

## THE FUTURE OF CANADA—I.

foreign trade," and to "recover a proportionate participation in the ocean-carrying trade of the world." It is, of course, possible that both these things may take place, but to believe that they will follow as the results of the operation of the McKinley Bill argues a sublime faith that the operation of the ordinary laws of cause and effect will be suspended or reversed in the interests of the great Republic.

THE longest paragraph in the address, and the one which probably foreshadows the severest struggle of the session, is that in which the President discusses the Federal Elections Bill, and defends in an elaborate argument the right of the Federal Government to supervise Congressional elections. "The need of such a law," the President says, "has manifested itself in many parts of the country," and, he suggestively adds, "its wholesome penalties and restraints will be useful in all." The gist of his argument is that the constitutionality of the law has been affirmed by the Supreme Court, and that so far from being a new exercise of Federal power, and an invasion of the rights of States, it is directly in line with a number of measures of the same general character, by which the Federal authorities have long asserted their right of control over the details of Congressional elections. The cases specified certainly give some logical support to this contention. None the less we may be sure that the Bill will meet with most strenuous and bitter opposition by the Democratic party. It is significant that the Republican senators, foreseeing clearly that the so-called "Force Bill" can be got through the chamber only by the strongest exertion of party force, are said to have already prepared a plan by which to effect such changes in the rules of the Senate as may be necessary to facilitate their purpose and prevent the successful use of obstructive or "dilatatory" tactics. The quarrel is, in one sense, a purely domestic one, yet onlookers in other nations, who are watching the development and trend of republicanism in the United States, will scarcely fail to find in the passage of such a Bill a fresh indication of the tendency towards centralization, which is seemingly one of the chief dangers to which democratic institutions are exposed.

THE great victory gained in the recent elections in Italy by the party led by Premier Crispi may be regarded as having a two-fold significance. It is, in the first place, another severe blow to the hopes of the Catholic party, which had for the first plank in its platform the restoration to the Pope of his dignity and authority as a civil as well as spiritual sovereign. The Papal Kingdom was to comprise a territory to belong exclusively to the Pope's jurisdiction, and to be administered either by himself in person or by those to whom he might depute authority. The fact that Premier Crispi was able to secure the election of supporters in four out of the five constituencies into which Rome is divided augurs ill for any early restoration of the temporal power. Again, Italy, like Greece, has her national aspirations, whetted by the memory of departed glories. At least there is a band of Iridentists within her borders who are casting longing eyes across the Adriatic to Trieste and the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts, which are peopled in part by men of Italian stock and speech, and have some remote historical connection with Italy. Considerable alarm has been felt in Austria from time to time lest the Iridentist agitation should some day gather sufficient strength to threaten these possessions. The Opposition had, it is said, lately begun to coquet, in a timid way, with Iridentism, and even Signor Crispi himself had, at one time, been suspected of maintaining a less resolute attitude towards it than either Germany or Austria could approve. The recent visit of General Von Caprivi, the German Chancellor, to Milan, and his very cordial reception by Premier Crispi, seem to have allayed any fears that might have been entertained concerning Crispi's prudence and pacific intentions. It is hinted, indeed, that the German Chancellor may have asked and received from him satisfactory assurances in this regard. Be that as it may the most cordial relations seem to have been established or confirmed during General Von Caprivi's visit, and he is believed to have returned home fully satisfied in regard to the loyalty of the Italian Premier and Government, and the solidity of the triple alliance. The signal success of Signor Crispi at the polls has therefore, no doubt, had the effect of dispelling any fears that may have arisen in either Germany or Austria as to popular feeling throughout the allied kingdom.

Oh, how small a portion of earth will hold us when we are dead, who ambitiously seek after the whole world when we are living.—*Philip, King of Macedon.*

MUCH has been written and spoken on the above theme, but the last word has not been said, and will not be for many a long day. As time rolls on, and circumstances, like the fabled form of Proteus, are ever changing, opinions modify, and chaotic theories take on definite shape. It must be obvious to all thoughtful and observant minds that no satisfactory forecast of the future of Canada has yet been made. Every plan suggested has its radical and fatal defects, and we are left to ask: "Whither are we drifting?" That we are drifting, that our position is not one that has the element of permanence in it, is quite obvious; but neither of the landing places yet suggested seems to possess the characteristics of that "quiet haven where we would be."

