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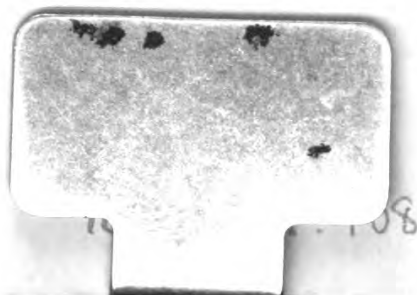


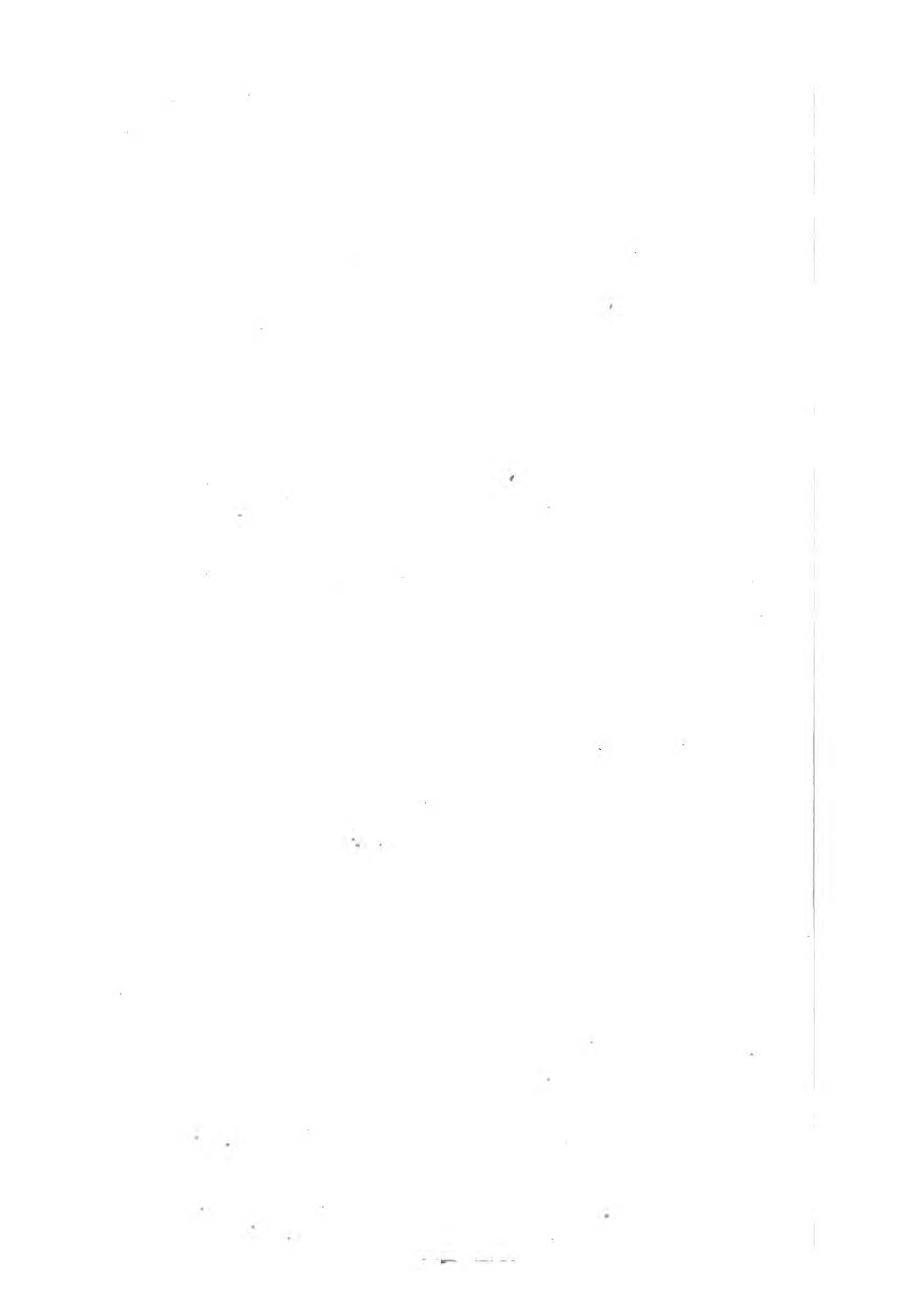
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ON THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF
MOTHER COUNTRIES AND COLONIES.

A PAPER

*Read at the "Conférences et Congrès Scientifiques" of the
"Exposition Internationale Coloniale et d'Exportation
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ON THE POLITICAL BELIEFS OF
MOTHER COUNTRIES AND COLONIES
BY THE AUTHOR OF 'THE POLITICAL BELIEFS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA'

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ON THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF MOTHER COUNTRIES AND COLONIES.

THERE are two words in the English tongue of extraordinary force. Their influence is immense. Their power over mankind is profound. They give expression to very opposite sentiments. One of them is so beautiful, that it ought to be stamped in letters of gold on every human heart. The other should be eradicated from our thoughts, and banished from our vocabularies.

The words are **SYMPATHY** and **PREJUDICE**.

The subject on which I have undertaken to address you is one of the grandest and most momentous, that can engage the attention of every nation, possessing Colonies. Its importance is supreme. On the manner in which the government of its outlying dominions may be conducted from the centre, depends the strength, and power, and happiness of the population, equally at home, and beyond the seas. Success or failure, with all their incalculable consequences, depend on the policy, either of wisdom or folly, of sagacity or incapacity, of those who rule.

