CORRESPODENCE.

To the Editor of the Examiner.

Dear Sir:—A few days ago I forwarded the following to the *Herald* for publication. The thing who has the management of that sheet finding it rather pointed and outspoken did not deem it expedient to comply with my request, but ordered one of his *Under Secretaries* to return the communication to me with a short note, *not post paid of course*. Mr. Reilly thought he was giving me a *murderous broadside* when he advised me to send it to the *Little Joker*. Although the subject of my communication to him—Edward Rielly—is one peculiarly adapted to the columns of the *Little Joker*, yet I do not feel disposed to gratify his morbid craving of worldly honor by allowing him to figure in its columns. I shall give my communication publicity in another paper, where its contents shall not be *considered as jokes*, but as *facts* which should cause any man, *even the publisher of a Vindicator*, to hide his face from public view.

I remain, Sir, yours truly,
J. H. FLETCHER.

Orwell Mills, Jan. 6th, 1865.

For the Herald.

Mr. Reilly:—Some time ago I received a number of the *Herald*, forwarded "*with the compliments of the Editor, W. W. Sullivan.*" Since then I have learned that you are its Editor and not he. As I have received six or seven copies regularly since that time, without the "*compliments of the Editor*," I may fairly presume that I am one of your subscribers. I would cheerfully continue a subscriber to your paper for several reasons, among others, the arguments you have urged against the Union of the Colonies are, in the main, in accordance with my own views upon that subject. But I have a strong reason for discontinuing your paper, and it is this:

Reason—You have deviated from your expressed purpose of continuing the controversy without descending to that abandoned practice of personal abuse. You were to vanquish your enemies, if I understood you aright, by sound argument and effective logic. But you—or whoever may be the Editor—have utterly lost sight of this wise resolution. The example taught you by the fate of the late *Vindicator* should have been amply sufficient to satisfy you that no journal can be acceptable to the reader, and consequently long-lived, unless it disclaims mendacity and vilification, and adheres to truth and justice. I consider that I would be doing wrong in supporting the *Herald* or any other paper that would drag such men as Whelan, Haviland and Gray—men whose names you well may envy—over your editorial arena, and there abuse them to the utmost of your feeble might. I believe that the proposed federation of British America would prove injurious to P. E. Island, that is, according to the conditions contained in the Report of the Quebec Conference. Yet, I do not, and cannot believe that either of these gentlemen would knowingly sacrifice the interests of their country. I believe them to be consistent in its advocacy. Small and narrow minds—minds that would think little of selling our rights and liberties for a mess of pottage—are the only ones capable of harbouring such an evil suspicion. No honest person would dream of the thought unless it was supported by unequivical testimony. It is really amusing to hear you accusing others of being "so very venomous, mendacious and unscrupulous." It forcibly reminds one of the "Devil reproving sinners." Mr. Whelan—notwithstanding the assertion of Dormice-like-Palmer-of-Toronto-*Dejeuner*-consistency, to the contrary, has been the unflinching supporter of Tenant's rights. He has had a large share in introducing and securing to us many of the noblest reforms and cherished privileges which we possess. He has been battling with our Island Dormice for boons which we now enjoy, while you were scampering over the streets alike regardless of our "rights and liberties," and the success of the measures for which he contended. To him you owe, in a great measure, the smattering knowledge of political science which you possess. Our best measures were advocated in his press, and defended by him in Parliament. His brilliant pen, his effective oratory has been cheerfully brought to bear against existing abuses that cried loudly for redress. Yet, forsooth, this is the man whom you, the publisher of a paper universally denominated "the foul-mouthed sheet," have dared to denounce as a traitor to his country! This is the man which your "envenomed" pen has cautioned the country to beware of!!

It appears, Sir, from the general tenor of your writings that you are not conscious of having vilified Mr. Whelan. You appear to imagine that you are at liberty to call others whatever your vocabulary of coarseness may suggest. Yet not one sharp word must be given in return. You can tell an honest man that he is guilty of "equivocation, shuffling, misrepresentation, and inconsistency," and all this, too, without a shadow of proof. Yet nothing must be said in reply. If pure patriotism prompted you to take the anti-Union side of the question, you at least would be expected to use argumentative language and truth, and not ridicule and dogmatism. What have you gained by telling the world that Mr. Whelan assured his readers that he was just about beginning to study the subject of Confederation? What have you gained by informing your readers that Col. Gray signed the Report on Sunday? You have gained such a notoriety, that, no matter how true may be the general part of your editorials, people will not know whether to believe them or not.

The Hon. Col. Gray and Mr. Haviland have also come in for a fair share of your favourite weapon—abuse. Both these gentlemen the country believes to be consistent advocates of Union. Ask the most bigotted liberal on the Island who he believes to be the most consistent, the most honourable, the most zealous friends of the people on the conservative side of the House, and he will at once tell you Gray and Haviland. Yet, with you, these men are inconsistent, and altogether unworthy of public confidence. Strange that Mr. Pope escapes so well the ire of your bitter pen. Whether Whelan, Gray, Haviland or Pope are right in thinking the Union a benefit to the Island or not, one thing at least must be said in their favor, and that is, they acted honestly and straightforward throughout. They told the Canadians what they thought of their country, laws, customs, resources and advantages, and of the contemplated Union; and what they told the Canadians they would do, they are now doing honestly. This conduct contrasts beautifully with that of another individual who pretended that he loved Canada, that he admired her people, her greatness, her magnitude, her intellectual ascendancy, and oh! how he would urge upon the people of his own loved Isle the necessity and wisdom of throwing in her lot with such a magnificent country. But lo! the tune is changed. I got what I wanted. I got myself filled with wine, with the good things of this life; I have been hospitably entertained, and had a glorious time of it. Canada, go to the dogs; I am now home, and can live without you! Strange consistency!! Will not Canada cry aloud—

"His love was lust, his friendship all a cheat,
His smiles hypocrisy, his words deceit."

