts, it is surprising the number of arguments, *pro* and *con*, that are found to affect the final decision. We give but a few in this paper as a commencement, but still they are amply sufficient for forming a logical basis on which to formulate a demand for the recognition of our needs on behalf of the Canadian people. Other circumstances may arise which may not only induce us to lay claim to these equal rights, but which might quickly force us to urgently demand them. Difficulties may soon arise in our Empire, for there are many who come under the cover and live in the freedom of British protection who would yet, if they could, tear our national flag to pieces. Our object is not so much to gain new rights as to give greater effect to our Union as far as it exists, and in the next place to increase them. He is a poor politician who would not be able to say under given circumstances, and at a given time, what his policy would be. Instead of being like the rocks along the seashore, he would be like the waves that swish-swash along our lake beach; yet we are afraid there are a good many in the country in that condition, and some intentionally so.

The reasons why there should be closer union with the legislative councils of Great Britain are :

1. That Canada may take an active part in the regulations and extension of the commerce that will come to us and through us from the continents and oceans on either side of our country. In



THE SHORES OF THE ATLANTIC.
 (British Possessions Shaded)

1892, our foreign trade amounted to \$231,000,000 worth of goods, of which \$113,557,885 was with Great Britain,* and \$117,384,433 with other countries.

2. We need representatives at Westminster to help develop our great landed interests. Lately a Colonial party has been formed in the House of Commons, and the reason given is that those members have large landed interests in the Colonies.

Now, it is evident that, if the formation of forming a small party to support colonial interests will advance their landed interests, in the same way representatives from New Brunswick to the North-West Territories† would help to advance the landed interests in the provinces of our Dominion. We would not consider the people's representatives, advertising agents. But they are, especially for the district from which they come, the very best sort you can possibly have. They have a personal and certainly a political reason for doing all they can for the commercial and financial objects in their province.

3. For the necessary legislation to give effect to the policy of an Imperial Commercial Union.

4. Because our manufacturers will become exporters, and it will be most essential to have proper and equal trade regulations to prevent ruinous competition and the lowering of wages.

5. For mutual defence.

6. To look after our share in the expansion of trade in Asia, Africa and other new fields of enterprise.

7. To arrange for necessary legislation so that the enormous trust funds in England could be invested in colonial securities, landed or bonded. We want capital to help us to do the work.

8. To maintain in time to come a more equal and equitable distribution of wealth in the payment of labor.

9. For proportionate representation in the Consular Service.

These objects touch one and all alike—the manufacturer, banker, merchant, farmer and mechanic—and this great reform

*Great Britain's total trade with Canada decreased during the year, ending June, 1893, by \$2,626,000.

†The total trade of Manitoba, which was in 1892 over \$5,000,000, fell in 1893 to a little over \$2,000,000. The export value of their agricultural products, which amounted in 1892 to over a million dollars, fell in 1893 to \$445,000. This is a tremendous strain on a small province.





(This map is shortened from East to West.)

THE POSSIBILITIES FOR TRADE IN THE PACIFIC.

should not be left to personal influence, but should be taken up by the people for their own good.

Before concluding this chapter, let us attempt to outline a policy on trade relationship. This is a point to which so many in favor of a union come, and then stop as they fear damage to their own business interests.

Will union help to do away with protection? is the "pale cast of thought that makes this enterprise of great pith and moment lose its name of action," for many of its lukewarm supporters.

It is said that we need protection for manufacturers who are employers of labor, because what we have to guard against is not equal competition, but being made a field for the sale of the surplus goods from foreign factories, that can be sold at so low a price as to prevent the manufacture of a serviceable class of goods here. Should not our policy in this matter be something in this line: that when we are strong enough to export our manufactured goods and stand on an equal footing in foreign ports, we may then hope for a more profitable exchange of commodities between the different parts of the same empire, and then relieve our own people from a system which does, in many cases, though it need not, become a tax on the home purchaser. This trade question is the *crux* of the whole business in Canada. To solve that is to find the local solution of the problem of the union, to remove the barriers that at present keep us separate.

Federation *plus* preferential trade *equals* the commercial necessity of Canada, is the mathematical way of stating the political problem. From this feeling arises the Canadian claim for "Preferential Trade" within the British dominions, for many say that Canada's business interests are bound up with the North American continent, and in British Union they would want to see compensatory benefits over local advantages. But how can this commercial policy be satisfactorily dealt with except *after* the political union of all those who would be affected has become an accomplished fact.

The President of the Toronto Board of Trade, D. R. Wilkie, 1893-94, said in his annual address:—

"I sympathize most heartily with the hopes expressed by my two immediate predecessors in office, that the mother country and her colonies will be drawn closer together by the bonds of an Imperial Trade policy. Our own Parliament has echoed



THE POSSIBILITIES FOR TRADE IN THE PACIFIC.