If ever there was a question demanding to be approached in a spirit of sympathy, and with an absence of prejudice, it is this. Standing in the midst of the noble and venerable metropolis of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in whose Home history are treasured up so many glorious traditions of struggles for liberty, and efforts for freedom from oppression; and in whose Colonial history are enshrined such remarkable records of force and enterprise, in the discovery of new fields for the development of the industry, and the commercial instincts of the Dutch people—I make a solemn and earnest appeal. I ask a deliberate and calm consideration of the views I am about to place before this assembly. Although, as an Englishman, I am addressing foreigners, I am encouraged by feeling that I am surrounded by the friends of learn-

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ing, intelligence, and wisdom, who desire the solution of a profoundly interesting problem. If any words of mine can aid in casting a ray of light upon it, I shall be satisfied. If I speak strongly, it is not that I have any wish to dogmatise on a subject so difficult, so vast, and comprehensive; but because I feel very earnestly with regard to it. My sole desire is to speak frankly and philosophically, in declaring my opinions, on a question, on which I hold very deep and decided convictions.

I will now proceed to tell you how I shall treat this question, in order to place before you, as clearly as I can, the ideas I entertain on the political relations which ought to exist between Mother Countries and Colonies. While I wish, in the course of my address, to refer (as far as I can) to the political ties which exist between the component parts of other nations possessing Colonial dominions, I trust I shall be excused for the prominence I must necessarily give to my own country, as the principal pivot upon which my opinions on Colonial policy must turn. My reason is, because Great Britain is the chief colonising country of the modern world, and, therefore, the fittest to be cited as being, of all nations, the one most deeply affected by a policy, whether that policy be right or wrong, judicious or unwise.

In the first place, I propose to occupy a short time in the inquiry of what are Colonies?

I shall then proceed to consider my subject under the three following heads:—

Firstly: What Colonies *have* been.

Secondly: What they *are*.

Thirdly: What they *should* be.

In giving a definition of what Colonies are, the historian Heeren says: "Colonies are all possessions and settlements of Europeans in foreign parts of the world." There appears to be some foundation for this description, if we regard the fact, handed down to us by history, that Europe has, both in ancient and modern times, been almost exclusively the quarter of the globe from which Colonies have proceeded. Perhaps, however, a more correct and perfect definition of the term Colony would be, "every possession of a nation in a foreign country." In short, the plantation of a portion of the people of one country in the territory of another. For the origin and commencement of this process we must go back to the classical period of history. We must refer to those ancient times, when non-European nations, like the Phœnicians, established Colonies. The natural multiplication of the species proceeded rapidly in those

ancient states. The inevitable law of food necessities impelled the growing surplus of mankind to force itself beyond the confines of its original borders. Hence "the leading feature of the policy of classic times shows a uniform preference of the warlike to the peaceful arts. To form a people of soldiers was the grand object of almost all the legislators and rulers of antiquity, for which they sacrificed, without feeling their loss, the advantages of the pursuits that embellish, and the domestic relations that sweeten, civilised life."*

When the growing population began to be burthensome at any time, it found an issue in territory conquered by some new war, or fought for an outlet in desert provinces, or in districts formerly subdued. Thus it was with the Greek Republics. Thus with Athens, with Carthage, and with Rome.

Having thus briefly defined the meaning of the word Colony, I proceed at once to the consideration of the first of the three portions, into which I propose to divide my subject—viz., "What they have been."

The emotions which prompt the forces of human action to be brought into play are various. Hence it is that, although I have referred to the pressing motive of the growing multiplication of the species in classic times, as impelling the pent-up population of a small territory to seek a wider field for their sustenance and support, this was by no means the only, although undoubtedly the principal, reason for their doing so. As civilisation advanced, even from the most barbarous times, the impulses of ambition rapidly developed, and the more advanced, burned with the desire to fight and conquer the ruder nations of the world. The origin, however, of the Greek and Roman Colonies was essentially different. The former arose from the pressure of an over-grown population, and for the most part became independent communities. The latter owed their establishment principally to the ambition of Rome. They remained in strict subordination to her power. There was also another point of difference between them. The Colonial settlements of the Greeks were planted in distant countries, among barbarous tribes, such as in Gaul, Sicily, and the south of Italy, in Cyrene and Egypt, in Illyria and Asia Minor.

The Roman Colonies, on the contrary, were first founded in the immediate vicinity of Rome. The emigrations from Rome to the conquered towns and lands of Italy, and afterwards to the foreign

* Brougham.

provinces, were the result of war and plunder. The privileges of emigrants were various. From some settlements taxes were levied, according to a census, and after paying the expenses of their own government, they transmitted a revenue to the Roman Treasury. Men were also raised in them for the Roman army.

In the political relations of these settlements there is some resemblance to those of modern Colonies with their Mother Countries. We must not forget, however, that the object of the Romans in planting their Colonies was conquest and plunder, for the aggrandisement and glory of the Parent State. The Romans never consulted their Colonies in matters of policy. A decree, not a treaty, settled all their measures for their government.

Thus it will be seen that, in their origin, the political relations of the Mother Country with the Greek Colonies differed materially from those of the Romans. The same may also be said of their great rivals, the Carthaginians, whose policy was the same as that of Rome. As the Greek Colonies were perfectly independent, received no protection from their metropolis, and often equalled her in resources, they always refused to come forward as auxiliaries whenever unfair terms were proposed. In war, they generally followed her fortunes, as allies, upon equal terms. This was the case with the Colonies of Athens, Sparta, Argos, and Corinth.

It would be impossible, within the limits of this paper, for me to pursue the inquiry further into the voluminous and multifarious details connected with the government of the Colonial possessions of the great nations of the classic era. It was necessary to allude to them, or my subject would not have been complete. Such details, however, would be to record their whole history. I do not therefore propose to continue it.