Mr. Palmer may talk about reviewing his political acts and measures, which have conferred so much benefit upon the tenantry, and weighing them against Mr. Whelan's. He may save himself the trouble. We know well enough who it was that opposed the greatest boon ever conferred upon the tenantry—Free Education; who it was that opposed every measure the least unfavorable to the landlord; who would have denied us the right of self-government; who assisted in thwarting the passage of the Tenants' Compensation Bill; and who was ever ready to cry aloud that the "*time had not arrived*" when a reform was about to take place.

Now, Sir, for the present I conclude. When I shall have received the *Herald* for a *quarter*, you will forward your bill, and discontinue sending it any longer. But I would rather that it were stopped at once, for I cannot bear to encourage a paper that would blacken and vilify the character of the friend of the people. I will close by inviting your attention to the good old old Latin truism—"*Canes timidi vehementius latrant.*"

Yours as ever,
J. H FLETCHER.

Orwell Mills, Dec. 20th, 1864.

To the Editor of the Examiner.

IMPORTANT ULTIMATUM.

Sir:—The Honorable George Beer has been pleased to announce in the *Islander* of the 13th instant, the conditions upon which *he*, on behalf of Prince Edward Island, would enter the proposed confederation of the British North American Colonies. This ultimatum of the Honorable Gentleman is matter of much general satisfaction, as fixing the action P. E. Island will take in the all absorbing Union question. And in this ultimatum, the public voice declares that the crisis has produced in Mr. Beer the man equal in statesmanly acquirements to the occasion.

All eyes are fixed upon the Honorable George Beer, as a most reliable and personally disinterested statesman; nay, a patriot whose country's good is the sole fulcrum of his action; and as all believe that he is the man to hold and direct the helm of the state, it would be exceedingly gratifying if the Honorable Gentleman's modesty would permit him to inform the public upon what terms he would fill the vacuum in the Executive Council of this Island.

Pro Bono Publico.

[For the Examiner.]

SUMMERSIDE TOWN TALK.

The talk is now for and against the Union of the Colonies. The talk is about the meetings which took place in Brown's Hall, to discuss the merits of the Union. The talk is that the silly "Town Talk" in *Ross's Weekly* is only fit for the columns of the *Little Joker*. The talk is that when the *Weekly* refers to meetings at Summerside, he ought to have something better than Town talk for his authority.

The talk is that the people here have intelligence and independence enough to talk good common sense, without any assistance from the *Weekly*, the *Little Joker*, or the Secretary.

The talk is that the Secretary knew no more of the meeting here than Ross does about the man in the moon.

That the gentleman alluded to as the "Prince of Merchants" did not countenance the meeting; that he is an anti-Unionist, and that every proprietor on the Island is against it.

The talk is that that being the case, how could Palmer be in favour of it, seeing that the time "*had not arrived*" to relieve the tenantry.

There is some further talk about Palmer's inconsistency.

The true talk is that the people in general are in want of information upon the "Union Question"; and the latest talk is that those in want of knowledge will receive very little in *Ross's Weekly* or the *Little Joker*, and that the *Little Joker* ought to be called the "*Great Humbug.*"

The Examiner.

Charlottetown, January 16, 1865.

PUBLIC OPINION ON COLONIAL CONFEDERATION.

Nearly all the Provincial papers, of all shades of politics, clerical and secular, continue to devote large portions of their space to the discussion of the Federation question.—Journalists that were previously opposed to it, in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, are now ranked amongst its ablest advocates. The whole of the religious press of Halifax is in favour of the measure, and the secular press, with one or two exceptions, is on the same side. In St. John, N. Brunswick, the case is nearly similar. The only paper in that city, conducted with ability, which every one must allow, and commanding a certain degree of influence, which offers strong opposition to Confederation, is the *Freeman*. But we are inclined to think the Editor of the *Freeman* dislikes the men at the head of the movement in New Brunswick more than he does Confederation itself. The *Globe*, of St. John, was at first strongly opposed to it; but it is rapidly toning down; the *Telegraph*, of the same city, was also a strong opponent; but its able editors are daily giving abundant reason to believe that they will very soon become the most enthusiastic advocates of Confederation. The *Colonial Presbyterian*—a journal which influences the opinions of a very large portion of the inhabitants of all the Colonies, (Prince Edward Island included)—was also amongst those journals which, at the outset, took an unfavourable view of Confederation. *The Colonial Presbyterian*, whose editor wields an able and skilful pen, is now one of the ablest advocates of the measure. In an article recently published by the *Presbyterian*, entitled "Federation in its Financial, Commercial and Political Aspects," the editor alludes to the fact that the Delegates hitherto have been merely acting on the defensive, and dealing with sectional questions, leaving undiscussed the broad and comprehensive aspects which the whole subject presents. The *Colonial Presbyterian* remedies this defect in the discussions by the following well written observations:—

