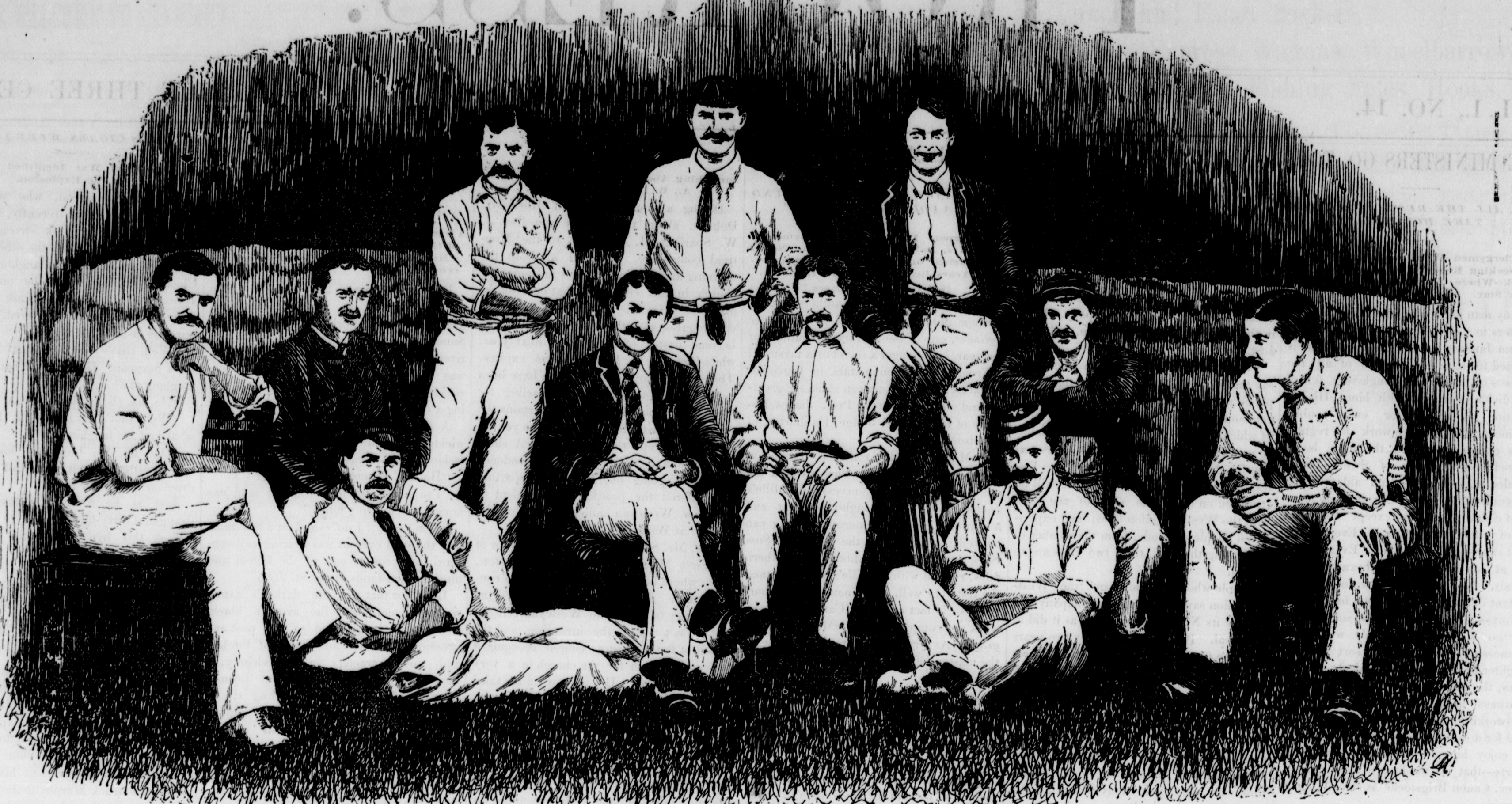


D. W. TROTTER, Phoenix Club. C. BLACKER. F. TOBIN, Leinster Club. E. P. FITZGERALD, Trinity College. W. HAMILTON, Phoenix and Oxford Clubs.



D. CRONIN, Barrister. J. P. FITZGERALD, Trinity College. J. W. HINES, Trinity College. J. H. DUNN, Phoenix Club. LIEUT. J. H. DUNN, Eighth Regiment. — EMERSON.

THE IRISH GENTLEMEN.

PORTRAITS AND POINTERS OF THE VISITING ELEVEN.

They Won't Come to St. John in Person, but "Progress" Pictures Will Answer Just as Well, and Will Save the Cricket and Athletic Club Its \$200.

People who made the dismal prophecy that St. John would not see the Irish cricketers, this year, may be prepared to take back that remark.