Having rapidly sketched the origin of these Colonies, and called attention to the Colonial policy of the two great classic nations of antiquity, I proceed to unfold the page of Colonial history, during mediæval, and more modern times. I now approach a large and comprehensive branch of the subject. In long array pass in review before us, the fruits of the energy and enterprise of many nations. The unconquerable spirit of discovery, which prompted their courageous sons to go forth to penetrate every quarter of the unknown world, and to plant new settlements of their respective peoples among the uncivilised and barbarous aborigines, was not confined to one, but was equally shared, by many nations of Europe. And here I am most anxious, it should be clearly understood, that it is not my intention to defend the action of

any country in the course pursued towards the aborigines during the period of the acquisition of their native soil. It may have been justifiable, or the reverse. It may have been cruel, or kind. It may have almost invariably resulted in their ruthless extermination, or tended to the ultimate benefit of the remnant of their tribes. All these things are found in the pages of history, and speak trumpet-tongued to those who study its records. If the conclusion come to is, that many an individual, as well as national crime, in the eye of the moralist, has been committed in this connection, England is no more exempt than any other country from the charge. But my purpose is to deal alone with historical facts, as they are, and equally to avoid discussing the means by which each country, possessing Colonies, originally acquired them, as to make reference to the struggles and wars, which from time to time have taken place between these nations among themselves, and which have resulted in the changes we find at the present day, in their becoming part of the nation, to which they now belong.

Excluding the Italian Republics of the mediæval period, whose efforts in the direction of colonisation have not any important bearing, in connection with this part of our subject, the European nations most distinguished for founding Colonies, are the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, France, and Great Britain. History glows with the bold and heroic deeds of the men of these separate nationalities, who, with such indomitable courage, went forth from their native land, to add to its possessions, and claim it by the right of discovery for its own. This long and illustrious *rôle* includes the names of Tasman, Van Riebeck, Bartholomew de Diaz, Vasco de Gama, Fernandez di Quiros, Columbus, De Brosses, La Pérouse, Callender, Dampier, Dalrymple, Sir Walter Raleigh, Drake, Burney, Anson, and Cook. What a list! Every colonising nation is nobly represented in it. It was from the exertions and efforts of men of this stamp, that each country, I have named, established their Colonies, for the double purpose—by enlarging its territory—of adding to its wealth and importance, and encouraging, and developing its trade. The process of development, which followed the progress of discovery, although more or less gradual, was the same in general principle. In every country of this period Colonies were plantations of its people, settling first on its coast line, and uniformly pushing back into the interior,—often blending with—its aboriginal inhabitants, and hence creating a mixed population—as in the case of the Spanish Colonies

which have now become independent States in South America, and those of other nationalities in different quarters of the globe. The main object of the policy of every people acquiring territory foreign to its own, was to utilise the resources of the new land; and by inducing a certain portion of its own people to settle there, to stimulate the development of those resources, which a climate and soil favourable to the cultivation of new products, natural or artificial, might suggest, and the consequent creation of trade for the benefit and advantage of the Mother Country. When I come to treat, presently, of the last and most important section, into which I have divided my subject, viz., "What Colonies should be," I shall have to go more at length into the description of the leading principles of government, by which each nation rules its Colonies. For the moment, it may be assumed that until after the commencement of the 19th century—that is, until the last fifty years, when a most important departure was made in the principle of Colonial rule by England—the government of the Colonies of every nation was (as, in fact, for the most part, it still is) essentially the rule of the Mother Country itself, as the absolute, controlling power of the dependencies belonging to, and owning allegiance to it. When settlements were established, and people were encouraged to flock thither, and trade began to be developed, the laws for its government were made by the Mother Country for its general advantage and benefit, and never with much consideration for the settlers themselves, as long as they could be kept in quietude, and be induced to work for the acquisition of the greatest amount of wealth and revenue, to be poured into the lap of the Parent State. Whatever equity or leniency, if any, might be found in those laws, were conceived more in the interest and for the advantage of the home, than the Colonial population. It is true that, in reviewing the primary motive of deriving substantial wealth, as well as fostering political aggrandisement, which prompted the action of Mother Countries in the plantation of Colonies, we must not forget the pecuniary cost to themselves in their foundation. The naval and military operations, frequently—and in the case of conquest - Colonies, generally—involved in their foundation, and subsequent preservation, an amount of national expenditure, which might naturally be expected to be reimbursed with good interest to the Government at home. But the principle is, nevertheless, apparent in the relations of the supreme, and subordinate portions of the State, that the advantage of the former, rather than the latter, was the key to Colonial policy every-

where, as long as a means could be found of exercising sufficient authority to prevent the danger of serious resistance to its control. That such a State will only succeed in deriving permanent advantage from its Colonies by insuring for them a certain amount of good government, may be regarded as self-evident; and, consequently, the attention of those who held the reins of home government was constantly directed to this object. Nevertheless, from the want of sound principles to guide them, and the prevalence of the motives, to which allusion has been made, great errors have occurred in the policy pursued, and much injury and injustice done to Colonies by Mother Countries in the past. A defective appreciation of the laws of sound political economy has often led to Colonies being most unjustly treated, and their development checked, by false doctrines of fiscal policy, which the power of the Mother Country has forced upon them, and compelled them, for her own exclusive advantage, to adopt.

In tracing the links of the relations which have been, and which are, in existence between Mother Countries and Colonies, it is a pleasure to speak of a Colony which is a model of successful rule. It may not inaptly be termed the richest jewel in the crown of Holland. I refer to the Dutch Colony of Java. I am glad to record my testimony to its universally admitted success, although in the course of this paper I shall have to demonstrate, that it is not governed in accordance with the Federal principles, which I advocate. This principle of Federation, I hold to be, at a certain period of their growth, the best form of government for populations springing from the Mother Country, and who are not, as in the case of Java, or in the British Empire of India, so largely composed of aboriginal inhabitants. A system, which would be applicable to and successful in one case, would by no means be suitable, or likely to be satisfactory, in the other.

