

## SOME IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE JUBILEE.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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CERTAINLY the world has never seen such a procession as that which traversed the streets of London upon the 22d day of June in commemoration of the blessings showered upon the motherland under the reign of Queen Victoria. Nor has the history of man anything so surprising as that a little island should hold sway over one-fourth of the population, and one-seventh of the entire surface, of the globe, with thirty parliaments scattered throughout the world, all under the ægis of her crown. Nothing in fiction seems more incredible; nevertheless, the solid fact is before our eyes. This procession brought it home to all. Here one woman, the Queen, was preceded and followed by representatives of subjects owning her sway, who number more than three hundred millions, men of many races from many climes, white, brown and black.

Nor is the world likely to see anything like this again. After viewing such a spectacle no one can question that our English-speaking race is the spreading, colonizing, conquering race of the world, for it is not to be lost sight of that the other branch of that race has not been idle during the sixty years under review. The rapid expansion of the British Empire is paralleled by that of the Republic. The narrow strip along the Atlantic coast occupied by less than fifteen millions of people in 1837 has crept onward to the Pacific, and the fifteen have increased to seventy-two millions. The vital difference is that while the American commonwealth remains compact and united under one central government, the British is scattered over the face of the earth, with thirty practically independent governments, each legislating for its own area. Our race has the earth-hunger and the ability to develop, civilize, and rule. Wherever it goes, it establishes

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government by law, free speech, free press, free education, and "executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed." It is rapidly creeping over the best portions of the earth.

The most weighty feature of the Diamond Jubilee was admittedly the attendance of the eleven premiers from the self-governing colonies. The most important results are to flow from this. Indeed, one startling result has already come, for up to the time when these premiers appeared upon the scene in the old home, the position of the colonies was subordinate; to-day they are on an equality with the home country. The people of Canada and Australia have to thank their representatives for having at one bound established their equality forever. One and all of these men have sounded this note with the greatest clearness. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada, having been first to arrive and speak, is entitled to the credit of first proclaiming the doctrine. In his speech in reply to the welcome given him at Liverpool he said: "We claim that treaties which are opposed to us cannot stand. If they do I have only this to say, that the position will have to be considered *in toto*, a new problem will have to be solved. Either Canada will have to retreat or Britain will have to advance." At the Imperial Institute reception he repeated this truth, saying: "Sir, the colonies were born to become nations. It has been said that, perhaps, the time might come when Canada might become a nation of itself. My answer is simple. Canada is a nation. Canada is free, and freedom is its nationality. Although Canada acknowledges the suzerainty of a Sovereign Power, I am here to say that independence can give us no more rights than we have at the present day." He subsequently stated that while he loved England, Scotland, and Ireland, the first place in his affections was naturally for his own *nation*, Canada. Every premier followed this lead, and finally Lord Rosebery at the National Liberal Club reception to these important men, responding to the toast of the colonies, begged to discard the word "Colonies" altogether as denoting that these free communities were still in *statu pupillare*, and he substituted the word "Empire," a suggestion which was greeted with great cheering. The leading Conservative organs, from *The Times* and *Standard* down, have accepted the change. It is clear to all that the colonies are, and must

hereafter be, recognized as the equals of the parent. Henceforth the colonies acknowledge only the suzerainty of Britain, as Egypt or Roumania owns that of the Sultan. We must credit the poet, Kipling, with having struck the note which all these men sang :

"Daughter am I in my mother's house,  
But mistress in my own."

The American cannot fail to note how completely the revolution of 1776 is justified by recent events. The British liberties which Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Jay, Adams stood for, their constitutional rights as Britons, and their claim that taxation without representation was tyranny,—all these are the commonplaces of to-day, as the inalienable right of the British colonies under the British Constitution. This is the registration and final settlement of a condition which existed before, but which had never before been frankly acknowledged.

