IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN WAR.

The importance of the question of Imperial Federation with the Colonies has now become so prominent in England that most of the leading journals and magazines of the metropolis devote continuous attention to it. This has been mainly brought about by the exertions of the Royal Colonial Institute of London. It is not long since that a late Minister of the Crown—the Right Hon. W. E. Forster—delivered a lecture at Edinburgh, on the subject of the Colonies, which attracted universal attention throughout the United Kingdom. Mr. Forster's views were most emphatically opposed to those of the party of disintegration—a party led mainly by the *Times*, but now apparently silenced—and in favour of some scheme for federating the Colonies with the Empire, but in what particular way, the Right Hon. gentleman stated he was not then prepared to propound. He stated, however, that, by the year 1890, England would possess a Colonial population, in the temperate zones, of some 80,000,000, while that of the United Kingdom would approximate to 60,000,000. Here certainly is a grand foundation for a magnificent United Empire. Among the foremost advocates of the union of all "British Interests" under some feasible and tangible form of government is Captain Colomb, who read an exhaustive paper on the subject before the Royal Colonial Institute in May, 1876. Therein, among other things, Captain Colomb stated that the aggregate value of exports and imports of British colonies and possessions is something like £300,000,000. In 1806, the value of exports and imports of the United Kingdom was but some £60,000,000; while it amounted to £655,000,000 in 1876. Therefore the colonies have five times, and England has ten times a greater stake in the sea than in the year succeeding Trafalgar. The Navy estimates for 1805 were £14,493,843; in 1814 they were £22,000,000, or a little over one-fourth of England's imports and exports of that year. The value of the exports and imports of the Australian colonies now, is equal to that of England and France together in 1802—the year of the peace of Amiens. These facts point unmistakably to the necessity of Federal naval positions; a Federal fleet, and a Federal movable army to support it; and show the necessity of some change in the Colonial and Imperial relations in mutual preparation for defence, so that a just distribution of the forces of the Empire may be made to meet cases of emergency; and in case of war, the movable forces might not always be retained at home, for which many arguments might at such a time be produced—for, says Captain Colomb, "it would then be remembered how in 1778, Paul Jones, in the "Ranger" defied our fleets, harassed our home trade, landed at Whitehaven, seized the forts, spiked the guns, set fire to the shipping, and even carried off Lord Selkirk's plate from his seat on St. Mary's Isle. Economists would point out that in the war between 1775 and 1783, 82 men-of-war were taken from us, besides 118 of our war vessels being destroyed or lost, and that this was the expensive result of England's fighting all over the world. In the popular excitement produced by a threatened commerce, in the chaos of our war administrative systems, and in the absence of binding Federal obligations as regards defence, it is not impossible that the necessity of upholding the integrity of the Empire at any cost and at any risk might disappear before constitutional clamour for the adoption of a policy of self-reliant isolation."

It is well known that, in case of war, Russia relies mainly upon the issuing of letters of marque for harassing the trade of England. In this view, the very important questions arise as to how the inviolability of the different parts of the Empire is to be maintained, and how to keep free and unbroken the communications between them. For Canada, these questions are of the utmost importance, since in shipping she has now a greater registered tonnage than France. The loyalty of Canada to the mother country is undoubted, in spite of the succession of petty annoyances, of which the sale of the old sentry-boxes and the flag-staff at Quebec formed the climax. But every one in England is now ready to admit that she is bound both by honor and by interest to defend her colonies to the last, and above all, will never give up Canada as defenceless, and abandon the Dominion to its fate.

In 1848, Prussia had only one corvette and two small gun boats; now, the new-born German Empire has risen to the rank of the third naval state in the world, and the South Pacific has more German ships of war than of any other nation. Since the Crimean war, Russia has completed 2200 miles of water communication to the Pacific; whereas, before that period, she was barred from that sea by 200,000 square miles of intervening territory then belonging to China. She (Russia) has now advanced one military post within fifteen days steaming of Vancouver's Island, and another within eight days of Hong Kong. No wonder then that Captain Colomb presses the consideration of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway upon the attention of Great Britain if she wishes to retain possession of Canada and Australia. The cost, he states at some £10,000,000; but with a yearly commerce of £655,000,000 to protect, the money would be cheaply spent, even if expended solely by England, should such a desirable object be obtained as the efficient protection of her enormous commerce. England has thought it worth while to pay £7,000,000 on account of water communications within the last few years; £4,000,000 has gone into the Suez Canal, through which but one twenty-eighth of her whole commerce passes; but for a work of immense national value, in peace as well as in war, and in the latter case an almost absolute necessity for the preservation of her two most important colonies, England cannot afford to pay £10,000,000!

