THE EXAMINER:

A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, and News.

"This is true Liberty, when Freeborn Men, having to advise the Public, may speak free."---Euripides.

Vol. XV. Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Monday, January 30, 1865. New Series.---No. 9.

KING SQUARE HOUSE.

Cloths, Cloths, Cloths,

IN Beavers, Whitneys, Meltans, Blue, Black, Brown and Drab BROAD-CLOTH. Mantle Cloths, Doeskins, Tweeds, &c.: a very *superior lot.* BEER & SONS.

Shawls and Mantles.

LATEST STYLES, cheap. BEER & SONS.

Ready-Made Clothing.

A GOOD Assortment. A large lot of HEAVY OVERCOATS. BEER & SONS.

FUR CAPS, FUR CAPS.

A SPLENDID variety in qualities and prices. BEER & SONS.

LADIES' FURS,

FITCH, Oppossum, Musquash and Mock Ermine Boas, Muffs and Cuffs to match. Monkey Muffs. Also Russian Pup and Siberian Lamb Skins. BEER & SONS.

SEAL SKIN COATS.

A FEW VERY SUPERIOR. BEER & SONS.

Felt Hats, Felt Hats,

IN Ladies' and Gents', latest styles. BEER & SONS.

Boots & Shoes.

MEN'S and BOYS' STRONG BOOTS and BROGANS; Ladies', Misses' and Childrens' Kid and Cloth Leather BOOTS and SHOES. BEER & SONS.

BUFFALO RORES,

OF FIRST CLASS QUALITY. BEER & SONS.

SKATES, SKATES, SKATES,

LADIES', GENTS' and BOYS', a large variety and VERY CHEAP. BEER & SONS.

Stoves, Stoves, Stoves,

A FEW of the VICTORIA COAL COOK STOVES, acknowledged to be the very best for burning Small Coal. Also some very handsome Parlor Stoves for both Coal and Wood. Box Stoves for School-houses and churches. The Leviathan Cook Stove for Wood. BEER & SONS.

800 PAIRS LADIES' and MISSES GENTS, BOYS and CHILDREN'S

Rubber Boots and Shoes,

OF SUPERIOR QUALITY.

BEER & SONS.

Charlottetown, Dec. 5, 1864.

The Cheapest House

IN THE TRADE!

DAVIES & WEEKS

Respectfully announce that their

IMPORTATIONS

FOR THE

Coming Season

ARE

NOW COMPLETED!

The Stock of GOODS now on hand is LARGE, and includes almost every article which the wants of the country demand, and which, in order to meet the "hard *times,*" have been marked at

Exceedingly LOW RATES.

We especially invite attention to

A Large Stock

OF

Ready - made Goods,

suitable for Winter—manufactured expressly to our order, and warranted to give satisfaction—in

Over - Coats, Reefing Jackets,

Pants, Vests,

Fancy Flannel SHIRTS,

Heavy Kersey Drawers,

Lambs Wool and Merino

Vests, Pants, &c.

ALSO,

A LARGE ASSORTMENT OF

Flannels, Wool Serges,

Fancy Flannel SHIRTINGS,

BLANKETS,

Cloths, Doeskins,

Fur Caps, Buffalo Robes,

MUFFLERS, SCARFS,

Ties, Collars,

Gloves, &c. &c.

Queen Street, Dec. 19, 1864. M W I

Cash Provision Store!

W. S. SMITH,

Great George Street.

FLOUR,

TEAS,

WINES,

SPIRITS,

and GENERAL GROCERIES.

N. B.—W. S. S. would call the attention of Retail Dealers to his Stock of Wines, Spirits, &c.

Ch'town, May 23, 1864. isl & rw tf

WATCHES and JEWELLERY.

JUST RECEIVED from ENGLAND, of best quality, and for sale at a low price—

Horizontal Watches in Silver Cases,

4 holes jewelled.....£3 10 0

Do in Hunting Cases.....4 0 0

English Levers.....9 0 0

Watch Chains and Keys, Finger Rings, Steel Ear Rings and Brooches, Gents' Pins in great variety, by

A. PURCHASE, Watchmaker, Smardon's Corner.

Charlottetown, Oct. 31, 1864.

COMPLETED AT THE

BRITISH WAREHOUSE,

QUEEN SQUARE,

IMPORTATIONS

FOR FALL 1864!

THE SUPPLY OF

British & Foreign Merchandize,

COMPRISING OUR

STOCK IN TRADE,

WILL BE FOUND

Second to None

IN THE CITY,

For Variety, Quality, Style or Value.

Selected with the greatest care, purchased on the best terms, and sold at the lowest remunerative prices.

We Solicit Inspection.