Although my audience is, doubtless, well aware of the fact, permit me to remind you, that Java has a population of 18,000,000. Of Europeans, including Dutch troops, about 43,000, and of Chinese 160,000. Its floating capital of trade with Holland, which monopolises it, is estimated at £25,000,000. The mainstays of Dutch power in their Colonies in the East Indies, forming altogether a State thrice the size of Germany, with a population of 22,000,000, is the army, and the policy pursued towards the natives. The army of 30,000, including 11,000 Dutch, is administered by a Council of six members. The head of the Dutch East Indies is a Governor-General, with the authority of Viceroy. He has the right of declaring peace or

war, and concluding treaties with native princes, within the limits of his instructions from the Home Government. Java is divided into Residences, of which there are twenty-one. Each of these provinces is administered by a Resident, and is again subdivided into regencies, with a Regent at their head. The Regent is a native, chosen from the nobles. Under the Regents are district chiefs, charged with the collection of taxes, &c. With the Regent is a European "Assistant Resident," who is instructed to treat his compeer as a younger brother; and, while keeping him well in hand, to put him forward as the real Regent.

"The best test of the well-being of a community, it is said, is the growth of population, where there is no pauperism, where crime is rare, where famine and rebellion are unknown. The government here cannot be otherwise than suitable to the people governed." And this testimony is recorded of Java by an English writer.* But while I am happy to quote this well-deserved tribute to the successful government of the Dutch Colonies in the East Indies, I repeat, that such a government is only applicable to Colonies composed of an immense preponderance of a native population. This population is consequently ruled by force from without, and is not influenced by the free expression of the opinions of the majority of the inhabitants, who are of foreign blood.

From Holland I pass to Spain. As a great colonising country of the past, she is justly entitled to claim a prominent place, and merits our attention. Cortes and Pizarro have left imperishable names among her conquering heroes, on the page of history; but the result of her policy in planting Colonies is a melancholy record of failure. The loss of her South American Colonies by revolt is not less a proof of her incapacity to govern the great possessions she once acquired in these regions, than the fierce chronic rebellion, that drags miserably along in her magnificent and valuable island Colony of Cuba, which, at constant cost, and by immense military expenditure, still owns reluctant allegiance to her sway.

The contrast between Holland and Spain is remarkable. The policy of the Dutch has been enlightened and comprehensive; of the Spaniards, invariably blind and illiberal.

"The possession of Colonies has been especially advantageous to Holland. It has certainly preserved her commercial existence, and enabled this ancient State to retain its place among the Great Powers of Europe, instead of being swallowed up by its neighbours,

* Wallace.

or reduced to a few fishing villages. No nation of Europe depends so much upon a Colonial policy as Holland. In no country are Colonial possessions so valuable." Thus wrote that eminent English politician, Lord Brougham; and his words are as true and weighty now, as when, eighty years ago, he gave them utterance. With equal truth, he further remarks, that "the natural advantages of the Spanish Colonial Empire have indeed been abridged by a policy most iniquitous." What a striking contrast is here indicated, for the instruction of other nations in their relations with their Colonies.

Cuba, the pearl of the Antilles, the chief, and by far the most important Colony in the possession of Spain, has a population of some 1,600,000. Of Spaniards, including a large military force, of about 150,000. The government of Spain in Cuba may, without exaggeration, be epitomised as a rule for the pecuniary aggrandisement of the Mother Country by any means, however arbitrary or tyrannical, on the part of the authorities in Spain. Here, from the Captain-General, as the highest political functionary, to the lowest military or civil official, the slave-owning merchant and the commercial trader, hosts of men migrate from Spain, not to settle in a new home, but to endeavour in the shortest period to enrich themselves, no matter how, and return again to the Mother Country, without the slightest thought or consideration for the welfare of Cuba, or its people. What wonder, if this fine island, so infamously governed, is ever ready to revolt. It is a scandal to a Power, which claims to be one of the Great Nations of Europe, and loudly demands a thorough, and radical policy of reform.

Portugal claims a passing allusion, rather from what she *was*, than what she *is*, as a Colonial power. During the sixteenth century the empire of Portugal was more extensive than any, over which the dominion of other States has ever stretched. This extension of territory, obtained from the right of discovery, was equal to the most opulent of the dominions possessed by Spain. "During this brilliant period in her history, the extent of her sea coasts, studded with convenient ports, secured to her most important commercial advantages from their intercourse with the Mother Country. The whole western coast of Africa, with the greater part of the east coast and the Cape of Good Hope, was subject to the dominion of the Portuguese, and occupied, at favourable intervals, by their garrisons and factories. They also possessed the whole southern coast of Asia, together with as many of the Indian

Islands, as they chose to settle in, from the Gulf of Persia to China, and Japan, where they had a few important commercial stations.”* In addition to this grand Colonial dominion, Portugal possessed her noble Colony of Brazil (now an independent and flourishing empire), from which she derived a clear revenue of above one-fourth of the national income, and was the source of a great proportion of her whole commerce.

Such is an outline of the magnificent Colonial Empire of the Portuguese, in Africa, Asia, and America, during the whole of the sixteenth, and the greater part of the seventeenth centuries. The causes which have curtailed her Colonial territories in the south and east—and subsequently in the west, in the present century—form no part of my present subject. The policy of the Government of Portugal, in connection with her once extensive Colonial dominions, obtained by right of discovery or conquest, was too much in unison with that of her sister nation in the Spanish Peninsula. She has lost the greater portion of what she formerly possessed, and is not regarded in the present day, as she once was, as a great colonising Power of Europe, although she has trading establishments, and commercial settlements in various parts of the world.

On the Colonies of Russia, planted, like those of ancient Rome, chiefly within the borders of her vast dominions of Europe and Asia, as well as of other smaller Colonies, such as those of Sweden and Denmark, it is not necessary to dilate. In describing what their political relations with their respective Mother Countries should be, they would but follow the general principle, which it is my wish to advocate, in the degree, in which (if that principle is a correct one) they would be entitled to share.

I have left to the last, a reference to France, as well as to England, in connection with this division of the subject of “What Colonies *are*,” because, while in the matter of colonisation, other nations have continued either stationary, or have retrograded from their once prominent position, as colonising countries. France and England have, during the nineteenth century, taken a new departure, and have progressed with energy and vigour, although on different lines of national policy, in the path of colonisation. During the long period of the colonising history of the past, which has been under review, it could not be otherwise, than that a nation so heroic and ambitious, and of such quick perceptions as the French, should be found in the van of colonising progress.

