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THE REUNION OF BRITAIN  
AND AMERICA

A. Carnegie



**A TRUSTWORTHY BEAST.**

The public may regard trusts or combinations with serene confidence."—ANDREW CARNEGIE, in an interview in *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 9, [1888. Reproduced for educational purposes only. Fair Use relied upon.]

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THE REUNION  
OF  
BRITAIN AND AMERICA:  
A LOOK AHEAD.

BY  
ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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Fifty sixth Thousand.

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NEW YORK.  
1898.

New York, September 30th, 1898.

MY DEAR SIR:

In sending this pamphlet, "A Look Ahead" to you, I bespeak for it on your part a thoughtful and earnest consideration of the subject here presented. I hope that I may receive an acknowledgment of the receipt of it, with an expression of your opinion upon the subject. Gen. Garfield's declaration, that God Reigns, is a truth that leaders should ever be guided by

If, as I believe after 25 years study of this question, it is God's will and purpose that Britain (Ephraim) and America (Manasseh) shall be reunited, let us work in accord to that end. It is better to be right than to rule. Mr. Carnegie's Triumphant Democracy, and other interesting publications on this subject, furnished at discount rates.

Yours truly,

JOHN W. FISHER,

11 Broadway, N. Y.



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## NOTE.

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MR. CARNEGIE has kindly consented to the reprinting of this pamphlet at the request of a gentleman deeply interested in the question of Reunion, and who is anxious that the subject should be brought under the notice of persons of influence at the present time.

The remarkable lecture recently delivered by the Ex-Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the United States, Mr. Richard Olney of Venezuela fame, seems to give peculiar significance to the views presented by Mr. Carnegie in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW of November, 1897. Dealing with the question of the relations of the two branches of our race, Mr. Carnegie wrote:—

“But deeper than these causes of irritation there does lie at the core of the national heart of the Republic a strong and ineradicable stratum of genuine respect, admiration, and affection for the old home. The pride of race is always there at the bottom—latent indeed in quiet times, but decisively shown in supreme moments when stirred by great issues which affect the safety of the old home and involve the race. The strongest sentiment in man, the real motive which at the crisis determines his action in international affairs, is racial. Upon this tree grow the one language, one religion, one literature, and one law which bind men together, and make them brothers in time of need as against men of other races.”

Mr. Olney, echoing these sentiments, has just said:—

“There is no doubt with what nation we should co-operate. England, our most formidable rival, is our most natural friend. There is such a thing as patriotism for race as well as for country. Nothing less can be expected from the community of interests between Great Britain and the United States than that both shall use their great influence not only for their common advancement, but for the betterment of the whole human race. Although at times we may have such quarrels as only relatives and intimate neighbors indulge in, yet the near future will see in our closer friendship a power for good that will be felt by all mankind.”

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# THE REUNION

OF

## BRITAIN AND AMERICA.\*

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I THINK one excusable who has been compelled to live for months among figures and hard facts, and record only the past, if, his task accomplished, he indulges in a look ahead, where not what is, but what is to be, is considered, and where, being no longer bound by results achieved, he is fancy free.

I have taken this privilege freely for myself in this closing chapter, and Utopian as the dream may seem, I place on record my belief that it is one day to become a reality

### THE RACE DWELT TOGETHER IN UNITY.

Until a little more than a hundred years ago the English-speaking race dwelt together in unity, the American being as much a citizen of Britain as the Englishman, Scotsman, Welshman, or the Irishman. A difference unhappily arose under the British Constitution—their common heritage—as to the right of the citizens of the older part of the State to tax their fellows in the newer part across the sea without their consent; but separation was not contemplated by Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Jay, and other leaders. On the contrary, these great men never ceased to proclaim their loyalty to, and their desire to remain part of, Britian, and they disclaimed any idea of separation, which was indeed accepted at last, but only when forced upon them as a sad necessity, from which there was no honorable escape if they were to maintain the rights they had acquired, not as American but as British citizens.

\* This article is the closing chapter of the new edition of "Triumphant Democracy," Scribners, New York.

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On the other hand, the mother-land, which forced the issue upon her loyal citizens in America, sees nothing more clearly to-day than that she was in error, and that she converted a constitutional agitation for redress of grievances into a question of patriotic resistance to the exercise of unconstitutional power, an issue which Britons have never been slow to accept, and have never failed successfully to meet. There is no British statesman who does not feel that if the Britons in America had not resisted taxation without representation, and fought out the issue to the end, they would have been false to the blood in their veins.

I desire to give my readers in the old land and in the new some idea of the position of the two parties after the difference between them arose.

The following quotations from the credentials presented by the delegates from several of the American provinces to the first Continental Congress, organized September 5th, 1774, show the spirit which then prevailed:—

#### AMERICAN TESTIMONY.

Delegates from the province of New Hampshire were instructed

“To secure and to perpetuate their [the colonies’] rights, liberties, and privileges, and to restore that peace, harmony, and mutual confidence which once happily subsisted between the parent country and her colonies.”

Those of the province of Massachusetts Bay, Samuel and John Adams among them, were charged to seek

“The restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all good men.”

The great province of Pennsylvania sent delegates for conference

“And for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both.”

Virginia wished its delegates, among whom were Washington, Randolph, and Lee,

“To secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily to procure the return of that harmony and union, so beneficial to the whole empire, and so ardently desired by all British America.”

We quote now from addresses and petitions adopted by the Continental Congress.

From an address to the people of Great Britain, approved October 21st, 1774, and written, according to Jefferson, by John Jay:—

“We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness.”

From the petition of the Congress to the King:—

“We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain.”

The battles of Lexington and Concord having just taken place, the second Continental Congress, on Monday, June, 12th 1775, passed a resolution for a fast, seeking aid

“To avert those desolating judgments, with which we are threatened, and to bless our rightful sovereign, King George III.”

From the declaration of Congress, setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, adopted July 6th, 1775, a few weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill:—

“Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory or for conquest.”