It must not be supposed that this step forward involves a loosening of the ties which have hitherto bound the colonies to the motherland. On the contrary, there is every indication that the bond between them is to grow even stronger in consequence. The colonies are free to go ; the movement for a federated Australia is encouraged by Britain, but the example of Canada under federation proves that the attachment to the motherland becomes stronger as the government of the colony becomes more powerful. It is no legal bond now which holds, but bonds of affection. Whether the English-speaking communities divided by vast oceans can permanently exist and retain even a nominal allegiance to Britain is yet to be tested ; but it is evident that as the sway becomes more and more merely nominal, it becomes much easier to maintain it than if it were real. It is hard to displace the sentimental. For the future, the allegiance of the free colonies to the parent land is practically similar to the allegiance of the British people to the monarch whose sway is likewise so purely nominal. The king can do no wrong because he is not allowed to do anything in the way of governing. As long as Britain is blessed with a monarch approaching the present sovereign lady in qualities of head and heart, who follows the example she has set, the bond of genuine affection will keep the monarchy in place. A George the Third or George the Fourth would bring about its prompt but peaceful abolition. In

like manner, it seems that the nominal tie between the free colonies and Britain will outlast almost every contingency except that of an attempt upon the part of Britain to exercise any real control over them in the matter of government. As Queen Victoria has placed the monarchy in the best possible position to survive, so the statesmen of the colonies and of Britain have placed the relations between the colonies and Britain in the best possible position. The Briton is a prudent, wise and sensible man who knows how to adapt himself to circumstances.

The question of closer union between Britain and her "Comrades"—a fitting word which we owe to Sir Henry Irving, and which was also greeted with much cheering—came also to the fore during the Jubilee, but no result was achieved. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's idea of a Federal Council was voted impracticable. There was some intimation that under certain circumstances the colonies might contribute to imperial defense, especially to the navy. But if this be done, it is evident that the amount will only be nominal in each case, and a very difficult question must be met, to what extent the contributors shall be allowed to control the movements of the navy in time of war. As the relations between the parts is one of sympathy and affection, and essentially sentimental, it will be exceedingly difficult to transmute the sentimental into anything practical of a hard and fast nature involving stated pecuniary obligations. For every note struck proved that the colonies are in nowise minded to participate in any common object without having adequate representation and power. It is probable that the good sense of the British people will soon realize that the more closely or tightly they attempt to draw the bonds, the weaker and less trustworthy the bonds must become, and they will conclude that they had better let well enough alone for the present.

After Australia has confederated, an offensive and defensive alliance between Canada and Australia on the one hand, and Britain on the other, would be natural, as they are members of the same race, and especially as they occupy to each other the relation of parent and children. This alliance would leave each an entirely separate nation as to its tariff, naval and military forces and internal policy, and unite them only for certain specific objects bearing upon imperial safety.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier of Canada, was the foremost

figure in the whole Jubilee proceedings, next to the Queen herself, and this chiefly because of the threat Canada has made against the United States to introduce preferential tariff conditions in favor of Britain. If Mr. Chamberlain, the principal home figure of the government in the Jubilee, and some of his ablest colleagues who are not likely to be deceived, fully understand that the action of Canada was merely intended to influence the United States to advance in the direction of meeting Canada's needs and desires in the new tariff, they were wise enough not to air their knowledge. It would have been as impolite as impolitic for them to do so.

The masses of the people of Britain do not follow foreign affairs, which are left in the hands of the few governing men of both parties. The public remains satisfied that the policy of the country in foreign affairs is to be continuous, whichever party is in power, and therefore it is impossible to direct their attention to what is going on. They have little idea, for instance, that Canada had been begging at Washington for reciprocal tariff laws with the United States and had been repulsed. The United States exports manufactured articles to Canada, and Canada exports to the United States timber, coal, barley and agricultural products. As it has hitherto been held impossible for Canada to admit the manufactured articles of the United States upon more favorable terms than those granted to Britain and European countries, President Harrison very justly described the situation by saying that "Canada could offer us nothing to trade with." Thus repulsed, Canada attempted to create a diversion by offering preferential treatment to Great Britain, alleging that she did so in return for Great Britain's admitting her products free, which no other country did except New South Wales. Had Canada then felt herself in a position to accord such preferential treatment to imports from the United States, it is probable that an adjustment between the two countries would have taken place, and nothing would have been heard of the present law which accords preferential treatment to the manufactures of Great Britain. As she failed to obtain the desired American market, she is now trying to make a counter demonstration with the market of Great Britain, which is doomed to failure, because nothing but the market of her giant neighbor can bring her even a moderate degree of prosperity.

