

condition, will perceive that it naturally divides itself into four great centres of political power and radiating intelligence. The Maritime Provinces, surrounded by the sea; three of them insular, with unchangeable boundaries, with open harbors, rich fisheries, abundance of coal, a homogeneous population, and within a week's sail of the British Islands, form the first division; and the Ashburton Treaty, which nearly severed them from Canada, defines its outlines and proportions. These Provinces now govern themselves, and do it well, and Canada has no more right to control or interfere with them than she has to control the Windward Islands of Jamaica. These Provinces have developed commercial enterprise and maritime capabilities with marvellous rapidity. Three of them can be held wide Great Britain keeps the sea. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island are surrounded by it, and the narrow isthmus of four or five miles which connects Nova Scotia with the mainland can be easily fortified, and can be defended by garrisons on either side. But what is more, these Provinces can help Great Britain to preserve her ascendancy on the ocean. While far-seeing Members of the House of Commons are inquiring into the causes which diminish the number of her sailors and increase the difficulty of manning her fleet, is it not strange that the great nursery for seamen, which our Maritime Provinces present, should be entirely overlooked, and that able-bodied men should be sent to sea in the ships of other nations, while our own sailors are sent to sea in the ships of other nations? It is not strange that the great nursery for seamen, which our Maritime Provinces present, should be entirely overlooked, and that able-bodied men should be sent to sea in the ships of other nations, while our own sailors are sent to sea in the ships of other nations?

Referring to the Statistics of Trade and Commerce, it will be found that Nova Scotia employs 19,637 Mariners and Fishermen; Newfoundland, 38,578, and Prince Edward Island, 2,143. Nova Scotia alone owns 400,000 tons of Shipping. Here are Colonies within seven days' steaming of these shores, floating the flag of England over a noble mercantile marine, and training 60,000 seamen and fishermen to defend it, and yet the House of Commons is to be asked to allow some gentlemen in Ottawa to draw these people away from the ocean, which, for their own and the general security of the Empire, they are required to protect, that their hearts may be broken and their lives wasted on interminable frontiers incapable of defence. Parliament, it is hoped, will think twice about this proposition, and of the scheme for launching a Prince of the Blood into a sea of troubles for the glorification of the Canadians.

Canada forms the second division of British America, in order of sequence as we ascend from the Atlantic. It is a fine country, with great natural resources, and may develop into some such nation as Poland or Hungary. Homesteads in by her barriers at the North, and by a navigation for nearly half the year, with two nationalities to reconcile, and no coal, which will predict for her a very brilliant destiny, at least, for many years to come. The best she can do is to be quiet, unobtrusive, thrifty, proving no enmities, and not making herself disagreeable to her neighbors, or increasing the hazards which her defence involves, by any premature aspirations to become a nation, for which status at present she is totally unprepared.

Between Canada and the Rocky Mountains, and divided from her by a belt of comparatively sterile country, lies a magnificent region, which is a standing reproach to the British Government, and a blot upon our civilization. The Republicans have shown their appreciation of the value of this territory by providing, in General Banks' Bill, that it shall be organized at once into two Territories, and presently into two States of the Union. What has England ever done with it? While the Government of the United States has, within the past half century, formed out of their great West one noble State after another, which have become the granaries of Europe, the Government of England, having a West of great extent and fertility, have done nothing national or statesman-like with it, but have allowed it to be locked up as a hunting ground, for the exclusive benefit of a Fur Company, who, monopolizing the consumption of Indian tribes reduced to a state of subjection akin to slavery, have maintained to this hour, in the face of the free ideas and advancing civilization of Europe and America, a job so gigantic that men stand aghast, when they contrast the unpeopled wilderness which these persons have got to show with the noble States, populous cities and waving cornfields, on the other side of the line.

Two or three years ago, when attention was sternly called to the condition of this country, there was a movement among the dry bones about Fenchurch street, and we heard of roads to be opened, telegraphs to be built, and colonization to be promoted. But what was done? The stock was watered, and some £1,500,000 added to the nominal capital of the Company, by which some persons made and others probably lost a large sum of money; some telegraph wire was sent out which rusts in the wilderness, and there the matter ended—the few active spirits within the Company, who already see the advancing wave of public indignation which is to sweep away their monopoly, and desire to people the land, being controlled by those who are determined to do nothing but kill wild animals and make enormous profits out of poor Indians.

