

CHRISTMAS.

Some say that ever 'ginous that season comes
Where'er our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawn singeth all night long;

We do not know that it would be possible
to terminate with more grace and propriety
this journalistic commemoration of our great
Christian Festival than by the insertion of
the following abate and affecting verses from
the pen of another highly esteemed friend,
who has several times charmed our readers by
the outward manifestation of his intercourse
with the muse, and has left his friends to
regret that poetic genius, and cultivated liter-
ary taste, which are amongst his many gifts,
have not been often exercised:—

CHRISTMAS—1864.

Proud mothers of our fallen earth,
Who lay your babes on beds of down,
And little rock the lowly birth,
Of His whom saints and angels crown:
Your costly riches, deck with care,
Like some rich gift of holy shrine,
Await the fond expected heir
Of many an ancient, noble line:
Nurses and maids, at command,
Of richest carpets softly tread,
Clothe the dear babe with gentle hand,
In soft robes with lace o'er spread.
But He, who came to save the lost,
From death, the penalty of sin,
Had no kind friend to pay the cost
Of shelter, at a crowded Inn.
The Virgin, in her hour of woe,
No loving help or comfort found,
But sought, with wearied step and slow,
Her couch of straw with beasts around.
A manger was the only bed
For Him, to want and sorrow born,
His scanty covering, fondly spread,
Keft from the mother's ill-fated form,
And shrank from wind and wintry snow,
Oxen and sheep, a refuge found,
And wearied camels sought repose,
With trampling horses ranged around.
No cordial warm, her soul to cheer,
By sympathetic love conveyed—
No female hand to soothe the tear,
Or tend the infant where he laid,
A husband's—not a father's—love
Her trembling heart sustains,
Yet, God's own spirit from above
With kindly solace beams.
With meek submission to the will
Of Him who sends no cross in vain,
The anxious babe will yet fulfil
The end for which, in love, he came,
That life, so mournfully begun—
The sorrows He is doomed to bear—
The death foreseen He must not shun,
Shall close in words of pitying prayer:
I pray for those who wrought His ill,
And wish that their passions and their pride
On Oax who loved and sought their still,
And whom, in hate, they crucified.

THE HON. MR. WARBURTON ON CONFEDERATION.

OUR esteemed friend, Hon. Mr. Warburton, has
published in the Herald a short letter, in which
he declares his opposition to the proposed Con-
federation. This, we know, is, to some extent,
a free country, where every man may write and
print his thoughts as he pleases; but we do not
know that there was any urgent necessity for
Mr. Warburton to declare his views, any more
than there is for every other member of the Le-
gislation, not a leading man, to do the same, be-
fore the meeting of Parliament. However, we
do not suppose that any very great sensation
will be created in the public mind by the an-
nouncement of Mr. Warburton's opinion. Our
esteemed friend says:—

"The few members sent to represent the Is-
land in the Federal Congress, could have no
voice in the matter in which they were interested,
and instead of having one ruling power over us
(the Colonial Office), we should have a second,
the Federal Government, to thwart any scheme
that they might consider detrimental to their own
interests. I cannot see how a Federal or any
other Union could benefit our trade or fisheries.
We have free trade now, and the Canadians have
the right to think proper, to establish fish-
eries on this Island, provided they can obtain
land to erect their buildings upon."

Our five representatives would have, in a Par-
liament of 194, as much influence as the eight from
Newfoundland; and, for all practical purposes,
as much influence as the 15 from New Brun-
swick, or the 19 from Nova Scotia. According
to the principle laid down here in Charlottetown,
as the basis of the Conference at Quebec, to which
Mr. Palmer (now a dissentient) was a consenting
party—that is, Representation by Population—
Prince Edward Island actually gets more than its
fair share of representation, in being allowed
to send five representatives to the General Par-
liament. The highest number the P. E. Island
Delegates asked for, was six—Mr. Palmer and
Mr. Coles would, both, have been quite contented
with that number; all the Island Delegates voted
for the six; but it was made very plain to them
that the concession of the six would disturb the
fundamental principle of representation by popu-
lation. And, after all, who will doubt that five,
in the General Parliament, will answer our pur-
pose quite as well as six? Indeed the five P. E.
Island representatives may, on emergencies, turn
the scale against any party in the Federal Con-
gress, and secure for the Island due attention
to its claims. We know that in the British Par-
liament, consisting of more than six hundred
members, the fifty-three members from Scotland,
or the one hundred and five from Ireland, could
make or mar a ministry if they closely combined
with the Opposition.