From the petition to the King, dated July 8th, 1775, signed by the members of the Congress present:—

“Attached to your Majesty’s person, family, and government with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions to succeeding generations in both countries.”

From an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, also adopted by the Congress July 8th:—

"We are accused of aiming at independence; but how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your ministers, not by our actions. . . . Yet give us leave most solemnly to assure you that we have not yet lost sight of the object we have ever had in view, a reconciliation with you on constitutional principles, and a restoration of that friendly intercourse, which, to the advantage of both, we till lately maintained."

Thomas Jefferson wrote:—

"I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation.

"Believe me, dear sir, there is not in the British Empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do."

Benjamin Franklin testified before the Committee of the House of Commons:—

"They [the colonists] consider themselves as a part of the British Empire, and as having one common interest with it; they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not consider themselves as such. They are zealous for the honor and prosperity of this nation; and, while they are well used, will always be ready to support it as far as their little power goes."—"Life of Franklin" by John Bigelow. Lippincott. Vol. I. p. 495.

On July 13th, 1774, Jay was appointed a member of a committee of New York citizens to draw up resolutions on the non-importation policy. This committee reported:

"That it is our greatest happiness and glory to have been born British subjects, and that we wish nothing more ardently than to live and die as such; . . . the Act for blocking up the port of Boston is . . . subversive of every idea of British liberty;" and that it should be left to the proposed Congress to determine the question of non-importation, which would be justified only by "dire necessity."—"John Jay," by George Pellew, pp. 31 and 32.

#### BRITISH TESTIMONY.

While the British-Americans were thus proclaiming their love, affection, and loyalty for the parent land, and pleading for British rights and the Union, we turn to those in Britain who are now regarded as the greatest and wisest statesmen of that time. Hear the words of Pitt:

"It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws and equally participating in the constitution of this free country.

The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. . . . When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty, what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms."—Speech in the House of Commons January 16th, 1776.

Let us hear Burke:

"No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of threepence. But no commodity will bear threepence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the Colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a s'ave."

"Again and again revert to your own principles—seek peace and ensue it—leave America if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, not attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They and we, and they and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides, be extinguished forever. Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools; for there only they may be discussed with safety."—Speech on American Taxation, delivered in the House of Commons, April 19th, 1774.

Horace Walpole said:

"You will not be surprised that I am what I always was, a zealot for liberty in every part of the globe, and consequently that I most heartily wish success to the Americans. They have hitherto not made one blunder; and the Administration have made a thousand, besides the two capital ones of first provoking and then of uniting the colonies. The latter seem to have as good heads and hearts as we want both."—Letter to Horace Mann, September 7th, 1775—from "Horace Walpole and his World," Scribners, p. 152.

In a letter dated February 17th, 1779, he says:

"Liberty has still a continent (America) to exist in. I do not care a straw who is minister in this abandoned country. It is the "good old cause of freedom" that I have at heart."



Isaac Barré, Member of Parliament, 1761 to 1790, said, in reply to Lord North's declaration that he would never think of repealing the Tea duty until he saw America prostrate at his feet:

"To affect this is not so easy as some imagine; the Americans are a numerous, a respectable, a hardy, a free people. But were it ever so easy, does any friend to his country really wish to see America thus humbled? In such a situation, she would serve only as a monument of your arrogance and your folly. For my part, the America I wish to see is America increasing and prosperous, raising her head in graceful dignity, with freedom and firmness asserting her rights at your bar, vindicating her liberties, pleading her services, and conscious of her merit. This is the America that will have spirit to fight your battles, to sustain you when hard pushed by some prevailing foe, and by her industry will be able to consume your manufactures, support your trade, and pour wealth and splendor into your towns and cities. If we do not change our conduct towards her, America will be torn from our side. . . . Unless you repeal this law, you run the risk of losing America."

David Hartley, Member of Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull, in a speech in the House, May 15th, 1777, concluded with these prophetic words:

". . . I will venture to prophesy that the principles of a federal alliance are the only terms of peace that ever will and that ever ought to obtain between the two countries."

On November 2nd, 1775, Mr. Hartley concluded another speech with these words:

"Let the only contention henceforward between Great Britain and America be, which shall exceed the other in zeal for establishing the fundamental rights of liberty for all mankind."

Johnathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1774, in a speech intended to have been spoken on the bill for altering the Charters of the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, said:

"Let them continue to enjoy the liberty our fathers gave them! Gave them, did I say? They are coheirs of liberty with ourselves; and their portion of the inheritance has been much better looked after than ours. My Lords, I look upon North America as the only great nursery of freemen now left upon the face of the earth. But whatever may be our future fate, the greatest glory that attends this country, a greater than any other nation ever acquired, is to have formed and nursed up to such a state of happiness those colonies whom we are now so eager to butcher."

Briton and American being now fully agreed than those who made the attempt to tax without giving the right of representation were wrong, and that in resisting this the colonists vindicated their rights as British citizens, and therefore only

did their duty, the question arises, Is a separation thus forced upon one of the parties, and now thus deeply regretted by the other, to be permanent?

I cannot think so, and I crave permission to adduce some considerations in support of my belief that the future is certainly to see a reunion of the separated parts and once again a common citizenship.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE RACE.

FIRST.—In race—and there is a great deal in race—the American remains three-fourths purely British. The mixture of the German, which constitutes substantially all of the remainder, though not strictly British, is yet Germanic. The Briton of to-day is himself composed in large measure of the Germanic element, and German, Briton and American are all of the Teutonic race.