The Canadian remedy for all this is characteristic of the country. Some of her public men say this territory belongs to us because our fathers hunted in it long since, but this plea would not confirm the Indian's title who hunted in it long before, or the Hudson's Bay Company's title, who have been hunting in it ever since. This plea is untenable, and though often challenged by the Company, the Canadians have shrunk from attempting to make it good in any Court of Justice or before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Failing to establish a title, the Canadians at one time proposed to buy the Company out, with the consent and under the guarantee of the British Government, and to annex the country to Canada. Fortunately, this policy also failed for two good reasons—that the Canadians had no money, and that the parties could not agree about the price. So far, the country has been saved for wiser and better purposes than to be transferred from one description of thralldom to another. If it is to be ruled and governed by a distant authority, it does not matter whether the seat of government is in London or in Ottawa. If the territory is not to be treated as national property among the people it contains as British subjects, then let it remain as a hunting ground, till the people of Minnesota and Montana break in and take it from us, which they will do, if it is not speedily organized. Above all things, do not let it be annexed to Canada, to weaken that Province by another thousand miles of frontier, and to multiply her perplexities a hundred fold. Fancy a country in Europe as large as England, France and Prussia, with only eight people to the square mile, and a debt of \$25 per head, wanting to purchase another country as large as Russia, and then gauge it if you can the measure of scorn and ridicule with which the proposition would be received.

Now, what ought to be done with this noble country? What, if we remember right, Lord Lytton proposed to do with it long since. It should be organized and opened for occupation without delay. There are 10,000 people in the settlements around Selkirk, many of them intelligent, public spirited and experienced. A Governor and Council, responsible to the Colonial Office and not to the Company, should be appointed, and the Queen's authority should be established as a protection to the spirit of development which would be at once evolved. Let ample boundaries be assigned to the new Province, and freedom of trade and of settlement be at once established, the Governor being empowered, whenever it contains 100,000 inhabitants, to call a Representative Assembly, and allow the people to govern themselves. If these measures are adopted, there will be more life, improvement and activity infused into this country in a single year than the Hudson's Bay Company have infused into it in a century. In less than ten years, Selkirk will probably be a Province as populous as New Brunswick, with its own legislature, and its own revenues amply sufficient to maintain it; and by that time we may organize another, as population passes westward, attracted by a virgin soil, fine timber, and mines, the value of which, at the present moment, no man can estimate. How may we be asked who is to protect these new Provinces? Will they protect themselves? A just and generous policy will see the Indian tribes their friends and customers; and they will see no reason for attacking neighboring States of

Minnesota and Montana, secure of a large participation in their growing trade, will rejoice in their prosperity, and gladly establish with them the same sound commercial intercourse which now makes Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, Maine and New Brunswick, almost one; though nowhere, perhaps, are love of country, and loyalty to the institutions the populations prefer, more distinctly marked.

The Provinces on the Pacific side of the Rocky Mountains form the fourth great natural division of British America. They are full of resources, and with a healthy climate, coal in abundance, gold mines, rich fisheries, fine timber, and a fertile soil, they must prosper with any kind of good management. They will remain British so long as England can keep the sea. They have no natural connection with Canada, or the Rocky Mountains were a mistake; but the "vaulting ambition" of certain people about Ottawa easily overleaps a couple of thousand miles of wilderness or a range of mountains, and would disregard the natural outlines of Creation with an audacity which in Europe would be denounced as a wilful temptation of Providence. Fortunately their power is not equal to their ambition; and the Pacific Provinces, like all the others, will be left to govern themselves within the orbits assigned to them by British interests and Imperial regulations, until the period arrives for a general break up, when the British Provinces and the American States on the Pacific will perhaps unite and form one great English community, preserving friendly relations, it is to be hoped, with the nations from which they sprang.