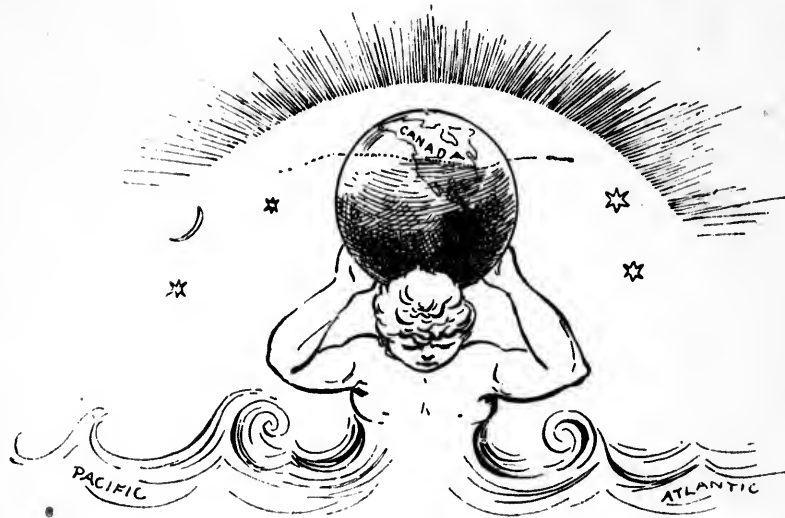
(This map is shortened from East to West.)

that sentiment. It is unfortunate, however, that the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland have not yet given the great living question of an Imperial Commercial Union the consideration it deserves. Canada was never so prosperous as it was during the existence of a preferential tariff in Great Britain in favor of her colonies. The re-imposition of such a tariff would afford the Colonies the advantages in the markets of Great Britain over foreign rivals to which we think they are entitled, without pressing upon the consumer; would ultimately compel the revision of tariffs at present hostile to the Empire; would conduce to the rapid settlement of our North-West, and would give the manufacturers of Great Britain an equivalent in the shape of an enlarged market for their products, without the cost to the nation of endless sacrifices of blood and treasure."

We should, at the same time, remember that in discussing a closer union, we are not trenching in any shape or form upon the complete control by the people of a colony over their own land, or in any way affecting the integrity of our Constitution.

We find in England that it has often been a topic for consideration, this right to be given to the Colonies of having representatives in the English House of Lords and House of Commons. In some places the idea has met with encouragement, and nowhere with disapproval. Why, then, should the Colonies hesitate to put forward their claim especially when Ireland has made it such a special point in the great debate about her future, that she should maintain a large representative body in the House of Commons? Too large, many would think. The discussion on the Irish Bill has shown that England approves the principle of home representation for self-governing countries, and maintaining the Union by representation.

The question now, why Canada should not be represented, would be harder to give a sufficient reason for than why she should. The feeling of union is hereditary in the British people. We have not chosen the time to place this great problem before the Canadian public—it is with us. We look at the waters of our lake and know that they are a direct highway to London Bridge. It is Canada's great highways of the sea, and byways of her rivers, and lakes and canals, that are the making of this country. Let Canadians take advantage of these marvellous accessories to their internal resources, and one and all, both richer and poorer, seek to claim that standing among the British people which is ours by being in command of the great highways that unite the commerce of two oceans.



As some of our readers may not be acquainted with the statistics of Canadian commerce, or be aware of the extent to which the export trade is growing, we give the following tables :

In 1892, Canada exported flour to Great Britain, British Guiana, West Indies, Australia, Newfoundland, Belgium, China, Germany, Holland, Japan, St. Pierre, United States.

In 1892, agricultural exports were :

Agricultural—Grain	\$30,817,406
“ Animal products	30,063,777
	<u>\$60,881,183</u>
Total imports from Great Britain	\$44,382,132
“ “ “ other Countries	72,596,811
Total imports for 1892	<u>\$116,978,943</u>
Total exports for 1891	\$98,417,296
“ “ 1892	113,963,373

In 1892, forest exports were \$20,000,000.

Total trade with Great Britain	\$113,557,883
“ “ “ other Countries	117,384,433
Total trade for 1892	<u>\$230,942,316</u>

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES IN 1892.

A FEW SAMPLES.

Agricultural implements	\$450,000
Cottons to China	228,958
Cottons (generally)	334,000
Ships built and sold	500,000
Musical instruments	400,000
Cheese	12,554,286
Leather	1,130,000
To Germany	942,698
" Holland	567,879
" Spanish possessions	93,476
" Peru	26,107
" Roumania	874
Books	89,000
Carts and carriages	27,000
Clothing	64,000

Total, \$20,294,00, exported ; the produce of
Canadian factories.

RELATIVE DISTANCES FROM LIVERPOOL IN NAUTICAL POINTS.

Liverpool to Yokohama <i>via</i> Suez	35	points
" " " Canada	22	"
Advantage of Canadian route	13	"
Liverpool to Hong Kong <i>via</i> Suez	30	"
" " " Canadian Pacific Ry	27	"
In favor of Canada	3	"
Liverpool to Australia <i>via</i> Suez	49-51	"
" " " C.P.R.	44	"
In favor of Canada	5	"
Liverpool to Australia <i>via</i> Cape of Good Hope	63	"
" " " C.P.R.	44	"
In favor of Canada	19	"
Liverpool to Sandwich Islands (old route)	46	"
" " " C.P.R.	22	"
In favor of Canada	24	"

INTS.