Our present colonial status is not satisfactory. We feel that we have outgrown it; and are qualified for larger and better things. The place is too strait for us. We want and must have more elbow-room; not as to landed area (we have abundance of that), but in the direction of self-government and national independence. We are tied by too many leading-strings to Britain, and dearly as we love our mother, determined as we are to cling to her, we feel that she must lengthen our tether, and give us more complete mastery of ourselves than we have at present. Large as is our heritage of liberty, it is rather that of the minor than that of the full-grown man. But when the feeling that we are too much "cribbed, cabined, and confined" comes over us, we are in danger of too hastily assuming that we possess all the birthright of freedom that is possible to us while British connection is maintained. That this is a mistake, we shall try to show later on; meantime, it may be well to glance at some of the radical and fatal defects of those plans for our future, the suggestion of which has grown out of dissatisfaction with our present.

Canadian independence is one of them. It is the not unnatural aspiration of young Canada, which, like Longfellow's

Youth who bore through snow and ice  
A banner with this strange device—  
Excelsior!

is eager to scale the Alpine heights with an enthusiastic ardour which does not pause to consider the perils of the lofty altitude sought to be reached. We are not yet strong enough to venture on independence. It is beset with risks, which, if we are wise, we shall decline to take at present. Our confederation of provinces is too loosely-jointed; it is not yet firmly enough knit together to make the experiment of independence a safe one. We cannot stand the cost of an army and navy, or the various other expenses incident to a fully-fledged nationality. We are deeply in debt already, in consequence of expenses necessitated by our rapid growth, and must have time to recover our breath, and recruit our resources, before we venture out farther into the financial deep. Retrenchment and economy are the duties of the hour, and must be practised if we are to prosper. Beside all this, our close and peculiar juxtaposition to the great Republic renders independence hazardous. While the bulk of the people of the United States cast no covetous eyes across our borders, their politicians have a greed of territory, and think it the "manifest destiny" of Canada to become, sooner or later, part and parcel of the United States. Not until the Monroe doctrine is abandoned by American statesmen and politicians will it be safe to talk about an independent Canada. Our neighbours across the lines are individually friendly with us, but there was more truth than poetry in Hon. O. Mowat's remark in a speech not very long since, that, as a nation, they are hostile to us. Mr. Blaine's ill-concealed anger that Canada should be treated as a party entitled to a voice in the Behring Sea negotiations disclosed a spirit which might easily make demonstrations of a troublesome kind were we a solitary and unprotected people. In such a defenceless condition, it would be easy to find or make a pretext for the appropriation of this country.

Imperial Federation has been proposed, and pictured forth in brilliant colours as the grand panacea for our political ills. There is no denying that, in some aspects of it, the dream is a pleasing one, but a dream it is, not likely, or possible, to be ever materialized. It implies a central parliament, with representatives from all parts of the British Empire. Upwards of six hundred members are needed to represent the constituencies of Great Britain in the English House of Commons. How many would it require for the whole Empire to be represented? It would be indeed an unwieldy ship of state—a political Great Eastern—which no statesmanship could navigate. There are limits to the size of governing bodies, as well as to practically navigable vessels. As the *Great Eastern* exceeded the ship limit, so would the Great Central Parliament of Imperial Federation transcend the limits of a legislative body. Then the interests would be so multifarious and conflicting, that such a Parliament would have to be in session all the time, and its work would be never done. Moreover, all the representatives from outside the "tight little island" would be representatives of colonies, and so the colonial status would be crystallized into permanence. "Desirable, if practicable," is the best that can be said about Imperial Federation, and that "if," like many another, is a fatal one.

Annexation is another cure-all which has been prescribed, and it is curious with what fluctuations of opinion it is alternately advocated and denounced in various quarters. There are, no doubt, many Canadians to be

found, who, if they spoke out their secret thought, would express themselves as favourable to this forecast of our future. But there is something in the very air of our free country that represses and rebukes the idea. The public and still more the private, sentiment of our people is against it. It is useless to pooh-pooh this feeling, and say it is nothing but sentiment. If there is anything mightier in this world than sentiment, what is it? Only the power that creates and sustains it. And what is that?