Turning again to the Maritime Provinces on the Atlantic seaboard, we discern the nearest and most available allies that these Islands have, whenever (and may the time be very remote) they are forced into a great naval war. France knows the value of the North Atlantic as a training school for seamen, and for three hundred years she has cultivated it with a persistent and enlightened national policy. Even after her hold upon the continent, she was severed by the fall of Louisiana and Quebec, she stipulated for the occupancy of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and for certain rights of fishery upon the west coast of Newfoundland. By a liberal expenditure in counties, and a rigid system of enrollment, she has built up on two barren islands a prosperous mercantile community. Without raising the legal question of exclusive occupancy she maintains, by the frequent visits of her men-of-war, and by the passive resistance of numbers, something like an ascendancy over what is called "the French shore," while the Banks swarm with her fishing craft whose bultows stretch for many hundreds of miles. By these means France employs every summer 10,000 men on the Banks and shores of Newfoundland; this is the naval reserve which makes her formidable upon the ocean. Looking to the apparent decline in the number and efficiency of seamen in these Islands which some Members of Parliament have recently pointed out, she would indeed be formidable had not our noble Provinces in the North Atlantic, without bounties or encouragement of any kind, developed maritime capabilities that excite "our special wonder," and out of all proportion to any interest, strange to say, which the subject has ever excited in the Mother Country. In the event of a war with France, either Nova Scotia with her 20,000, or Newfoundland with her 38,000 hardy seamen, would, if furnished with gun-boats, sweep these 10,000 Frenchmen off the ocean in a single summer, and then come home to guard the coasts of England till the war was over. And yet we are asked to break down the institutions which have fostered this naval reserve, and animated it with a spirit of loyalty and devotion not to be surpassed on the coasts of Hampshire or of Sussex. Whatever the colonists feel, this is a question of vital Imperial policy; and when Her Majesty's Ministers are asked to transfer the government of these 60,000 mariners from England to Canada—from the seaboard where it may be guarded to Ottawa where it cannot—from the open harbors that our iron-clads can enter at all seasons of the year, to an icy region hundreds of miles above tide water, inaccessible by our navy in summer, and in winter sealed by frost, the question should be answered by the Cabinet with a firmness commensurate with its magnitude and importance.

But is there any necessity for a hasty and unwise decision of this question? None whatever. If judiciously treated in this country it would have settled itself long since. What are the facts? In 1862 a Conference was held at Quebec to discuss various topics of intercolonial interest, and at that Conference, representatives from the Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick being present with the whole Canadian Cabinet, it was decided unanimously, in presence of the great difficulties which beset the question of Colonial Union, that any discussion of the subject was premature and could be followed by no good result.

In 1864 a Conference was held at Charlottetown to consider the smaller and much less complicated question of a Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces only. If permitted to continue and close their deliberations, without intrusion, that Conference would probably have simplified the commercial and financial arrangements of these Provinces, though it is not at all probable that they would have consented to give up the independent governments and legislatures under which they had so long lived and prospered in harmony and good neighborhood. In an evil hour certain Canadian gentlemen appeared upon the scene, and from that time to the present, all British America has been thrown into adumbrated disorder.

It appears that the antagonism of races, of dual leaderships and double majorities, already described, had about this time produced a deadlock of unexampled tenacity. Dissolutions and reconstructions had been tried, and still the House was nearly divided, and the rival politicians were at their wit's end. Neither would give way, or yield anything for the good of the country, but at last they bethought them that the Maritime Provinces might be used as make weights to relieve their embarrassments. When Herod and Pilate coalesced there was a sacrifice, and when Mr. Galt and Mr. Brown, after years of personal bitterness and malignant vituperation, consented to clasp hands, it was with the understanding that the Lower Provinces, which had nothing to do with their disputes, were to be sacrificed to illustrate their reconciliation. But we are avenged. Swift retribution has overtaken those who formed that coalition. Mr. Brown was wedged out of the Cabinet last winter, and now, it appears, that Mr. Galt has been compelled to resign by a new manifestation of the religious rivalries and national antagonisms which are the peculiar elements of discord in that quiet region.