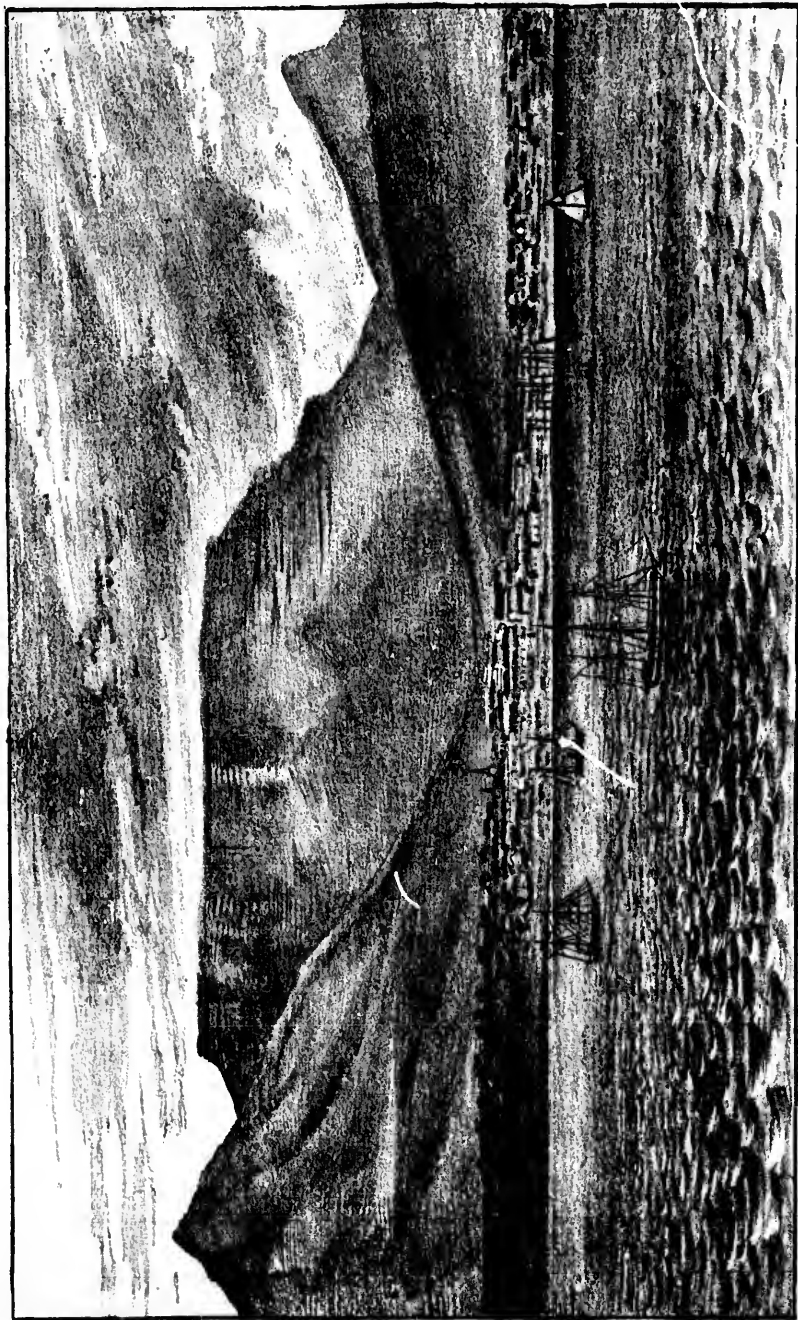


TABLE BAY.

(Drawn from the board the *Subraon*.)

CHAPTER V.

THE CAPE COLONIES AND THEIR GOOD HOPES.

HOW was it that the guiding star of destiny lured so many voyagers across the stormy oceans that surround the Cape of Good Hope, far south where the spindrift blows and the *Aurora australis* lights the night, or away toward the setting sun where the frosts hold high carnival, when from the English shore they could almost drop down on the hills and valleys and plains thickly covered with game, and the luxurious soil of Africa? But, so it is. Africa, the best of lands, is reserved for the last of the emigrants. Happy men. For if there is one country above others that will be rich and prosperous, it is South and Central Africa, where the great rivers rise a thousand miles from the sea, up high in the healthy lands of the orange and coffee, where the hills are clothed with verdure and the valleys are like gardens, while further south in Arcadia, Bechuanaland, Mashonaland and the Transvaal, we have pastures to feed ten thousand flocks and herds, and the vineyards round the Cape look like Italy.

As you travel north from the Cape, the continent opens before you, extending like a fan.

The territory increases amazingly, and the richest of products, gold and diamonds attract the wanderer, while the fertility of the land is a richer mine of wealth yet. Nearly every magazine, every illustrated paper, adds to our knowledge of this land of fascination. From the heroic history of Livingstone and the familiar stories of

missionary adventure around the great lakes and unknown expanse of forest where the Arab still hunts the native, to the accounts of the late discovery of ruins of mammoth temples four thousand years old, looming up in the sunset sky, and ancients forts, guarding fabulous wealth of gold and precious stones, from which, perhaps, King Solomon obtained his treasure, and all amid a tropical climate and luxuriant vegetation, we gather impressions of a vast region that will soon be populated by British enterprise, and will soon be opened up as a new market for the products of our other colonies in cooler climates. We must not look on the African colonies as far away, for when a short time ago I wrote a circular letter to the editors of the Colonial Press on these subjects, the first answers were received from Port Elizabeth, South Africa, strongly advocating Federation by representation in the British Parliament, representatives elected by the people, and that such rights should be optional for those who are willing to join at once, and others would come in on seeing the advantages.* In respect of climate and soil, however, Africa shares in the blessings of nature with many another land, whether British, French, German, or any other. The land has its own local coloring and the people their own characteristics, but the similarity or distinction between them and their fellow-citizens of the Empire is not the object of the chapter.

There is, however, the Africander Bund, which is worthy of notice. I like the name; it bespeaks a people with local patriotism. They may not be exactly British, but their interests are on British African soil; their future prosperity is one with the Colonies in which they live. The success of their colony is bound up with our South African possessions, and South Africa with the Empire. Whatever their opinions may be, they form an integral part in our Imperial citizenship; they are entitled to be heard on matters that concern them; to consult and be consulted with other representatives of the Empire on matters affecting them, especially in regard to their defence from the African tribes that from time to time make matters perplexing on their ever-extending frontier.