Our friend Mr. Warburton seems to think that
the Colonial Office would, under the Federal Gov-
ernment, have the same controlling influence over
our Legislature as at present. This cannot be
the case, if the Constitution agreed to at Quebec
be adopted. The Colonial Office must then be
practically an obsolete institution, so far as
these British American Colonies are concerned.
That is one very strong reason why we and Mr.
Warburton should be in favor of Confederation,
and why the Proprietary party are, as they are
well known to be, decidedly opposed to it. When
Responsible Government was conceded to this
Colony in 1851, it was said that Mr. Warburton
claimed for it as one of its peculiar advantages,
that no acts of our Legislature would have to be
sent to the Colonial Office for confirmation—ficti-
tiously designated the "Royal allowance." Mr.
Warburton knows that Responsible Government
secured us such exemption from the intermed-
dling of the Colonial Office. Mr. Samuel Cunard,
by his own mere will, or any clique of proprietors,
can thwart our Legislature here now as well as
before Responsible Government, when it is sup-
posed to clash with their interests. Under Con-
federation that unholy power would pass away
from them, forever and forever.

Mr. Warburton says "I cannot see how a Fed-
eral or any other Union could benefit our
trade or fisheries;" for, he adds, "we have free
trade now." We are astonished to see a state-
ment of this kind from a gentleman who has been
in public life so long as Mr. Warburton, and whose
education and experience of the world qualify him
to form an intelligent opinion on public affairs.
The least informed person knows that he has
a much better chance of driving a "trade" to his
advantage when he can select his customers from
three and a half millions of people than if he were
confined to eighty thousand, and when he knows
that the three and a half millions are, in the ag-
gregate, comparatively rich, while the eighty thou-
sand are, in the same aggregate, miserably poor.
We are at a loss to learn how a country, small and
insignificant as regards territory and population,
is likely to be wanted in any alliance with a coun-
try vastly rich in both these elements of prosper-
ity. A poor man might as well say he will not go
into partnership in commerce with a rich man,
because the rich man may swamp him by his
power and influence, and he may be largely in an

debts, while the other, who haggles about the al-
liance, shuts his eyes to the important fact that
there are enormous resources as more than a set-
off to the debt. Take any State in the American
Union: Maine, Massachusetts, or New York, for
example: They are wealthy States—the two latter
especially. What has created their wealth? De-
velopment of the resources possessed by each
within its own narrow boundaries? Nothing of
the kind. Maine or Massachusetts would be as
poor, according to population and territory, as
Prince Edward Island, were it not for the free
commercial intercourse which each possesses with
all the other States of the Union.

Mr. Warburton says "We have free trade
now," alluding to our commercial intercourse
with the other Provinces. This is only partially
correct. Through the courtesy of an intercolonial
Treaty, which may be set aside any day, we may
receive from our Colonial neighbours, free of
duty, agricultural products and fish,—similar
products from the field, the forest, and the coasts
of this Island can go to them on the same terms;
but we cannot get their manufactured goods,
and they cannot receive ours, without having to pay
such duties as foreign States oppose to each
other. Under Confederation, manufactured goods
would pass from one Province into another as
free from duties and Custom House restrictions
just as manufactured goods have the right to
pass now from Charlottetown or Summerside to
Cape Breton. As regards our privileges under the
Reciprocity Treaty, of sending our agricultur-
al products and fish to the other Provinces, we
have not the shadow of a reason to suppose that
that law will remain in force, for our advantage,
after the other Provinces are confederated—as
they will most undoubtedly be—if this petty
Colony, through ignorance, jealousy and suspicion,
should resolve to keep aloof from the Confed-
eration. Our refusal to go into the Union—if the
English Government countenanced our obstinacy,
which it would not—would be met by hostility,
in every form, which the larger and wealthier
Provinces could manifest towards us. We are,
Heaven knows, insignificant enough now; we are
poor—we possess little or no resources beyond our
agricultural products—we have no character in the
eyes of the world—now, ought we to make fools
of ourselves by setting up our handful of a popu-
lation against three and a half millions of people,
who resolve to change their political condition—
who ask us to participate in the change—and
who are incited to the act by the earnest en-
treaches of the British Government?