The amount of blood other than Anglo-Saxon and Germanic which has entered into the American is almost too trifling to deserve notice, and has been absorbed without changing him in any fundamental trait. The American remains British, differing less from the Briton than the Irishman, Scotsman, Welshman, and Englishman differ from each other. Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welchmen, and Irishmen are all Britons, and the American (a term which of course includes the Canadian) entering among these would be as near the common type resulting from a union of the five as any of the other parts. Indeed the American in many respects resembles the Scotsman more than the Englishman does, and he also in other respects resembles the Englishman more than does the Scot. He resembles both Englishman and Scot much more than the Irishman resembles either. His introduction into a common British-American citizenship would not produce a resultant differing greatly from that of the present union of Scot, Welshman, Irishman, and Englishman. The action of a Congress elected by all these elements would not differ much upon fundamental questions affecting the rights, liberties, and privileges of the people, from a Congress of Americans sitting in Washington, or of Canadians in Ottawa,

or from the action of a British Parliament similarly elected sitting in London. No citizen of any of the present states, either British or American, would have reason to fear the loss of anything which he now holds dear. He could rest securely in the belief that his fellows of the other states could be trusted so to act that the united mass would not oscillate.

A feeling of confidence in each other among the respective communities of the race in Great Britain and America may be expected to grow, as political institutions continue to assimilate.

It is to be noted that only in the region of political ideas is there dissimilarity, for no rupture whatever between the parts has ever taken place in language, literature, religion, or law. In these uniformity has always existed. Although separated politically, the unity of the parts has never been disturbed in these strong cohesive and cementing links. The books and periodicals read upon both sides of the Atlantic are rapidly becoming the same. The decision of one court is good law in all. Language remains uniform, every approved change in one part of the great realm being rapidly adopted throughout the English-speaking world. Religious ideas are the common property of the race. There seems nothing, therefore, to keep the sections of the race apart, but everything to reunite them.

#### THE OCEAN NOT A BARRIER TO REUNION.

SECOND.—No one questions that if, instead of eighteen hundred miles of water between America and Britain, there lay another Mississippi Valley, the English-speaking race would be one politically, since the federal system of government has proved that immense areas can be successfully governed under one head, and can exist as one power,—the freest government of the parts producing the strongest government of the whole. The difference of land and water lying between people has hitherto been great, and, in the words of the poet, instead of mountains we can say that

“Oceans interposed  
Make enemies of nations, who had else,  
Like kindred drops, been mingled into one.”

This is quite true of the past; but oceans no longer constitute barriers between nations. These already furnish the

cheapest of all modes of communication between men. It has been my good fortune recently to travel from the Pacific coast to Britain. The journey from San Francisco to New York was made in a moving hotel, in which our party had traveled for six weeks and had every want supplied. The time necessary for the trip is five days. The other half of the journey, after a short rest at the Half-way House, New York, was performed in one of the best ocean greyhounds, the time consumed from land to land being only a few hours more than that required for the journey from San Francisco to New York. Over land and over sea we had traveled under the best conditions of to-day. No luxury was wanting. The moving hotel over the land was the best of its kind, as was also the moving hotel over the water. The ocean voyage was in every respect more comfortable and by far less fatiguing than the overland journey.

The future, is probably, to render travel by sea, if not quite as fast, yet more comfortable to people in general than land travel can possibly be made. The delegate to a conference at Washington, leaving Liverpool or Southampton, now reaches that city in just about the same time as the delegate from San Francisco, Seattle, or Victoria on the Pacific coast. At the time England and Scotland were united, members of Parliament from the north of Scotland required as long to reach London. A short time ago many of the American representatives to Congress consumed more time in reaching Washington than either of these. The time required is being lessened every year. The next three months are to see both the ocean and the land journey materially reduced.

THIRD.—The telegraph connecting London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cardiff, New Orleans, San Francisco, New York, Washington, Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa, bringing all into instantaneous communication, is the most important factor in rendering political reunion possible, and I venture to say inevitable. Without this agency it might well be doubted whether one central authority could act for all the scattered parts, but when events and problems as they arise, and the discussions upon them at the centre, can be instantly known



at the extremities, and become everywhere the subject of contemporaneous debate and consideration, thus permitting the centre to influence the extremities and the extremities to respond to the centre, the pulse beat of the entire nation can be constantly felt by the government and all the people. No matter where the capital may be, it must still be omnipresent and in touch with all parts of the confederacy. Time is therefore no longer to be taken into account at all, and distance means but little when all can instantly hear everything that transpires.

#### BENEFITS OF REUNION.

FOURTH.—The advantages of a race confederation are so numerous and so obvious that one scarcely knows how to begin their enumeration. Consider its defensive power: A reunion of the Anglo-Americans, consisting to-day of one hundred and eight millions, which fifty years hence will number more than two hundred millions, would be unassailable upon land by any power or combination of powers that it is possible to create. We need not, therefore, take into account attacks upon the land. As for the water, the combined fleets would sweep the seas. The new nation would dominate the world and banish from the earth its greatest stain—the murder of men by men. It would be the arbiter between nations, and enforce the peaceful settlement of all quarrels, saying to any disputants who threatened to draw the sword:

“ Hold! I command you both;  
The one that stirs makes me his foe.  
Unfold to me the cause of quarrel,  
And I will judge betwixt you.”

Such a giant among pigmies as the British-American Union would never need to exert its power, but only to intimate its wishes and decisions. It would be unnecessary for any power to maintain either a great standing army or a great navy. The smaller nations having discovered that they would not be permitted to disturb the peace of the world would naturally disarm. There would be no use in maintaining large forces either for attack or defence when the Anglo-American had

determined that no one should attack. I believe that the wisdom of the reunited nation and its regard for others would be so great as to give it such moral ascendancy that there would be no disposition upon the part of any power to appeal from its decisions. All would acquire the habit of settling disputes by an appeal to this supreme tribunal, the friend of all, the enemy of none, without thought of ever going beyond its decrees.

#### REUNION V. IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

FIFTH.—There are higher though perhaps not more powerful considerations than the material benefits involved in reunion. Regarding these I should like Britons to consider what the proposed reunion means. Not the most sanguine advocate of "Imperial Federation" dares to intimate that the federation he dreams of would free the markets of all its members to each other. This question cannot even be discussed when Imperial Conferences meet. If it be introduced it is judiciously shelved. But an Anglo-American reunion brings free entry here of all British products as a matter of course. The richest market in the world is opened to Britain free of all duty by a stroke of the pen. No tax can be laid upon products of any part of the Union even for revenue, although under "free trade" such taxes might still exist. What would not trade with the Republic "duty free" mean to the linen, woolen, iron and steel industries of Scotland, to the tin-plate manufacturers of Wales, to the woolen and cotton, coal, iron, cutlery and steel industries of England? It would mean prosperity to every industry in the United Kingdom, and this in turn would mean renewed prosperity to the agricultural interest, now so sorely depressed.