The coalition once formed, no time was lost in carrying out the policy upon which it was based. Delegates were sent to Charlottetown, and the quiet Conference going on there was broken up. A new one, on a larger scale, was initiated under the auspices of the Governor General at Quebec. After three weeks of light labor and "exhaustive festivities," what is called "the Quebec Scheme" of Confederation was produced. So far, the Imperial Government had nothing to do with the matter, but, in accepting this new scheme of Confederation, growing out of nothing but the political necessities of a single Province, and before it had been ratified by the Legislatures or people of any of the others, they committed a grave indiscretion, with the best intentions, no doubt, and naturally misled by the apparent unanimity of the Conference. The Press and Parliament, and public men of England, knowing little of the question, and perhaps caring less, were also for a time misled by the action of the Government, and by the plausible statements of some of the Canadian Ministers, who rushed over here to forestall public opinion. It is time that all parties were undeceived. The case of the Maritime Provinces has never been presented to the Parliament and people of England, nor has this question ever been discussed except from the Canadian standpoint, and never in relation to the great interests which should largely influence its decision, the good faith of the Crown, and the dignity and security of the Empire.

There were in this country two or three classes of persons prepared to receive this proposition with special favor. There were first, the Anti-British school of politicians, who desire to pollard the British oak—who believe that England would be richer, stronger, happier, if all her outlying Provinces were given away. If Australia belonged to France—India to Russia; if the West Indies were black republics; if the other half of the American Continent were quietly handed over to the United States, and if the millions of people who now feed their commerce were permitted to drift about into new political alliances and hostile commercial combina-

tions. These people thought that Confederation meant separation, and were disposed, like Moore's French "Cupid," "to pilot us off and then bid us good bye." Then certain persons in the Manufacturing towns had been disgusted with the high duties which Canada had imposed on British productions. They were angry, and did not stay to reflect that if Canada were in error, the Maritime Provinces ought not to be punished for her fault, seeing that they had never followed her example. British manufactures are admitted to them all, under light revenue duties. They all have an interest in fostering equitable commercial relations with the whole Empire, and with foreign countries, far transcending any interest they may have in the consumption of three millions of people in a mere inland country, which their vessels cannot approach for nearly half the year.

But the English manufacturers did not stay to reflect that by handing over nearly a million of good customers to the Canadians they were doing a palpable injustice to themselves, and to the colonists besides. Up to this hour it is doubtful whether a Canadian can be found who has invested a pound in Nova Scotia, cleared a farm, built a ship, opened a mine, or expended sixpence in the defence of the country. The expenses of its early colonization, and of its protection, have been paid by England; and from this country, and not from Canada, came the emigrants, the capital and the credit, which from time to time have stimulated its enterprise, and quickened its industry. Why, then, should Nova Scotia take blankets, broad cloth, crockery ware, or cutlery from Canada duty free, but tax the manufactures of Lancashire, Staffordshire, and Yorkshire? and yet this is just what these cunning Canadians are at; and, strange to say, the Free Traders of England, who abhor discriminating duties, and will not permit the Colonies to impose them, even for their own advantage, are quietly permitting one British colony to swing four others out of the fiscal system and common obligations of the Empire, that they may monopolise their consumption, and discriminate against the manufacturing industry of England and in favor of their own.

Again, after a struggle of unexampled energy and duration, the Corn Laws of England were abolished. In the wisdom of that policy, at the present moment, perhaps all parties in this country concur; and the American Commissioners, appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury to revise the revenue system of the United States, acknowledge its soundness when they say, that to give the producer his food free of duty is to give him the benefit of the most subtle form of protection which can be devised. He would be a bold man who would stand up in the English Parliament and move to impose a duty on the importation of flour. Yet the Parliament of Canada, at the suggestion of Mr. Galt, has just imposed a duty of half a dollar per barrel upon flour, nominally to punish the Americans for impositions equally absurd, but in reality to quietly establish a Corn Law for the benefit of Canada at the expense of the Maritime Provinces. Those Provinces, having a large portion of their population employed in lumbering, mining, ship building, and navigation, annually import 800,000 barrels of flour more than they produce. They pay for this with fish, lumber, coal, gypsum, grindstones, new ships, and other exports, for which they find a market abroad, a very small proportion of the whole being purchased by the Canadians; and yet, if the people of England do not stamp the policy with indignant reprobation, and protect the Maritime Provinces from these retrograde politicians in the rear, they will probably be taxed to the extent of \$100,000 a year, which tax must fall upon our shipwrights and our freights before we can send a vessel to England, and increase the cost of living to our fishermen, gallantly making their way, by hardihood and thrift, against the unfair competition produced by the bounties of the United States and France. These questions have never been understood over here, but they shall be; and when they are, there is not a manufacturer, a free trader, or a sound thinking lover of fair play, in either of the three kingdoms, who will not interpose to protect the Maritime Provinces from this Canadian Corn Law.