The cause of Confederation happily does not
depend on the will of the small politicians of the
small Island of Prince Edward. If that cause
be fought with success on the main land, its
consummation cannot be delayed through the pe-
tulance of this little place. We may make our
minds easy on the subject. We should not al-
low our tempers to be ruffled by the question—
whether Prince Edward Island will go in for
Confederation or not? But we cannot resist smil-
ing at the exceeding simplicity of those who think
that the other Provinces will be confederated, while
the British Government must go to the expense of
keeping up a protectorate over this patch of
sand bank in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where the
inhabitants imagine they have such a para-
dise as would be contaminated by alliance with
their powerful, prosperous and wealthy fellow
subjects on the main land.

HON. MR. HENSLEY ON CONFEDERATION.

The Hon. Joseph Hensley has published a short
letter to his constituents, the Electors of the East
District, in which he intimates his intention
to visit them before the meeting of the Legislature,
for the purpose of discussing the Confederation
question. His mind seems to be filled with a sus-
picion that he may not be able to keep his engage-
ment, and, therefore, he says:—
"Last, however, anything should occur to
prevent my meeting you personally, I think it my
duty now briefly to inform you that the proposed
scheme of Confederation, on the basis laid down
in the report to which I have just referred, will
submit with my decided opposition. The terms
upon which this Island is to be allowed to enter
into it are, in my opinion, very disadvantageous
and unjust."

A gentleman occupying the position which Mr.
Hensley does, ought, we think, to have stated the
grounds of his dissent to the Confederation, when
he publicly declared that dissent; and he should
have shown in what particular cases "he terms
upon which this Island is to be allowed to enter
into" the Confederation, are more "disadvanta-
geous and unjust" than the terms accorded to
the other Provinces. When a public man, in a
high position, commits himself to an expression
of opinion, in public, on a public question, it is
usual and reasonable to expect that he will give
arguments in support of that opinion.

The Tenant League party never had a better
time than the present for pushing their principles
—towards which, we have shown, that in some
respects we are dissentients with them. Mr.
Palmer, now supposed to be leader of the Govern-
ment, is hiding his face for popularity—he wants
the Catholics; he wants the Irish people, and the
Tenant Leaguers are supposed to include both.
He cannot afford to offend them by setting his
face against their principles—one of which prin-
ciples, is, that the Leaguers will pay no rent un-
less they are allowed to have their own terms in
purchasing their farms. Now, Mr. Palmer is said
to have some interest in lands about Lot One or
Two. If the above principle were put in force
there, Mr. Palmer's sympathy for the tenantry
would be fairly tested. Would he have the cruelty
to distrust after proclaiming himself the ten-
ant's friend? He could not do it. Would he set
his face against the Tenant League because he
entertains a vastly contrary to their views—effec-
tive and extravagant notions about the so-called
constitutional rights of property? If he does, he
loses a strong element of support to his Govern-
ment. The Leaguers cannot support him unless
they adopt the theories of the old feudal age,
of which Mr. Palmer is a living representative,
and under which the fillers of the soil were re-
garded as no better than serfs. His situation,
considered from any point of view, is an unenvi-
able one. The proprietors will be jealous of him
lest he should betray them, in order to appease
the claims of the Tenant Union. His old asso-
ciations, feelings, prejudices, and feudal notions
of the rights of property will prompt him not to
betray them. On the other hand, his selfishness
and greed of power will make him wriggle in
order to keep up a fair face towards the tenantry,
and get political support from them.