W. & A. BROWN.

Charlottetown, Nov. 21, 1864.

RENFREW HOUSE,

Thomas's Old Stand,

GREAT GEORGE STREET.

HAVING COMPLETED our Importations for the Season, we desire to call public attention to our Stock, consisting of

STAPLE AND FANCY

DRY GOODS,

Hardware, Groceries,

Boots and Shoes, Rubbers,

LADIES' FURS, SKELETONS,

HATS and CAPS,

BUFFALO ROBES,

And a variety of other Goods.

All of which we are offering at Prices that, we think,

CANNOT FAIL

to give satisfaction to purchasers.

DELANY & BYRNE.

Charlottetown, 19th December, 1864.

October 17, 1864.

THE LONDON FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

HAVING A LARGE PAID UP CAPITAL,

ACCEPT ALL GLASSES OF RISKS

At Reasonable Rates of Premium.

CHARLES YOUNG, Agent.

New Grocery and *LIQUOR STORE.*

McIsaac's Old Stand, - - - Queen Street

THE subscriber begs to acquaint his friends and the public that he has opened the STORE formerly occupied by DONALD MCISAAC, Esqr, and offers for *sale for Cash* the following, among other articles, ex ship LOTUS from LONDON, PRINCESS OF WALES from SHEDIAC, COMMERCE from BOSTON and HALIFAX, and RETRIEVER from NEW YORK:—

Puncheons RUM, Do Alcohol, (95 over proof)
Hhds Cognac Brandy,
Cases do do
Cases Ginger Cordial,
Port Wine,
Sherry Wine,
Hhds HOLLAND GIN,
Cases DO DO
Do London DO
Hhds Scotch Malt Whiskey,
Hhds Irish do Whiskey,
Porter and Ales in quarts and barrels,
500 Barrels choice EXTRA FAMILY FLOUR,
TEA, Crushed and Brown SUGAR, MOLASSES,
Boxes and quarter boxes RAISINS,
Apples, Soap, &c, &c, &c.

The above having all been purchased for Cash, can be sold at unusually low prices.

MARTIN O'HALLORAN.

Charlottetown, Dec. 12, 1864. 1m

DAWSON'S BUILDING,

CORNER OF GREAT GEORGE AND KENT STREETS.

WILLIAM H. WILSON

HAS JUST OPENED A LARGE STOCK OF

General Merchandise,

—CONSISTING IN PART OF—

LADIES, DRESS GOODS, in all the latest styles; Coburgs, Alpacas, Lustres, Delaines, Wincies, French Merinos and Delaines.

Grey, White, Striped and Printed COTTONS.

SHIRTINGS, Tickings, Osnaburgs, Drills, Jeans, Sheetings in Grey and White.

White, Red, Blue, and Fancy FLANNELS; Broad Cloths, Doeskins, Tweeds, &c., &c.

Superior Meltons, very cheap; Mantle Cloths, Mantles, and Ready-made CLOTHING.

FEATHERS, Hats, Shawls, Bonnets, Gloves, Hosiery, &c., &c.

HARDWARE, Shovels, Hoes, Plough Mounting, Weavers' Reeds, Nails, &c., &c.

TABLE CUTLERY, Sheath Knives, Powder, Shot, Caps, Blister Steel, &c., &c.

BOOTS and SHOES, Ladies' Wellington RUBBERS, Rubber Shoes, &c., &c.

GROCERIES; TEA, superior quality; Sugar, Molasses, Raisins, Tobacco, &c., &c.

HOOP SKIRTS, in great variety.

W. H. W. begs to call special attention to his Stock of FURS, imported direct from the Montreal Factory, consisting of—

BOAS, in Mountain Martin, Stone Martin, Fitch, Mock Fitch, Lustred, Opossum and Minesota.

A few Princess Royal BOAS, very superior

CAPS, in Hair Otter, Plucked Otter, Grey Plushed Alfred, and a lot of other styles.

Dawson's Buildings, Nov. 7, 1864.

The New York *Tribune* says, "The reason why Drake's Plantation Bitters are so universally used and have such an immense sale, is that they are always made up to the original standard, of highly invigorating material and of pure quality, although the prices have so largely advanced," &c.

The *Tribune* just hits the nail on the head The Plantation Bitters are not only made of pure material, but the people are told what it is. The Recipe is published around each Bottle, and the bottles are not reduced in size. At least twenty imitations and counterfeits have sprun up. They impose upon the people once and that's the last of them.

The Plantation Bitters are now used in all the Government Hospitals, are recommended by the best physicians, and are warranted to produce an *immediate* beneficial effect. Facts are stubborn things.