Unfortunately, there is a third class of persons in England, not numerous perhaps, who, painfully interested in the throes and eccentricities of Canada, are too much inclined to favor anything which may be calculated to restore her to financial soundness and give buoyancy to stocks fearfully depreciated. Meetings are annually held in London at which a body of very worthy persons, who have invested £10,000,000 or £15,000,000 in certain enterprises connected with Canada, debate for a whole afternoon the very interesting question of how they can get their money back again. Judging by the share list, this is still an interesting question; and it is to be feared that, despairing of relief from other quarters, it is sometimes assumed that if the productive revenues of the Maritime Provinces could be flung into the empty treasury of Canada, in which, for ten years, there has been but one surplus, and that if the British Government would throw three or four millions into the country, for any object and at anybody's expense, their prospect of dividends might be improved. There are high-minded men, connected with these organizations, too discriminating and too just to be swayed by such considerations; but there are probably others suffering from that sickness of the heart which hope deferred produces who would gladly make the Maritime Provinces, that have had nothing to do with their disappointments and their sufferings, pay the penalty of their own want of foresight. But this would be most unfair. Those Provinces have honestly borrowed, on the credit of their general revenues, all the money required for their public works. They pay the interest promptly every half year, and just as fast as capital accumulates, seeking permanent investment, their Bonds are purchased by their own people, and will speedily disappear from the English market, unless there be some financial blundering from which it is hoped they may be guarded by ordinary sagacity and circumspection.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen who were members of the last Administration are of course committed to this scheme. But let us hope that they are not too old to unlearn errors, or so unpatriotic as to persist in a line of policy that can no longer be defended; and that they will not lightly value the pledged faith of England to loyal and devoted communities, who have done no wrong; nor, in the face of such petitions as have been sent here from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, attempt to sacrifice those Provinces at the shrine of Canadian ambition, without regard to the forms which in all free countries protect from rash innovation the Institutions which the people value.

But, it may be asked, do not the Maritime Provinces desire this Union? and, if the question is asked the Quebec Scheme of Confederation, it is soon answered. Every one of them rejected it with a unanimity and decision not to be misunderstood. In Prince Edward Island, both branches of the Legislature being elective, but five members could be got to vote for it. In Newfoundland it was condemned by the people at the polls. In Nova Scotia the leader of the Government was compelled to come down to the House and declare it "impracticable," and in New Brunswick the electors, animated by the instinct of self preservation, rushed to the polls, swept the delegates aside, and trampled it under their feet. Here the matter would have rested, had all the Provinces been treated with the justice and impartiality to which they were entitled. It is the pride and boast of Englishmen that in their pure Courts the humblest persons and in their exalted stand on an equal footing. A Judge would be disgraced and a Juror perjured, if the number of acres or the rank or position of individuals were to influence the verdict. Between Corporate Bodies in this country the rigid rule of strict

and impartial justice is invariably preserved. London cannot oppress York, or Manchester Oldham, and hence it is that while every man's personal rights are secure, every man's Corporate privileges, till laches, corruption, or abuse works forfeiture, are respected. If asked to-morrow what it is that binds this Empire together by bands stronger than ironclads, the prompt answer would be the all-pervading reliance of the people every where upon the pledged faith of the Crown, and on the justice and impartiality of the Imperial Parliament. When franchises were conferred upon the people of the Maritime Provinces and Legislatures given to them, these could only be yielded up by voluntary consent, or be forfeited by misconduct. When self-government was conceded, it could never afterwards be withdrawn, unless upon ample proof elicited by legal forms or deliberate Parliamentary enquiry, that it had been grossly abused. Even the Colonial Legislatures themselves, intrusted for a definite time, with limited powers and sacred trusts, could not strip the people of their rights without their own consent, or transfer to others the power of legislation, any more than the aldermen of London could annihilate the constitution which limits their sphere of action, or than the common councillors of Bath could transfer the government of that city to Bristol.

