

the whole land, has the unspeakable merit of not costing him one farthing for its maintenance. Altogether, the colonial position is so comfortable that ordinary colonists may be pardoned if they do not agitate their souls over the future so long as the present is made secure. At the same time it must be kept in mind that while Canadians derive great and palpable benefits from British connection, these in reality cost Great Britain very little. The military and naval power which throws its protecting shield over the colonies would be essential to maintain the prestige and secure the autonomy of the Empire if no colonies existed. A regiment of soldiers and a few artillerymen and engineers are stationed at Halifax, but it costs no more to support them there than at home. A few warships ride in the harbour of Halifax every summer, but they would cost no less if kept at Portsmouth. The staff of ambassadors and consuls would have to be maintained in any case. Therefore, the fact that the colonies derive certain advantages from British connection, for which they pay nothing, does not offer any sound reason for abandoning the colonial system. It is not very costly, especially in the case of the larger and more important of them.

It would be doing great injustice, however, to the public spirit of the Canadian people to suppose that they will always be content to enjoy the benefits of British connection without sharing its burdens and responsibilities. It would be doing equal injustice to suppose that they will always be content with an exclusion from the full privileges of British citizenship. The two ideas must always be blended. The very moment the Canadian people assume a share of the responsibility of Britain's foreign policy they will claim a voice in shaping it. If they are to be affected by commercial treaties, they will have a hand in framing them. If they are to be subject to the consequences of a foreign war, they will demand to be heard in deciding the question of peace or war. If they are to pay the expenses of diplomacy, they must have a share in directing it, and a portion of the honours and emoluments. In a word, if they give up the comfortable position they now enjoy, they will do it for the superior powers they will exercise—for the larger field that will be opened for the display of their talents, and the superior citizenship which is involved in equality rather than in dependence.

This is the standpoint from which the Canadian Imperial Federationist looks at the question, and the most loyal and enthusiastic would spurn the idea of accepting any other position than that of absolute equality in any scheme for Federation which may be devised. Here is a difficulty at the very threshold of the discussion. There are not a few people in the British Islands with innate prejudices against admitting a large body of men from the various colonies to the Imperial House of Commons, and at the same time entrusting some of the Executive departments of the State to Ministers coming from across the sea, and representing interests not exclusively insular. The temporary expedient of creating a powerless advisory council at London may be attempted, but it will not be Imperial Federation. It will not permanently settle the problem of the future of the Colonies; it will not satisfy the aspirations of great and growing communities; it will not fulfil the yearnings for national life.

It must be kept in mind that each large colony will consider this question of its future from its own standpoint, and this may lead to vast differences in both motive and object. Note the wide difference between the geographical position of Australia and that of Canada. The former is surrounded in the main by foreign and unlightened peoples. Its neighbours, if it may be properly said to have any, are not those with whom it would be possible to affiliate. Its chief connection with the great English-speaking world is through London. Its chief defence against attack from without is the British navy and the prestige it carries. And yet in Australia we hear the note of independence not unfrequently. The case of Canada would point still more strongly in the direction of independence. She is not surrounded by savage nations. She has upon her borders the greatest English-speaking community the world has ever seen—a nation which has to-day a population of over sixty millions, but which will have in a few decades a population close upon two hundred millions; a nation with inexhaustible resources and enormous wealth; a nation which could create a navy greater than any yet afloat in a few years, without noticing the expense or borrowing a dollar. It can be easily seen that while London is at present the centre of the English-speaking world, yet Canada could keep up her connection with the world and the race very fully by means of alliances on her own continent. For her defence from foreign invasion she looks now to British arms; but, if she chose to dispense with her British connections, she could easily ensure security by simply allying her fortunes with her great neighbour, which is an alternative not available to either the people of Australia or of South Africa. Enough has been said to show that a line of policy which might suit the conditions of one colony would be entirely inapplicable in the case of another, and this leads to the conclusion that it would be difficult to formulate any scheme of Imperial union which would suit all interests. Such a proposal, if indeed it ever takes practical shape, must address itself to each colony in turn, and this obviously adds enormously to the difficulties of the whole scheme.