* Brougham.

Conscious of the material advantages accruing to a Mother Country from the possession of trading settlements in different parts of the world, in increasing the national wealth, the motive, also, was not likely to be absent, from a people so patriotic and so proud, of planting Colonies for the purpose of adding to the greatness, and the glory of France. Hence we find French Colonies in Asia, Africa, and America; and although the fortune of war, and successful rebellion against her authority, have deprived her of many of those she formerly possessed, France has never lost her desire to be a great, if not always a successful, colonising power. The keystone of her principle of Colonial plantation has, however, been military conquest and military occupation of the country she subdued. The same spirit manifests itself in her Colonial policy of the present, as in the past, and the course pursued of old in founding French settlements, finds a parallel now, in the establishment of the great military Colony of Algiers, in the practical acquisition of Tunis, the recent raid into Tonquin, the invasion of Madagascar, and the disputable right, under treaty, to plant the French flag in the island of Raiteia. But, however her Colonies have been acquired, and however much they are made dependent exclusively on the government and control of the Mother Country itself, in their internal administration, there is one very remarkable political feature they possess, to which I desire to call most particular attention. It affords a notable precedent for the adoption of the principle of Colonial representation in the general government of the nation. Comparatively small as are the French Colonial possessions, they send representatives, to the number of **TEN**, to the Parliament of the Mother Country, who are returned in the same way and under the same conditions as those from the metropolis. The importance of this fact in connection with the question under consideration, must not be forgotten. It affords an example of the greatest value, and of the highest interest, of an experiment, already tried, and successfully adopted, in the direction of the carrying out of a principle of government, to be presently discussed, in the third division of the subject, "of what the political relations of Mother Countries and Colonies should be." Besides Algiers, and her settlements on the West Coast of Africa, France possesses the Colonies of New Caledonia, Réunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe; and Cayenne, which is used entirely as a penal settlement.

Among the Colonial powers of our time Great Britain occupies the foremost rank. Her dominions compass the globe. It has been said that on her Empire the sun never sets. To whatever

causes—and they are many—the acquisition of her vast territories may be traced, the fact remains, that such extensive Colonial domains are possessed by no other nation. It is natural, therefore, that, occupying as she does, such a prominent position, the Colonial policy of England commands conspicuous attention.

Prompted by the same motives of enterprise, many of her bold and illustrious sons, like those of Holland, Spain, Portugal, and France, went forth, to discover, and subdue other lands, and possess them, planting Colonies, establishing trade settlements, and framing laws for the government and protection of the people, who migrated to them, either in a military, or civil capacity. But the supreme control of the Colonies was vested in the Mother Country alone. The love of liberty, which is especially implanted in the breast of the Anglo-Saxon race, gradually infused into the minds of those, who directed the government of the parent State, the wish both to assimilate the home, and the Colonial laws; and also to permit the Colonists to participate in some degree in the government of their own internal affairs. The Colonies still continued essentially, however—as those of all other European nations having Colonies still do—under the guidance and control of the Government at home, until the memorable struggle for the maintenance of the right of its authority, as supreme, which culminated in the tremendous loss in 1776, of her North American Colonies, with the exception of Canada and Newfoundland. That terrible event to England quickened her natural instinct for the freedom of her children beyond the seas, and still further developed the national sentiment in favour of the great principle of self-government for a people. This principle is, emphatically, the management of its internal affairs, without being controlled by an external power, necessarily imperfectly acquainted, from distance, and defective knowledge, and from the absence of direct representation, with its wants and wishes.

The rapid growth of the population in Great Britain during the present century, coeval with the possession of new fields for colonisation in her vast territories of Australasia, still further developed the idea of planting settlements of her surplus people in the Southern, as well as in her Colonies in the Northern Hemisphere. New constitutions were framed of the most liberal type by English statesmen, who seem to have been prompted by the feeling, that it was England's interest, as well as duty, to fit her Colonial children as soon as possible, to become absolutely independent of her in every respect—to shake themselves free from her—

and, like the States of the American Union, to form themselves into new nations. In fact, "that the days of their apprenticeship were over, and that they should take up their freedom and go." That this idea was prevalent, rather than the sounder and wiser, as well as nobler one, of endeavouring to preserve the unity of a Great Empire, by bestowing equal rights, and granting equal participation in the management of its affairs, to its home and transmarine territories alike, there is ample reason to infer. The narrow and untrue notion, that the cost of Colonies to the Mother Country was far greater than the benefits she derived from them, found favour with theorists and doctrinaires. This being imbibed by politicians, possessing little of the courage required for ruling the destinies of a great empire, fascinated them, and impressed them with the notion that the power of Great Britain lay in the British Isles alone, and within the belt of her silver streak of sea. They hastened, therefore, to carry out a policy which might have precipitated a national catastrophe. They gave to the nascent Colonies, not only constitutions (which was quite right), enabling them to exercise exclusive management over their own internal affairs, but—which was an error in the then condition of such infant communities—gave them, also, entire control over their waste lands, without the least power of interference on the part of the Mother Country, (to whom those lands undoubtedly belonged,) as to the conditions of its disposal. These things, however—far-reaching as may be their effects in the future—are incidents of the past, and cannot be recalled. We must deal with political, as with all other facts, as we find them, and frame our course accordingly.

I now come to the last, as well as the most important division of the question, to which all that has been said, gradually leads up: "What the political relations of Mother Countries and Colonies should be."

I have already remarked, that there has always been one prevailing principle in the government of Colonies on the part of the nations possessing them, that of an essentially absolute control of their affairs, by the exercise of power emanating from the Mother Country, until the period of the foundation by England of what are termed "her self-governing Colonies." I shall take her, therefore, as the nation best adapted for illustrating the principle of Imperial Federation. I contend that this principle should be applied by all other nations, as far as practicable, in their respective Colonies (as it has been already done to a limited extent in the

case of France), by the reception of representatives from her Colonies into her National Parliament.

