

If Scotland, proves nothing in favour of Union, what does the state of Ireland and the condition of her people prove? Has not the Union of Ireland with England proved the greatest curse that ever afflicted a noble and brave and generous people? Did not the great O'Connell wear out the best years of his life in his endeavor to obtain a repeal of that odious compact in view? Were not some of her most talented sons not many years since—yea, even Mr. McGee himself—driven by law from the land of their birth as felons, for protesting against the injustice of her Confederate sister England, and ought not the social condition of that unfortunate country for the last century to stand out in bold relief as a warning to us to avoid this Confederation scheme as fraught with untold dangers not only to the present generation, but to successive ones for all time to come? That Union was brought about by duplicity, bribery, and treachery, and if ever these countries are compelled to war with the Canadian chain, it will only be by similar means; and here I will take the liberty of presenting an extract in reference to the Union of Ireland with England from the pen (I think) of a Nova Scotia Statesman, ripe in historic fact, couched in language far superior to any that I could use:

"Was Ireland's connexion with England voluntary? No. Strongbow partially conquered the island in 1169, and by slow degrees the country was overrun and mastered, till Henry the Eighth received from its Parliament the title of King of Ireland. How irksome and hateful this domination was, is to be read in the whole dreary and bloody history of Ireland. The people were always ready to rise, and often did rise, to throw off the Saxon yoke. They were as often overpowered and trodden down. Then penal laws were enacted and enforced, under which every species of tyranny and injustice were perpetrated. Why need we dwell on the long and bloody record of mutual slaughter, perfidy, bigotry and confiscation? To be ruled by a people a long way off. Mr. Tobin must think a great luxury. Perhaps 'distance lends enchantment to the view.' Cromwell's Ottawa was only 330 miles away, yet he sold 20,000 Irish as slaves in America, and drove 49,000 more into foreign service. What would he have done had the seat of his government been 500 miles further off?

"The Parliament of Ireland, like the powerless Legislature which we are to retain, served to amuse the conquered country. So long as it was subservient to that of England, it was permitted to exist. But as soon as it began to show a national spirit, it was bought up, overawed, and wiped out of existence, as ours will be, if it ever dares to maintain the rights of Nova Scotia, and ceases to be servile and true to the Grand Parliament of Ottawa.

"But we are told that when the Union of the two countries became complete, Ireland began to prosper, and that we should be encouraged by her example. In the first place let us show that we are not pressed by the necessities which compelled Ireland to surrender her Legislature. George Brown is not Strongbow, or Oliver Cromwell, or William the Third. The Upper Canadians have never conquered us. We are therefore under no necessity to surrender to them our Legislative independence, if we desire to retain it. Castlereagh's malevolence will be tried; but it is, let us hope there is virtue enough in Nova Scotia to resist the temptation. The Legislative Union, which we are asked to copy, was consummated in 1933. For six years Ireland has enjoyed the supreme felicity of having her affairs managed by a Government and Parliament only 300 miles off—What have been the results? Read them in the history of the dominant Church, fastened upon the Irish majority by the English majority over the seas; read them in the tithes exactions, military enforcements of tithe, and murders of the proctors; read them in the hostile canes of Orangemen and Ribbonmen—in the eternal division among the public men of the country that was sold, and by which the country that purchased has always been able to divide and rule Ireland at her good will and pleasure.

"We are told that the Canadas will quarrel among themselves, and that we shall hold the balance of power. Let us take warning from history. How often have the Irish been able to do this? Only once in the whole dreary half century of their Union with the stronger country—when O'Connell, a man of a style of mind rarely matched, oftener than once in a hundred years, by the labor of a life, and by a combination of popular qualities seldom controlled by a judgment so sagacious, succeeded in uniting his countrymen and dictating to the English Cabinet. But presently came divisions, and jealousies, and concealed pretenders—and the Liberator's heart was broken; and since that time we have had Young Irelanders and premature insurrection; and then we have had brigades, and parliamentary combinations, broken or bought up almost as soon as formed; and now we have the Belfast riots and Fenians, and secret societies, foreign and domestic,—the vague yearning of the national heart being ever for the restoration of that self-government which a few corrupt legislators hurried away.

"If anybody wants to understand what Ireland lost and how little she gained by the union, let him read her discredited stories of famines and fevers; of evictions and midnight murders; let him see her helpless minority struggling in Parliament, and her beggars wandering in the street. Let him see her emigrants fleeing by thousands and by millions from a country where patriotism brings no distinction, and labor will bring no reward, and then let him come and ask Nova Scotians who have been thirty years struggling for self-government to go and follow her example.

"We have examined the Parliamentary returns from 37 counties in Ireland to see how much richer the people of that country have become by having all their clever men, and rich men, drawing their revenues from the soil, spending them in London, which they do for eight or ten months; at least, of almost every year. The rate of wages is lowest in Tipperary, where men earn on an average throughout the year but 5s. 7d. per week, and highest in Roscommon, where they earn 10s. 2d. per week. For a short time in the spring, and for about a month in harvest, men can earn from 12s. to 15s. per week, the highest rates being not more than half a laborer's wage in British America. The strong woman of Ireland can earn from 3s 6d. to 5s. per week for field work. Children under sixteen years of age are hired at from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. The coal and diet of the people is milk and porridge.—They rarely eat meat or fish, and yet Ireland is naturally one of the most fertile, and is confessed one of the most beautiful countries in the world.