This need for military aid is a special character of the African

* Editor, *The Telegraph*, Port Elizabeth.

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colonies, both internally, and in their lines of communication for European trade through the Red Sea and Suez canal. Our other colonies are very free from neighbors. Canada alone, of the larger dominions, possesses a good friend along a border. India has, indeed, a northern frontier, but our African colonies are surrounded and intermixed with both native and European possessions, and there is consequent friction between neighbors.

I have stood on the summit of Table Mountain, and the winds seem to blow towards you from all directions. The steep sides of that unique rock stand up like a temple rising from the Indian and Atlantic oceans, and from fifty miles east and west, from south and from the north, to the right hand and to the left, you see the waves roll in to the foot of those grand walls, and with the distant murmur of the breakers on the beach, they seem to be coming from all sides, like plumed multitudes, to where the continent and the oceans assemble to worship at an altar reared by nature.

Table Bay forms a point of assembly for shipping from China to America, from Europe to Australia. It is a vantage point of great necessity to commerce. The whole Empire is interested in its protection, and the development of the inland resources are very dependent on the protecting military power supporting them. When we study the history of these colonies, we read of small wars innumerable, which will bring to mind the North-West rebellion in Canada, and the Maori wars to our New Zealand friends. But in Africa, campaign follows campaign, now with colonial militia, now with a part of the British army, with no view of their ending for some time. There have been African wars in 1812, 1819, 1828, 1835, 1836, 1846, 1847, 1851, 1852, 1879, 1887, 1893, 1894.

These frequent contests have at last brought our possession into their present form, as shown in the accompanying map.

Some day, who knows how soon, there will be the inevitable railroad from the Mediterranean to the Cape; but commerce will probably have increased so much by that time that we shall know no diminution of the present ocean traffic.

The constant state of minor wars makes the desire of Imperial Union a potent factor in South African politics. Indeed, they form the dominating reason in Africa for union, as the extension of commerce is the dominating reason in Canada. The best essay

written on Commercial Federation came from one of their representatives* at the Intercolonial Conference in London, and the leader of Her Majesty's Ministry for the Colony may be called a giant of Federation.† As a man can be told by the company he keeps; so a people can be told by the leaders they select to guide their political affairs.

The newspapers have lately reported that the Hon. Cecil J. Rhodes will soon visit England for the purpose of completing the successful termination of the policy so long hoped for, of uniting the Orange Free State, the Transvaal Republic and the British South African colonies. Canada has found the benefit of Federation, South Africa is finding it. The Australians who were first to propound the principle, will, perhaps, be the last to follow it. But they may yet be the first to lead the way to Imperial Union, which will give such an impetus to our trade and commerce.



“The union of lakes, the union of lands,
The union of States none can sever :
The union of hearts, the union of hands,
And the Flag of our Union for ever.”

—G. P. Morris.

* Mr. Hoffmyer.

† Hon. Cecil J. Rhodes.

LETTERS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

We print below two representative opinions from the Colonial Press, of South Africa, received in reply to a circular letter in the form of certain questions addressed to the editors of the leading newspapers. The first one expresses the view of the commercial world, and the other of the legal world. The first expresses clearly the present necessity for a Union, heart and hand—a National Union; the other, while fully holding to the main idea, yet looks upon it as distant. We find this idea, as to a future, shared in by the legal mind in many other centres. We believe the reason for the difference is that professional men, and the men of wealth and leisure, and also the land owner, do not feel the same uncertainty that prevails in commercial circles, the same keen competition between country and country, and also between parts of the same dominion in foreign trade. The need of Imperial adjustment of traffic to avoid friction between British traders, and of a strong centre as a guiding influence; and the pressing needs of an assimilated policy regard to foreign relations, which might lead to a fair reciprocity in trade, instead of exclusion from one country and universal competition in another, is, however, to the man of business a pressing necessity.

Answers from the editor of *The Telegraph*, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

To J. VAN SOMMER, JUN., Esq., Toronto, Canada:

Are you in favor of Imperial Federation? Yes.

Do you think the people in your part of the Colony would favor legislation to that effect? In Port Elizabeth decidedly.

Would the members of your Legislature, or what proportion of them? "The English and Dutch members are pretty equally divided. As a rule, English members favor Imperial Federation, but the Dutch oppose and object generally to Imperial interference in colonial affairs."

Would you favor representation of the Colonies in the British Parliament? "Yes."

Would you agree to your Colonial Government appointing the

members, or would you wish such representatives to be elected by the people? "Would prefer some form of election by the people."

Do you think Federation should be a general act at the same time by all self-governing colonies, or that any one of them, or any self-governing division, should be granted this right on petition to the Queen-in-Council from their local Legislature? "No compulsion could be exercised—therefore must be optional. Let those willing join at once; others would come in later on seeing advantages of the connection.

PORT ELIZABETH,
January, 1894.

Answers from the editor of the *Law Journal*, Graham's Town, South Africa.

Are you in favor of Imperial Federation? "Yes, provided a practical basis can be found. The self-interest of all parties must be *the* factor."

Do you think the people in your part of the Colony would favor legislation to that effect? "Their self-interest would be paramount, speaking generally."