Previous to the Jubilee no one thought it possible that Great Britain would cancel her treaties with Belgium and Germany in order to meet the demand for independence made by Canada. These treaties secure the two countries named against any discrimination in tariffs; their products gain admission to all the colonies upon the same terms as the products of Great Britain. Now the necessary notice has been given to terminate these treaties, and we are to see the manufactures of Great Britain entering Canada under duties twenty-five per cent. less than those exacted from other nations, including the United States. It is a grave step. The new Dingley tariff taxes Canadian products entering the United States, but it is clear that further action in reply to the discrimination now established will be required. Here is our neighbor, Canada, deliberately electing to admit the products of Great Britain at lower duties than she proposes to exact from the United States, while the United States treats Canada in precisely the same manner as other nations. The products of Canada are not discriminated against. We tax her imports precisely as we tax similar articles from any other country. The question arises: Are we meekly to suffer our products to be discriminated against by our neighbor, while we accord her equality? The proper response would probably be to prohibit Canadian imports passing through the United States territory in bond, and a law adding to the duties upon Canadian imports into the United States a percentage equal to any preference given by Canada to British manufactures. At present the manufactures of Great Britain pass through Maine into Canada paying twenty-five per cent. less than similar articles passing from the United States direct into Canada. President McKinley may be safely trusted to consider this new attack, and to take the necessary steps to repel it. In electing to ally herself commercially with a European nation instead of with her neighbor upon her own continent, Canada has made a grave mistake. Least of all nations can she afford to inaugurate a war of tariffs with her natural ally, to whom she must gravitate if she would not decay.

The surprising point is that not one line has been written nor one word spoken in Britain upon the vital feature of this momentous change, which is that by it the colonies of Great Britain obtain complete control over their fiscal policy. Hitherto

they have been included in the tariff treaties of Great Britain; now they are permitted to act alone as independent nations. In short, the treaty-making power has been conferred upon them, as far as commercial relations go. Canada is now in a position to visit Washington and propose a change from preference given to the British to preference given to the American product. She is free and independent. What the parent country does in treaties henceforth affects the parent country alone. This attitude Canada has long desired to reach, notably in the case of the International Copyright Law. When the market of the British Empire was exchanged for the market of the United States, Canada demurred, as will be remembered, and protested against the Canadian market being treated for by any party but Canada herself. Now, there is no question of her right. The step which Britain has taken cancelling her treaties with Belgium and Germany, which denied that right to the colonies, settles the matter. Those who know the position of Canada, and especially those who have studied Mr. Goldwin Smith's remarkable and final book upon the question of its commercial relations, know full well that the present preference given to British manufacturers can amount to little, and that no market but that of the United States can be made worth much to Canada. It is only a question of time, therefore, when one of the political parties there will raise the cry, and succeed in carrying the policy, of reciprocal intercourse with its natural market. Free trade between the United States and Canada is not far distant, and Premier Laurier may fairly be credited with winning one of the greatest triumphs of modern statesmanship. He has accomplished more in one short week for his native land than all her statesmen during their lives. Not since Lord Durham's report, which culminated in the Dominion, has anything been done for Canada so great as thus securing for her the undoubted right to make her own commercial treaties, a right which must now become, of course, the right of every other self-governing colony. Britain is soon to find that this preferential idea in the case of Canada is a two-edged sword which can be used to cut the United States slightly now, and Britain seriously by and by. When next Canada appears at Washington, and it will not be long till then, she will indeed have "something to trade with."