Few except those engaged in manufacturing realize the position of Britain as a manufacturer in regard to the American market. The ocean, which many are still apt to consider a barrier between the two countries, is the very agency which brings them so close and will ultimately bind them together. Coal, iron, steel, and all kinds of merchandise from Britain

reach American ports more cheaply than American manufactures produced within a hundred miles of these ports. Thus the coal, iron, and steel from Glasgow, Hull, Newcastle, or Liverpool, reach the cities of New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Portland more cheaply than the same articles mined or manufactured in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, or Alabama — the land carriage from these States being far greater than the ocean carriage from Great Britain. To the whole Pacific coast Britain is so much nearer in cost as to give her under reunion the complete command of that market. In the event of reunion the American manufacturers would supply the interior of the country, but the great populations skirting the Atlantic seaboard and the Pacific coast would receive their manufactured articles chiefly from Britain. The heavy products are taken from Britain to the United States in many instances as ballast for nothing. The freight charge is generally trifling. I do not hesitate to say that reunion would bring with it such demand for British products as would tax the present capacity of Britain to the utmost, for the products of Continental nations, which now compete so seriously with Britain, would be almost excluded even by a tariff strictly for revenue. There would not be an idle mine, furnace, or factory in the land. The consumption of coal in the United States is already greater than in Britain; of iron and steel it is now fully double. Our consumption of tin-plate exceeds that of all the rest of the world. The imports of British textile fabrics grow year after year. These never were so great as at present. The only nation which is taking more and more of British products is the Republic. The American market is enormous and constantly expanding. It is in vain that people in Britain hope for any radical change in the tariff laws. No party in the United States can or will make many material changes in these. Revenue will continue to be raised by duties upon imports as at present and chiefly upon the fine textile fabrics—the luxuries of the rich. There can be little question that nothing would so certainly ensure the permanent prosperity of Britain as free access to the American market, which can be effected so easily through reunion, which would

also bring with it enhanced value to land as the result of prosperity in all branches of British trade and industry; and were Britain and America again one the American would find the former the best summer home within his reach. Many would purchase such homes there and secure for themselves the delights of a beneficial change of climate and contact with a thousand sources of sweet influences only to be gained in the old home of the race. The prophecy of the Spectator made many years ago, and just repeated, would be fully realised, that the British-American would find the old home his "restful park." It is not going too far to say that every kind of property in the sceptred isle and every business interest would be permanently doubled in value by reunion.

#### FREE TRADE.

I do not shut my eyes to the fact that reunion, bringing free entrance of British products, would cause serious disturbance to many manufacturing interests near the Atlantic coast, which have been built up under the protective system. But, sensitive as the American is said to be to the influence of the dollar, there is a chord in his nature—the patriotic—which is much more sensitive still. Judging from my knowledge of the American manufacturers, there are few who would not gladly make the necessary pecuniary sacrifices to bring about a reunion of the old home and the new. There would be some opposition, of course, from those pecuniarily interested, but this would be silenced by the chorus of approval from the people in general. No private interests, or interests of a class, or of a section of what would then be our common country, would or should be allowed to obstruct a consummation so devoutly to be wished.

If the question be judged in Britain by the material benefits certain to flow from it, never in all her history was such enormous material gain within her reach, and never as much as now has the future position of Britain so urgently required just such an assurance of continued prosperity. The development of manufactures in other lands seriously menaces her future. She has already lost much in cotton manufacture,



which I fear is never to be regained. The product of iron has fallen from nearly nine to less than seven millions of tons. We see decreases written too often in her trade statistics which might be changed to the ebb and flow of industrial affairs, were they not accompanied by startling increases in like branches in competing nations.

#### ARTIFICIAL POSITION OF BRITAIN.

Her position is the most artificial of all nations—lands that cannot grow half enough of food to feed her people, but which produce double the amount of manufactured articles they can consume. Such a nation in order to be secure of her future must have a market for these surplus articles and more land from which to draw food for the people. This is precisely what reunion offers—the most valuable and the most rapidly increasing market in the world for her manufactures, and the richest soil for the production of the food she requires. Reunion restores her to ownership in hundreds of millions of acres of fresh, fertile soil, the like of which is elsewhere unknown, and reopens a market for her manufactures sufficient even to-day to absorb all her surplus.

Reunion will further benefit the United Kingdom in regard to debt and taxation, potent factors in the industrial race of nations. The national debt per capita of the United States amounts to \$14, that of Britain to \$88, that of Canada to \$48. The percentage of taxation in the United States, national, state, and local, to earnings was 5.04 last decade; in the United Kingdom, 9.03—nearly double. When the union is restored it will be upon the basis of uniting also the national debts as they stand, and making all a common obligation of the union, so that the United Kingdom would be relieved at once of the greater portion of its national debt, and of at least one-half of all its present heavy taxation, even if no reduction of expenditure resulted from having one general government, one army and navy instead of two. About one-fourth of all national taxation in recent years in the Republic has gone in payment of debt, and a much greater proportion recently for pensions, both of which are temporary, so that the current

expenses of the general government will after a time not require more than one-half the present amount of taxation.

The only course for Britain seems to be reunion with her giant child, or sure decline to a secondary place, and then to comparative insignificance in the future annals of the English-speaking race, which is to increase so rapidly in America. Heaven forbid that she who has been and yet is so great, and still so deeply revered, should unwisely choose continued separation and tread a by-path apart leading to an inglorious career. Let her statesmen study the situation, therefore, and learn that reunion with her American children is the only sure way to prevent continued decline. Reunited with these, Britain takes a new lease of prosperity; decline is arrested and increase begins.