"* * * I owe much to you, for I verily believe the Plantation Bitters have saved my life.

REV. W. H. WAGGONER, Madrid, N. Y."

"* * * Thou wilt send me two bottles more of thy Plantation Bitters. My wife has been greatly benefitted by their use.

Thy friend, ASA CURRIN, Philadelphia, Pa."

"* * * I have been a great sufferer from Dyspepsia, and had to abandon preaching. * * * The Plantation Bitters have cured me.

REV. J. S. CATHORN, Rochester, N. Y."

"* * * Send us twenty-four dozen more of your Plantation Bitters, the popularity of which are daily increasing with the guests of our house.

SYKES, CHADWICK & CO.,

Proprietors Willards's Hotel, Washington, D.C."

"* * * I have given the Plantation Bitters to hundreds of our disabled soldiers with the most astonishing effect.

G. W. D. ANDREWS,

Superintendent Soldier's Home, Cincinnati, O.

"* * * The Plantation Bitters have cured me of liver complaint, with which I was laid up prostrate and had to abandon my business.

H. B. KINGSLEY, Cleveland, O.

"* * * The Plantation Bitters have cured me of a derangement of the kideys and the urinary organs that has distressed me for years. It acts like a charm.

C. C. MOORE, 254 Broadway."

NEW-BEDFORD, Mass., Nov. 24, 1863.

DEAR SIR:—I have been afflicted many years with severe prostrating cramps in my limbs, cold feet and hands, and a general disordered system. Physicians and medicines failed to relieve me. Some friends in New York, who were using Plantation Bitters, prevailed upon me to try them. I commenced with a small wine-glassful after dinner. Feeling better by degrees, in a few days I was astonished to find the coldness and cramps had entirely left me, and I could sleep the night through, which I had not done for years. I feel like another being My appetite and strength have also greatly improved by the use of the Plantation Bitters.

Respectfully, JUDITH RUSSEL."

If the ladies but knew what thousands of them are constantly relating to us, we candidly believe one half of the weakness, prostration and distress experienced by them would vanish. James Marsh, Esq., of 159 West 14th St. N. Y., says, "he has three children, the first two are weak and puny, his wife having been unable to nurse or attend them, but that she has taken Plantation Bitters for the last two years, and has a child now eighteen months old which she has nursed and reared herself, and both are hearty, saucy and well. The article is invaluable to mothers," &c.

Such evidence might be continued for a volume The best evidence is to *try* them. They speak for *themselves.* Persons of sedentary habits, troubled with weakness, lassitude, palpitation of the heart, lack of appetite, distress after eating, torpid liver, constipation, diabetes, &c, will find speedy relief through these bitters.

Every bottle for exportation and sale out of the United States has a metal cap and green label around the neck.

Beware of re-filled bottles. See that the cap has not been mutilated. Any person pretending to sell Plantation Bitters in bulk or by the gallon is an impostor. We sell it only in bottles.

Sold by principal dealers throughout the habitable globe.

P. H. DRAKE & CO.

NEW YORK.

Oct. 10, 1864. 6m

THE VOLUNTEER RIOT IN CANADA.—The Toronto papers of the 31st ult. contain the following account of the Volunteer riot at Chateau Richer:—"Three companies of volunteers and two guns of a field battery of artillery, the whole under command of Lieut.-Col. de Salaberry, Deputy Adjutant General of Militia, reached Chateau Richer last night, where the riot mentioned in my despatches of yesterday took place. News of the approach of this military force preceded it, and when the volunteers reached the parish the chief delinquents had fled to the woods The officials then, under the protection of the force, proceeded with the militia ballot and completed it peaceably. The men were quartered for the night in the village, and this morning they arrested several persons for being concerned in the riotous display of yesterday. After an examination by Judge Maguire, of this city, who accompanied the volunteers, two men were brought as prisoners to Quebec, and the others released. The whole force of volunteers returned to the city at noon to-day, their presence having effectually put a stop to all illegal proceedings."

A CROWN OF GOLD or a Coronet of Pearls is the privilege of few to have, but any lady can rejoice in a glorious head of hair — Nature's own diadem and title to dignity—by the use of MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, or Hair Dressing. Every Druggist sells them. W. R. WATSON, Agent for P. E. I.

A lecturer said: "Parents, you have children, or if you have not, your daughters may have."

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Hope for all.—Whatever their ailments, none need despair of being cured till they have tried these inestimable remedies. Whether the disease be internal or external, spontaneously, or the result of violence; if a cure be possible, Holloway's medicaments will effect it. The severity or duration of the malady is no bar to the successful influence exerted by these twin medicines, which cleanse, purify, and invigorate every solid and fluid in the body, and completely renovate the digestion. They render every organ of secretion healthy. These admirable antidotes to disease act immediately on the absorbent system, lungs, heart, and circulation, whereby they invariably give energy, tone, and vigour to all the natural functions of life.