If these rules guard securely every petty Corporation in the kingdom, surely they should be applied with equal stringency to the protection of great Provinces, exercising in due subordination to Imperial authority, and with all loyalty and affection to their Mother Country, the high powers of legislation and internal self government. Until the people of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, forfeit, by corruption, or abuse, the privileges conferred, or voluntarily relinquish them, they cannot be reclaimed by the Crown or swept away by Parliament without a breach of faith; nor can they be transferred by the local legislatures, any more than an estate can be transferred by Trustees whose powers are limited in the Deed by which the trust has been created.

Unfortunately these plain principles of legal construction and constitutional law have, in dealing with the Maritime Provinces, been strangely overlooked. When all the parties to the Quebec scheme of Confederation found that they had made an egregious blunder, they should have abandoned the project and left the Provinces in peace; and above all, the Government of England should have withdrawn from a controversy, into which, for no Imperial objects, as has been clearly proved, they had been artfully drawn. They should have held the scales even and treated all Her Majesty's subjects in British America alike. This was not done. The policy, long after it had been condemned by public opinion, was not, as it should have been, abandoned; but, inspired by Canadian influences, a system of Imperial pressure was brought to bear upon the Maritime Provinces for the first time in their history, which has roused a very indignant feeling.

Thus contumacious in this country all boundaries were overstepped by certain parties on the other side. Governors became partisans. In one Province, where the Fenians were upon the frontier, the Cabinet was wedged out of office, the House dissolved, and the whole population precipitated into the turmoil of a general election just when every man should have been standing shoulder to shoulder; and, what was worse, one half of an entirely loyal population were taught to brand the other half as disloyal, and permitted to threaten them with the loss of the Queen's favor and protection, if they did not accept Confederation, and forswear the opinions which only a year before, left to their unbiased judgments, they had expressed. The same arts were practised with ludicrous exaggeration in another Province, and the result is that two out of the four were induced to pass a resolution, authorizing a new Convention, to be held in England, to be composed of an equal number of delegates from all the Provinces, (Upper and Lower Canada to count as two,) who are to frame a new scheme of Union, which is fondly hoped the Cabinet will sanction and the Imperial Parliament adopt before it has been submitted to the Legislatures whose powers it is to transfer, or to the electors whose rights and revenues it is proposed to summarily to sweep away. Two "bodies of Delegates," as the papers inform us, came over here from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia a month ago. They were twelve in number, and it is presumed that they have been puzzled to know what to do with themselves, and Lord Carnarvon quite as much puzzled to know what to do with them, seeing that Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island had refused to take part in the Conference; and that the Canadians, busy with sectional national, and religious disputes, as usual, have as yet had nobody to spare, and do not, it is said, propose to send over their contingent till October. If all the Colonies were to be represented by equal numbers there would be just thirty-six of these Delegates here, costing a pretty round sum of money, and doing what might more becomingly be done at home. It is impossible to tell what the Colonial Secretary may say to these gentlemen when they all assemble, but if he were to say this, he would probably be sustained by enlightened public opinion: "Gentlemen, it is unfair for you to come here and attempt to mix the Government and Parliament of England up in your disputes. You possess ample powers to mature a scheme of government. Go home and hold your Conference in some public hall, where the people to be affected by your decision can hear your debates and be influenced by your arguments. If you can agree upon a plan of Union, let it be for three months, and the disinterested Legislatures. If the people accept it, the Parliament of England, unless controlled by Imperial policy, and interests, will probably ratify their decision, but, as the people may not, it would be unfair to compromise me, as you did Mr. Cardwell, by getting me to pledge myself to a measure, which, until it is ratified by the suffrages of those it is to affect, must obviously be too crude and immature to require serious attention."

All this might be said, with great truth and propriety, and nobody ought to complain if the Secretary of State were to add, that it was very inconvenient to have both the Crown Officers of Nova Scotia on pleasure trips in England at the same time, that there was barely a quorum in either Colony to surround the Governor of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at the present moment—that, as the Fenians threatened a second visit to the Provinces this autumn more serious than the last, it might be as well for them all to hurry home and look to their defences.