Would the members of your Legislature, or what proportion of them? "The members of the Legislature look for practical, *i.e.*, commercial, and fiscal, and defensive advantages; these being secured, yes."

Would you favor representation of the Colonies in the British Parliament? "No. As yet, a chamber outside the British Parliament would be most practicable."

Do you think Federation should be a general act at the same time by all the self-governing colonies, or that any one of them, or any self-governing division, should be granted this right on petition to the Queen-in-Council from their local Legislature? "Consider a permissive consultative council much on the lines of the Houses of Convocation, to which every dependency might, if it liked to do so, delegate members, which would be allowed to sit in a convenient place in the Palace of Westminster during a period of each session of the Imperial Parliament, with the right of presenting its opinions in proper form to Government from time to time."

REMARKS.

Please give your opinion as to the best way in which Federation should be accomplished, and what you would consider the first practical step to effect this purpose.

“ Upon consideration it may be thought that it is yet somewhat early in the development of the many Colonies to use the word Federation. In most instances the Colonies are sparsely populated, at any rate in proportion to that of the Home islands. The several revenues are comparatively microscopic in amount, and the development of each Colony has been effected by the readiness of the Home public to advance large sums under the name of loans upon the nominal security of public works ; and so long as they are not rich enough or strong enough to walk alone the security from interference on the part of other powers, the protection of the commerce on the high seas, and other great advantages, are enjoyed by reason of their being part of the United Kingdom. I believe that bond of union of a practical kind which so many in these days are feeling after in order to stave off that disruption which some conceive to be inevitable, and which all agree to be possible and in certain contingencies inevitable as well, can only be effected by gradual means, the result of watchful, sympathetic statesmanship on all sides. The Imperial authorities can do much to favor colonial products. A Federation must involve a Federal Parliament. The time has not yet come for that. We may hope that it will come.

GRAHAM'S TOWN, CAPE COLONY,

January, 1894.

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The Old Country.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VICTORIAN AGE.

WILL there ever be another time like it? One in which progress and prosperity rival each other, and the olive branch of peace has grown up protected by the sons of Britain from marauding hands. The most noticeable result of this long reign is the standing acquired by men in all lines of action, military, commercial, and scientific, and the wonderful uniformity in the mode of life and thought outside their own particular sphere, and interest for the well-being of their fellow-citizens. This indefinable union of a nation has been nurtured and brought nearly to a state of perfection under the present reign. This is what forms the royal crown of honor of the Victorian age. There is a more marked line in the world than the colored lines of the atlas; cross it and you will be aware of the difference. The people of other nations may be as brave, but they have not in the trying times of peace had the same strength of purpose and individual self-control, and a determined persistence in the lines of political and business success.

It has been the working together of all classes of men that has caused the success of the Victorian age, and thrown a glamor of glory over the works of peace, the arts and industries, that in olden times was looked upon as a martial prerogative. But in this great cause, this great commercial combination, this vast popular organization, we have of late years seen signs of a discontinuance
The Social Problem. of the harmony which has before been so marked. To many this reign of peace has brought enormous wealth, to thousands the means of an easy livelihood, but as always tens

of thousands are no better off. I believe every time one rich man or many use their wealth or position for undue combination, there is a counterbalancing feeling engendered by their very act, in a sufficient number of poorer or lesser men, and, voluntarily or involuntarily, a line of action is started which may tend to the downward course not only of such a man but of the very class or country to which he belongs. This may be a natural law of social compensation. At least, the fact is in evidence that wealth does not often accumulate or position remain for long. But now we have corporations—we might name them, "the Men with the Iron Grasp"—these soulless corporations, as they are called in the Courts of Law, and yet with lives, if not souls, at least proposing to last to infinity—taking the place of individuals; there is a menace in such an influence which calls for some limitation of their power. How can this be obtained, except by equal laws regulating commercial relationships in different countries? The same laws and hours of labor, the same regulations in regard to freights should apply equally to manufacturers in England, Ontario and Queensland. Competition in quality is the life of trade, but competition in price the death of traders; and if a firm of extensive means can cut down wages in one country, can obtain a lower rate of through freight to some distant point, it follows that the work and labor of many is being usurped by the one. Workers suffer. To all such as are dependent on daily wages for support, and suffer alike when wages are low or commodities dear, this question of British Union comes home the closest. Order and system are nobler things than power; the right conduct with men is not to leave them alone, but to enable them to do their work. The use of wars, in former times was in one respect to prevent the over-concentration of financial power in individuals. Now that the policy of the British dominions is "Peace," the policy of the people is "Partition." If undue competition can be shown to injure the working classes, then reasonable regulations should be a remedy to some extent for the evil occasioned. If an excess of concentration of an industry can be shown to deprive the many of the means of support, surely master and workman, bankers, railroad and steamboat owners, clerks, book-keepers and sailors, railroad men, stevedores and porters, *"should be able to meet common dangers by remedies devised in*

common " by their representatives. We are sufficiently civilized to put down physical violence by force; perhaps it is reserved for the millennium before men will be enough advanced in the art of government to put down commercial violence.

Now we come to another point for traders to consider. The English traders are in touch with foreign countries through the foreign office and the large consular force at work at all trading centres. Here are some of the items of investment for which an adequate return is looked for by the English people :

The
Consular
Service.