Mr. Palmer thinks, no doubt, that his opposi-
tion to the question of Confederation will make
him immensely popular. He is vastly mistaken.
He may have a little popular clamour on his side
at present. But the Confederation question is
not one that will last forever. In less than a
fortnight after the Legislature shall meet, Prince
Edward Island will give its decision on the ques-
tion—for or against it. What will Mr. Palmer
then fall back upon? Will he support the cause
of the Leaguers or that of the Proprietors? He
cannot do either without making up his mind to
be hurled from his position—unless the Judgeship
which he is said to be carving out for himself is
retreated in the meantime, and thus afford him a
secret from all political storms.

"THE TIME HAD NOT ARRIVED."—The Herald
of Wednesday makes the following important
announcement, intended for the anxious admirers
of the Attorney General:—
"The conclusion of Hon. Mr. Palmer's letter in
reply to the Examiner" came to hand too late
for this day's paper."
Of course, the "time had not arrived" for fur-
nishing a little communication commencing a forth-
right night ago. We hope the literary world will
be disappointed at the delay of the great produc-

tion. We can cheerfully wait for the "conclusion,"
as we sympathize with Mr. Palmer in the difficult
job he has on hand to patch up a Government out
of the most discordant materials.

The Editor of the Examiner virtually admits
his inability to defend the Confederation scheme
by fair, open discussion in his columns; but will
attempt to defend the scheme, and his own con-
duct in reference thereto, at sundry one-sided or
circular meetings which he purports holding in the
course of a few weeks in the Second Electoral
district of King's County. We shall have some-
thing more to say on this point in our next No.—
Herald, Dec. 31.

There is no doubt we will be hugely delighted
with the "something more," when it may come,
—hope it won't be delayed like Mr. Palmer's
letter, for want of time, or space, &c., &c. As to
our virtually admitting our inability to defend
the Confederation scheme, or anything else, in the
teeth of such persons as Edward Reilly or W. W.
Salivian, the truth is "bush," which could not
be imposed for truth on the veriest simpleton in
the Colony. If the Herald scribbles will qualify
themselves to call to account one of the members
for St. Peter's, they will no doubt be heard in due
time; but Mr. Whelan, one of the members for
St. Peter's, does not hold himself in the least ac-
count to the scribblers for the Herald; and
although he would not be afraid to meet a thou-
sand such assailants, he thinks their health, and
the health of all such presumptuous persons, will
be best secured by advising them to keep away
from a place where their impudence and pre-
sumption would be likely to bring them to
"grief." Mr. Whelan's hint was offered in the
interest of blatherskites, who think they have
influence and talent, but not for the purpose of
avoiding free discussion. If they are dying for free
discussion, why do they not ask Mr. Palmer to call
a public meeting in Charlottetown amongst his
own constituents?

CONFEDERATION WITH THE BRITISH PROVINCES, OR WITH THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC—WHICH IS THE MOST DESIRABLE?

THAT many in our community should look
with a jealous and unfavourable eye upon the
proposed scheme for the Federation of the
B. N. A. Provinces, is not at all surprising. A
transition from one state of society to another
will always be looked upon suspiciously by those
who may deem the result problematical; but it
will be eagerly opposed by those who either find
or fear that the innovation will prove injurious
to themselves.