"We are, by supposition, giving up what may be called a certainty, namely, our ever increasing customs' and other duties, for a comparative uncertainty, namely, the benefits of Federation, reserving, however, an allowance sufficient for present purposes. Yet, it should not be forgotten that if it be necessary to face the question of self-defence, whether at the instance of England, or moved by the danger of collision with the United States, we can hardly call anything certain so long as this question of self-defence is not settled. We notice this matter, at present, only in its fiscal and commercial bearings; we *might* be better off, as regards defence, under Federation, and we could not be worse than at present. What, then, would be our financial and commercial prospects under Federation? would there be any likelihood that we could deal with our debt more easily, and thus have money for local improvements, or that the volume of our commercial transactions would be so increased as that we could *afford* our new establishment? To the first question we may reply, that should the Confederate Government be established on a firm basis, and be able to impart a feeling of security to European capitalists, it might deal with its finance in a way which seperate Provinces could hadly expect to do. It would not be surprising to see Mr. Galt convert the six per cent debentures into five per cents, thus getting rid of a sixth of the entire interest, and eventually extinguishing a proportionate principal sum. Not only so, but the Government, whose rightful prerogative it would be to deal with the currency, and whose credit ought to be as good in its own domain as in foreign countries, might, in a few years, greatly reduce the debt in a perfectly legitimate manner. It might make its debentures the security basis, under a uniform system of banking (saving all existing interests), and thus give a currency of uniform value to every corner of the Confederation; and since the State would have as good a right to the use of its own credit as any Company deriving its right to issue notes by a charter from the State, it might supply a certain proportion of the currency absolutely required for commercial purposes, and so far as it might do so, it would either virtually extinguish so much debt, or provide funds for the developement of the Confederacy. It is confidence that is mainly needed to float a currency, and make its redemption not desirable by the holder, and we could neither ask nor obtain better security than that which pledges the revenues of the State for the payment of the interest on its debt. It is only the vast and utterly disproportionate issue of United States currency, consequent on the almost unprecedented waste of war, that has caused its depreciation. As it is, in the hands of men of integrity and ability, at the helm of affairs, that currency of uniform value may yet prove a vast national boon. When the state is gone all is gone; and while it remains all is secure; its debts are specially secure, if the State can obtain capital freely for the development of its material resources, without imposing intolerable burdens on the people. To the second question we answer, generally, that the wisdom of the policy of Free Trade as against protection (opposing tariffs being virtually of a protective character), is not now an open question. It has been triumphantly settled in favor of Free Trade. The providential disposition of the products of nature proclaims the interchange of commodities as the design of the Creator. Science and art facilitate such exchanges, and why should man, himself confessedly interested in them, make the transactions more complicated and difficult than they otherwise would be? Passing from the abstract question to its concrete realities, let us enquire in what way Free Trade would be likely to operate within the domain of Confederation? Despite the heavy opposing tariff of the five Provinces, the value of the manufactured articles now imported from England and the United States amounts annually to a very large sum of money. Very many of them could be manufactured in any of the Provinces. They are now sold at a profit. Under Free Trade, in the case of local manufactures, they could be sold at lower rates to the consumer and at greater profit to the manufacturer. As Federation would secure a splendid market and a remunerative price, in a country lightly taxed, as compared with others, whether European or American, and in which food is comparatively cheap, manufactures would be a sure result of Federation. They would attract local capital; they would attract English capital; they would attract American capital, for material interests carry the day. John Bull may experience a shivering sensation as he thinks of the frost and snows of British America; the American may prefer the new life of a great Republic to the historic associations which constitute a venerable constitutional monarchy; but let it be made clear to the Englishman that he may have ample security and ample profits in the new empire, and to the American that he can enjoy, under the British flag, nearly all the advantages which the American Union afforded prior to the war, with only a very small portion of its burdens, and the Englishman will forget all about the cold of New Brunswick, and the American give up the stars and stripes, and both will be found entering into a trading partnership under the auspices of the new Confederation.

It is admitted that the political and commercial union of the Lower Provinces, by increasing the market for manufactured goods, would give an immense stimulus to trade, but the greater union will include and extend the advantages of the less.—Canada will, indeed, sell to us, but we shall also sell to Canada. The ramifications of trade are truly wonderful, especially as regards the lighter wares. While, not long ago, standing for a few moments in a wholesale boot and shoe store in New York, we saw cases of goods dispatched to some of the most distant cities of the Western States, as they used to be sent to the Southern States, and, on enquiry (an enquiry which was answered by a young gentleman from St. John,) we learned that the cost of transit by express would only add a very few cents per pair to the cost of a pair of boots, leaving a large margin for profit. Foreign capitalists in selecting a locality would naturally prefer a maritime port to an inland city; they would choose Halifax and St. John in preference to the "semi-annual" maritime cities of Montreal, Quebec, or Toronto. The increase of manufactures implies the increase of wealth and population, and also increased need for shipping, as well as railway carriage. If duties shall be imposed on ships' materials, as New Brunswick with a small tariff against her own excels Canada in ship-building, with that odds in favor of the latter, she will surpass her, when they are placed on equality, whether with or without the duty. No other nation can build ships under more favorable circumstances than the Confederation. If manufactures increase, and ships can be built to make a profit, the farmer can see that his interests will not suffer. The increase of population in the commercial centres will give him more customers, and at better prices, for his butter, beef, pork, grain, potatoes and everything he has to sell: he will undoubtedly pay more taxes in course of time, but if his real estate becomes more and more valuable; if he can, as tens of thousands of farmers will, hear the sound of the snortings of the railway horse, as he courses between Halifax and Bangor, or between St. John and Quebec, at no vast distance in miles from his dwelling, may it not be worth his while to pay for his introduction to the privileges of civilized life, including taxation itself?

In a political point of view every one will admit that, other things being equal, union, unless physical and geographical considerations hinder, would be desirable. Now it cannot be denied, and no candid reasoner will deny, that in Federation we should have to contend with serious physical difficulties, but it might give the ability to help to "annihilate time and space" and make five Federated provinces "happy." Defence must gain by centralization; it must gain by British co-operation with colonial spirit and manliness, and, if need be, sacrifice.—We have a country which we should preserve from anarchy within, or aggression without; we have a noble free-hold domain, in which no hereditary burdens need crush the efforts, blight the hopes, or quench the aspirations of future freemen. This inheritance is worth the price of insurance, even if that should be high. The millennium has clearly not yet arrived, so we must insure, be the cost what it may. We do not know that any power will ever attack us; we are not absolutely certain that we could, even with British aid, repel all attacks without fearful loss and damage to our cities and country, but it surely will not be found easy to smite down, and keep down, millions of patriotic men, resolved to repel invasion, in a country walled with gunboats and ships of war, with an old, rich and powerful nation at their back, fighting in self-defence, for national existence. On our own account we should at least make the attempt, on account of old England we should do so.—Those who tell us that she is ready to part with her colonial *prestige* may represent a certain portion of English sentiment, but there is no reason to think they represent the views of the British Government. English statesmen are too wise not to recognise the fact that British America, shielded in its youth, might as its millions increase to tens and twenties, and upwards, be able to rally to the defence of the old flag, should the despots of Europe ever combine to trample it in the dust. Here the navies, the armies of England might find men and material resources, but if no spirit of self-sacrifice can now be evolved, we would be of little value to England, and do little credit to ourselves.