"To a diplomatic agent to the Argentine Republic, England pays \$17,000 ; to Vienna, \$40,000 and a house ; to Brussels, \$16,000 ; to Rio de Janeiro, \$22,500 ; to Pekin, \$27,500 ; to Copenhagen, \$15,000 ; to Cairo, \$30,000 and a house ; to Paris, \$45,000 and a house ; to Berlin, \$37,500 ; to Rome, \$35,000 and a house ; to The Hague, \$20,000 ; to St. Petersburg, \$39,000 and a house ; to Washington, \$30,000 and a house."

The Foreign Office and the Consuls are British, but also English, and are somewhat less of the former than the latter as far as trade interests are concerned. The colonies have not, up to the present time, been in need of a foreign and consular service, but now they are becoming manufacturers and exporters. As these services are necessary for commerce, how are they going to obtain the full benefit from them? For instance, the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and Dakota run side by side with Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba across the North American continent. The United States have a very active foreign service and energetic consular agents pushing forward and watching their foreign trade. The Canadians can hardly be said to have the same. Very well! Then the question is, can these Colonies compete on even terms with their neighbors, and so in a more or less degree with the other colonies? It is evident that the occasion has arisen and will become more pressing, and then the people of the Colonies must be nearer the coin of commercial advantage, and have a more direct influence over their own particular foreign relationships, and yet not come in antagonistic rivalry with England. This is again a special development of the Colonial question during the present reign.

Our Fellow-
Citizens. Within the realm there are some who live among us and with us, but in whom we do not expect to find the same ingrafted feeling towards the union as we ourselves may have. In Africa we have the German and Holland settlers who bring to the land of their adoption those traits of mind and industry that we honor and admire. In Canada we have a whole province of French-Canadians. To such we seek to appeal, through fact and reasons, argument and logic, but at the same time we see in them elements of strength and qualities for achievement, which we have not. Both the Americans and the French can undertake and carry out an enterprise, while the Britisher may remain in the consultive mood. Have you ever noticed the old zig-zag roads in mountainous countries. To a large extent these have been improved upon in England, to a much greater extent by the broad and noble lines of well-made roads in Sweden and Norway, sweeping grandly over the ice of their mountains, but for sheer audacity—we know no other name to call it, except engineering heroism—look at the mountain roads in France. When we see them battlemented and paved, strung for miles along valleys away above the ravine, hanging on a precipice, circling the brow of a bare, rocky cliff, now with a three hundred foot wall to the foundation, then tunneling a projection, ever onward as if seeming impossibilities in the advance were but to prove the workers just adapted to road building when the architect knew how, we are forced to admire the work. The French are engineers for such work. They possess the spirit to achieve federation in uniting nature. We need their engineering skill in British Federation. We want their spirit engendered among the members of the Boards of Trade in our leading cities.

We have traced the first public expression on record in favor of Federation to the late Lord Sherbrooke in Australia, namely: Local Government and Union by representation in the British Parliament. The fact of his afterwards becoming a member of the House of Commons, and being raised to the peerage, shows the sympathy with which his opinions were shared in England. These opinions gradually percolated into the British mind and became accepted by the people, and when it was becoming a practical question, an association "*To secure the permanent unity of the Empire*" was formed under the name of "*The Imperial Federa-*

tion League. Its first aim "is the establishment of periodical conferences of representatives of self-governing communities of the Empire." Why all British colonies and dependencies, India and others, are not included is difficult to see. It is an association of great strength in the political ability that is represented on its rolls. It appoints special committees to interview Her Majesty's ministers on questions affecting millions of people, but requires its hands strengthened by either obtaining the approval of the members and branches in the Colonies to the propositions, or by taking steps to prove itself supported and endorsed by the colonial people or their governments in the scheme that may, for the time being, be put forward. The Association had considerable power in influencing the Home Government to call intercolonial conferences, but it has not yet declared itself in favor of popular representation.

At any future conference the British possessions, including England, should be represented. There should be free and open discussion on any question on the practical way of Federation, and the representatives from the different colonies, before attending, should formulate their own wishes, and, if possible, act as a unit. The question of Federation must, in time, be voted on by the people, and if the League would engineer such a conference, they would add immensely to their popularity. Their missionary efforts should be to prepare the way for the assent of the Imperial and Colonial Legislative Assemblies.*

A short time ago a man with a "penchant" for economy remarked that if the Australian colonies were united (or, rather, unified was his idea), there would be a large saving of expense, the work being done by a few very able men, instead of by several governments and a large staff of officials. Passing by the question whether the very fact of having several governments is not the means of producing the ablest men, we wish to emphasize the fact that the policy of Imperial Federation is not to draw away men's energies and abilities from local affairs, but to concentrate the powers of the nation for the development of home interests. One great ship might be a centre of strength, but not much protection, and

* Since writing this the League seems to have wound up its projects. "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

concentration in work or office does not aid the support of the population.

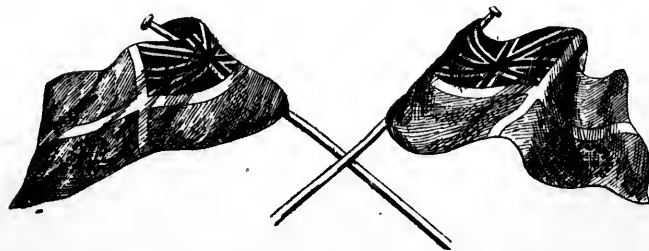
FEDERATION WOULD SEEK TO CONCENTRATE THE STRENGTH OF EVERY CITIZEN IN IMPERIAL MATTERS TO PROTECT AND ASSIST THEM IN THE GREATEST DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS IN LOCAL AFFAIRS.