It is but just to say that though Canada has the alternative of accepting an alliance with the United States, this has never had any appreciable effect upon the loyalty

of the Canadian people. It is likely that there is as much genuine regard for the interests of the Empire in Canada to-day as in Australia, and as warm a desire to promote the common glory. No Canadian public man has had occasion, within the memory of the present generation, to suggest the alternative as a result of any friction with the Colonial Office. But, in thinking of the future, the Canadian cannot ignore the fact that a political alliance with the rest of the continent is one of the solutions open to him. It has been thought of. It has been written of. It has been openly advocated. It has its avowed advocates in Canada to-day, and a still larger number of secret advocates. It has a great deal that is rational in support of it. During the past two centuries, and particularly during the last one, North America has developed its great progress, enlightenment and national life. It has grown up free from the feudalism and class interests which mark European civilization. The sense of liberty and equality is everywhere felt on the continent. Canada has imbibed this spirit, and it is a part of her institutions. North America has a civilization of her own—a political mission and destiny quite apart from that of Europe. Canada has more direct interest in the development of North America than she can possibly have in the British Islands or the whole of Europe. It would be natural for her to seek alliances with her own great neighbour.

Commercially their interests are interlaced from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It would mean no disregard for England if Canada allied herself to the United States, and chose to mould her destinies according to North American ideas rather than upon European lines. In a word, the only real objections to the federation of North America under one central government instead of two, as at present, are purely sentimental.

But these are enough. In nation-building, sentiment is a more potent factor than self-interest. Go to France and Germany and demonstrate to the people of those two great countries that the true policy would be to federate—to have one capital, one set of officials, one united army. The logic might be irresistible, but the result would be insignificant. In a somewhat lesser degree it would be preposterous, at present, to endeavour to persuade the Canadian people that political union with the United States made for their material interests. This consideration, usually so potent in guiding human action, would be absolutely powerless in this connection. There is still a deep-seated objection in the minds of a large majority of the people of Canada to union with the United States. It may be unphilosophical, it may be irrational, but it exists. It is probably the offspring, for the most part, of the spirit of loyalty to Great Britain which has long permeated the minds of the great majority of the Canadian people. It is not easy to blot out a century of history in a day, and the record of the past hundred years has had a constant tendency to confirm British Americans in their devotion to British as against American interests. The conflict of the Revolution was succeeded by the war of 1812-15, with its invasion of Canada; and since then there have been Fenian raids, fishery controversies, and other unfortunate incidents to keep up the ill-feeling engendered in 1776-83, and it is simply not a practical solution of the future of Canada to suggest political union with the United States, because the preponderating majority of the people will not hear of it. Time is the great miracle-worker and may change all this; but we must speak of things as they are. No material considerations will induce the Canadian people at present to accept political union with the United States.

A second alternative is Imperial Federation. Some of the difficulties which stand in the way of this have been already hinted at, but there are others which must be dealt with. In the first place, if the Canadian people desired any such federation, is it certain that it is possible? In other words, is it clear that the British people stand ready to give up a part of their present absolute control over the affairs of the Empire, and share it with statesmen representing the interests of the several great Colonies? At the beginning the British Islands would have the preponderating power in the federation; but it would be foreseen that this could not be permanent. The principle of representation by population could not be ignored, and in a few decades the representatives from the Colonies would outnumber those from the parent State. Great Britain would be merged into Greater Britain. It is not easy to see any reasonable objection to this from a Colonial standpoint—nor, indeed, from any impartial point of view. But such a scheme is quite sure to arouse misgivings and opposition in England. Add to this the varying conditions subsisting in the different Colonies—all of which would have to be consulted and would act freely—and the difficulties in the way of Imperial Federation are seen to be very great. The Canadian people would find this solution of the future a rather tardy one, even if they were favourable to it. But are they favourable?