The very power that moulds a tear,  
And bids it trickle from its source.

It is resistless in its operation, for

That power preserves the earth a sphere,  
And guides the planets in their course.

Every fibre of a truly British heart rebels against annexation. The U. E. Loyalists from out their gory graves, though dead yet speak, and forbid the bans! The colonists who won this fair domain from secession and spoliation, who planted and defended the British flag in these northern climes, left, as a sacred legacy to their children, an inheritance never to be alienated, and there blends evermore with their memories a feeling not to be uprooted, which is determinately averse to the handing over of this great Dominion to the dominance of the Stars and Stripes. If this sentiment had no living root it might be exterminated, but it is the top-growth and fair blossoming of a tap-root which is too deep-down and too strongly-imbedded in the soil to be got rid of. It is the outcome of conviction that Republican institutions are too loose and vague in their influence on the human mind to ensure the highest form of national stability and prosperity; and that a constitutional monarchy, wisely limited, is invested with characteristics of steadiness and permanence such as do not belong to any development of republicanism the world has ever seen. The immense patronage in the hands of an executive having only a brief term of power; its irresponsibility to the people while in office; the quadrennial upheaval of the whole nation to elect its chief magistrate; the elective judiciary; the power of the mobocracy; the constant under-working of secret political leagues; and many other evils that cannot here be enumerated, have created a deeply-seated preference for British institutions, such that no temptation of temporary commercial advantages is at all likely to disturb. Without claim to prophetic mantle or ken, one may safely predict that Canada will never be annexed to the United States.

WARFLECK.

## PARISIAN LITERARY NOTES.

HISTOIRE DU PEUPLE D'ISRAEL. By Ernest Renan. (C. Levy.) This is the third volume of the work on which M. Renan has been engaged for six years. The second appeared three years ago. The fourth and concluding volume will comprise the history of the Asmonéens, the name given to the Macchabees from their origin-town, Asmon, which belonged to the tribe of Simeon. That volume will thus bridge the cycle between ancient Judaism and the *Vie de Jésus*. To criticize the erudition of M. Renan, one must be a Renan. To estimate his philosophy, to weigh his conclusions, to examine his style, these are within the province of every intelligent person. It must be borne in mind by those who dissent from the great writer that he leaves nothing to chance. There is no "scampering" of work with Renan. For months he will be occupied investigating authorities and methodizing his notes; next, he will write out the book in his head, and when these are accomplished, he retires to his country residence in Bretagne, with the Atlantic Ocean for landscape, and commits to paper what his prodigious memory has magazined. Then he returns to Paris, hands the manuscript to his publisher, and next he massacres the printers by exacting as many as seventeen proofs.

Not content with these precautions and conscientious minuteness, M. Renan begs the reader to remember that the formation of judgments upon men is only possible in those historic periods, rich in documents and close to our own times. And even then illusions are possible, so that each phrase of his book ought to be qualified by a "perhaps." The more of the latter the reader employs the better (writes M. Renan) will my thoughts be understood. Many who read Renan's books admire, meditate, and hold their tongue. That attitude will be more than ever observed on the present occasion. The second volume terminated at the struggle between the two peoples which formed Palestine-Judah and Israel. The third volume opens after the destruction of Samaria. The kingdom of Judah now remains alone. Jerusalem subsists, and within its walls is concentrated all the moral life of the Jews. Social and moral problems crystallize into a fixed religion, not of a local, but of a universal character, and begets the Prophets. But what tribulations are in store for that little people, what martyrs must be sacrificed ere events synthesize and blossom into the Advent of Christ.

Jerusalem, though conqueror of Samaria, is doomed to experience her fate. The people of Israel were led captive to Nineveh; now the Jews will be led captive to Babylon, for the supremacy of the East has passed from Nineveh to Babylon. This captivity was in a certain measure profitable to Judaism; it humbled the pride of the captives, who formed the *élite* of the nation; it compelled them to keep alive the ideas sown by Isaiah, and to maintain the sources of pity, humility and faith perennial, by corresponding with their poor co-religionists left behind. The exiles were maintained in touch with the poor, taught