THE INFANT'S FRIEND.—MRS. WINSLOW'S *SOOTHING SYRUP* is the best and surest remedy in the world for all diseases of children, such as teething, wind colic, &c. It corrects acidity of the stomach, regulates the bowels, and gives rest, health and comfort to mother and child. Perfectly safe in all cases, as millions of mothers can testify. Offices, 48 Dey Street, New York, and 205 High Holborn, London, England.

POETRY.

WAITING FOR THE TIDE.

Come down! those shadowed sands invite,
And that soft glory on the deep;
We breathe an atmosphere of light
Subtle as dew and calm as sleep.

See, here and there, beyond the foam,
A sail is shining like a gem;
I think the boats are coming home;
We'll linger down and look at them.

Not yet; the tide is shy, and stays
By this gray limit of our pier;
It doubts, it trembles, it delays,
Yet all the while is stealing near.

The boats and we must wait its will;
Oh, pleasant patience! thine to make
(While we behold them and lie still)
A hundred pictures for our sake.

Oh, happy patience! Not a hue
Can flutter through thy changing air,
Or mould the cloud, or touch the blue,
That is not meant for them to wear.

And as they watch the glimmering sand
That warms the film within the foam,
They know the certain wave at hand—
The tender wave that lifts them home!

It comes—they pass—each turning sail
Is first a hope and then a bliss;
Come back, and dream a fairy tale
That hath a close as sweet as this!

WILL YOU LOVE WHEN I'M OLD?

Will affection still enfold me,
When the day of life declines;
When old age, with ruthless vigor,
Ploughs my face in furrowed lines;
When the eye forgets its seeing,
And the hand forgets its skill,
When the very words prove rebels
To the mind's once kingly will?

When the deaf ear, strained to listen,
Scarcely hears the opening word;
And the unfathomed depths of feeling
Are by no swift current stirred;
When fond memory like a limner,
Many a line perspective casts—
Spreading out our by-gone pleasures
On the canvas of the past?

When the leaping blood grows sluggish,
And the fire of life has fled;
When the friends that now surround us,
Half are numbered with the dead;
When the years appear to shorten,
Scarcely leaving us a trace;
When old Time with bold approaches,
Marks his diar on my face?

When our present hopes, all gathered,
Lie like dead flowers on our track;
When the whole of our existence
Is one fearful looking back;
When each wasted hour, or talent,
Scarcely measured now at all,
Sends its witness back to haunt us,
Like the writing on the wall?

When the ready tongue is palsied,
And the form is bowed with care;
When our only hope is Heaven,
And our only help is prayer;
When our idols, broken round us,
Fall amid the ranks of men;
Until death uplifts the curtain,
Will thy love endure till then?

ARCHBISHOP CONNOLLY ON FENIANISM AND CONFEDERATION.

To the Editor of the (Halifax) Morning Chronicle.

SIR,—In your leading article on Wednesday morning, I was sorry to find a statement which is calculated to make an injurious impression on the public mind, and which it becomes my duty to correct as best I can. You say that "every mail brings us tidings of the organization and arming of Fenians and Orangemen in all the chief cities of Canada. People are drilling in the churches—arms are coming in from the States in coffins and disguised packages," &c. If by all this you *mean to impress your readers with* the belief, that the so-called Fenians, as a secret society, are being drilled in Catholic Churches, as would appear from the context, I beg leave to say that it is not only incorrect in fact, but according to the well known principles of the Catholic religion such an occurrence is simply impossible. In war time, and in cases of great public emergency, Catholic churches have been often converted into hospitals and armories, and perchance into drill-rooms, but it was in the daylight and in the cause of patriotism and humanity, and for the public weal. There is no instance on record, in ancient or modern times, where Fenians or any other secret society found shelter or encouragement under the ægis of the Catholic religion. On the contrary, however benevolent the purpose of any such association, and however upright the intentions of its members, the Catholic Church invariably condemns it on the broad principle that its very secrecy is crime and its own condemnation. If good, it is wicked to conceal it—the name of Him, who is Light itself, should not be invoked to withhold it from the eyes of mankind; and if bad, it is doubly wicked as it is sacreligious to attempt to have it hallowed by the religious obligations of an oath. It is not true, therefore, that Fenians or any other secret society ever were, are, or will be drilling in any Catholic Church with the knowledge and consent of the Ecclesiastical authorities; and in the country which is yet, thank God, free, no such drilling or desecration can take place without the sanction and complicity of those who are severally responsible.