“It is the master principle,” says Lord Brougham, “of modern policy that the existence of great nations depends on their cordial and intimate union. A Mother Country must always be affected by its Colonies. A Colony is, in fact, only a remote province of the empire, but it is not on that account less valuable in itself, or as assisting and enriching the other parts of the empire. The Constitutions of the British Colonial Government were formed upon the model of that admirable system of domestic policy which has secured the happiness of the Mother Country, raised her to an unexampled height of prosperity, and, in spite of certain theoretical defects, left her in a situation of envied tranquillity and solid practical freedom, amidst all the political experiments and convulsions that have shaken the other nations of Europe. In every Government there must exist absolute authority somewhere. In whatever manner it is invested in the Mother Country, the executive power in the Colonial Government must be divided between two classes of rulers—one in the Colonies, the other at home. The latter essentially possess supreme power.” Thus wrote Lord Brougham in 1803. The sound philosophy and practical wisdom of these remarks are worthy of a statesman of such eminence and distinction. But the full establishment, and complete development of the policy of Colonial self-government to which I have referred, had not then taken place. In most of the largest Colonies belonging to Great Britain, absolute unfettered control over their internal affairs has been given them, and everything implying subordination to the authority of the Mother Country has been swept away. The Home and Colonial portions of the Empire stand on an equal footing in relation to one another. It is this fact, which cannot be too strongly impressed upon the minds of all, which points to the necessity, as well as the justice, of establishing a Federation, (at least if the Empire is to continue in permanent unity,) between England and her Colonies, by the adoption of a complete and equitable representative system in an Imperial Parliament. A Federation of this kind would mean an equal participation in the government of the Empire, as a whole, and a full share in the exercise of its power. As in the case of the United States of America, each self-governing Colony would possess, precisely as it does at present, full control over its internal affairs, without the slightest interference with its authority from the central and supreme Government, of which it formed a part.

Arming its deputies with the same authority, it would contribute its share to, and maintain its influence in, the deliberations of the National Senate, for the general benefit, and interests of the whole Empire. It would be folly to deny, that great difficulties beset a scheme so grand; one so fraught with benefits, political, commercial, and social, to the nation, that has the courage, and the wisdom to adopt it. It has been said "that the sudden formation of a political body has always been found the most arduous achievement of political government." But difficulty does not imply impossibility. A Constitution, framed with deliberation, and sagacity for the salvation of an Empire from an otherwise inevitable disintegration, would not only preserve the integrity of its union, but would also be a positive benefit to other nations. It is a most profound remark of Machiavel, "that a Commonwealth is more to be depended on by its neighbours and subjects than a Prince;" and, for precisely the same reasons, a large State is more to be depended on than a small one, under whatever form the government may be administered.

My object is to indicate the lines on which Federation may be effected, and frankly to meet the objections which may be urged against its accomplishment. I crave especial and earnest attention to what I am about to say. The subject is apt to be approached with selfishness and prejudice on the part of those, who have hitherto possessed power, and are reluctant to yield up any share of it to others, even for the general good. There is a national jealousy which is a natural emotion. This, therefore, constitutes one of the most formidable initial difficulties, in treating of this question on a broad and comprehensive basis.

I demand a renouncement of prejudice, and I appeal for sympathy, instead, in dealing with this great subject. A distinguished English statesman, Charles James Fox, speaking of national politics, once declared that "representation was the sovereign remedy for every evil." I heartily endorse the sentiment. The nation which most thoroughly possesses it, enjoys the greatest amount of happiness, freedom, and contentment.

The history of the British Colonies, as a whole, shows how, step by step, they have been approaching that position of political, social, and commercial importance, which they now occupy, and which more and more imperatively demands recognition, in some modification of their relation towards each other, as well as to their common country.

The expansion of intercolonial trade, and the growing perception

of identity of interests, have led to the discussion of suggestions for confederation, both in the case of South Africa and Australasia, as a question of practical politics. But this intercolonial confederation is but a part of the larger question of universal Federation of all the Colonies with England, which has come to be regarded as a practicable problem; as a thing which ought to be done. The British Constitution has grown by slow degrees, through varying conditions of time, and of the temper of the people. Although, viewed in certain logical lights, it may seem to be unwieldy and unworkable, it nevertheless works well, on the whole. A Parliament, which should make room within its walls for the reception of the Colonies, would be quite in harmony with its ancient traditions, and would be truly Imperial. The terms of admission might vary according to circumstances, and might not be identical in the case of all the Colonies; but as long as they were in unison with the existing system, on which both the English and Colonial Parliaments are elected, there is little fear of the political machine collapsing under the strain. The idea of representation of the Colonies in a British Parliament is not a new one. It was thought of, and proposed by public functionaries, writers, and statesmen of the last century. Men like Governor Pownall, Adam Smith, and Burke, have discussed and favoured it. The famous contention by England, of the right of "taxation without representation," lost her American Colonies.

Adam Smith's idea is so much in accordance with the principle contended for in this paper, that I trust I shall be excused for quoting a remarkable passage from his "Wealth of Nations." He says: "If to each Colony Great Britain should allow such a number of representatives as suited the proportion of what is contributed to the public revenue of the Empire, in consequence of its being subjected to the same taxes, and in compensation, admitted to the same freedom of trade with its fellow-subjects at home, the number of its representatives to be augmented as the proportion of its contributions might afterwards augment, a new method of acquiring importance, a new and more dazzling object of ambition, would be presented to the leading men of each Colony. Instead of bidding for the little prizes which are to be found in what may be called the paltry raffle of Colonial faction, they might then hope, from the presumption which men naturally have in their own ability and good fortune, to draw some of the great prizes which sometimes come from the great State lottery of British politics."

