

**ENGLAND AND HER
COLONIES: THE FIVE
BEST ESSAYS ON
IMPERIAL FEDERATION**

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England and Her Colonies: The Five Best Essays on Imperial Federation by Rawson W. Rawson & J. Anthony Froude & J. R. Seeley

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RAWSON W. RAWSON & J. ANTHONY FROUDE & J. R. SEELEY

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ENGLAND ³⁹⁴⁷⁷
AND HER COLONIES.

THE FIVE BEST ESSAYS

OR

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

*Submitted to the LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE for their Prize
Competition, and recommended for publication by the Judges :*

J. ANTHONY FROUDE,

AUTHOR OF "OCEANA," ETC., ETC.

PROFESSOR J. R. SEELEY, M.A.

AND

SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON.

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PREFACE.

CONVINCED of the growing interest in the Imperial Federation question, both in official and unofficial circles, the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce, which has always given a strong support to the Federation movement, early in the year 1886 offered a prize of fifty pounds, to be awarded to the writer of the best essay "formulating a practical working plan for the federation of the colonies and the mother-country."

The Council of the Chamber believed that the offer of the prize, and the publicity given thereto, might induce those qualified to draft a scheme upon which practical rather than theoretical discussion could proceed in the future.

This anticipation was realized to its fullest extent. The judges who had, at no small personal inconvenience, undertaken to adjudicate upon the competitive manuscripts, were confronted, on the expiration of the date fixed for sending in essays, with the heavy and excessive work of examining 106 papers, many of which fell little short of the 75 pages of foolscap at which the limit was drawn. This will give some idea of the amount of labour thrown upon the judges, Mr. J. A. Froude, Sir Rawson W. Rawson, and Professor J. R. Seeley, and their report conveys evidence of the completeness of their perusal.

The report is appended. In placing it, together with the winning essay, and those other essays which it recommends for publication, before the public, it is the belief of the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce that the choice of judges of such high personal status and special knowledge must give exceptional value to the essays, which, through the kindness and co-operation of those gentlemen, they are now in a position to publish.

At the same time it must be remarked, in order to prevent misconception, that the judges in recommending the publication of five essays, in addition to the one to which they awarded the prize, have not intended to pronounce them absolutely superior in merit to all other essays submitted to them, except the prize essay. They have pointed out in their report that they held it desirable that the public should have an opportunity of seeing the problem attacked in different ways. Accordingly these essays have been selected not simply for their merit, but as expressing the opinions of the different sections into which the advocates of Federation appear to be divided.

AWARD AND REPORT OF THE JUDGES.

"GENTLEMEN,—We have the honour to lay before you the following report. There have been submitted to us 106 essays. We call attention to the number, partly in order to explain any delay which may seem to have occurred in our award, and partly in order to congratulate you upon the great and wide interest which your offer has excited. The quality no less than the number of the essays submitted seems a matter for congratulation. They have come to us from all parts of the empire, apparently in larger number from the colonies than from the mother-country; and when we remember the nature of the

problem proposed for solution, we are much impressed by the grasp and practical knowledge of the subject which many of them display. We are agreed in awarding the prize to the essay which has the motto, '*Auspiciam melioris ævi*' (to be carefully distinguished from another essay which has the same motto, but coupled with another, viz. '*E pluribus unum*'). By making this announcement, we acquit ourselves, strictly speaking, of the commission with which you have honoured us. We cannot, however, refrain from adding the following suggestion, founded upon your published statement, that you reserve to yourselves the right of publishing the successful, or any, or all of the essays. Considering the magnitude, difficulty, and delicacy of the question, we are of opinion that more than one view of it should be presented to the public. We take the liberty, therefore, of naming five essays, which either as containing noteworthy suggestions or information, or as representing lines of thought, or methods of procedure, which appear in many, if not in the majority, of the essays submitted to us, we consider worthy of publication. These are the essays which have the following mottoes:—Quotation from Adam Smith's '*Wealth of Nations*,' '*Auspiciam melioris ævi*—*E pluribus unum*' (omitting pp. 60-68), '*Civis Romanus sum*,' '*Vincit amor patriæ*,' and '*Causa non præmia*.' We desire it to be understood that we by no means intend to endorse all the suggestions contained in these essays, or indeed in the essay to which we adjudge the prize. Finally, we desire to express our opinion that many valuable suggestions and intelligent reflections are to be found scattered through the large number of essays which we do not recommend for publication.

"We have the honour to be, gentlemen,

"Your obedient servants,

"J. A. FROUDE,

"RAWSON W. RAWSON,

"J. R. SEELEY."

An examination of the envelopes containing the real names of the competitors (after the placing of the competi-

tors by the judges according to mottoes) showed that the mottoes above referred to were adopted by Wm. Greswell, late Professor of Classics at the Cape University, Stowey Court, Bridgwater, Somerset (*Auspicium melioris avi*), winner of the prize; C. V. Smith, barrister, late Fellow of King's College, Cambs. (quotation from Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations"); the Rev. Canon Dalton, The Cloisters, Windsor (*Auspicium melioris avi—E pluribus unum*); F. H. Turnock, Winnipeg (Mani.), Canada (*Civis Romanus sum*); W. J. Bradshaw, Richmond, Melbourne, Australia (*Vincit amor patriæ*); and J. C. Fitzgerald, Wellington, New Zealand (*Causa non præmia*).

Canon Dalton's essay is not included in the present volume; it will be considerably amplified, and published separately by its author.

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