We have not touched upon the political aspects of Federal Legislation. We can only, at present, note that it would be manifestly unfair to assume that the design of the majority would be to crush the interests of the minority. Party government and natural combinations would be a check upon such a policy, if attempted. We should rather infer that the central goverement would find its account in fostering all the members of the Federation as much as possible, so that they might yield a flourishing revenue. It might also be expected that "as small countries make small men" the wider political sphere would increase the inducements to accept a higher style of education, and produce a more elevated class of politicians, lawyers of Confederate reputation, lecturers who will undertake engagements all the way from Quebec to St. John, and preachers whose name and fame will be as well known in Halifax and St. John as in Montreal and Toronto. The local legislature (under proper safeguards) may bring to light men of great and unknown capacity; their aspirations will be towards the Federal Parliament (with its big salaries and wide field) and this will supply a motive power to their intellectual energies. These are some of the more favorable aspects of Federation: we frankly adduce them and confront them with the case on the other side, which we have also made as strong as we could, though hardly as strong, that is, we have hardly made Federation as weak as some of its advoates have done, and it is for the people to say whether they will accept or reject Federation. We are inclined to think that its advantages surpass its probable drawbacks, and that its acceptance will best secure and promote the commercial prosperity, and social and intellectual well-being of the Confederated Provinces.

The St John *Courier*—the oldest journal in New Brunswick, and one which is always remarkable for the moderation of its tone in discussing public questions—after referring, in a recent article, to the mere "pounds, shillings and pence" view of the subject, thus discourses upon the question in the large and statesmanlike spirit with which it should be regarded:—

"But why cavil about a few cents per head in a question where so many important interests are involved, and where the results are calculated to affect so vitally the future of these North American Colonies? The matter should be regarded from a higher stand point than that of a few additional cents per head of indirect taxes. The signs of the times portend an early change in the position of these Provinces. What that change shall be is within the power of the people themselves to determine. Admitting, as all will, that we cannot muchlonger remain in our present isolated condition on the confines of a warlike neighbor, with different tariffs, different laws, and different currency, there are but two alternatives open for us, one or the other of which we must choose at no distant day—we must either drift into "the maw of the great democracy," or we must become a consolidated government, acknowledging allegiance to the Sovereign of the British realm, whose virtues we so much revere, and to a government beneath whose ægis the rights and liberties of the subject, whether peer or peasant, are jealously guarded. So circumstanced, there is little doubt as to which of the two alternatives the people of these Provinces, whose loyalty is proverbial, and whose respect for British laws and British customs is unsurpassed, will make choice, and there can be little question as to which of the two conditions would be most to our advantage. A few cents per head in addition to the amount we now have to pay will be but a drop in the bucket compared with the weight of responsibility and debt we would have to bear if annexed to the Republic. Having thus signified our preference for Union among ourselves rather than of annexation to the States, the next point to consider is the kind of Union we should adopt. This is an important point, but it is one which the careful student of past history and the thoughtful observer of present realities will find little difficulty in deciding. A Federal Union such as is in operation in the States, where the powers of the Central and the State Governments clash, and where there is no Executive responsibility, would not work harmoniously; nor would a Legislative Union operate satisfactorily over a wide extent of territory and among people whose interests are so diversified as those of the British Provinces. What we require is a Union that will give to a Central Government the control in matters of general interest, and leave to the Local Legislatures the power of regulating matters of a purely local character; the former body to take cognizance of all new matters for which special provision has not been made. This appears to be the kind of Union which is developed in the Confederation scheme, and it is the one most likely to meet the approval of the whole people. There may be some defects in the details, there may be some inequalities which will require rectifying: but shall we neglect the scheme on that account? As yet the opponents of the scheme have not pointed out one better or more equitable; whether a further sifting of the question will enable them to do so we leave time to determine."

MR. PALMER AND CONFEDERATION AGAIN.

We alluded in our last to the fact of the *Protestant*, of this city, copying an article from the Halifax *Citizen*, in which an attempt is made to excuse Mr. Palmer for his deceitful speech at the Toronto *Dejeuner*; and we thought, and still think, that our contemporary here was not actuated by a spirit of fair play in declining to copy from the *Morning Chronicle* the article in reply to the *Citizen*, simply because Mr. Laird *supposes* that the article in the *Chronicle* was written by one of the Nova Scotia Delegates. We do not know or care who wrote it, nor do the public care. The question for us to consider, is this: Does the article in the *Chronicle* faithfully state the facts of the case? We believe it does, and our readers will be able to decide that question for themselves presently. We ask Mr. Laird would it not be a feeble and paltry way to dispose of a dashing article in his paper, which seemed to call for a reply, by saying: "O, this is of 'no account,' it contains nothing but 'the ravings' of Mr. David Laird."