In the event of a war with America taking place before the British Pacific Railway is made, Captain Colomb shows that England would be cut off from one of her main sources of supply of food—that "Imperial co-operation store," the site of the butcher's and baker's department which lies between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains—because there was no road to it. Upon the opposite side of the question we have had a recent article from Lord Blachford, who was permanent under-secretary of state for the Colonies from 1860 to 1871. Lord Blachford does not see what interest the Colonies have in the discussion and settlement of European difficulties; and asks how Canada could be interested in negotiations about the mouths of the Danube, or Austria about the navigation of the Mediterranean and the free passage of the Dardanelles? We reply that both these questions are of immense importance to Canada and Australia. The wheat growing provinces of Russia on the Black Sea are among the great rivals of Canada for the supply of grain to Britain, and any imperilling of the power of England to fully protect her commerce in the East would be fatal to Australian interests. An able article in the January number of *Fraser's Magazine* for this year, by Mr. George Baden-Powell, completely refutes Lord Blachford's arguments, and conclusively shows it to be absolutely necessary for the maintenance of England's national standing, that the inviolability of her colonies should be maintained, and the communications between them kept free and unbroken. His proposals for this end are—that the defence of each section must principally lie with their domestic forces, by each colony being prepared to repel invasion; that the larger colonial ports, aided by England, should be put in an effective state of defence; and that the imperial dockyards should be so scattered at convenient distances over the world, that ships of war could not only be there overhauled and repaired, but new ones built if necessary; and that more numerous coaling stations should be established and fortified on all the great water-ways. To see how much is wanting in this latter particular, we have only to look at the defenceless state of Vancouver's Island, most of the West Indian and Australian ports, those of Newfoundland, and even of our own Quebec—though we are informed by telegram that this latter important fortress is to be now more efficiently armed. The writer in *Fraser* also advocates the incorporation of colonial troops, or troops recruited in and supported by the colonies, with the imperial army—a proposal to which we think all the colonies would most cheerfully agree.

Unless we wish to see the realization of Mr. Goldwin Smith's forecast of eventualities in the annexation of all British North American possessions by the United States, let us rather, in the expressive language of Captain Colomb, "hear behind us the measured tread of a host of advancing English nations, whose common path we are to prepare to make plain, and to render safe. We see before us tangled masses of confused systems, which we must do our best to clear away. We are warned of the dangers of our path by the whitened bones of Empires which have gone before and perished.

"But through the sunshine of peace, or through the darkness and gloom of war, our clear duty and our only hope is still to advance shoulder to shoulder, helping the weak and cheering on the strong until we have prepared for those who come after us a safe camping-ground on the shores of a great future. Then, and not till then, can we take the rest of the weary, confidant that, so far as in us lies, we have done our part to ensure that our Empire shall remain one and indivisible till wars have ceased in all the world."

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NINO BIXIO.

BY EVELYN CARRINGTON.

In the autumn of the year 1847, Genoa was making ready to receive the King of Sardinia. There was nothing very remarkable in the fact of the King's visit: it was the custom of the Sardinian monarchs to pass a month in the course of every year in that city of palaces. What was remarkable was, that Genoa should be at any pains to make ready to receive him. The proud republican city, whose affections lay enshrined in the memory of her past glories, had incessantly chafed under the yoke of her Savoyard masters; and heretofore she had suffered them to come and go without at all putting herself out to do them honour. There had been no love lost on one side or on the other. But now, from Etna to the Alps, a mighty transformation scene was at work in Italy. The Vision of Unity—foreseen by Napoleon as he gazed on the map of Europe at St. Helena—invoked, conjured by Genoa's own great republican son, Giuseppe Mazzini—was dawning upon the peninsula; or, rather, was throwing up before it the rose crowns of day, unmistakable to eyes that would see, though wilfully declared to be the night aurora by the wilfully blind. At the coming of that vision, old jealousies and hatreds deemed imperishable vanished out of sight, even as nocturnal mists roll off the mountains at the first rays of sunlight. The heart of Italy palpitated with the deep and strong hopes that are begotten of despair. What Genoa meant by going forth in her thousands to welcome the Sardinian King, was that henceforward there was to be but one cause—that of Italy; and but one cry—that of "War to the foreigner!" We may be sure the King divined the meaning of these unaccustomed throngs, these unwonted cheers; but the people, half-suspecting it would be judged high treason to proclaim it, held their peace as concerned the common thought which had brought them there. Not altogether, however, for a youth more eager or more daring than the rest, rushed through the crowd, grasped the reins of Charles Albert's horse, and thundered out, "Sire, cross the Ticino, and we are all with you!" This youth was called Nino Bixio.

A name that will probably suggest few other associations to the ordinary English reader than perhaps a vague idea that its bearer was one of Garibaldi's generals. For if one thing is more remarkable than the general goodwill with which the majority of Englishmen—at least, of late years—have watched the Italian movement, it is their profound ignorance of all relating to it. That the Marshal-President of the French Republic was the victor of Magenta, that the representative of Trastevere at Monte Citori took Palermo, they may be able to tell you; but should they be beguiled into giving further details, it is only too likely they will fall into the oddest mistakes, and make a melancholy hotch-potch of dates and circumstances. More usually, however, they will acknowledge their ignorance, and have the discretion to be silent. This is a state of things much to be regretted. No man can be said to have fully lived unless he be acquainted with his own times. The man whose world is bounded by the limits of his small surrounding circle, leads a life but one step removed from that of the intelligent dog or chimpanzee; whilst he who is wholly engrossed and absorbed in abstract pursuits, lives as an intellect, scarcely as a man; others are the ghosts of the past, or, mayhap, of the future. That one only who walks in the griefs and turmoil of the present, with his eyes open and his judgment clear, achieves a true right to say, with Sieyès, "*J'ai vécu.*" But, we must own, it is not wonderful that most people should have confused ideas about this century of Italian history. Its threads are so manifold and so involved, that it takes more time than Englishmen imagine they can afford to give to what they call "foreign politics" in order to unravel them; and when this has been done, in all pains