

no direct pecuniary profit. They have been the gift by which we meant to reward the enterprise of our adventurous sons. But they must not suppose that they have the right to divest them of the Imperial *dominium*. They hold them as our fellow-citizens, on the basis of their citizenship, and against the Imperial will they cannot assume the right of removing them from our sovereignty. Every man, woman, and child in these islands has a right and voice in the future position of our Colonies; the sooner they and we understand it the better for all. The "unwashed" millions may claim their interest in the matter, and insist that careless statesmanship and intemperate politics shall not jeopardise the enormous stake they have in the integrity of our dominions.

If anybody should represent that in permitting our Colonies to separate from us we and they should be fulfilling our destiny, my retort is that destiny appears very much to be under the control of men: within certain limits our destiny is what we make it. . . .

How much we have to gain in time of peace by the consolidation of Imperial connexions it is needless here at any length to recall. The arguments used in support of emigration—the proofs adduced of mutual profit from intercourse and trade—are only strengthened when we consider their bearing under a more organized and complete union. Should a federal system be devised, whereby every Colony has its rightful place and representation in the Imperial connexion, whereby to every Colonist was assured Imperial citizenship, with all its resultant rights of protection and freedom, it is impossible but that the ideal distinctions between "Home" and "the Colonies" would vanish away. Instead of hearing ignorant men among the uninstructed classes, and unwise men among the instructed classes, speak of an emigrant as "an exile," and our birthright estates beyond the seas as "foreign lands," we should know no difference between England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and Australia, except the divisions of space, and no boundary of "Home" other than the limits of our Empire. . . .

The timidity of wealth, as well as that of thinking labour and personality, to which I have already alluded, partly arises from the uncertainty of our relations to our Colonies, which, along with considerable ignorance regarding the Colonies themselves, makes the capitalist hesitate to trust his money in Colonial enterprises. If Canada is likely to become independent, if New Zealand is any day to go off in a pet, who can foresee what the value of their securities, or their railways, or their public works or private speculations will be? But confirmed in federal union, with ultimate resort to federal courts, with more con-