This subject might be discussed more at large, and might be placed in many ludicrous points of view. It is a serious one, however, and it has been treated seriously. What the people of Nova Scotia think of the mission to this country may be gathered from the addresses to the Queen passed in sight of the most populous and wealthy counties, and by their petitions to the House of Commons. What the people of Newfoundland think of it may be gathered from their petitions to both Houses, while the opinions of the people of Prince Edward Island are expressed in their resolutions adopted last April. But it is said, in the case of Nova Scotia, petitions cannot constitute a resolution of the Legislature. No, provided it be such a resolution as, unassisted by the electors, the Legislature had a right to pass. In this case it strikes at the Constitution of the country which the representatives were chosen to guard and not to violate; and besides, the present House are sitting upon a franchise which expired a year ago, and had not, according to British usage, the right to pass any resolution at all. Parliament in this country is invariably dissolved when a new franchise is adopted. That of Nova Scotia should and would have been, had the prerogative been exercised with firmness and impartiality. However, the law dissolves our Parliament next May, and we shall not have long to wait for an unmistakable expression of the opinions of the people. By the last mail Lord Monck's speech on closing the Session of the Canadian Parliament reached England, referring to the proposed Confederacy. His Lordship describes it as "the new nationality of which you will form a part, and the dimensions of which will extend it to a fresh place amongst the Powers of the world." If I remember right this is the second or third time that this phrase has been used by Lord Monck, acting of course under the advice of his Canadian Ministers. The "dimensions" of the "new nationality" will certainly be formidable enough, seeing that it is to

comprise a territory of 4,000,000 of square miles. The United States have not so much. All Europe, with its family of nations, is smaller by ninety-two thousand square miles. When all the absorptions and reconstructions arising out of Prussia's great success are made, there will still remain at least sixteen Sovereign States in Europe, on a territory smaller than that which these aspiring political speculators at Ottawa seek to control. The "dimensions" of the new nation will certainly be sufficiently imposing, very nearly realizing Sun Sillik's comprehensive phrase of "all out doors." When we survey it, with one man being standing on every square mile, its strength in proportion to its dimensions can be rightly estimated.

The Northern States, with 24,000,000 of people, by great exertions and at enormous cost were at last able to put into the field a million of soldiers. With 4,000,000 of people this "fresh Power," by exertions of the same character, after expending money in the like proportion, may be able to equip and pay an army of 166,000, and should the troops be extended along the land frontier facing the United States, they will be only 37 yards apart, and may occasionally catch a glimpse of each other where the country is not thickly wooded. It massed on several points they would certainly not be much more than a match for the 200,000 men who marched past the White House at Washington in May, 1865, and who numbered about one-fifth of the disciplined soldiers of the Republic. Let us now look at the new nation from the naval point of view. It has to defend a coast line on the North Atlantic of about five thousand miles, with a long seaboard on the Pacific side. It has to guard the shores of the great lakes, and it has no navy. But it may be said that Great Britain is to defend the coasts and the lakes, and to throw in an odd half million of troops to make the land defences perfect. Is such a prospect? Where the ships and the men are to come from would perhaps be puzzling questions at the Admiralty and the Horse Guards just now; but let us suppose that they could be furnished, who is to pay for them? If the people of England, then let us to pay an end of this unbecome about a new nationality, and of pretensions utterly irreconcilable with the restless logic that must decide this question. If the people of England are to defend those Provinces with the whole force of the Empire, then let them think well of what they are about, for by disturbing old currents of thought, and multiplying the difficulties of the Conservative element in the United States, sorely pressed at all times by the turbulent and aggressive, they are increasing the hazards of a war ten-fold. The attitude of the British Provinces on the American Continent is at this moment one eminently peaceful and sedate. But let this Guy of a "New Nationality" be set up, which other people are to pay for and are expected to protect, and every young fellow who has had a taste of the license of camp life in the United States will be sorely tempted to have a fling at it. Let the Provinces resume their accustomed role of peaceful development as outlying portions of a great empire with which the United States cannot afford to quarrel. She cannot then disturb them without a violation of the solemn recognitions of three parts of a century, and without a war, causelessly provoked, and on which neither the civilized world nor the great God of Battles can be expected to smile. Let us then fling into the fire the paper constitution, manufactured at Quebec, and Governor Bank's Bill will probably be consigned to the flames immediately after; and then we shall begin to breathe freely again, and can set about adjusting the one or two questions that remain as causes of national irritation, and may look forward to peace for a century, with industrial development, on a scale so vast as to make war between the two great branches of the family impossible thenceforward and for ever.