Many of the honest, intelligent, and independent
young men throughout the Island may, we doubt
not be reckoned among those who look suspi-
ciously upon the scheme—and who do so because
they cannot, as yet, perceive that the results
would prove beneficial to us as a people, and might
prove the reverse. Such honest doubters, who
perplexed hesitants, are not, however, to be
reckoned with those whose opposition to Federa-
tion will be the most determined and lasting.
Nor, for such men, if not altogether free from the
prejudices natural to their independent position,
are unfettered by the sordid ties of party, too self-
reliant to fear the surd's frown, and too con-
scious of their own worth to be humiliated by
"the proud man's contumely or the insolence of
office." They are, at all times, free to act upon
their own judgment, and to make their own elec-
tion; and, like all other men of truly honest and
independent minds, they are ever open to conviction,
and willing to listen to reason—justly think-
ing it no disgrace, but rather an honor, openly to
disavow a prejudice or a misconception when
they have been convinced of their error. Such
men are valuable as opponents, even although
the wisest and best advised measures; for the
respect due to them causes the projectors and
other advocates of such measures to revise their
schemes, to question their propriety, and to
doubt the accuracy of their own judgment; so
that, very frequently, in consequence of such
revisions and investigations, that which was, at
first, well conceived, yet, in some respects, defectively
planned, has become more perfect; and, through
the arguments advanced in its favor, to answer or
refute the objections of its honest opposers, and
the effects of a free public discussion of its merits,
has been triumphantly brought into action—its
worth and judgment of the community or com-
munity lying within the sphere of its operations,
and especially so by those who, at first, had
honestly deemed its results problematical, but
whom honest enquiry, a sincere desire to under-
stand it aright, and a willingness to listen to the
opinions and views of others of such circum-
stances had enabled to judge of it with more
ability and certainty than themselves, had made
its warm approvers and most useful advocates.

Of the proposed Federation, the class of men
amongst us to whom we here allude—that class
which may indeed be styled "the salt" of our
community—will, we trust, ere long—although
now, perhaps, almost wholly opposed or dis-
inclined to it—become the earnest advocates; and
unanimously, as they are known to be, by the
corrupting spirit of petty political jobbery, their
counsels and example cannot fail to be followed
by the majority of those among whom they dwell,
and whose respect and confidence they most
deservingly enjoy.

The influence of these men, in their several
localities does not depend upon their being elev-
ated above their neighbours, in consequence of
their greater wealth or larger possessions; nei-
ther is it to be ascribed to their superior educa-
tion, or the greater extent of their mental ac-
quirements; but simply to the evidence afforded,
in the daily routine of their lives—by their perse-
vering industry, by the integrity of their dealings,
and by their punctuality in the fulfilment of their
engagements, and by the general success with which
they prosecute the business of their stated avoca-
tions—that they are honest, wise, and prudent
men—men, upon the propriety and faithfulness
of whose advice others may safely rely.

Let us advise such men to advocate the Federa-
tion, and very soon the number of those who
amongst us who shall continue to oppose it will
be very small indeed. What we have now fur-
ther to say, in our present article, and, perhaps,
in one or two more, will be addressed especially
to this honest and independent class of our fellow
countrymen.

There was a time, no doubt, and that not long
since either, when many, very many of the people
of this Colony would have welcomed, as the pre-
cursor of a most desirable train of events, both
for them and their posterity, the peaceable an-
nexation of this Island to "the Great Republic."
This desire for annexation to the United States
of North America, did not, however, arise from
a spirit of disloyalty to our Sovereign, or from a
calm, deliberate, and rational preference, given
by those who entertained it, to republican insti-
tutions, orders of society, forms of government,
and licence, as affording greater protection to
life, liberty and property, as being more profic-
ent and conservative of public spirit, more encour-
aging to industry, and more incentive to enter-
prise; or as affording greater scope and brighter
prospects of success and reward to genius and talent,
than the more staid and settled, the more cer-
tain, inflexible and permanent laws, usages, in-
stitutions, and governmental principles of a limited
or constitutional monarchy like that of Great
Britain. No; the desire once entertained by a
very large number of our community to transfer
their allegiance from the Red Cross Flag to that
of the Stars and Stripes, arose from no such
preference; nor was it based on any such consid-
erations. They knew then, as they know now,
that the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, not
only in the British Isles themselves, but in every