The winning of complete independence and equality by the



communities which have hitherto been known as colonies, and their promotion to the rank of nations, with the treaty-making power for preferential fiscal relations with other nations, is the one overshadowing result of the Jubilee. The consequences to flow from it are portentous. It makes an epoch in the history of colonization.

Second to this is its effect upon the home rule idea.

There was but one discordant note throughout the whole Jubilee proceedings. From every one of the colonies and dependencies of Britain came the same loyal and devoted note of patriotic and enthusiastic affection; but from one portion of Her Majesty's dominions, and that an integral portion of the United Kingdom itself, there came the note of discontent. Ireland stood apart. As a political move this, undoubtedly, was well, for no occasion could possibly arise which would give Ireland an opportunity to bring home to her governors and to the world the solemn truth that the reign of Queen Victoria had not been satisfactory to her. "Strange," the American says, "that while the fact has been proclaimed at every banquet, with universal acceptance, that the secret of the loyalty to the Empire of the far distant peoples lay in their having been allowed to govern themselves, after their own fashion, it is not immediately seen that home rule for Ireland must . . . produce like results!" Ireland was the skeleton at the feast, but although no official of the government took notice of the lesson which its presence taught, it must not be inferred that it was not seen and its presence keenly felt. Next to the equality of the colonies, which this Jubilee sealed, may be placed the triumph of the home rule cause for Ireland. Mr. Balfour, the leader of the House of Commons, some time ago intimated that Ireland was at last to have a measure of local government, and his able second, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, since the Jubilee, has gone to much greater lengths in the same direction. The measure will be different in name and form from that of Mr. Gladstone, but the Irish hereafter will have freedom substantially to manage their own affairs. It is safe to prophesy that sixty years hence at any jubilee similar to that which has just past, Ireland will be found as loyal as Scotland, for she is soon to receive what the far-seeing Gladstone saw she must obtain and desired to give her. The substance though not the form will be



given by the Conservatives, but history is to award to Mr. Gladstone the credit of first recognizing in the case of Ireland that

"When force and gentleness play for a Kingdom  
The gentle gamester will the sooner win."

The British Empire could not exist a day but for the effect of the home rule federal system, which proves that the freest government of the parts makes the strongest government of the whole.

The absence of Mr. Gladstone from the Jubilee proceedings was generally noted and commented upon freely in tones of regret, and even of indignation. Some went so far as to suggest that Her Majesty might well have invited the statesman of more than sixty years' reign to occupy a seat at her side in her carriage; but these were Americans. The Briton could not go so far as to wish that the sovereign should have called any subject, however eminent, to her side. She must shine alone in her glory: it is she who in her own person symbolizes the Empire. But the eighty-eight-year-old statesman, who has done more than all the other Prime Ministers of Her Majesty's reign combined to make that reign illustrious, was not forgotten. He remained conspicuous by his absence.

The third important result of the Jubilee was the display of Britain's sea power, which was impressive beyond description. No one who saw the naval review will have any doubt as to the supremacy of Britain upon the sea. Even the imagined alliance of France, Germany, and Russia would be unable to cope with her upon that element. Indeed, the combined fleets of Europe would probably be destroyed by the united, compact, energetic fleet of Britain, especially since we take into account the capacity of Britain to replace the losses of war. The numerous ships of war already on the sea, and the enormous number now building, give the world due notice that Britannia means to continue ruling the waves. Americans may be apt to consider that this involves a great strain upon her resources, but the fact remains that her revenues swell year after year, and that although she is spending five hundred millions of dollars per annum, she has a surplus of revenue this year of twenty-five millions. Her wealth is amazing. Crowded into this little island, not as large as one of several of our States, there is something approaching the entire wealth of our forty-five States. Public sentiment applauds, indeed forces successive governments

to increase the navy, because it is now universally recognized that the control of the sea is essential to the existence of the nation which cannot feed itself, but is compelled to draw one-half of all it consumes from foreign lands. Ships bringing food to Britain destroyed or even delayed would be equivalent to the capture of the country; for her starving people would compel acceptance of any terms the conqueror might see fit to impose. Whether Conservative or Liberal party be in power, we may conclude that the navy of Britain will be kept equal to meet any possible combination of European powers against her.

