

free and untrammelled speech, but in the interest of a free and untrammelled development for Canada. "The individual withers, and the *nation* is more and more." The destiny of Canada no individual man may hope to make or unmake; but it is nevertheless the duty, as it may be within the power of each of us, in some measure, to shape the forces of the time that the highest good may come to the country, and that the hearts of the people may be stayed with a real and strenuous faith in its future.

Canada's material progress is recorded in columns of statistics: what is the measure of her intellectual and moral progress? In the term intellectual we include not only the creations of the intellect, given expression to in literary form, but the growth and development of ideas, and the working out of these in the formative life of the nation—the highest mark of intellectual activity. The country as a group of confederated Provinces, has not only just attained its majority, but is to-day within fifteen years of celebrating the ter-centenary of its birth. That far-back event saw it a colony in the cradle of France: to-day sees it still a colony in the cradle of Britain. There are some advantages that belong to the colonial condition as there are some advantages that adhere to the cradling stage. If unduly prolonged, however, these advantages become disadvantages—the colony remains the infant colony, and the inmate of the cradle becomes the dwarf or man-infant. We are fond of pointing to Confederation as the period when Canada issued from a state of pupilage, and became "a nation." If we are justified in this view of the era, let us see what are the marks of transition from a colony. Here is what was said of the condition of Canada shortly after Confederation was accomplished; let us look for a moment at the picture. The writer is Captain Butler, an observant English traveller, who in his "Great Lone Land" apostrophizes our grand country, but bewails the absence of patriotism, and the evidences of inertness and self-seeking. He saw, he says: "Your own politicians for years too timid to grasp the limits of your possible future, parties everywhere in your Provinces, and of every kind except a native party; no breadth, no depth, no earnest striving to make you great among the nations, each one for himself and no one for the country; men fighting for a sect, for a Province, for a nationality; but no one for the nation." The picture, it must be admitted, was true then; is it otherwise than true now? Have we made any determined effort to reclaim politics from the mire into which it was then sunk, and to elevate it to a clean, a reputable, and a patriotic pursuit? Are not the cliques, the factions, the political wirepullers, the hangers-on of the lobby, and the partisans of a Province, of a race, of a creed, still with us? Are not elections still carried by a scandalous expenditure of money? Are not Provinces held within the Dominion, if not by the bribe of "better terms," by corrupt expenditure on the part of the Government on railways and public works? Is the integrity of

all our public men such as to command our confidence and respect? If there is any doubt on these matters, and knowing the real character of our politics, is there a voice heard advocating the obliteration of party, and the abandonment of every organization, whatever its shibboleth, that makes politics merchantable, degrades public life, and sears the conscience of the country? And of the country at large, is there any real pulling together, not for the grasping objects of sectionalism or of sordid individual gain, but for the nation and the nation's sole and supreme interests?

All this, however, may be said to be too sweeping an indictment, and too pessimistic a view of our political morality. Supposing we admit this, though the facts, we fear, warrant the limning of such a picture, yet can any one, particularly at the present juncture of Canadian affairs, say that the national outlook is a hopeful one, or that the country has an assuring confidence that its administration and direction nationward is on the highest and noblest lines of advancement, and that it is weaving for itself the best political and social outfit for the future? Is there, among the different sections of the Dominion, a common ground on which to unite and weld our people together as a nation, or is there even an aspiration shared in common? Are not the Provinces still isolated from each other, full of jealousies and estrangements, and absorbed in the selfish struggle for local rights? If these are facts, what do they denote, but that they are the fruits of a provincial, not of a national, existence?

Nor do we find the prospect more encouraging when we look at our purely intellectual development. We are still content, almost in every line, to derive our mental culture second-hand. Our intellectual condition has not yet got rid of the marks of a colonial and provincial state. Our copyright laws are not our own; and on every side they handicap literary effort, and dwarf publishing enterprise. In treaty making we are still an infant community, and our deference to Downing Street, if not as slavish as when the country was struggling for the rights of self-government, ill-accords with our present political status and lauded fiscal independence. Content to remain in this half-fledged condition, it is no surprise to find that there has been little blending into one national type all the provincial currents of Canadian thought, and that we are far as yet from securing a distinctively national school of literature. The term nation, indeed, is still strange in the mouth of our public men, and Canadian nationality, instead of being a real and constructive force, is yet only a furtive aspiration. Among French Canadians, where the term is used, it has a restricted, and, to their English-speaking brethren, an alien meaning. It may be, however, that the day will soon come—perhaps in war, or through the ferment of a great political upheaval—when the untoward influences we have referred to shall pass away, and when sectional hostility, racial jealousy, and religious cleavage shall give place to national unification, patriotic aspiration