British Province in which constitutional govern-
ment has been established, enjoy a much greater
degree of rational freedom than is, or ever has
been, experienced by the subjects of any other
government upon earth. Their dissatisfaction
with their position, as subjects of the Crown of
Great Britain, was not attributable to any alleged
inequality of our laws or limitation of our politi-
cal rights and privileges. With these they were
—as they had ample reason to be—perfectly well
satisfied. Their desire was not for liberation
from British constitutional rule; but for eman-
cipation from the exactions, oppressions and thral-
dom of proprietary usurpations, upheld, not by the
voice of the British people or decree of the British
Parliament, but by the illegal and unconstitu-
tional decisions of successive Ministers of State
for the Colonies, arrogating to themselves a power
to resolve a question of right, to determine which
—as our own Legislature was debarr'd from
doing so—was the province of the Imperial Par-
liament alone. Finding themselves thus in a
manner irremediably doomed to Egyptian bondage
so long as the Island should continue a British
Colony, it was not at all surprising that many of
them began to cast a longing and anxious look
"to the Great Republic," then unborn and not
disinherited, steadily pursuing that course of pros-
perity and greatness which, considering the short
period of its existence as an established and in-
dependent power, is unexampled in the history
of nations, either as respects its rapidity or its
extent—justly, at the time, concluding that
should we, as a people, become an integral part
of that prosperous and exultant commonwealth,
we should soon become as prosperous, contented,
and happy as any of its citizen communities, how-
goodly soever their heritage. Such a union,
no doubt, had immediately freed our oppres-
sed and struggling tenantry from the bonds
imposed upon them by proprietary usurpations;
it would have settled and brought under cultiva-
tion our wilderness lands; it would have im-
proved our agriculture; it would have turned to
the most profitable account the neglected wealth
of our fisheries; it would have extended our
commerce; it would have developed all our re-
sources, and have awakened us, in every impor-
tant point of view or direction, to new life,
vigour and activity.

All this, we freely admit, it would have done;
but, at the same time, we must remind our
readers—those especially for whom we now write
—that, had the annexation, as desired by many
takers, and all these advantages been the
result of it, we should now have had the prospect
of paying for them at a rate which would be
much more damaging to our general and individ-
ual independence than even the exorbitant exac-
tions of proprietary usurpations. In the four
years, during which the most suicidal and unhol-
y war between the Federal and the Confederate
States of the ruptured Union has been carried
on, "the Northern States alone have run up a
debt, the interest of which is equal to that of
Great Britain; and they are adding to this
debt at the rate of two million dollars a day.
Their taxation is enormous; their foreign trade,
and even their coasting trade, which they have
laboured to keep wholly to themselves, have
now passed almost entirely to the flag of the Foreigner,
and even the immense duties now extorted under
the war tariff are unable to keep out foreign
manufacturers, so great is the disturbance of in-
dustry and trade." And further, in the language
of the article of a late number of the News of the
World, entitled "The Reign of Ruin in America,"
from which we have above quoted, "in the Fed-
eral States self-government, personal freedom,
mutual love and respect, and all that we suppose
in our picture of national liberty, have been
debated over to make a rough ground for the
vulgar pagan of a vast military despotism.
Every scholar has wondered at the fatal rapidity
with which the Roman Republic ripened or rotted
under an empire. But that is, in sober fact, the
process now going on in the Federal States of
North America." Happy, although still gran-
gling under the crushing weight of the burthen
imposed upon them by proprietary usurpations,
ought our tenantry to account themselves that
they are not, as had we been annexed to "the
Great Republic," they would not be sharers in
the bitter results of that most detestable, most
feudal war, which has induced "the Reign of
Ruin," and brought home distress and oppression
to every class of citizens in the Union.

The object which we have now in view is, if
we possess the ability, to convince, by a train of
unassuming and dispassionate reasoning, that
most valuable, influential, and esteemed class
of our fellow countrymen whom we now address,
the Resolutions of the Quebec Conference, forming
the basis of the proposed Confederation of the
B. N. A. Provinces, are such as, if carried
into effect, cannot fail to prove highly benefi-
cial to each of the Provinces, "securing to them se-
verally all the great advantages of union with
all the organic change as possible, and without af-
fording grounds for any local jealousy." What
we have already written with that intention, al-
though merely an introduction to the question
we purpose to discuss, being sufficient to fill all
our available space in our present number, we
shall here break off, merely further observing
that we trust we shall be able to show, in the
continuation of our article next week, that all
the advantages which many, once, and not unnat-
urally, thought we could obtain by peaceable
annexation to the United States of North Amer-
ica, will, quite as fully, and certainly with more
security, be attained by us through our becoming
one of the provinces of the projected Great Con-
federation, which we most devoutly wish and
hope to see accomplished.