This opens up a wide question. Not very many have stopped to consider the matter. The few who have openly allied themselves with the Imperial Federation movement are not men occupying very prominent positions in the world of practical politics. The political leaders have studiously avoided saying anything beyond the merest generalities. Sir John A. Macdonald has said some pleasant and excessively loyal things in London before the league, but he has declared with emphasis before the Canadian people that he was a "home-ruler up to the hilt." Sir Hector Langevin, a prominent French-Canadian in Sir

John's Government, has, within a year, denounced and repudiated any suggestion of any scheme of Imperial Federation. It seems to be understood that the French population of Quebec will resist any proposal in the direction of federation *en masse*, and if this be so, then an almost insuperable barrier blocks the scheme. At present the French population undoubtedly holds the balance of power, and it would be impossible, at this time, for any Government to live in Canada which had the whole phalanx of the French representatives against it. If Imperial Federation were submitted to the people at the polls, it would have no more chance of being carried than annexation; though it might, perhaps, get more votes. It has not yet been seriously considered. It is altogether likely it will be, and probably the question will have to be fought out. It is by no means certain that Imperial Federation would ever become a practical question from any innate sense of its necessity or desirability on the part of the Canadian people. It is probable they would drift into some other idea if left to themselves. But it is almost impossible to believe that British statesmen will not some day wake very seriously to the problem, "What is to become of the Colonial Empire?" Lord Rosebery thinks it is worth while to consider the question now, and he seems to be not very far away from an influential place in the government of the Empire. Any day may bring forth an event which will fix attention on the whole subject. The Australian provinces may very soon accomplish a union of the whole island-continent. Then may be heard the muttering of the independence idea. It is already heard in Canada, and is likely to be heard more distinctly each year; Lord Salisbury is inclined to give but little heed to the Colonial question. But a Government may appear in England at any time which will be more disposed to recognize the vital importance of settling the problem of the numerous growing English communities the world over, and determining what relations they are ultimately to hold to the parent State. If this should come to pass, then the question might be forced upon the attention of the Canadian people, as part of a general imperial policy—forced, of course, only in the sense of a friendly proposal to consider the question in relation to the general strength and consolidation of the Empire. In such a case the matter would be sure to be considered and fought out. That it would meet with enormous and determined opposition is beyond debate. What the result would be is matter of conjecture, upon which there must needs be differences of opinion. But the balance of reasons seems to be decidedly adverse to the adoption of any scheme of Imperial union by the Dominion of Canada. Some of the reasons have been already referred to. But there is yet another, and this leads to a new branch of the subject.

Two possible alternatives for the people of Canada have been already discussed, and there remains yet a third—Independence, or an independent nationality. Like the others, this last has not been as yet very seriously considered by the Canadian people; but it is a fact that this idea is beginning to take possession of the minds of many of the most intelligent men in Canada. It is among the young generation that it finds most support. The moment it is realized that the colonial relation is not perpetual, the necessity for some solution of the problem of the future arises, and the idea of an independent existence is most calculated to fire the imagination of young men. As a sentiment of national pride develops, the thought of independence grows. To have a country of one's own, of large resources and ever-widening possibilities, is an aspiration natural as it is commendable among a people who have already achieved so much as the Canadians. A similar feeling seems to be taking possession of the people of Australia. It need not create surprise in England, as it simply demonstrates that the English are a dominant and self-governing race; and as soon as British colonies develop proportions sufficiently great to enable them to stand alone, they are ready to accept the responsibilities of national life, and are unwilling for ever to be tied to the apron-strings of the Mother Land. This implies no lack of regard for the parent State; on the contrary, the interest in and affection for the home country shows no sign of diminution. A man does not indicate want of parental regard when he creates a home for himself and assumes the duty of providing for himself and his family. It is natural and proper that this step should come in the case of the individual; it is not less so in the case of such large communities as Canada and Australia. If those who are concerned in the scheme of concentrating the powers of the English race, and making the forces of the English-speaking people at home and abroad a unit for the common glory and the common strength, addressed themselves to the work of securing enduring alliances with those great colonies which shall hereafter establish an independent existence, it would be likely to prove a more practicable undertaking than anything involved in any shadowy project of federation, which presents enormous difficulties, and may prove short-lived, even if accomplished.—J. W. Longley, in *Fortnightly Review* for March.

THE average age at death of the Jews is said to be forty-nine years, while that of the Christian is but thirty-seven. Only two per cent. of the former follow agriculture; the great majority of them are town dwellers. But their sobriety, domestic and personal cleanliness, and the great care they bestow upon themselves and their families, act heavily in their favour.