#### CITIZENSHIP IN THE UNION.

SIXTH.—The influence upon the individual citizen of power in the state, and especially of power used for great and good ends, is immeasurable. The conquering Briton has conquered more and more easily as he has had behind him more and more of a record of achievements of his race. "I am a Roman citizen" was a boast which made him who uttered it not only a greater Roman but a greater man. To develop heroes there must be occasions for heroism. To develop statesmen the state must have a great part to play in the world. Had the Republic remained a mere colony it would never have discovered its Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, and Hancock and what would the world have known of Washington; what part could he have ever played to make him Washington? What would the world have known of that genius Lincoln, the greatest statesman of the century, or of many centuries, had he not been called upon to preserve the Republic, and with a stroke of the pen to make four million slaves freemen? In like manner Hampden, Pym, Eliot, and Cromwell would have remained comparatively obscure men but for the part which it was possible for them to play upon so large a stage as Britain. What the British boy grows to be as a citizen largely depends upon how he is fashioned by knowing and dwelling

upon the history of his country's triumphs and of its leaders in the past. What would the American boy become as a citizen if he had not his Washington and other revolutionary heroes to inspire him, and cause the blood to tingle in his veins as he reads the story of his country's struggle for independence? What kind of a man would the Scotsman be if bereft of the glorious history of his country and its sacrifices for the cause of civil and religion liberty? He is fed upon, and becomes part of, Wallace, Knox, and Burns. Every state should aim to be great and powerful, and noble in the exercise of its power, because power in the state, nobly exercised, is the strongest influence in producing good and patriotic citizens. Every citizen, being a constituent part of the state under democracy, partakes in some measure of its greatness. A small and petty political unity tends to breed small and petty men of all classes; dealing with great affairs broadens and elevates the character. All these and many other considerations plead for reunion.

#### CANADA AND THE UNION.

Let us now consider the position and feelings of the various parts of the English-speaking world towards reunion, beginning with Canada. Canada would undoubtedly favor reunion. She would gladly re-enter a race-federation of which Britian and the United States were again the other members. All objection would be removed if union with the Republic no longer involved separation from the motherland. Every interest in Canada would bound into undreamed-of prosperity the moment reunion came to pass. Every dollar of property would be worth two. But far more important than this, the Canadian, no longer a subordinate colonist, would then have a country of his own to worship, the greatest country ever known, of which he would be a citizen, the equal of others. And not only so, but then he would be more of a man than he can possibly be as a colonist. Consequently, it may be said of Canada, "she is ready "

## THE AMERICAN STATES AND THE UNION.

Touching the United States, we find the American Union constantly adding states. The original thirteen have now swollen to forty-four. Other states, now in process of formation, will soon raise the number to fifty. So quietly are these admissions made that the nation is scarcely aware of them. A convention of the people of a territory decides to ask admission to the Union as a state; Congress passes a bill of a few lines, which the President signs, admitting the new member. Elections are held in the new state for Governor, members of a State Legislature, and officers of the state, and also for representatives and senators. The latter make their appearance in Washington, present their credentials, take the oath and their seat in the national councils. There is nothing more to be done. The state attends to all its internal affairs, and the general government attends to all general matters. The American people are favorable to the extension of national boundaries. No evil, but great good, has come from every succeeding addition to their Union. Therefore, a proposition to reunite Britain and the Republic would not seem anything novel to them. They are used to territorial extension.

The reunion idea would be hailed with enthusiasm. No idea yet promulgated since the formation of the Union would create such unalloyed satisfaction. It would sweep the country. No party would oppose, each would try to excel the other in approval. Therefore, as of Canada, so of the Republic we can say, "She is ready."

Here we have two members out of the three secured. As far as these are concerned, the question might be raised tomorrow. It is only when we approach the old home that we are compelled to recognize that it is not yet ripe for reunion. But this cannot be said even of all of its members. In one of the islands a proposal to become part of the great British-American nation would be hailed with delight. We can safely say of Ireland. "She is ready."



## SCOTLAND AND WALES AND THE UNION.

The position of Scotland in the United Kingdom is that of a small state overshadowed by a great one. She is dissatisfied, and is to-day demanding power to govern herself after her own ideas. Her position as a state among the proposed states of the great reunion would be more desirable, and infinitely more exalted and more independent in every respect, than her present position as a state in the small Union of England, Ireland and Wales. And not one particle would she be less distinctively Scotland than she is Scotland to-day. Indeed she would be more Scotland than she is now Scotland, because the rights which a state in the reunion would hold are the rights of sovereignty. She would be supreme within her borders, with a national Parliament, and full control over her land, her Church, her education, and all her national institutions. She would only surrender to a general Parliament control of certain stated affairs of an international character. After a short campaign of explanation throughout my native land, I am confident we should be able to say of Scotland, "She is ready;" and what Scotland requires is all that Wales requires, when of her we could also say, "She is ready." Her status would also be raised, not depressed, by re-entering the greater Union. Scotland would be more Scotland, Ireland more Ireland. Wales more Wales, than they are at present. What great difference would it make to Wales, Ireland and Scotland if their representatives to the Supreme Council should proceed to Washington instead of to London? Yet this is all the change that would be required, and for this they would have ensured to them all the rights of independent States, and free access to the only market which can make and keep them prosperous.

## ENGLAND AND THE UNION.

The sole remaining member is England, and we confess that much has to be accomplished in the way of change before she can be induced to again accept the headship of the race as the oldest and most revered member in a great

reunion which, however, she could not expect to dominate as she now dominates the present union of the three small States, containing less than one-third of her own population, which constitute with her the United Kingdom. But the greater Union would be one in which, although she should not be all-powerful, yet she would undoubtedly be first, and regarded with all the deference due to age and motherhood.