COLONIAL CONFEDERATION.

THE leading British papers received by last
mail from England contain long editorials
upon the proposed federation of the British
American Provinces, and we observe the
scheme is supported with remarkable unanim-
ity. Referring to the speeches made at the
banquet given to the delegates by the
Quebec Board of Trade, the London Times
comments as follows:—
"To draw up any scheme of political
union for colonies so long divided, and ex-
tending over such an immense territory as
British North America, must be a work of
extreme difficulty. At all events, the dele-
gates merely alluded to the obstacles they
ought to have to overcome, but dwell
mainly on the advantages to be derived from
the union, and the necessity of a common
political union. The Provinces represented
were Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, New
foundland, and Prince Edward Island, and
they have assembled in the old capital of
Canada, Quebec. For the first time
representatives of a united community
and licence, as affording greater protection to
life, liberty and property, as being more profic-
ent and conservative of public spirit, more encour-
aging to industry, and more incentive to enter-
prise; or as affording greater scope and brighter
prospects of success and reward to genius and talent,
than the more staid and settled, the more cer-
tain, inflexible and permanent laws, usages, in-
stitutions, and governmental principles of a limited
or constitutional monarchy like that of Great
Britain. No; the desire once entertained by a
very large number of our community to transfer
their allegiance from the Red Cross Flag to that
of the Stars and Stripes, arose from no such
preference; nor was it based on any such consid-
erations. They knew then, as they know now,
that the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, not
only in the British Isles themselves, but in every

to a sense of peril in the future. But the
impulse it may have given to the desire for
closer union with each other may be stronger
than the colonialist theories admit."

As the Conference meets under the authority
and with the sanction of the British Gov-
ernment, we may assume that the purposes
avowed by the delegates is approved. The
jealousy of such an organization between
separate and dependent colonies, it is to be
country would once have displayed, is a feel-
ing long extinct. There is rather an impres-
sion that the Imperial Legislature has granted
all the powers of self-government to some
of these Colonies too easily. Not that it was
desirable to keep a distant community under the
leading strings of the Colonial Office, but be-
cause it would have been better if some kind
of union between Provinces on the same con-
dition had been effected before the same con-
dition had been practically independent. With respect
to the whole group of our North American
Colonies, this idea of a federation or alliance
is by no means new. It was first formally
lower Canada after the rebellion. The
measure has certainly converted a discontented
population into one of the most loyal
communities in allegiance to the British
Crown, but it has created a feeling of ill-
will to many Canadian Ministers, and more
than once brought its local Government to a
stand still. The plan of the delegates now at
Quebec appears to stop far short of the Cana-
dian precedent. They propose a political
union, but not amalgamation. It is possible
to establish a central power without creating
a common Legislative authority, and, there-
fore, there ought to be even less difficulty.
If it has been possible to establish in the
centre of Europe one tariff for many So-
vereign States, and to abolish all the frontiers
that impeded their commerce, the same ob-
ject ought to be easily accomplished when it
is only a question of the Colonies subject
to the same authority. It is impossible to
exaggerate the mischief these inland frontiers
cause to every commercial interest; and the
evil is always increasing, especially if neigh-
boring Colonies adopt a policy of "protection
to native industry." They legislate against
each other, and begin a conflict certain to
injure both. Even without going to the ex-
treme, the difference in the scale of import
duties may be considerable enough to intro-
duce the smuggler where he ought to be un-
known. He is already heard of in Australia,
though as yet it is thought to be a custom
of the lower classes of the population. It
is not to be forgotten that one essential part
of the scheme, the Intercolonial Railroad, is
a matter of time, money, and labour that
must be achieved by other means besides dis-
cussions and resolutions.