But let us give the *Citizen's* article, upon which Mr. Laird has set so much value as a defence of Mr. Palmer. It is as follows:—

"Confederation is killed in Prince Edward Island, but its influence has broken up the Government of the Colony. Hon. Col. Gray and Hon. J. C. Pope have resigned their seats in the Cabinet, ostensibly on account of the personal conduct of Hon. E. Palmer, the Attorney General, but really because that gentleman, with a majority of the Government, has strongly opposed Confederation. Mr. Palmer and Hon. George Coles, the able leader of the Liberal Opposition, were in a minority among their brother delegates from the Island, in opposing Confederation, and accordingly they accepted their position as a minority, by signing the report of the Conference, not as approving but authenticating it. Mr. Palmer also accepted his position when called upon at the Toronto banquet to speak for the Island delegates, by uttering the usual compliments and desires for better acquaintance among the Colonies, and that general approval of Union in the abstract, which is very different from approval of this peculiar scheme. Mr. Palmer felt that he could speak in this way safe from all chance of misconception by his brother delegates who were fully aware of his uncompromising hostility to the measure. When, therefore, Mr. Pope, his co-delegate and the editor of the *Islander*, tried to make the people believe that their delegates had unanimously accepted the scheme, both Mr. Palmer and Mr. Coles denied the statement. Col. Gray, being an extreme advocate of Confederation, having, it is said, a notion of the person who would likely be governor of the Island under the new arrangement, rushed hotly into print, and got the worst of it. Mr. Palmer, in the minority at Quebec, had the majority at his back in Charlottetown, and both the Colonel and Mr. Secretary Pope seeing, as the organ of the latter confesses, that not one in ten is in favor of Confederation in the Island, sulkily blame Mr. Palmer for not aiding them to thrust it on the people, and have tried to force him out of the government. Unable to no so, Col. Gray and a brother of the Secretary have resigned themselves. Their plea is that they cannot sit with honour in the company of one who says one thing in Toronto and the reverse in Charlottetown; and Col. Gray is ridiculously apologetic to the Mayor and Toronto for the outrage, he asserts, they have suffered from Mr. Palmer's lips. But the Attorney General is master of the situation; most of his colleagues are with him, the leading men of the Opposition are with him, and, what is more to the point, the country is with him. Reconstruction, or may be condition is necessary to the Island; but Messrs. Gray and Pope will soon find out that that their Confederation policy and their resignations were fatal mistakes. If they stay out of public life as long as the Island will stay out of Confederation, their final bow is made."

We cannot stop to point out all the errors in the foregoing—they are quite numerous, and will be apparent to every intelligent reader. We must, however, corret two very palpable errors. 1st—It is said that Mr. Palmer and Mr. Coles signed the Report of the Conference: Mr. Coles *did not sign it*—Mr. Palmer *did*. 2nd—When Mr. Palmer expressed at Toronto his approval of Union, he did not for one moment let his audience believe that it was an "abstract" proposition he was referring to, but he spoke with direct reference to the "peculiar scheme" which had been brought under his notice at Quebec. But we shall give the *Chronicle's* reply to the *Citizen*, which is more effective than any remarks we can offer. After quoting the *Citizen's* apology for Mr. Palmer's deceit, the *Chronicle* says:—

"Let us first understand Mr. Attorney General Palmer's position. He was there as a Crown officer and a member of the Executive Council of P. E Island, with its honor and its character in his keeping. For aught that appears to the world, to the British Government, and will appear to all posterity, he may have been the most active uncompromising supporter of the entire project. The Colonial Minister has already adopted the plain common sense reading of the Report, and Mr. Cardwell, speaking of it, states that they (the delegates) "have conducted their deliberations with patient sagacity, and have arrived at unanimous conclusions," &c. Now that is true or it is false. If true, the statement in the *Citizen* is indefensible. If untrue, then Mr. Attorney General Palmer has deceived the British Government and every person who heard his remarks at the Toronto dejeuner. The editors of the *Citizen* contend that he did not deceive his co-delegates—and that they "were fully aware of his uncompromising hostility to the measure." This assertion on the part of the *Citizen* editors, we have the highest authority for stating, is as gratuitous as it is unwarranted. They can have no authority for their assertion, unless it be that of those who already stand convicted of having deceived the British Government and all the world besides.

Mr. Palmer or Mr. Coles may have differed in opinion on various points of the report, as others undoubtedly did; but what apology or excuse can be offered for the Attorney General of a Province who enters no protest, files no remonstrance, during the entire sixteen days of the session, nor at its close, accepts the hospitality of Corporation after Corporation as their guest, sits at the same table, hears his co-delegates commit themselves in the most unequivocal manner to the scheme, making no sign of dissent or disagreement, and eventually, in returning thanks for the Government he represented, uses the following language:—

"They were asked to join in this union. Their Canadian friends came over to them, and they listened to them, and they were proud to hear them. They resolved very soon that there would be a union, as far as circumstances would permit, on the model of the British nation. The Provinces were unanimous on that. They next resolved that each colony and each Province should preserve its privileges and free institutions. In that they were all unanimous. They next agreed that the trade of the whole colonies should be dealt with fairly and equitably; that the tariffs should be equalized throughout, as far as it was possible to do so. They next agreed that whatever necessity might require them to fix the tariff at, as regards the outside world, they would enjoy free trade among themselves. (Cheers) The Islanders were a careful and thinking people. Perhaps they were a little doubtful at hearing these propositions at first, because they were at present as happy and contented a people as any under British rule. Yet he would venture to say, whatever the community might be, *the delegates representing the Island would not hesitate to recommend to their Government* that great union which he *hoped soon to see accomplished*. (Cheers.) Speaking then of Canada, the hon. gentleman expressed satisfaction with what he had seen, especially with the schools, and with the skill of Canadian mechanics, as proved in the apparatus they constructed for those schools. *He concluded by expressing a hope that the union of the Provinces would soon be consummated*, and resumed his seat amid loud cheers."

When Attorney General Palmer addressed the people of Toronto in this language he had not signed the Report. The paper, we understand, had not been engrossed. He signed it on a subsequent day, and whatever his mental reservations may have been, if he then had any—it is unfortunate for him that no record remains of the fact. We deeply regret to be compelled to make this exposure, and but for the fact that the Halifax *Citizen*, the Anti Unionists' organ of this city, have taken Mr. Palmer under their protection, and made common cause with him by justifying his conduct, we should not have considered it necessary to have held his case up for public disapprobation.