At first glance, the Briton who considers this question may feel that the proposed reunion would involve the giving up of his separate nationality, with its unequalled history, its triumphs, and all that makes the sceptred isle the object of his love and admiration. There is nothing whatever in this. Not a line of the long scroll would be dimmed, not a word erased. The past cannot be obscured, and the future, under the proposed reunion with the other branches of her own race, may be trusted to be grander than the past, as the power and career of the reunited nation must be greater than that of any of its branches. Officials may be expected to denounce the idea of reunion, fearing that their positions under the new régime would be not less dignified, but less likely to be theirs. But the people of Britain have no cause to fear that anything would be taken from them, and every reason to see that much would be added. We observe in the history of the world that patriotism is ever expansive. Centuries ago, the people of Perugia and Assisi, fifteen miles apart, were deadly enemies, attacked each other, and played at making war and treaties. Even St. Francis was wounded in one of these campaigns. The patriotism of the Perugian and the Assisian could not embrace an area so great as fifteen miles. To-day patriotism stretches over hundreds of miles—in some cases thousands of miles—and does not lose but gain in intensity as it covers a wider area. There is more to be patriotic about. The patriotism of to-day which melts when pushed beyond the shores of the island of Britain may safely be trusted to partake in the near future of the expansive quality. It will soon grow and cover the doings of the race wherever situated, beyond the bounds of the old home. Professor Freeman, under the influence of this wider

and nobler patriotism, has already been compelled to declare:

"He is no Englishman at heart, he has no true feeling of the abiding tie of kindred, who deems that the glory and greatness of the child (Republic) is other than part of the glory and greatness of the parent."

National patriotism or pride cannot, therefore, prove a serious obstacle in the way of reunion.

#### REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT.

It is to be carefully pondered that had separation never occurred it would long since have been necessary for the larger part of the population to be represented in the general Parliament. It is not conceivable that seventy millions of citizens upon one side of the Atlantic would consent to be governed by thirty-eight on the other. If they were so, they would prove themselves most undesirable members of any union. Free-born Britons should have no union with such people. It is because they are British and masterful, and will have equality with other Britons, that it is desirable or even safe to unite with them. Long ere this, therefore, the representatives of seventy millions would be greater in number than the representatives of thirty eight millions; and consequently the condition of England or even Britain in this Greater Britain could not have been that of one member overshadowing all the rest. When reunion takes place no one state can have such power. England would be more powerful than any six of the numerous states; but she would not be more powerful than all combined—nor is it desirable that any one member should be so; if Britain were to stand for this it would be equivalent to saying that even if the American colonies had not seceded, she herself would have seceded from them under the policy of rule or ruin and of refusal to consider her fellow-citizens as political equals.

Numerous as would be the states comprising the reunited nation, each possessing equal rights, still Britain, as the home of the race, would ever retain precedence—first among equals. However great the number of the children who might sit around her in council, there could never be but one mother, and that mother, Britain.

To resolve to enter no federation of the race in which

Britain's vote would not outweigh all the others combined would be to assign to Britain a petty future indeed, since the race cannot increase much in the United Kingdom, and is certain to be soon numbered by hundreds of millions in America. "Think what we lost when we lost you," said a Britain recently to an American. "Ah," replied the American, "but just think what we lost." "What did you lose?" "Britain," was the reply. This was true; the loss was mutual—as the gain from reunion will be mutual. Each in losing itself will regain the other.

#### IMPEDIMENTS TO REUNION.

The impediments to reunion may here be mentioned and considered, and let no man imagine that I write as a partisan in dealing with these questions. I know no party in this great argument either in America or in Britain. Whatever obstructs reunion I oppose; whatever promotes reunion I favor. I judge all political questions from this standpoint. All party divisions sink into nothingness in my thoughts compared with the reunion of our race.

#### (A.) THE COLONIAL EMPIRE.

First among these impediments, then, is the great colonial empire, upon which Britain justly dwells with pride. The colonial, however, is a mere temporary stage in the development of nations. All colonies which prosper and grow ultimately develop into independent states. These always have done so, and they always will. It is certain that Australasia will have a new confederation if she fulfils the expectations of many as to her future growth. If, however, she does not increase in the future faster than she has been doing for some time, she will no doubt long remain as at present under the protectorate of the old land. There would be no objection to her remaining under the protection of the reunion. The numerous small settlements and dependencies could in like manner also remain. There is, therefore, no valid obstacle in the colonial feature.

## (B.) THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

India, with its grave responsibilities, remains. No branch of the race now clear of any share in these would willingly consent to become a partner in them. India, called the "Brightest Jewel in the Crown," may be "red" again some day. My experience in India, travelling as an American, gave me an insight into the forces and aspirations of its people which the citizen of the conquering nation is never permitted to obtain. The wisest and most cautious statesmanship alone can lead in peace the two hundred and eighty millions of India to self-government; and much has been done by the education of the people to render the bestowal of self-government upon them inevitable. British occupation of that vast country is necessarily temporary. Britain will ere long be relieved from its dangerous position there. The right of self-government will be granted to the people, who will be ready upon short notice to establish themselves as an independent power. There is really no longer any decided advantage to the parent land in colonies, or in dependencies like India, since there has been conferred upon these freedom of trade with all nations and the right to tax imports, even from the parent land. Britain retains the trade of these regions because she can best supply their wants, and this she could do just as completely were they independent. Trade pays no attention to flags; it follows the lowest price current. India, therefore, can soon be placed upon the road to independence, and the British-American Union would guide it to this as well as the present Union of the United Kingdom.

## (C.) BRITAIN AND EUROPEAN QUESTIONS.

The position of Britain in regard to European questions, which might alarm America, is rapidly changing. The doctrine of non-intervention is strong enough, even to-day, to give her practical immunity from participation in European wars. Were Britain part of the reunited State all that she would be interested about in Europe would be fully secured; namely, the protection of her own soil and the command of the seas. No balance of power, no occupation of Egypt, or any similar

question would be of the slightest importance. The reunited nation would be prompt to repel any assault upon the soil or the rights of any of its parts.