At Quebec, in addition, if they succeed in
constituting their federation, will escape one
cause of future difficulty. No unhappy war
or rebellion has forced them into any "De-
claration of Independence" as Sovereign
States. They can reserve no rights that, if
heraldic, would destroy the compact.
They can adopt a system of duties and
that of the Republic of which they have seen
the dissolution. Nor do the delegates show
the slightest disposition to take their neigh-
bour's Federal Constitution as their exam-
ple."

The following sensible article on the same
subject, we copy from the Chicago (Illinois)
Times of recent date.
"The confederation which is being formed
in British North America has within it many
elements of success. It is a natural, organic
means which, if used, will make the most
formidable political organization on this con-
tinent. The population of the Provinces
able to take arms is not less than half a mil-
lion, while for the defence of their water
fronts they can draw upon the men ready
trained among their fishermen, and many
who number not less probably than sixty or
seventy thousand. In addition, to these ele-
ments of defence contained within themselves,
the Provinces possess to retain a connection
with England, which country has always de-
pended upon to a limited extent, in case of
war, either of offence or defence. Nor is
it what is possessed at the present time by
the Provinces, or what they may expect from
England, that constitutes all the strength upon
which the confederation may safely predicated
a powerful and successful future."

"At the present time there is a steady and
constantly increasing tide of immigration
flowing from the United States into the Cana-
dian. As time passes the number of these
emigrants will be largely increased, for every
month that now passes will make the coun-
try less desirable as a residence, and any
other place of refuge from conscription,
debt and financial ruin. The annual interest
upon the indebtedness of both our Northern
and Southern States at the present time can-
not be less than \$300,000,000. Enormous
as is this load, it is hourly growing larger,
with a rapidity that is appalling. It is a bur-
den which cannot be escaped, and which will
ruin every man who can, will leave the country,
and as Canada is at least in part, and
possessed of a high civilization, it is the
point at which will naturally centre all im-
migration. Now that the re-election of Mr.
Lincoln bids fair to give us four more years
of war, there are fewer reasons than ever
why men who can get away should remain
here any longer. The conscription, the
conscription which must become universal,
and to be lost in a contest whose vortex is
swallowing the life, wealth and reputation of
the nation. In Canada there are none of
these misfortunes; there may be less liberty
than there was in this country a few years
since, but there is at least immunity from
the officers of the conscription, from being
dragged to an unwilling and useless death
in the battle-field, and from financial ruin,
which in time must overtake every citizen of
both sections of this unhappy country."

"It will be the reasoning of vast num-
bers of our unhappy countrymen, that the
question will be that the next four years will
witness an immigration to the British Pro-
vinces of thousands of citizens from the
United States. Vast numbers of them, dis-
gusted with the evident incapacity of the
people for self-government, as shown by the
debacle of the late war, will gladly
place themselves under the yoke of a Govern-
ment which is removed from the influence and
tampering of demagogues. They will invest
in property in that country, they will become
identified with its interests, and in a little
while will lose all regard for the land of their
birth, and will be ready to follow the
powerful lead of a Government, which is
supported by a few unscrupulous fanatics. Thus
the Canada would receive vast additions of a
hardy intelligent people, who, in time of
peace, will bring their ingenuity and indus-
try to the work of developing the material
resources of that country, and who, in time of
war, will constitute a fighting element, whose
excellence is second to none in existence.
With this addition to their population, and
the new form of Government they are about
to adopt, the British Provinces, as a confed-
eration, will take the lead in wealth, enterprise
and power on the western continent."

The St. John Globe of the 1st inst. (which
has been opposed to Confederation), thus
refers to Hon. A. J. Smith's opposition to
the proposed Colonial Federation scheme:—
"Those who intend to oppose Confedera-
tion will do well to work before them. This is
the opinion of the Hon. Mr. Smith's letter. As
a literary production, it is a masterpiece,
and it is a pity that it is not more widely
circulated. It is a pity that it is not more
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