Colonial Equality. You have all noticed the growth of a large seed. It is probably sown in the autumn; the dry autumn, the frost of winter, the rain and sunshine of spring all help to slowly prepare the shell, the ground around it and the germ of life within it for its growth. In time it rises from the dust, with a charm and attraction peculiar to its tender beauty, curved, bending, elegant. It needs protecting, and repays attention. It rises firmly, expands, and with a look of conscious pride in itself, it develops rapidly. So have matured in like manner our colonial cities, some in their infancy at the beginning of the present reign, others being planted and growing up during that time. Many acres have been cultivated and houses built, until to-day they have the appearance of English homesteads. The towns and villages have expanded with a bound from small and perhaps original limits, to beautiful towns, superior where they are not equal to the best of the commercial centres in Europe. In means of communication, transit, light, regulations and appearance, they take the lead, with many added advantages in the way of education and future prospects. It is needless to say that the people who live in and govern our colonies are equal in all respects to those at home, for they are not aborigines. Social differences are an imagination of the past. But yet, while the status of an inhabitant of Great Britain and Ireland is equal in the world with other self-governing nations, an inhabitant of a self-governing colony is by no means on the same political level, nor has he in any way the same influence over his own affairs. Why did he lose it? They are all British. The army and navy, the courts of justice and their sovereign are British. There is no one who can rise and say, and maintain by an argument that will carry conviction, that in this Victorian era these differences are still *pro bono publico*. Then, for whose benefit are they? What are the barriers that keep the Empire apart? Are they still suitable to this utilitarian age when everything is measured by the standard of the use? But, perhaps, the question has been answered as far as the principles are con-

cerned, and the general verdict is that British citizens should be on an equality, but the decision has not yet been rendered by the Parliaments, and so cannot be entered on the statute book of the Realm.

Sometimes as the *ultima ratio* of the Separationists, it is urged that colonial representatives would find no place in a parliament where domestic affairs of one country find so large a place. We reply that such a state of affairs already exists without causing difficulty, and on the debate on the Home Rule Bill a majority of the members of the present House decided to admit a very large proportional number of Irish members, who would have just the same standing as the Colonies now ask for, but in a smaller proportion. How much stronger then is the claim that representatives of the Colonies should be admitted to the House; and the constant questions of a separate legislative body, Imperial councils, or Colonial councils of defence are superfluous and a hindrance.

The time for these separations is past; it was distance that made them bearable. There is but one British nation. Some live in England, some in New Zealand, it matters not where. The family is the unit, the extent of the relationship the limit. When you find the extent of the family relationship of a people, you find the boundary line of that nation. The British dominions together hardly contain the limit of relationship. Within them you are at home among your own people. Only outside the territory of the Union Jack, whatever the colonial arms may be in the field, do you become a foreigner.



The Imperial Institute of the United Kingdom,

THE COLONIES, AND INDIA AND THE ISLES

OF THE BRITISH SEAS.

THE Imperial Institute in London will now be the radiating centre of the genial warmth of colonial good-fellowship, the attractive influence which will bring together visitors from the lands over the British seas, which will probably continue to bear the name of colonies, for colonies we are, but no longer colonists.

It would almost seem to have been making visible to the nation the thought of the hour when the idea of Imperial Union, which was in everyone's mind, took this architectural and expressive form, and the gifts of the people to the Victorian Jubilee funds were used in cementing together their interests and friendship by the erection of this beautiful building.

Her Majesty the Queen is the Patron, and the President is H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. The Chairman of the Executive Committee is the Lord Chancellor, and we find among the Governors and the Executive our leading representative men. The representation on the Governing Board is so comprehensive that one might hesitate to make any further suggestion. The Boards of Trade, however, in our great colonial centres exercise such an undisputed influence on commercial matters, especially questions touching Commercial Union, that it might be politic to recognize in some way the position they hold, and enlist their services. The building is at South Kensington, London, in the Renaissance style, and extends over a site some 700 feet long by

350 feet, and will cost about £360,000. When this splendid building was opened in 1893, Her Majesty said :—

IT is with infinite satisfaction that I receive the address in which you give expression to your loyal attachment to my throne and person, and develop the views that have led to the creation of the Imperial Institute.

"I concur with you in thinking that the counsels and exertions of my beloved husband initiated a movement which gave increased vigour to commercial activity, and produced marked and lasting improvements in industrial efforts.

"One indirect result of that movement has been to bring more before the minds of men the vast and varied resources of the Empire over which Providence has willed that I should reign during fifty prosperous years.

"I believe and hope that the Imperial Institute will play a useful part in combining those resources for the common advantage of all my subjects, and in conducing towards the welding of the Colonies, India, and the Mother Country into one harmonious and united community.

"In laying the foundation-stone of the building devoted to your labours, I heartily wish you God-speed in your undertaking."

We now can all much more appreciate the reference to the initial work in this great national movement of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, by the Exhibition of 1851, the first time when Britain and her people were called together and united by a mutual interest in their arts and manufactures. This work is now being carried forward by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and soon a responsive assent will be given by one and all to our Queen's expressed wish that the Colonies, India and the mother country may be welded into one harmonious and united community.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSIONS.

1894.