#### (D.) MONARCHICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

The monarchical form of government is admittedly a cause of disunion, but this form is not eterne. Scarcely a session of Parliament passes which does not in some department bring about an assimilation of political institutions to those of Canada and the United States. It is recognized by all that Britain is no longer a government of the few, but has really become in substance a democracy. A House of hereditary legislators is of all present institutions probably destined to have the shortest life in Britain. The House of Lords is not effective as a legislative chamber, even to-day. With its abolition or reform the question of maintaining an hereditary head of the state will follow. The opinion is often expressed in Britain that the Prince of Wales is probably to be the last official sitting by hereditary right. It is said that this opinion has been expressed by the Prince himself. From what wise friends who know the Prince tell me, I am persuaded that he is the last man in the world to stand in the way of healing a separation which he so constantly deplores; and unless the estimate formed by all of the patriotism, virtues, and character of Her Majesty herself be strangely awry, she would give up much beyond her crown to be the peacemaker who brought reunion to her race. Strange almost beyond explanation is the fact that this woman, from one point of view bereft of political power, a mere instrument in the hands of her elected ministers, nevertheless is in this omnipotent. She is the only one who could by a sublime act reunite the separated branches of her race. Never in the history of the world has it been in the power of any human being to perform so great an act, or to secure so commanding a place among "the immortal few who were not born to die." All the saints in the calendar would give place to St. Victoria were Providence to favor her by calling her to perform a mission so fraught with blessing to her people and to the world. There would be but two names set apart for ever in the annals of the English-speaking race—



names farther beyond all other names than any name now known to man is beyond that of all his fellows—Victoria and Washington—patron saints of our race; he, the conquerer, who manlike drew the sword in righteous quarrel; she, womanlike, the angel of peace and reconciliation; each adding lustre to the other and equal in power and glory.

For such a mission and such a destiny even Queen Victoria on bended knee might pray.

In England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales a proposition to make all officials elective by the people after Victoria passes away—which God grant may be long is the prayer of every American—would command a heavy vote. It is thought by many that the majority for the abolition of hereditary legislators would be great indeed in all the members of the United Kingdom. Before the question of reunion is ripe for settlement in England there will remain no trace of hereditary privilege. As the Scotsman newspaper some years ago so well said: "Democracy means, and rightly means, that privilege shall cease."

#### (E) THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

There remains the question of the Established Church, which at present would create an insuperable obstacle to reunion; but it has already been abolished in one of the members of the United Kingdom, and is about to be abolished in another; and it is only a question of a few years ere it be also abolished in Scotland.

This leaves us again with only England as the obstructive member to reunion; but as with the House of Lords, the Colonial System, and the Monarchy, so with the Established Church, even in England. What has been adopted in three members of the United Kingdom will finally be adopted in the fourth. The tendency of the age is fatal to making any sect the favorite of the state. Equal protection to all, favor to none, is the doctrine in regard to religious bodies. The question of an Established Church in the one member, England, therefore, will not exist to prevent reunion.

## REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE.

We might from one point of view consider the idea of "Imperial Federation" an obstacle to reunion, but it is really a help, for the discussion of that question can only pave the way for the acceptance of the only desirable federation. It needs only to be pointed out to Britain that, granted Imperial Federation acquired, she would obtain little or no extension of markets, and could then only hope to be a member of a union which comprised a very small portion of the race. The growth of the English speaking race during the last ten years is ominous when considered in its bearing upon the Imperial Federation idea. In 1880 a federation of England and her colonies would have contained 42,308,843 people. The population of the Republic at that time was 50,155,783. Contrast now these figures with those of 1890. Imperial Federation would have embraced in 1890, 46,437,974. The population of the Republic was then 62,622,250. Thus in ten short years the American Republic had added twelve and a half millions to its populations; the members of the proposed "Imperial Federation" only four and a quarter millions. The United Kingdom increased only 2,638,000, Canada only 508,000, Australasia—Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales, New Zealand, Tasmania, &c.; combined—only 1,024,193; sundry small settlements the remainder.

Let it be assumed that the two branches increase in the same proportion as for the last ten years, and

1900 will show:—Imperial Federation . . .	50,600,000
The Republic . . .	78,100,000
1910 will show:—Imperial Federation . . .	55,600,000
The Republic . . .	97,600,000
1920 will show:—Imperial Federation . . .	61,100,000
The Republic . . .	122,000,000
1930 will show:—Imperial Federation . . .	67,200,000
The Republic . . .	152,500,000
1940 will show:—Imperial Federation . . .	73,900,000
The Republic . . .	190,600,000

This will be the result only fifty years hence, when men now in manhood will still be living.

If the estimate be carried forward for fifty years more, making the complete century, the figures will stand:

Imperial Federation . . . . .	119,000,000
The Republic . . . . .	581,000,000

We have considered here the two parts---Republic and Empire---as two solid bodies, the increase of the Republic, 1880 to 1890, having been 24.84 per cent., the Empire's average increase, 10 per cent; the United Kingdom's increase - 8.17---has been of course less than the average, Canada's increase, 11 per cent., just one per cent. above the average, and Australasia's percentage of increase much higher, 39 per cent. It is not probable that any of the parts in either Empire or Republic will maintain the past rate of increase. Especially is it considered improbable by experts that the United Kingdom can increase much, since other countries are becoming better able to supply their own wants. Australasia has only added one million in ten years, and this chiefly in the first years of the decade. Her future, as the home of a great population, is not yet considered quite clear. Canada, under present conditions, is not likely to do more than maintain her slow rate of increase. The Republic seems likely to more nearly keep up its present rate of increase than the others, so that it is quite safe to assume that at least the relative difference between Imperial Federation and the United States, here indicated, will be maintained.