If one half of what you say about Fenians and armed and hostile organizations in a neighbouring country be true, which I do not contradict, some or many of our Catholic churches, with or without our consent, may be turned into drill-rooms—but if I know anything of the Catholic body in this country, I vouch for it, they will never be used for the purposes of pretended loyalists and sympathizers, or the foreign foe, and much less for the Fenian Brotherhood on their quixotic expedition, unless, indeed, it be to help them in finding and filling up those much talked of and mystrious coffins from which, according to you, Mr. Editor, their muskets are to be supplied.

If half what you say be true, (although I am no politician), on the strength of your own argument, I say the sooner we are confederated the better. If the maxim be universally admitted that union is strength, no time is to be lost, for in your hypothesis we will at once require all the elements of strength at our command, and (may a kind Providence forbid) perhaps more too.

To leave Upper and Lower Canada and New Brunswick to their fate, as you propose, and to fall back on the impregnable ramparts of Nova Scotia, with a militia of fifty thousand men, and a nucleus of a British army of thirty or forty thousand, is precisely what an American or our worst enemy would suggest if a war were to commence to-morrow. Wait until Upper and Lower Canada and New Brunswick be swallowed up one after another; wait until we shall have detached three millions of fellow subjects—good men and true—from their allegiance to Britain, and added them to the numberless hordes of the enemy already comprising the population of almost a whole continent; wait until we have two or three hundred thousand men, succeeded by as many more, if need be, on our frontier line, at Amherst, or perchance at the head of the Basin, or the Three Mile House, and then what you say about the advantages of Responsible Government, and the blessings of isolation, and the strength of a militia of fifty thousand, will be our never failing resource against every calamity.

Sir, either there is, or there is not danger; or, in other words, either the nation on our borders has or has not the power to pull down our flag and destroy us as a people. If they have the power, then good intentions and inclinations are a matter of no importance whatever. We are, then, living only on sufferance, on mere toleration. Our lives and liberties, and the means of paying four dollars and ten cents taxes, and everything we hold most dear are staked on a haphazard, on which no man can calculate, and no nation can or ought to depend for a single week.

If there be fifty thousand men already prepared to invade this country, as you admit, instead of laboring to keep us in our present disjointed and defenceless position, you should rather call on all to unite where a single man cannot be dispensed with, and gird on our armour for the rencontre. If Responsible Government which the great and good men of this country won for us be a precious heirloom on the liliputian scale on which we now find it, instead of bartering it away for nothing by Confederation, as you say, we shall rather, in my opinion, add to its lustre and value, and ennoble and enrich it, and make it boundlessly grander and more secure for ourselves and those who are to come after us. We obtained Responsible Government from the Mother Country, in whose Legislative Halls we had not a single member to represent us. We are now, on the contrary, asked to transfer the rich and prized deposit to a place which will be a part only of our common country, where our voice must be heard, and where we will have a fuller and fairer representation than the City of London, or Liverpool, or Bristol can boast of in their English House of Commons; and this is the great difference between obtaining from England what we had not, and transferring what we now have, in order to make it more valuable and more available for our own purposes, and by far more secure. Confederation, therefore, instead of depriving us of the privileges of self-government, is the only practical and reliable guarantee for its continuance. We are too small to be warranted in the hope of being able to hold it always on the strength of our own resources; and England, if not too weak, is certainly too prudent and too cautious to risk her last shilling and her last man in a country where, instead of a population of four millions, she will have scarcely one-tenth of that number to help her against the united power of a whole continent. To deny, therefore, the obvious advantages of Confederation you must first; rove that *union is not strength*—that England, under the Heptarchy, and France under her feudal chiefs and barons, were greater, and stronger, and happier than they now are as the two greatest nations of the world. You must prove that Lucerne, and Geneva, and Berne, and the Grisons, would be equally strong and secure out of the Confederation of their sister cantons in Switzerland; and that Florida, and Texas, and Delaware, and Little Rhode Island in the neighboring States would be stronger if detached from each other. You must prove that the petty and miserable Republics of Central America, with all their Responsible Government, and entire exemption from foreign control, are in any way benefitted by their smallness and isolation, and their reluctance to coalesce and form one strong government as the only possible guarantee for the lives and liberties, and happiness of all.