The principal figure of the Jubilee, Queen Victoria herself, and the position she has gained and will hold to the end of her days, is worthy of study. It is not possible for any American, however well informed of British affairs, to quite understand the feelings with which this human being is now regarded. If he can imagine "Old Glory" and old Ironsides, Washington and Lincoln, Bunker Hill, and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," rolled into one force, and personified in a woman, he may form some conception of the feelings of the average Briton for "The Queen," for she in her own person symbolizes to-day the might and majesty of the land, and its long, varied, and glorious history from the beginning. "The Queen" means everything that touches and thrills the patriotic chord. That both as a woman and a sovereign she has deserved the unique tribute paid her goes without saying; the wildest Radical, or even Republican, will concur in this. Sixty years of unremitting work—she still signs every state paper herself, including lieutenants' commissions in the militia—prudence, patience, and rare judgment have made of this good, able, energetic, managing, and very wise woman a saint, whom her subjects are as little capable and as little disposed to estimate critically, as the American schoolboy can imagine or is disposed to imagine Washington as possessed of human frailties. Washington, Tell, Wallace, Bruce, Lincoln, Queen Victoria or Margaret are the stuff of which heroes or saints are made, and well it is for the race that the capacity for hero-worship and for saint-worship remains with both Briton and American wholly unimpaired.

When a nation ceases to create ideals its glorious days are past. Fortunately for the world, both the Republic and the Monarchy have the future before them.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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### THE TENURE OF THE TEACHER'S OFFICE.

OF the various questions now being discussed by the educational world of to-day, there is none of such grave importance as that relating to the permanence of the teacher's position. All who have had experience in the school-room can testify that the greatest hindrance to successful work on the part of both teacher and pupil is the fact that soon as the present term is done, in all probability a new teacher will be employed, and a change of methods and plans come in with him. This is unjust to both the new teacher and the old, for each must use his own judgment, and the pupils are slow to lay aside the habits learned from the first and take up the ways of the second teacher. Not only that, but much actual damage is done by delaying their progress until the new teacher can classify the scholars, and much more time is lost while he is learning their individual dispositions.

It is acknowledged by all thinking persons that the best efforts of the laborer are not put forth if he is doubtful of his reward; if he cannot reap, neither will he sow. This principle is so well understood by employers that, as far as possible, the position of the laborer, whether he works with hand or brain, is made permanent. But while this is true in general, in the teacher's ranks all is uncertainty. A school principal or superintendent is often regarded as fortunate if he stays the second year, and most fortunate if he remains a third. "You are becoming a fixture, four years here," is a remark sometimes heard when a teacher has overrun his time. Notice the unconscious irony, "a fixture," and "four years."

Now, is there any reason why, if a man has done good work for one year, he cannot do better for another? If he has been four or five years in the school, is he not worth more than ever before to that school, and to the community as well? Yet in accordance with a custom which has come down to us from time immemorial, teachers are compelled to give place to others, who have no knowledge of the needs of the school or of the individual pupils. A merchant who would change clerks as often as some schools do superintendents, would not be regarded as capable of managing his own business.

It is probable that a change of superintendents puts back the work of the school for six months, and of grade teachers in proportion. The first change is the worst, for with it often the whole economy of the school changes—to the infinite loss of all concerned. Yet the people persist in this old custom for no other reason than that it is an old custom, and never seem to think but it's the thing to do.

It is hard work to change the established order of things, so the teach-