SHORTLY and clearly we have tried to write down for you the leading facts affecting the future destiny of our Empire. The love that one may have for a country, and all that is contained in that name, may and does lead men on to a course of action, but is not effective as a line of argument. This may be the key-note of a national anthem that gives life to the melody, but when we come down into the political arena we have to present facts to produce a lasting impression on the mind. Those facts we have stated. What is the conclusion you will come to? We have placed the date at the head of this chapter, partly for your sake, that if you have not yet made up your mind on the policy and the programme, such a state of mental wavering may come to an end with 1894; partly for our sake, because we expect fresh arguments, new facts, to come from time to time to add to the strength of the cause of Union, which may not have been thought of at the present date. The way seems opening up by the present contested legislation in the English House of Commons, which, instead of leading to disintegration, as many fear, may but be the storm under the dark cloud whose silver lining may light the path to the stronger position of British Union.

The prevalent feeling seems to be that when British Union is to become a reality, a consensus of Colonial opinion must be manifested at the same time on the same plan; but it is difficult to think of a reason that can be urged against the claim of the

people of any one colony, through their Local Legislature, for Imperial representation. If one colonial dependency considers it necessary and advantageous, let them put forward their claim on their own behalf. The claim of the members for Ireland to a seat and vote on all questions in the Imperial Parliament has been admitted by the House of Commons, and the people in the Colonies, being now in the same relative position to the Empire in which it was the intention of the Home Rule Bill to place the people of Ireland, a similar claim by them could not consistently be refused, especially when their claim would be for but a few seats each, while Ireland was allowed eighty. So far, no alteration in the United Kingdom has been effected. The action has been a reconnaissance in force, but the Colonies should now claim that, as part of the Empire, they should have a voice in these proposed alterations on the re-construction of the Government under which they live.

Any self-governing colony should be allowed the right to be represented in the Imperial Parliament. There is no necessity to wait for all the British possessions at the same time to assent to the same measure. To one who has passed from colony to colony, the distance seems so short, the commercial advantages from political union so great, and the very thought of rivalry or antagonism unbearable.

We have in the preceding chapters shown: First, how a natural change of thought as to the ultimate destination of the British Empire came in with a change of circumstances, which led and is leading still more to the closest intercourse between people, who may in distance be farthest apart. Second, the rise of the maritime power of England accelerated, if not occasioned by the sudden call upon our forefathers, to defend themselves on the sea, which led to the building of a fleet suitable for voyage and discovery, and to the evolution of a spirit in the people which led them seaward with the force of a crusade to discover and possess. Third, that the discussion on the separation of the Australian continent into separate dependencies during the debate in the New South Wales Legislature led to the unfolding of the two great principles of (1) LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SELF-CONTROL OF LOCAL AFFAIRS, AND (2) UNION OF THE EMPIRE BY POPULAR REPRESENTATION IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT—and currently the establishment of the

fact that political union is only accomplished when the representatives are returned by the vote of their constituents. Fourth, THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF EXPORT TRADE, AND FOREIGN RELATIONSHIP consequent thereto, of the Canadian people, and also the necessity that has arisen for the people in the Colonies to take an active part in the central power that controls their means of communication, and can best protect and increase their trade relationship in foreign countries. Fifth, THE NEED OF MUTUAL DEFENCE, as a necessity for the fullest growth and prosperity of a colony, and as leading in return to an added strength to all. Sixth, THAT THE TIME HAS COME when all circumstances have led up to the people in the Empire being both ready and in need of a union as a necessity for the perfection of all their many and diverse mutual resources. Seventh, our conclusions so far up to the present time, which we sum up as political union by popular representation in the British Parliament, which policy we name, "Federation by Representation," for the sake of commercial union and concurrent commercial interests. Concentration of defensive power for the protection and development of internal resources.

As the constitutional means by which this could be accomplished, we submit that the Home Government should pass an enabling act giving the Colonies the right, on petition from their Local Legislature to send representatives, duly elected by the people, to represent them in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

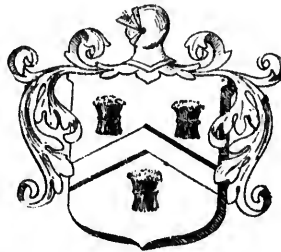
We should disabuse our minds of the excess of glamor that may in former times have surrounded such a position, and look upon Parliament as the great committee of a nation through which its business affairs can best be regulated. There is no other means of union—of "welding into one harmonious and united community"—known in the political world, except a union of representatives. It is a fact worthy of note, and one that is certainly shown to be true, that each one of those three great principles of Federation has been evolved from the history of one of each of our three great colonies. Australia gives us the political, Canada the commercial, and Africa the necessity of defence. We have already referred to the first as "the Australian principle of Federation." We can in like manner call the others, "the Canadian Policy," and "the African factor," in the same cause, and truly say: "*Ex oriente*

lux, ex occidente lex." That is why they have been placed in the order in which they are in these chapters, and yet, while each supplies one in particular, they are applicable to all. Our other colonies share in these as well, some strengthening the cause in one way, others adding to the claim in some other way. The people in the Colonies have borne the burden and heat of the day, they have made the Empire, and they are entitled to share in its rights and privileges, and if, at the present time, we can help to lift and disperse the depression in trade by uniting our commercial forces, the matter would admit no longer of argument, that the sooner this was so, the better.

Many different events in the history of the world seem to combine in leading up to and preparing the way for the mutual accomplishment of this work by Britain and her people.

As an act of intelligent loyalty to the Empire on the part of the English, Irish and Scotch, and because it is the wisest political course for a great commercial people in the Colonies to pursue, and especially as the adequate remedy for the present financial necessities, we should endeavor to accomplish this act of our union before the close of the present reign, and that is the final conclusion.

— God Save the Queen. —



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Member of the Toronto Board of Trade,
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A. D.

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