On the principle that the part is greater than the whole, you must prove that the smaller the state, the greater, and stronger, and happier the people; and that on your own principle the repeal of the Union at the present moment would be a signal benefit to Cape Breton, and Yarmouth, and Shelbourne, where they have far stronger local reasons for being dissatisfied with the central government in Halifax, than Nova Scotia can ever have for being united, with Ottawa as its capital, and the boundless British territory beyond our borders. Prove all this if you can, and without referring to the financial and commercial views at all, which are completely beyond and beside the question, you will convert me and thousands like me in Nova Scotia to the policy of having a large and effective militia, and paying heavy taxes for the debt already contracted, and the two contemplated railroads, and we shall contentedly settle down according to your scheme, with no hope within our natural life-time of having an Intercolonial Railroad or more frequent intercourse with our Sister Colonies and the vast country that extends for thousands of miles along their border.

I yield to no man in my heartfelt appreciation of the blessings we all enjoy in this country, and I ask for nothing more but to be able to calculate on their continuence.—*Sed hoc opus hic labor est.* This is the difficulty, and I will say with all candor, the only difficulty for me and all others who have everything to lose. No country situated as Nova Scotia now is, with a vast area and a sparse population, can reasonably hope to maintain its independence for any considerable period. Unless we are to be a single exception, and an anomaly in the history of nations, some change must come, and come soon. In a word Mr. Editor, as you say, "*Something must be done.*"

Instead of cursing like the boys in the upturned boat, and holding on until we are fairly on the brink of the cataract, we must at once begin to pray and strike out for the shore by all means, before we get too far down on the current. We must at this most critical moment invoke the Arbiter of Nations for wisdom, and abandoning in time our perilous position, we must strike out boldly, and at some risk, for some rock on the nearest shore—some resting place of greater security. A cavalry raid visit from our Fenian friends on horseback, through the plains of Canada, and the fertile valleys of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, may cost more in a sigle week than Confederation for the next fifty years, and if we are to believe you, where is the security even at the present moment against such a disaster. Without the whole power of the Mother Country by land and sea, and the concentration in a single hand of all the strength of British America, our condition is seen at a glance. Whenever the present difficulties will terminate — and who can tell the moment?—we will be at the mercy of our neighbors; and victorious or otherwise, they will be eminently a military people, and with all their apparent indifference about annexing this country, and all the friendly feelings that may be talked, they will have the power to strike when they please, and this is precisely the kernel and the only touch point of the whole question. No nation ever had the power of conquest that did not use it, or abuse it, at the very first favorable opportunity.

All that is said of the magnanimity and forbearance of mighty nations, can be explained on the principle of sheer expediency, as the world knows. The whole face of Europe has been changed, and the Dynasties of many hundred years have been swept away within our own time on the principles of might alone—the oldest, the strongest, and as some would have it, the most sacred of titles. The thirteen original States of America, with all their professions of self-denial, have been all the time, by money-power and by war, and by negociation, extending their frontier, until they more than quadrupeled their territory within sixty years; and believe it who may, are they now of their own accord, to come to a full stop. No; as long as they have the power, they must go onward, for it is the very nature of power to grip whatever is within its reach. It is not their hostile feelings, therefore, but it is their power, and only their power I dread; and I now state it as my solemn conviction, that it becomes the duty of every British subject in these Provinces to control that power, not by the insane policy of weakening them, but by strengthening ourselves—rising, with the whole of Britain at our back, to their level; and so be prepared for any emergency. There is no sensible or unprejudiced man in the community who does not see that vigorous and timely preparation is the only possible means of saving us from the horrors of a war *such as the world has never seen.* To be fully prepared is the only practical argument that can have weight with a powerful enemy, and make him pause beforehand and count the cost. And as the sort of preparation I speak of is utterly hopeless without the Union of the Provinces, so at a moment when public opinion is being formed on this vital point, as one deeply concerned, I feel it a duty to declare myself unequivocally in favor of Confederation as cheeply and as honorably obtained as possible, but Confederation at all hazards and at all reasonable sacrifices.

After the most mature consideration, and all the arguments I have heard on both sides for the last month, these are my inmost convictions on the necessity and merits of a measure which alone, under Providence, can secure to us social order and peace, and rational liberty, and all the blessings we now enjoy under the mildest Government and the hallowed institutions of the freest and happiest country in the world.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
† THOMAS L. CONNOLLY,
Archbishop of Halifax.

INTERCOLONIAL UNION.

ELOQUNT SPEECH OF HON. MR. McGEE.

Hon. Mr. McGee delivered a speech the other day at Compton, C. E., characterized by that singular ability which always distinguishes that gentleman's public efforts. We make room for some few extracts which will interest our readers:—

THE DEFENCE QUESTION.