But, it appears, in addition to what we have already exposed, that before he made his speech or had signed the report, he was playing double with his colleagues and the Conference, and a private correspondence conducted with the editor of the Island *Monitor*, since published, proves it. Upon this subject, Colonel Gray, in his letter containing his resignation as leader of the Island Government, has the following:—

"It is apparent, from a perusal of Mr. Palmer's speech at Toronto, and his communications to the "Protestant" and "Monitor" newspapers, and the extracts from his private letter to the editor of the latter journal, which have been published, that at the time when Mr. Palmer spoke at Toronto, on the 3d November, and expressed his desire to see the Union of the Colonies accomplished, and the many strong reasons which should lead the delegates to recommend it to the Government or people of this Island, he was, in fact, hostile to the whole measure—so 'disgusted' with it, to use the words of his own letter, that 'he would sit by the waters of Babylon and weep, did he suppose the people of this Island could be taken in by it.'"

History, we think, will be ransacked in vain to find anything so unpardonable as the conduct of this Minister of the Crown, and we shall not be a little surprised, no matter what comes of Confederation, in the Island or elsewhere, if, notwithstanding the *Citizen's* high approbation of his conduct, Mr. Palmer's conduct is not, soon or late, marked by the disapprobation of Her Majesty's Government. The *Citizen* continues in a strain of triumph as follows:

"Their plea is that they cannot sit with honor in the company of one who says one thing in Toronto and the reverse in Charlottetown, and Colonel Gray is ridiculously apologetic to the Mayor and citizens of Toronto, for the outrages he asserts they have suffered from Mr. Palmer's lips. *But the Attorney General is master of the situation; most of his colleagues are with him, the leading men of the Opposition are with him, and, what is more to the point, the country is with him.*"

Perhaps so. But what is it to be master of a situation under circumstances like that? Honor, probity, self-respect, public respect—all gone; and yet "master of the situation." We confess that we are not a little surprised that anybody could be found in a British Province to make common cause, or attempt the defence of one who for any consideration could stoop to the indignity with which Attorney General Palmer's conduct stands forever stamped.

Mr. Palmer may proceed to conduct the Government of the Island in all but open, undisguised hostility to the British Government and its policy. We envy him not the task. Governor Dundas is directed, by Mr. Cardwell's despatch, to take immediate measures for submitting the Report of the Conference to the Island Legislature, and the British Minister expresses his hope that "they will sanction and adopt the scheme." Will Mr. Palmer mock Her Majesty's Government by submitting the project and using his best influence in Parliament, as he is doing out of it, to defeat and destroy it? Perhaps the editors of the *Citizen* will aid him with their advice and counsel how best to continue his double-dealing, and pilot him through the rocks and shoals of the Bay of Duplicity, where he has anchored his reputation. Who, apart from the *Citizen*, envies him his renown, or would covet the fame he will have acquired among the leading statesmen of all the Provinces, among Englishmen the world over, or with the British Government? We shall look forward with some interest to see what attitude he asumes towards Her Majesty's Government, and what the Imperial reward will be for one who has attempted to betray his colleagues and deceived mankind.

Mr. Palmer has, it seems, thought fit, in addition to all else, to publish a statement that, until the appointment of Governors was decided upon, the operations of the Conference was slow and difficult, and immediately after that all went on rapidly, or to that effect. We have what we consider the very highest authority for denouncing this statement as entirely unwarranted, and that so far from such being the case, there was not a word of discussion nor a difference of opinion expressed upon the clause, and that it passed *sub silentio*.

It is with deep regret—and we repeat it—that we feel called upon to indite this critique, but the action of the Anti-Unionist organ here makes it all but imperative.

WEALTH, RESOURCES AND BUSINESS OF CANADA.

The opponents of Confederation in this Island are anxious to make it appear that Canada is a miserably impoverished country—that she has a heavy debt hanging over her, without any means of meeting it; and that she desires a union with the Lower Provinces, in order to keep her out of her difficulties. Nonsense of this kind is continually repeated. Now, we have the testimony, on the other side, of a gentleman who went to Canada with a large stock of prejudice against that country—he went to see whether she really was in a hopeless state, and to judge from his own observation whether a union was desirable with her or not. The gentleman to whom we allude is Mr. Livingston, of the St. John *Telegraph*—who is now in Canada, forming his judgment of that country from personal observation. A few months ago he could not bear the thought of any connection with Canada: who that, reads from his pen the following glowing description of Canadian wealth and greatness, will say that he desires to shun connection with her now?—

"Canada contains about three hundred and sixty thousand square miles of territory; has one hundred and sixty millions acres of land, of which forty millions are already granted and eleven millions are under cultivation; and has has a coast line from the Gulf of St Lawrence to Lake Superior, of over two thousand miles. Canada now possesses over two thousand miles of railroads, traversing the country in all directions, and adding immensely to the value of water communication and private property. These railways cost one hundred millions of dollars. One bridge alone cost twelve millions.—Canada has four thousand five hundred miles of Telegraph Lines, which transmit three quarters of a million of messages every year. Canada has two hundred and fifty miles of Canals which cost sixteen millions of dollars, and last year carried over three million tons of freight, from which the Provincial Government received tolls amounting to nearly four hundred thousand dollars. The rivers of Canada are numbered by thousands; three of them, with their tributaries, alone drain one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of land. Five or six Canadian Lakes cover eighty-four thousand square miles of surface. The Mail Routes of Canada embrace fifteen thousand miles of wagon Roads. On these are two thousand Post Offices which distribute annually eleven millions of *letters*, to say nothing of newspapers. The cost of maintaining the Post Office Department is itself three quarters of a million of dollars a year; nevertheless the income exceeds the expenditure.

