

ence of the fact that it brings to each exactly that of which it stands in need. A teeming population and overflowing capital seek an outlet on the one hand ; on the other, millions of acres of virgin soil, with immense undeveloped riches in sea, mine, and forest, invite them to come in and take possession. Long lines of coast need defence on one side ; on the other, the mightiest navy in the world stands ready to guard them. Youthful energy and beaming hope exist in the offspring ; the strength of manhood and the wisdom of experience in the Fatherland. The lustre of historic glory, calling on us to love, admire, and revere, is found in its highest development in the Old Country ; opportunity for new achievements encouraging us to aspire, in the youthful communities. Scientific culture has reached a high point at home ; an unoccupied field for the application of its fruits is offered by the Colonies. The gifts and resources of, one side are almost useless, in some cases are even pernicious, unless supplemented by those of the other ; but their union would produce an Empire unique in the history of the world, before the glories of which those of Old Rome would pale. Difficulties there are ; but to shrink from a noble enterprise in dismay at its proportions, is simply to yield to the dictates of sloth and cowardice, or in other words of sin ; and to pronounce the difficulties insuperable before the first step in advance has been taken, is nothing else than to refuse to subject the correctness of a theory to the test of action.

In reply to the above arguments, it may be alleged that even an admission of their correctness would not suffice to establish the Imperialist position, inasmuch as they adduce benefits to the whole Empire in support of the scheme, while the point under consideration is the future of Canada alone. Let us, then, examine the subject in a purely "Canada First" light, and enquire whether Canada would be likely to gain more from Nationality or Federation.

Our experience of British connection and institutions proves most decisively that they secure to us a continuance of the inestimable blessings involved in the combination of internal order and political freedom. Nationality would involve the adoption of democratic republicanism, and an extension of the duties of the legislature. The latter

fact would afford increased matter for sectional and partisan dispute, and the former would afford increased facilities for the expression of such jealousies. Such increase might seriously endanger internal concord and political freedom ; or if not, could scarcely fail to render our system of government less pure and efficient than it is at present. It is possible that nationality might tend to establish a Canadian national spirit amongst us, though even this point might be disputed ; but the question is whether we should be greater gainers by having our views contracted to so limited a sphere and so short a history as our own, or by having them extended to an Empire on which the sun never sets, and to a history embracing "classical association and great names of our own which we can confidently oppose to the most splendid of ancient times." Nationality would place us in possession of the rights and privileges of sovereign states, but we have already seen that these are useless without the strength to enforce them ; while, on the other hand, Federation would not only bring us these prerogatives, but also the power of the mightiest Empire in the world to back them. Nationality would in some measure enlarge the field for native genius and patriotism ; but Federation would open up for it a career of splendour unexampled in the history of the world ; let us once be represented in the Imperial Legislature, and there would be opened before us the very loftiest honours in law, politics, arms or diplomacy, throughout an Empire embracing a fifth part of the world in its ample folds. Nationality, it is contended, would promote immigration and the development of our natural resources. This could be the case only in what we have seen is the very doubtful event of it proving successful. But were a Federation of the Empire established, the promotion of the growth of the outlying provinces would become a direct object with the Federal Government, and the more intimate relations which would be established with the Fatherland would suffice to turn the flow of its surplus labour and capital in one mighty stream into the Colonies. Finally, Nationality would bring upon us severe financial pressure. The expenditure of the United States on the army, navy, and diplomacy of the Union have of late years amounted to about \$2 per head of its population. Did we expend only at the same