See them above. People who are acquainted with them say

that they are coming to Canada on a boodling expedition. They look like it.

Unless the steamer sinks, they will reach this continent about the last of August.

While they remain, they will spend their time in surrounding \$200 guaranties.

When they have gathered up every dollar that isn't nailed down, they will go home—if they have not been lynched in the meantime.

PROGRESS' Dublin correspondent has, with his usual enterprise, forwarded certain valuable pointers on the "Irish gentlemen" pictured above, and from these hints and their portraits St. John cricketers can gain

as good an idea of their general style as though the exiles from Erin were on hand in person to raid the C. and A. club's cash-box.

The gentleman on the right, Emerson, is the \$10,000 beauty of the team. He has a large muscle and an athletic pocketbook. The portrait printed above was taken just after he had loaned a sovereign to Hamilton, the gentleman sitting next him. This circumstance, writes PROGRESS' correspondent, accounts for Emerson's despondent expression and the saturnine grin upon Hamilton's countenance.

Lieut. J. Dunn, of the Eighth regiment, who sits in the front row, has a bad eye,

but persons who are fond of him account for that by the statement that, as a military man, he feels it incumbent upon him to look fierce. He is a very brave man, it is said, and gathers his laurels by the bunch.

E. P. Fitzgerald and Trotter are placed in the background, in order that the chains attached to their ankles may not be too plainly visible. They travel in separate vans, but, when let out of the cage, take great delight in each others' society. It is understood that when both are on the field at one time the price of admission to the grand stand is doubled, though ladies and children are warned away.

Cronin, on the extreme left, contests the palm for good looks with Emerson. There is fierce competition between them in the matter of moustaches and it is even whispered that they are enduring a course of training to find out which will first be able to get his feet into No. 11 boots.

Blacker and Tobin, who have both retired to the background of the picture, are shrewdly suspected to be dynamiters in disguise. It will be observed that when the portraits were taken their attitudes were such as to give color to this impression. Blacker stands ready to jump the fence and Tobin has his hand on his revolver. It is understood that they will be shadowed by

detectives, while the team is in Canada.

Nunn, Hines and Fitzgerald, the remaining members of the team, have not, as yet, done anything to distinguish themselves. It is said that they can play cricket a little bit, but it will be all the same to the rest of the Irish gentlemen if they can't. The team doesn't care so much for cricket as it does for its little \$200—and it will get that every time, if it has to call in the constables.

That is really all there is to say about them. If they had come here, it would have cost the reader 25 cents to see them. PROGRESS exhibits them for 3 cents—and that is about as much as the show is worth.

FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

BY G. E. FENETY.

No. 1.

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

Imperial Federation means, it means anything, the revolutionizing of all existing relationship between England and her

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

It is remarked that the Colonies should bear their fair share of the outlay in their defence and for the general interests of the Empire. Indeed the only argument put forward by parties in England on the side of Federation, is in relation to Colonial defence, in perfect ignorance of the fact of history that Canada, about which we are more concerned, has never failed to fight the battles of the Empire, as will be hereafter shown, as often as occasion required. An "Imperial Federation League" has been formed in London, among whose members are some of England's best men, but few very prominent ones in the public eye, holding office, and very few, if any, in opposition to England's free trade commercial policy, although this is not stated for the purpose of emphasizing the fact. This organization publishes a paper called

"the Journal of the Imperial Federation," in which it is set forth: "A military organization of the whole Empire is worthy of consideration, especially when we look at the vast armies of the great Continental Powers as compared with that of the United Kingdom, and contrast them with their relations to each other at the beginning of the century. Wars are now short and decisive, and the country best prepared has an overwhelming advantage. It may therefore be well to consider whether our condition is a safe one as regards ourselves, or such as entitles us to the respect we ought to have from the other Great Powers."

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

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

The Earl of Roseberry, after taking exception to Mr. Bright's expressed opinions to the effect that this Federation of the Empire cry was "childish and absurd," said—

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

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

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

Another proposition involved in Mr. Brice's statement also requires notice. Why suggest the opinion that the Colonies would be unable to stand alone, or be at the mercy of France or Germany, if separated from England, and liable to heavy costs for defence? In the first place England is not going to give up her Colonies—nobody ever before entertained such a notion—therefore why speculate upon a mere hypothesis in connection with a subject so sublime? As far as Canada is concerned, she is so situated that Germany or France would stand but a sorry chance if her eagles came down here to swoop up on. Either would have to fight half a continent in arms, and then go home bleeding at every pore. It is not likely that two cousins living in the same house, although in separate rooms, would allow a stranger to molest them without uniting their forces to repel, no matter what their political differences. The fate of Maximilian would be that of the French or German invader, for royalty with our neighbors does not pass as current coin. Mr. Brice's arguments in favor of Federation will, therefore, go but a short distance in the cause, unless he devotes more of his attention to possibilities. But Mr. Brice further says: "The main common object to be regarded [in Federation] was naval and military defence. England has now all the liability, nearly all the expense, and had also the control of foreign policy involving the issue of peace or war, for the Colonies as well as for herself." Mr. Brice, however, would give us a voice in shaping the Imperial policy, and in the war business, provided the Colonies would be willing to bear their share in the expense. It is feared that this voice, if the conditions be accepted, would scarcely prove to be anything more than the fatal coils of the constrictor, and from the effects of which (viz., our acceptance) there could be no escape. Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M. P., remarked:

"Federation is the watchword in vogue. I care not for the name, so long as the thing is done. But there are some few, who ought to know better, who call it Utopian. Utopian! when within one short week Canada, New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, all flash through the ocean officers of their gallant sons as soldiers to fight for the Mother Country. Utopian! when our Queen accepts their willing services, and we, their fellow countrymen,

grasp the hands held out to us, not so much because we at present need them, but because of the loyal and friendly spirit of which they are tokens."

Why federate then for purposes of defence or offence, with such an effusion of loyalty as is here presented to the world—a willingness to fight the battles of the Empire, as the Colonies have always been, without compulsion, without extraordinary taxation, as a soldier goes into battle without questioning the cause of quarrel, but do as ordered? We want no change in our system, since the present works so well, according to the statements of Mr. Ashley. But then the speaker goes further. He says that the Colonies would under federation be represented in the great Council of the Nation. Then again (he says) "what the Colonies most need, in my opinion, is the power of bringing, directly and without delay, pressure upon public opinion in this country and on the Cabinet." It is our opinion that we have now greater leverage upon the Cabinet of England, or at the Colonial Office, than could possibly be obtained if represented at Westminster. If Ireland for centuries has been unable to make herself felt in the Imperial Parliament, what would be the chances of disjointed Colonies, without interests in common, to form a bond of union; or even if so formed, the representation at the utmost would not likely be that of Ireland today? But the solidarity of the Colonies could not be counted upon under any circumstances, while individuals are constituted as they are, when personal interests take the place of patriotism—when men are swayed by their ambition, even at the expense of their country's welfare. If the representatives of the Maritime Provinces in the Dominion Parliament were actuated by a single motive for a particular purpose, agree in common for the obtaining of a certain measure, (say, if you like, the fishery award of four and a half millions, leaving out Newfoundland which received its portion—instituting that this money should go to the Maritime Provinces) their united influence would be felt and respected. But how stands the case? We are divided by sharp party lines and dominated by cabinet officers, subject to one common head or a vast Western preponderating influence, so that our representatives might almost be chosen from Ontario or British Columbia, so far as any great advantages are concerned in respect to the Maritime Provinces, if they ask for special favors or conceivable rights.

What would it therefore be like in England? Our leading men if not placed in the lords, would have their heads taken off in some other exalted position, and continually bask in the sunshine of the Court and grand London Society, and be so influenced by the charms that surround them, that the pressure (to which Mr. Ashley refers) to be exerted in our behalf would be of a very negative character. The strength and power would be on the side of England, and our leading men become consenting parties in spite of themselves, whatever might be their disposition. How different at present (not having yet taken the fatal leap), Canada or Australia standing alone, acts unitedly as one people whenever her interests are at issue. For example, New

South Wales passed laws for the suppression of the Chinese, who like locusts had been overrunning the country, devouring everything, and interfering with the course of civilized labor, so that it was resolved to put a stop to their emigration. The English Government resisted, and remonstrated with the Colony, on the ground that the sanction of the measure would interfere with her treaty obligations to China; but the Colony was inexorable and determined, so that England at last yielded and consented to the Act, and John Chinaman had to submit. If federated with England, where would Mr. Ashley's pressure be found? Against New South Wales, to be sure.

But again, some time ago, when Canada in her tariff sought under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, to impose discriminating duties in favor of the United States, the Duke of Newcastle, who was then Colonial Secretary, remonstrated, and was about to advise Her Majesty to disapprove of the measure. Mr. Galt was Finance Minister in the McDonald-Cartier government, and he insisted upon the right of the Dominion to impose such duties as they thought proper. He said—

"The Government of Canada, acting for its legislature and people, cannot, through these feelings of deference that they owe to the imperial authorities, in any manner waive or diminish the right of the people of Canada to decide for themselves both as to the mode and extent to which taxation shall be imposed. In the imposition of taxation it is so plainly necessary that the administration and the people should be in accord that the former cannot admit responsibility or require approval beyond that of the local legislature. Self-government would be entirely annihilated if the views of the imperial government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada. It is, therefore, the duty of the present government distinctly to affirm the right of the Canadian legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial ministry."

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

(See next Saturday.)