The Mineral wealth of Canada is almost fabulous, and only awaits the introduction of British and American capital to astonish the world. The Acton copper mine in Lower Canada is among the richest in existence, although the operations of the present proprietors have been partially paralyzed by attempts to do too much. The Lake Superior copper has already become famous for the extent of the deposit and the value of the ore; while Lake Superior and St. Maurice Iron need only to be mentioned to arrest the attention of practical miners. The iron deposits of the Lake Superior country are believed to be inexhaustible. The gold diggings of the Chaudiere and Gilbert rivers in the Eastern Townships have turned out well within the last two years. I have seen the men who have handled the precious metal in that region. Americans have taken up immense quantities of land there, and are preparing to invest largely in mining operations next year. Some have leased blocks of land of from one hundred to two hundred square miles in extent each. A new Company has just been formed in New York with a capital of five millions of dollars, to operate on the Chaudiere. The capital of companies and private individuals now engaged there is counted by millions. The trade returns show that "the produce of the Mines" exported from Canada last year amounted to nearly nine hundred thousand dollars.—Probably as much more went out of the country in private hands, besides what was retained by persons belonging to the Province. The Oil Wells of Upper Canada are still flowing; the region embraced by these is some ten thousand square miles in extent!

The Militia of Canada is being placed on an excellent footing. It now numbers ninety thousand men. The Volunteers alone number some thirty thousand. Four hundred thousand pounds of powder has been manufactured at Hamilton for their use this year. They require about one hundred and twenty drill instructors. Three hundred companies received clothing from Government last year, and the payments to Brigade Majors and for Drill Instruction alone amounted to seventy-five thousand dollars. The cost of the Militia last year was nearly a half million. This year Military Schools have been established at great expense, and Company and Regimental drill has been more frequent; the whole expense can scarcely fall short of three quarters of a million of dollars. While I write, arrangements are being made to send a considerable force of Militia to the American frontier to prevent the crimping of Canadians for the Federal Army, as well as the raids of Southerners into the States from Canada. There is great enthusiasm in the service, especially since it is known that the Government intend to appoint the Drill Instructors for the Militia from among the young Canadians who have graduated at the Military Schools. The population of Canada capable of bearing arms numbers nearly a half million.

But passing from the Militia—I find that in Canada there are nearly three hundred newspapers, employing probably two thousand persons; there are also three thousand Clergymen. From 1829 to 1864 one million emigrants arrived at the ports of Quebec and Montreal alone, one-third of whom probably took up their residence here. The Government gives a half million dollars for Educational purposes, and the municipalities and people raise nearly two millions more. One University in Canada has cost private individuals from two to three hundred thousand dollars for the buildings alone! Another has an annual income of fifty-five thousand dollars. There are over eight thousand schools, of all descriptions, in the Province, educating nearly six hundred thousand boys and girls. Over two million acres of land are appropriated to the aid of the Collegiate Institutions of Lower Canada.

The Manufactures of Canada are conducted on a most extensive scale; as far as I can ascertain in this City, Mr. Lawrence's quotations of prices are pretty near the mark.—Quebec, however, is not a manufacturing city.

To commence with the manufacture of lumber, Canada contains over two thousand saw mills, and in one year cut nearly eight hundred million feet of lumber! She has over two hundred distilleries and breweries, which last year produced over nine million gallons of spirits and malt liquors, yielding an excise duty of over seven hundred thousand dollars. These breweries and stills consumed over one million six hundred thousand bushels of grain and malt. There are at least one thousand flour, grist and oat mills in this country; two hundred and fifty carriage factories—perhaps more; quite two hundred foundries; one hundred and fifty carding mills; one hundred and thirty woollen factories, and five hundred tanneries.—Other and less important factories are numberless. In speaking of the crops of Canada only millions can be used. Canada produces annually between twenty-five and thirty millions bushels of wheat; twelve million bushels of peas; forty million bushels of oats; over a million and a half tons of hay; thirteen millions bushels of buckwheat; twenty-eight million bushels of potatoes; nearly twenty million bushels of turnips; kills thirty million pounds of beef; shears five and a half million pounds of wool; kills four million pounds of pork; and makes forty-two to forty-five million pounds of butter.

The cattle, milch cows, horses, sheep and pigs on hand number considerably over two millions. This is something like farming. Time would fail me to give anything more than an outline of the products of this Province. Of her Fisheries, however, I may say that they produce annually about one and a half million dollars. Lower Canada alone has two thousand five hundred fishing vessels. The Magdalen Islands, which belong to Canada, own two hundred and seventy fishing craft.

The Banking Capital of the chartered Banks of Canada is some thirty-three million dollars—much less, I should judge, than the necessities of trade require.

The Province paid seven hundred thousand dollars last year to secure the "Administration of justice" alone; while the cost of Legislation amounted to over six hundred thousand dollars more. The Board of Works has disbursed, on an average for the last ten years nearly one million and a quarter dollars annually! The Canadian Government has received and disbursed in that period probably one hundred and thirty million dollars of revenue. The income for the present year is probably sixteen millions.