It is strange that in the Quebec resolutions Lord Monck can find no warrant for using the term "New Nationality." It is strange also that in the Maritime Provinces not one of the Delegates will ever admit that any such thing is to be created. The prevailing idea with these people is a large country, defended by Great Britain. That she is to furnish £4,000,000 for the Intercolonial Railroad; £2,000,000 to buy up the Hudson Bay Company's Territory; £3,000,000 for fortifications along the line of the St. Lawrence; to provide gun-boats for the lakes; and that by and bye, when money is plenty and John Bull in a marvellous good humour, an advance of £5,000,000 to deepen and enlarge Canals may be reasonably expected. To the unsophisticated Confederate mind, in all the Provinces, this is pretty nearly what Confederation means; but as assuming the duties of a nation—selecting a king—electing a President—maintaining a standing army—building and keeping a navy afloat, and managing foreign affairs, there is not one man in five hundred who has the slightest idea of assuming any such responsibilities, or of committing himself to any such expenditure.

The people of England have been made to believe that these Confederates mean the very reverse of what they intend, but the time for mystification and self-delusion has gone by. Before a single step is taken to disturb the existing order of things, let us know what we are to have in stead. If we are to be Colonies, and Great Britain is to protect and defend us, then let us get up on our airs, and create no divided allegiance or authority. If we are to be a nation, then let us set about the serious work we are assuming with a full sense of its perilous obligations. We cannot begin to make a nation without a King, or a President residing within our territory, armed with executive powers, narrowed and restrained by no external force, and responsible for the conduct of our Foreign Affairs. These are the first simple but indispensable elements of national life. We could not stagger on two years without them; may the first Session of the Confederate Legislature would not have closed before the logical results of the false step we are asked to take would be apparent, and the Colonial Secretary would be informed that he might withdraw his Viceroy, and the Foreign Secretary that we had sent our own Minister to Washington.

If when all this were done, "twere well done," then those who are for dismembering the Empire might exclaim, "twere well it were done quickly," and those who are not might still accept the new responsibilities in consideration of the somewhat questionable increase of dignity arising from the fact, that thenceforward they would be called citizens and not subjects. If British America, organized into a nation, could stand alone, free to choose an Emperor, and to act upon her Parliament's attachment to these Islands, and if the Parliament of Great Britain, with the consent of the Crown, after full review of the interests of the Empire, were to absolve us from our allegiance, we might with cheerful spirits set about the task, however unwisely and prematurely imposed. We might have attempted this with a chance or two of success in our favour ten years ago, when the United States presented the aspect of a great industrial community, indisposed to war, with whom we had diplomatically adjusted every irritating question, and whose standing army numbered but ten thousand men. But now the whole checker-board has changed. The United States have suddenly become a great Military and Naval Power. When the Union is reconstructed and the Southern States are brought again within the fold, there will be a million and a half of disciplined soldiers and a powerful navy for Lord Monck's new nationality to confront; and what is more, the Reciprocity Treaty has expired, the Alabama claims are unsettled, and a million of Fenians have sprung up to give an aggressive turn to American diplomacy, and to hang like a war cloud over the frontier. By organizing the whole Empire, by standing upon long recognized rights, by firmness, tact, and moderation, peace may be preserved, and friendly commercial arrangements may be revived and strengthened; but any attempt to prematurely construct a rival Confederacy, too large for a Colony and too weak for a Nation, will but increase our difficulties a hundred-fold. When once organized, even if every man in the Province was a consenting party, it must be obvious that the New Nation could not stand alone; and it is equally certain that the people of England could not expect to be relieved of its vast responsibility and burden of its defence. Inevitably it must succumb to the growing power of the Republic. A treaty offensive and defensive with the United States, involving ultimate participation in a war with England, would be the hard terms of its recognition as a separate but not independent State; and if this were refused, one of two things happen, either the New Nationality