* * * I will take as an instance of the irrationality of such an argument—the particular, the greatest question remaining between Canada and England: the question of defence. (Hear, hear.) The future general government has reserved to itself, saving the sovereignity of England, the control of our militia and military expenditure. Every one can see that a war between England and the United States would be largely a naval war, and such a naval war as the ocean has never before seen—(hear, hear)—a war that would interest and stir the heart of England even beyond the pitch that made her staid merchants astonish Lloyd's in 1813, with "three times three cheers," when they heard that the *Shannon* had fought and captured, and carried the *Chesapeake* a prize into Halifax harbour. (Cheers.) Suppose, then, in the event of an invasion of our soil, either in Upper Canada or Lower Canada—suppose that a flotilla was needed on the St. Lawrence, or on Lake Ontario—that England could spare us the gunboats, but not the skilled seamen—would it be no advantage to Canada to have the 30,000 Atlantic sailors of the Lower Provinces to call upon for their contingent to such a service? No doubt the Empire could call upon them now, but unless it restored the press-gang it could not make them come. But if by our Union we gave that valuable class of men the feeling of common country: if by the intercourse and commerce which must follow on our Union, that feeling grew to the strength of identity, we would have all the help of that description—drawn from what my colleague, Mr. Cartier, calls the "maritime element"—for the asking. (Cheers.) The Imperial power having conceded to all the North American Colonies Responsible Government, can only secure their co-operation, even in military measures, through those several separate governments. (Hear, hear.) Every one can see at a glance how much the Imperial power, and we ourselves, would gain in any emergency, if there were but two governments instead of six to be consulted—how much in promptitude, in decision, in time, in unanimity, and effectiveness. I need not enlarge, I am sure, on so self-evident a proposition as this; the man that will not see it, will not—that is all I need add on that score. (Laughter.) It has, indeed, been asserted by the sceptics in our work that all our theories of a closer commercial intercourse are chimerical, and yet, oddly enough, there are the very same people who think a commercial union would "secure all the benefits" of this chimerical prospect. (Laughter.) Well, I will not meet assertion by assertion, but I will answer a conjecture by a fact. At the very time the member for Hochelaga was issuing his rather inconsistent declaration against a political union, as among other reasons, wholly unprofitable in a commercial point of view—and in favor of a commercial union as all that was to be desired in itself—at that moment, the first steamship, laden with breadstuffs, direct from Montreal to Newfoundland, was dropping down the St. Lawrence, as a result of the partial and brief intercourse brought about between the two communities through our conference at Quebec! That is a fact not very important in itself, perhaps, but very indicative of the possible usefulness of Union in a commercial point of view! (Cheers.) I may mention another fact: while we were lying in Charlottetown harbour last September, our attention was called to the arrival of a fine sea-going steamship—one of the regular line between Boston and Prince Edward Island. The Boston people find the trade of that rich little Island worth cultivating, and they do it; they know where there is produce and where there is a market, and they establish a line of steamers to run there; yet I am sure they sell nothing to the Islanders which we, at third the distance, could not just as well supply them with, from Quebec or Montreal. (Cheers.) I repeat, however, I will not argue so plain a point, with Provinces like ours, as that union is strength, is reputation, is credit, is security. I will just give one other illustration on this last head, and then I will drop the topic where it is: the security for peace which a large political organization has over a small one, lies not only in its greater interests and disposable force but in this other consideration, that the aggressor must risk or lose the benefit of much larger transactions, in attacking a larger than in assailing a smaller State. If, for example, in our system of defence—in addition to all the Imperial Government could do for us—if we could, by our joint representative action, be sure to shut up the river St. John on the people of Maine—to exclude from the gulf the fishermen of Massachusetts—to withhold from the hearths and furnaces of New England the coal of Cape Breton—no man can question but that we would wield several additional means of defence, not now at the command of Canada. And so with the Lower Provinces, if their statesmen could wield our arms and our resources in addition to their own, does any sane man pretend that would not be an immense gain to them? (Hear, hear.) I may be told again the Imperial Government alone can neither do any of these things so promptly, so fully, nor with so little trespass on our responsible governments, as a united legislature could, through a united public force, with the aid of a Federal treasury. I really, gentlemen ought to beg your pardon—and I do so—for dwelling so long on the truism that union is, in our case, strength; but as the first proposition to which we all agreed at the first Conference, I thought I would give some explanation why we had unanimously arrived at that result. (Cheers.)

FEDERALISM AND IMPERIALISM.