The imports of Canada last year footed up forty-six millions and her exports forty-two millions. Of her imports twenty-three millions were from the United States, and of these nineteen millions came in free under the Reciprocity Treaty. Canada's imports from Great Britain amounted to twenty millions. The import duty collected was over five millions. Of her exports (forty-two millions,) seventeen millions went to Great Britain, and twenty millions to the United States. For instance: the States took over three hundred thousand dollars worth of copper, iron ore, scrap iron, stone, and earth oil, and one hundred thousand dollars worth of fish and furs; nearly four and a half million dollars worth of plank, boards and other descriptions of lumber and timber; over four million dollars worth of horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, butter, wool, hides, sheep's pelts, &c., &c; nearly nine million dollars worth of barley, oats, wheat, flour, meal, peas, &c., &c.; and over half a million dollars worth of tobacco, cottons, hardware, leather, rags, sugar boxes and other manufactures, besides coin, bullion and other articles valued at nearly two millions more. Among the larger items of Canadian exports to all parts of the world in '63, I may mention the following: three hundred and two million feet of plank and boards; sixty thousand standard of deals; nine hundred and twenty thousand tons of hardwood, pine and tamarac; one hundred and fifty-six thousand cords firewood, &c, &c.; seven millions lbs. butter, two and a half million lbs. wool; one million barrels flour; nearly twelve millions bushels wheat, oats, peas, barley and rye; over a million lbs. tobacco; one hundred and fifty thousand head of horses, cattle, swine and sheep; nearly two hundred and fifty thousand cwt. of fish, and about a half million gallons mineral oil. The receipts of flour and grain at Montreal in '62 equalled twenty-five and a quarter million bushels; the exports were near seventeen million bushels. The storage capacity of the Montreal warehouses is over a million bushels wheat, and a half million barrels of flour. The tonnage of vessels that arrived at Montreal in '62 was over a quarter million, exclusive of river craft. One hundred and seventeen sea-going vessels have been lying in the port of Montreal, and over three hundred in the port of Quebec, at one time. The grain carrying capacity of the craft connected with the inland trade of Montreal is equai to two million bushels.

I need not pursue this subject further now. I think it is made perfectly clear to any person of common sense that the developement of trade in Canada has been something wonderful. For my part, I am prepared to admit that until recently I knew little of the resources of this country or of its trade. But knowing what I know now, I can easily understand why Canada should deem it important to preserve friendly relations with her Great Republican neighbor, whose trade with her is rapidly making our sister Province one of the first commercial powers in the world."

MR. PALMER'S OBJECTIONS TO CONFEDERATION DISPOSED OF.

The Toronto *Globe* of the 13th ult. has a very able article in answer to Mr. Palmer's objections against Confederation. Although we have already given more space and attention to that gentleman than he deserves; still, as his silly objections are repeated by other people, a refutation of them may serve to prevent his delusions from spreading. The article in the *Globe* is as follows:—

MR. PALMER'S OBJECTIONS.

The Charlottetown *Monitor*, of the 1st instant, has a long letter from Mr. Palmer, Attorney General of Prince Edward Island, stating his objections to the Confederation scheme. Like the ex-Attorney General of New Brunswick, whom we quoted the other day, Mr. Palmer makes out that his particular Province would be the especial loser by Confederation. He is disposed to insinuate that the Canadian Ministers humbugged nearly all the delegates from the Maritime Provinces—the astute Mr. Palmer, of course, excepted—but he thinks those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick made pretty good bargains, Mr. Tilley of the latter Province being especially sharp when money was in question. These two Provinces get the Intercolonial—or, as Mr. Palmer smartly puts it, the Grand Trunk—Railway. So, if they are to be heavily taxed, if they are to be swallowed up by Canada, they will have something to shew for it. But poor Prince Edward Island, of all the others, gets nothing but the prospect of a handsome taxation. She is to pay out large sums of money for purposes actually detrimental to her interests; she is to pay a tariff of 25 per cent, in place of 10 as at present; her brave sons are, in the event of war, to be drawn away from her own territory to fight in defence of Canadian soil; and in return for all this she is to get absolutely nothing. One of Mr. Palmer's chief points is that his Province is to have but 5 members in the Lower, and 4 in the Upper Chamber of the Federal Parliament, and that the two Canadas will in the Federal Assembly have a majority of 100 over all the Maritime Provinces together. He thinks Representation by Population would do in a single kingdom or state, but "when one of "the territories or provinces invited to go "into a federal union possesses the advantage of a separate and complete government of its own, the surrender of that advantage entitles it to additional representation, over and above what would be due "to its relative proportion by population if "it were merely a section or a division of any "province." We confess that we do not see any particular force in this argument. If it were a conclusive one, we should possibly have to split Canada into thirty little provinces to match Prince Edward Island. Does Mr. Palmer think that such a device would ensure to us any greater representation? What greater value to the Confederation will Prince Edward Island possess on account of its having possessed "a separate and complete government?" It will not contribute any more revenue, nor will it furnish any more soldiers or sailors in the event of a war. The counties of York and Peel, in Canada, are more populous, and probably more wealthy, than Prince Edward Island. They have not a seperate and complete government, but they have a municipal council which might possibly compare with the Legislature of Mr. Palmes's province. York and Peel, exclusive of Toronto city, will probably have but five members in the Federal Assembly, and certainly less than four in the Federal Upper House. Why should we not raise a complaint here because these two counties are only to have such a nominal representation? To our notion, it would be quite as reasonable as Mr. Palmer's complaint.

The majority of one hundred members which United Canada is to have over all the Lower Provinces is, according to Mr. Palmer, to work mischief in this way:—

"If statesmen of the Canadas, holding on some subjects very opposite opinions, can be found to coalesce, as at present, for the common interest of their two Provinces, they will be found to do so in the Federal Legislatures where the interest of the Maritime Provinces conflicts with their own."

Just so. In Upper Canada the grumblers say that Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces are to have a majority of thirty over all Upper Canada, and that if the Central Canada members go with the eastern end of the Confederation, the majority against us will be sixty. When we get down to Ottawa, they tell us that Central Canada, with fifteen members or so, will have no influence in a House of nearly two hundred, and that the West and the East will combine to rob and ill-treat the Ottawa country. When we get to Lower Canada we are told that that Province is to have but one-third of the members of the Federal Assembly, and that the "British" of Upper Canada and of the Maritime Provinces will rule Lower Canada with a rod of iron. Descending to particulars, the French Canadians tell us that they will have but one-fourth of the Federal Parliament, and will never be able to take care of their laws, language, "and institutions." The Lower Canada British are vastly worse off—they will be but a handful, and not worthy of the consideration either of the East or the West. Completely submerged in the local Parliament, they will be of no account in the general Legislature. From the Maritime Provinces the same story reaches us. Mr. Smith, f