#### POPULATION OF THE REUNION.

If Britain, America and Canada were to reunite to-day, the population of the reunion would be one hundred and eight millions. All the other parts of the English-speaking race would not number five millions. It is into such a complete race reunion of her people that the door is now wide open for the parent land to enter and take first place---first among equals. In view of this high destiny---hers for the asking---who is he among her citizens who can sit down and deliberately plan for his country such a future as these figures prove would be hers under Imperial Federation? I cannot understand how any true Briton can so far forget what is due to the mother land; no patriot surely can or will longer connect himself with

a movement which has for its aim so miserable an end. If the Imperial Federationist be willing to unite with a few millions of people at the Antipodes, who will not even entertain the idea of imports under free trade, much less "duty free," what objection can he raise to reunion with the main body of our race, only five days' sail from his shores, who offer not free trade only, which allows taxes upon imports for revenue, but entrance of everything duty free. I confidently appeal to the sterling patriotism which animates the Imperial Federationists, and inspires them with ardent wishes for the future of their land, to discard the narrow idea which tends to defeat their dearest hope. I beseech them to come with us who seek the reunion of all.

In the affairs of nations as well as in those of individuals there is a tide which not taken at the flood swings the ship of state from the main channel into the shoals and eddies where future progress is impossible.

It may confidently be expected there will arise in Britain a strong public sentiment protesting against the effort of some to relegate her to a subordinate role through an Imperial Federation which fails to federate the mass of the race.

From a review of the present position of the question we find that even to-day we can say Canada, the United States, and Ireland are ready for reunion; that Scotland presents no great difficulty; neither does Wales, and both have everything to gain and nothing to lose by reunion; and that the causes of continued disunion which admittedly exist in England are rapidly vanishing and are all melting away like snow in the sunshine; the colonial empire, the Indian question, European entanglements present no insuperable obstacle, and hereditary privilege and a national Church are doomed. The present generation is to find several of these obstructions abolished; the succeeding generation probably is to find no trace of any of them.

#### THE OLD QUARREL SHOULD BE HEALED.

The ground thus cleared in the only member in which it is now encumbered, there is presented to us the spectacle of three branches of the race, Britain, Canada, and America, formerly

united and now enjoying similar institutions but remaining disunited. We seek in vain for any reason why the old quarrel should not be healed, why those separated by a difference which no longer exists should not let the dead past bury its dead, and once more unite as part of one great whole, just as the two parts of the Republic, plunged into civil war by the question of slavery, have again united in bonds more loving and more enduring than ever; just as Scotland and England, after long wars and separate existence, have been united to the incalculable advantage of both. Just as the provinces of Canada have united all the three branches in one Dominion, having had in their own histories experience of the evils and cost of separation and likewise of the advantages flowing from union. That each should now consider a reunion on a greater scale, and yet only a repetition of what each has already made upon a smaller scale, seems the most natural thing in the world. The residents of any member of the reunited nation will be nearer in time to the common centre than the residents of the north of Scotland were to London at the time of the Union; nearer than the residents of the extremities of the Republic were to Philadelphia when the Federal Union was formed. And in addition to this the citizen in any part of the new federation, by means of the telegraph, really will sit within the precincts of the Capitol; almost, it might be said, within hearing of the proceedings of the national councils. Properly viewed, the reunion of Briton, American, and Canadian will be less of a step forward than was the union of Scotland and England, the union of the provinces of Canada, or the American union, the parts to be reunited by such a federation being in every true sense nearer together, and the new empire more compact, than were the parts of either of these three unions at the date of their origin.

#### MEANS BY WHICH REUNION IS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED.

The means by which reunion is to be accomplished are ready to hand. There is sitting at this moment in Paris a conference composed of delegates from London, Ottawa, and Washington charged by the three branches of our race to

obtain a satisfactory basis for the preservation of the seals in Behring Sea. After their task has been concluded, the same distinguished men, each among the foremost citizens of the respective branches, could meet in London and suggest a basis for restoring the union which only a century ago so happily existed between Britain, Canada, and America, and made them one nation. It would be so easy a task that its very simplicity amazes and renders us incredulous, but most of the important successes and most valuable discoveries have been remarkable for this very feature.

As easy as Le Cling's setting types, as easy as Franklin's drawing the lightning down, as Newton's divining the meaning of a falling apple, or Galileo of a swinging lamp, or Watts the raising of a kettle lid by the force of the escaping steam, as Spencer's survival of the fittest, as Darwin's origin of species, as Columbus sailing westward, or the making of the American Constitution—the Gordian knot is always easily cut, so easily that the only wonder is that it was not done before. Nothing mysterious, elaborate, or difficult reaches to the root, and changes the face of the world, or the trend of events. The road always lies broad, open, straight, obvious to all transcendent successes; there is no hidden, tortuous, and narrow path to anything truly great. Some day, therefore, delegates from the three now separate branches will meet in London and readily agree upon and report for approval and ratification a basis for the restoration of an indissoluble union of indestructible states.

This may all seem Utopian, but we have had many prophetic voices, concerning both Britain and America, more than fulfilled, which were at the time of their inspired utterance much wilder than anything herein suggested. It may be all a dream and I but a mere dreamer of dreams. So be it. But if it be true that he who always dreams accomplishes nothing, so also is it none the less true that he who never dreams is equally barren of achievement. And if it be a dream, it is a dream nobler than most realities. If it is never to be realised, none the less it should be realised, and shame to those come after us if it be not. I believe it will be, for



all progress is upon its side. All that tends to the brotherhood of man tends to promote it. The tendency of the age is towards consolidation. We have behind us and with us, urging its consummation, all the mighty forces of civilization. The Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World have already been hailed by the poet, and these mean a step much farther in advance of the proposed reunion of Britain and America than that reunion is in advance of the Canadian Confederation, of the American Union, or of the Union of England and Scotland, all already accomplished.

Readers will kindly note that this A Look Ahead—how far ahead I shall not attempt to guess—nevertheless it is ahead, and some time; somehow, it is to come to pass. I see it with the eye of faith, the faith of the devotee which carries with it a realizing sense of certain fulfilment.

Time may dispel many pleasing illusions and destroy many noble dreams, but it shall never shake my belief that the wound caused by the wholly unlooked for and undesired separation of the mother from her child is not to bleed for ever.

Let men say what they will, therefore, I say that as surely as the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the reunited state, "The British-American Union."





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