Commenting on this plan, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, a states-

man and writer of great authority in our own day, who has given to the world one of the ablest, and most philosophical essays in the English language, on "The Government of Dependencies," admits that "although it is limited in its terms to the British Colonies of North America, as the reasons in support of it are general, they would apply to every dependency which has made any considerable progress in civilisation, or possesses popular securities against mis-government."

He further goes on to say: "The change in the relations of the dominant country and the dependency which would be effected by its adoption, would resemble that which would have been produced in the relations of England and Ireland by the incorporating union of 1800, if the events of 1782 had not occurred."

"But the main objection to the plan, he continues (an objection which its author has not noticed), lies in the distance of those Colonies from England. *Where a supreme government is prevented by distance, or by any other cause, from communicating rapidly with any of its territories, it is necessary that the distant territory should be governed as a dependency.* Consequently, even if the Colonies sent representatives to Parliament agreeably to the plan recommended by Adam Smith, they must still have been governed as dependencies, that is, by subordinate governments completely organised, and possessing every power consistent with their subordinate character."

I desire to call especial attention to this last paragraph.

Sir George Cornwall Lewis published his essay in the year 1841. It is remarkable how completely his "main objection" to the plan of the Colonies sending representatives to an Imperial Parliament on account of distance, is disposed of, within forty years afterwards. He reasoned at a time, when the wonderful powers of steam, and the dazzling triumphs of telegraphy, in annihilating distance, were not developed, as they now are. It is easier in the present day, for all practical purposes, to hold communication between Australasia and England, than formerly between the Orkney Islands, (which return representatives to the British Parliament) and London. Besides, every new discovery in science, which is in store for us in the future, must be in the direction of rendering communications between the central Government and the most distant parts of the Empire, easier, more rapid, and uninterrupted, than before. Putting aside the power of electricity, which gives facilities for instantaneous interchange of communications, the ease with which people can now pass between the Mother Country and her Colonies, gets rid of every obstacle in the way of Colonial repre-

sentatives fulfilling, without difficulty, the duties entrusted to them by their constituents in an Imperial Parliament.

It is sometimes said by those who merely regard this question from a superficial stand-point, that there is no necessity for advocating a Federation between a Mother Country, like England, and her Colonies, by means of an Imperial Parliament. It is urged by some, that the links which bind them together are sufficient, and that there is no need for any change in the political ties which at present exist between them. The reply to this shallow reasoning is obvious. It is simply impossible to retain the same system of government by a Mother Country, which is suitable for infant Colonies, when they have grown and expanded into independent manhood. The development of the British Colonies is simply marvellous. It is calculated that the population of Australasia alone within the next half-century will almost equal, if it does not exceed, that of England at present, while its wealth and trade will increase in proportion. Under such circumstances it is impossible to conceive, that the state of subordination to the supreme Government can remain the same: evidences of the strongest description, proof the most palpable, that this cannot be so, are becoming visible every day. Canadian negotiations for commercial treaties with foreign Powers, Australasian action with regard to New Guinea, South African embroglios, speak volumes in demonstration of the anomalous condition of the political relations of England and her Colonies. Such conditions cannot indefinitely continue. Let us face the inevitable fact, that, at a certain stage of their growth, self-governing dependencies, like those of Great Britain, must either federate or disintegrate.

Logic ought to govern, but sentiment really rules the world. All history proves it. The love of Fatherland; the passion of patriotism; ambition and honour; the morsel of bunting, which is the national flag, under which the soldier fights to death, for glory—are all illustrations of the influence of sentiment on mankind, of which all government is the reflex, and result.

But it is not on sentiment only—though that is very powerful, as an element of national character—that I wish to base the argument in favour of the Federation, instead of the disintegration of an Empire. The paramount interest of Mother Countries and Colonies is strongly in favour of their permanent union. It is an axiom that “trade follows the flag.” The inexorable logic of figures proves it. Therefore, in order to promote commerce, that most

material element of national success, and the prosperity of trade, their union should be preserved. Another most cogent and vital reason for Imperial unity is the fact, that every great nation requires, that costly establishments, of a naval, military, and civil character, should be at all times maintained, in order that its dignity, importance, and influence should be properly and efficiently upheld. The cost of contributing an equitable share to those establishments by the Colonies, as Federated portions of the Empire, would be far less, than if they resolved to set up for themselves as independent nations, and had to defray the expense of new establishments of their own, commensurate with the position they would in time be compelled to assume, as leading States of the world. And all this tremendous extra cost, with all its risks and responsibilities—military, civil, and diplomatic—would have to be incurred, instead of the honour and prestige, and substantial protection too, they would secure by their connection with the great Empire, of which they formed a part, and whose destinies, under Federation, they would have power to control.

I have now, as succinctly and clearly as I can, endeavoured to point out some of the principal arguments in favour of Imperial Federation. The limits of a paper prepared for a Conference, makes the complete delineation of a question of such high politics impossible. To do it justice would demand, not only an essay, but a volume. My desire is to draw attention to the political relations of Mother Countries and Colonies, with a view to point out the true principles for a national government, according to the conditions of their development, and their relative position to one another. I have drawn in outline, a picture (taking England as an example), which is intended as a guide of the constitutional type, to be followed by nations having Colonies, such as may be suitable to the particular circumstances of their mutual connection. Contending as I do, for a great and vital principle, I should be satisfied to leave allusion to all details, until the principle was thoroughly admitted. When once the principle is accepted, the rest would follow, and the difficulties of detail, which at the outset presented themselves, would vanish.

But in order to assist those, who desire to approach the subject in an impartial spirit, I venture to point out a few details, which I may perhaps be expected to give, for consideration. These comprise, firstly, a scheme or plan for the constitution of an Imperial Parliament; and, secondly, the character of the subjects which would come under its control.