Another objector opposes our project because colonial union is inconsistent with Imperial connection. Well, to that, we might answer that we are quite willing to leave it to the statesmen of the Empire themselves to decide that point. If England does not find it so, I think we may safely assume that *it is not so.* And, in point of fact, the Imperial Parliament several years ago decided the question when they passed the New Zealand Constitutional Act, establishing six or seven local governments, under one general government, in that Colony (Cheers.) Still another objector contends that the complement of Federalism is Republicanism, because most of the States with which we are familiar as Federal States, are also Republics. But this objection is by no means unanswerable. It is true Switzerland is a Republic in the sense of having no hereditary head, but the United Netherlands, when a Confederacy, were not a Republic in that sense. *It is true* the United States and Mexico, and the Argentine federations were all Republican in basis and theory; but it is also true that the German Confederation is, and has always been, predominently monarchical. There might be half as many varieties of federal governments as there are states or governments in the world; there may be aristocratic federations — like the Venetian — or monarchical like the German — or Democratic, like the United States; the only definition which really covers the whole species of governments of this description, is, the political union of States of dissimilar size and resources, to secure this external protection and internal tranquility. These are the two main objects of all the confederacies of States, on whatever principles governed, locally or unitedly; federalism is a political co-partnership, which may be, and has been formed by Monarchists, Aristocrats, and Democrats, Pagans and Christians, under the most various circumstances, and in all periods of human history. (Cheers.) There may be almost as many varieties of Confederation as of companies, in private and social life; we say, with propriety too, the company at the hotel, or the company who own the hotel; but the orgnization of each is widely different. Our federation will be British; it will be of the fourth class of Lord Coke's division, *de mutui Auxili*—for mutual aid. The only element in it not British is the sectional equality provided for in the Upper House, a principle which is known to be alike applicable to the Democratic confederation next us, and the Monarchical confederation of Germany.

MEXICO AND CANADA.

I have referred to the assertion of somewhat *similar principles to our own now* being made in Mexico. It would be strange if Canada could reach, by deliberation and forethought, the same results which Mexico has grasped at out of the miserable depths of her long anarchy. (Cheers.) We are not yet informed whether the new Emperor designs to consolidate his Provinces, or to leave them their organizations; but this I know, that with all the immense natural advantages of Mexico, I should, for my part, rather take my chance for the permanent establishment of a free monarchy in the North than in Mexico. (Cheers.) We have already solved for ourselves one great problem—the legal relation of Church and State—which is still before the rulers of Mexico. If we have but half the population, we have three times the number of men of pure European race that Mexico has; and while I own that I wish every success to the Mexican Empire, under the auspices of France, I have, I confess, still stronger hopes for the successful establishment of the free kingdom of Canada, under the auspices of Great Britain. (Cheers.)

"For fiery, fierce and fickle is the South;
But loving, dark and tender is the North."

BRITISH AMERICAN FEDERALISM ESSENTIALLY CONSERVATIVE.

We have also solved—so far as the late Conference could do so—for these Provinces—the relation of the Crown to the people—the sphere of the prerogative, and the sphere of the suffrage. We have preserved every British principle now in use among us, and we have recovered one or two that were well nigh lost; we have been especially careful not to trench on the prerogative of the Crown, as to the powers, rank, or income of its future representative on this continent; as to the dignity of the office, or to the style and title of the future kingdom or viceroyalty, or by whatever name it may be Her Majesty's pleasure to designate hereafter her dominions on this continent. (Cheers). Next to the United States we have the most extended suffrage in the new World; some think quite too far extended; but in our state of society, I do not see how that is to be avoided, in the selection, at least, of the tax-imposing House of Parliament. We have, besides, restored to the Crown one of its essential attributes when, as the fountain of honor, we leave to the Sovereign the confermation of the second, the smaller and more Conservative chamber, and we preserved for the Crown its other great attribute, as the fountain of justice, by retaining its right to appoint the Judges]—of course upon the advice of the Constitutional Councillors of the Queen in this country, who are in turn responsible to Parliament and the people for their advice and appointments. (Cheers). We have provided also, in our new arrangements, that the tenure of all officers shall be good behavior, in contradistinction to the "spoils principle" of our next neighbours. In all these respects we have built on the old foundations, in the spirit of the old wisdom, and we have faith, therefore, that our work will stand. (Loud cheers).

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY.

Naturally, gentlemen, we cannot expect that our course will be all plain sailing. We shall have our difficulties, as all States have had; and this brings me to refer to the powers remaining in the possession of the local legislatures. The difference of language between the majority of Lower Canada and the majority of the whole union is a difficulty; but it is a difficulty which almost every other nation has had and has solved; in Belgium they have at least two languages; in Switzerland they had three chief languages, German, French, and Italian; the federal form of Government—the compromise between great States and small—seems peculiarly adapted to conciliate difficulties of this description, and to keep politically together men of different origins and languages. (Hear, hear) I confess, I have less anxiety on this score than I have on another—the proper protection of the minority, in origin and religion, in Upper and Lower Canada, respectively. [Hear hear]. On this point there is, no doubt, a good deal of natural anxiety felt in the Townships, as the mare,