Two systems of confederation have been suggested for providing an Imperial Federal Parliament. "One, by which the members representing the Mother Country and the Colonies would be elected directly by the people; and the other, under which they would be chosen by the English Parliament and the Colonial Parliaments acting as Electorial Colleges."* Each has advantages and merits of its own. On the whole, I confess myself in favour of the first of these plans. It would, of course, have to be determined whether the Imperial Parliament should consist of one or two Chambers. If a second Chamber were chosen (as I think would be desirable, in order to harmonise with the present British Constitution,) it might be formed by the Upper Houses of the Local Legislatures of the Colonies sending a proportion of members to it, in conjunction with a certain number of members selected from the Upper Hereditary House of the Mother Country;—or, the Crown might be empowered to nominate a certain number of such members;—or, the members might be partly nominated, and partly elected by the Imperial and Local Governments. The soundness of the general principle, however, does not depend upon the precise adoption of any such details, as are here mentioned.

I have briefly alluded to this part of the question for the purpose of showing, that plans have already been put forward for the constitution of an Imperial Parliament, which cannot be considered visionary. On the contrary, they are eminently practical in their conception. I shall now proceed to give some few further details of a scheme for constituting a Parliament for the British Empire, on a thoroughly Imperial basis, which I think are well worthy of attentive consideration.

As I appear on this occasion before an audience in a foreign land, I desire emphatically to repeat, that I use the British Empire as an illustration of the best type, and as the most convenient text, in support of the arguments advanced on behalf of Imperial Federation. Taking as a basis the present position and relations of England and her Colonies (which are subject to future modification, according to circumstances), it has been proposed, that there should be an Imperial Senate, consisting of 300 members—185 for England, 25 for Scotland, 40 for Ireland, 50 for the Colonies. The distribution—for the present at least—would be as follows: 20 for the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland, 15 for Australia, 5 for New Zealand, 5 for the Cape Settlements, 5 for the West Indies.

* Labilliere.

The Ministry of the day would be drawn from the members of the Imperial Senate, and the House of Peers, and these Ministers, as at present, would be the immediate and responsible advisers of the Crown. The Senate would sit in London, and its term of duration would be five years.

Here is an admirable suggestion, as the nucleus for the construction of an Imperial Parliament.

I will now consider, secondly, the nature of the questions which would come under its control. In such a Constitution, a complete separation of all Imperial and local questions is imperatively required. As far as the Colonies, proposed to be represented in such a Parliament, are concerned, there would be no difficulty. The course to be followed would be perfectly clear. The local Parliaments would have entire control over their own Colonies in the management of their own local affairs, precisely, and in every respect as they have at present, without the least interference on the part of the Central Federal Government. But this system of Federation would necessitate the establishment, also, of local Parliaments in the United Kingdom of a similar type, for the government of all local affairs at home. Assuming that there would be local Parliaments for England, Scotland, and Ireland, in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, there would be Viceroys in each of these capitals, whose advisers would be drawn from the members of the local House, and would occupy to him the same relations as those sustained by her Ministers to the Queen. All measures passed by the local House would require the assent of the Viceroy before they could become law. Any measures of doubtful constitutional character could be reviewed by the Viceroy, and remitted by him for revision by the Queen in Council. Such is the outline of a proposal for the establishment of local Home Parliaments, under a system of Imperial Federation. For England, whose Parliament is bending under the gigantic pressure of multifarious work, the advantage of the entire separation of Imperial and local affairs would be inestimable.

Lastly, let me mention what kind of questions should be classed as Imperial, and what local, in order to be relegated, respectively, to the Imperial, or to the local Parliaments.

Imperial questions would comprise Foreign relations, Peace and War, National Defence, Revenue and Expenditure for National, as distinguished from local purposes, Extensions of Empire, the Government of India; and, generally, all that comes within the department of International law.

Local or provincial questions would embrace Land Laws, Taxation and Tariffs, Education, Church Establishment, Internal Defence, and the exclusive government of all local affairs.

A third classification would comprise questions, which might be left either to Federal or Provincial Governments, without impairing the strength or efficiency of the Imperial organisation. These, for example, would be such as the laws of marriage, domicile, wills, coinage, copyright, and patent laws, railways and telegraphs (when they might happen to be of such Imperial importance as to require a national guarantee for their construction), emigration, trade, &c.

Such are the bases on which a practicable plan of Imperial Federation could be established. Freeman, the historian, defines the name of a Federal Government, "to be, in its widest sense, applied to any union of component members, where the degree of union between the members surpasses that of mere alliance, however intimate, and where the degree of independence possessed by each member surpasses anything which can fairly come under the head of merely municipal freedom. A Federal Union, in short, will form one State in relation to other Powers, but many States as regards its internal administration. This complete division of sovereignty, we may look upon (he says) as essential to the perfection of the Federal idea."

With this quotation I finish. I might enlarge indefinitely on so immense a topic, but I forbear to trespass longer upon you. Let me conclude with a few words of thanks, of apology, and of regret.

I feel, indeed, greatly gratified, that I have had the honour to be invited to bring a question of such supreme importance before so distinguished an audience, in a foreign land. I sincerely thank my good and kind friends for giving me this opportunity of appearing before them, to express my opinions upon it. I am conscious how inadequately I have performed my task. The Federation of an Empire is a grand idea. The question is so comprehensive, that it strikes me forcibly, how imperfectly I have placed it before you. I have but touched the fringe of a subject of the highest national interest. Fully alive to the responsibility attaching to all, who undertake to rouse public attention to it, I regret I have not the power of persuading the world of its worth, and of the wisdom of all nations, possessing Colonies, adopting the principle of so noble and patriotic a political creed.

Still, however feebly I may have addressed you on its behalf, and

however inadequately I may have brought my arguments in its favour before you, I shall be sustained by the reflection, that my efforts to-day, in opening a Conference on the political relations of Mother Countries and Colonies, will not have been wholly in vain, if I have succeeded in convincing some of my hearers of the value of a conception of such breadth and magnitude, on which I feel very deeply, and which I have so long ardently advocated.