"Now how is it that Irishmen can prosper in every country but their own? How is it that London has grown to be more than half as populous as Ireland? How is it that just city increased within the last ten years 19 per cent, or 44,783, while Ireland not only did not increase at all, but had a less population by 787,812, in 1861, than it had ten years before? The answer is not far to seek. The union draws every eminent and every ambitious man out of Ireland and up to London, for eight or ten months in the year; the wealthy and fashionable take the same road. Their rents and revenues go after them, so that there is a perpetual drain out of Ireland and into England, as there will be out of Nova Scotia and into Canada, so soon as like causes produce the same effects. The fox, when invited to the lion's banquet, paused when he saw all the tracks of other animals leading into the

dun, and none of them coming back. Let us pause, there are millions of Irishmen's tracks to guide us, all going one way, and bonus enough. God knows, maulering all over the world to show what has become of the victims.

"But we are told that the railroad will counteract and cure all this centralization. Would it? How many lines of fine railroads and steamers connect Ireland with England?—but what then? Everything goes from the circumference to the centre, and not from the centre to the circumference. Don't let us be gullied about the railroad, which would be a very useful thing to have on fair terms, but we have lived and prospered without it, and we would rather never see it built if we can only have it at the cost of our most sacred rights and cherishes institutions."

Our "isolated condition" is alleged as another reason why we should join the Confederation. There are few colonies in the world less isolated than this island. We have free communication with almost every part of the globe; a union with Canada could not possibly increase our facilities in this respect; we are already part and parcel of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and wherever the "Metropole" of England flourishes, we have free access and the fullest protection. The ships of our merchants carry our produce. The "world is all before us, where to choose," and any one among us, if he desire it, and can afford it, has opportunities to proceed to any part of the world that may suit his fancy. How, in this respect, then, can a union with Canada better our condition? It would open up a field, says its advocates, for our young men. The field for our young men, I say, is as much opened up now as it ever can be. They are as much at liberty to proceed to Canada now as they would be under Confederation; but I much doubt if our young men went to Canada to-morrow for the purpose of securing political offices, or governmental situations, they would be successful. I question very much whether if our eight members in the Canadian Parliament would possess sufficient influence to sway the General Government to bestow the most trivial appointment upon one of our young men in preference to one of their own. It would be silly to imagine such a thing. The Canadians would look with a dial of jealousy upon a Newfoundland who went to that country to usurp an office which rightly belonged to themselves. We all vividly recollect the excitement that occurred here so few years ago when a gentleman was sent from London to fill the office of Clerk of the Supreme Court here. The entire Bar rose as one man, and indignantly rose against the usurpation. Would not the same feeling of justifiable jealousy be aroused in the bosom of Canadians if a Newfoundland presumed to occupy posts of honor and emolument in Canada? Assuredly it would; what nonsense to talk of Confederation opening up a more expansive field of employment for our young men that they now possess. In whatever light I view that scheme of Union I can discover nothing advantageous in it. We surrender everything we possess by these resolutions, and have nothing to return except a future of taxation and difficulties. The benefits to be derived from our connection with Canada are well ascertained in the following dialogue said to have occurred in Nova Scotia:

Duncan.—Should the proposed Union take place, what will we Nova Scotians be obliged to give up to the Parliament of Ottawa?

Roherick.—All our revenue and public property, the right to directly tax us, the right to change our present laws, and the right to make void the laws our local legislature may hereafter enact, the right to appoint our Governors and Judges, the right to establish additional Courts and appoint Judges and officers thereof, and generally to do with us whatever suits the interests of Canadians.

D.—If that be so, of what use will be a local legislature at Halifax, and what can it do independent of that at Ottawa?

R.—It can impose an export duty on our timber and coal, directly tax us for local purposes, make laws respecting tavern licenses, &c., and distribute for roads, bridges, education, &c., the sum of sixty-six thousand pounds to be annually received from Ottawa. You can judge yourself of its utility.

D.—Will not the sixty-six thousand Pounds you speak of be increased as our revenue and population increase?

R.—No; that sum is fixed, and is to be the price of Nova Scotia in a pecuniary point of view, and if not sufficient to support our Road, School, College, Legislative and other expenses, we must curtail the same in proportion, as that sum becomes inadequate, or make up the deficiency as best we can.

D.—What would be the annual amount of our Revenue at the time the Union is to go into operation if our tariff were raised to fifteen per cent?

R.—About four hundred thousand Pounds, which would increase in proportion with the increase of our population.

D.—What are we to sacrifice beyond the sixty-six thousand Pounds you mentioned, in lieu of so great a sacrifice?

R.—Protection against Fenian raiders and Yankees—the Intercolonial Railroad—*and* the *U.S.* legacies say most enormous, indiscriminate, social, political, commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing advantages, which cannot be comprehended by us narrow-minded and ignorant Nova Scotians, until after the Union takes place,—together with the honor of belonging to the great British North American Union, and perhaps—

(Here Roherick paused and slightly grunted, then Duncan ejaculated "perhaps what," and the old man proceeded.)

Perhaps occasionally when the Empire's line of Railways and Steamers are complete, we may have the pleasure of witnessing a curling match on Fraser's River between the young men of Nova Scotia and the Gents of Vancouver's Island; or of a week or two's jollification with our intended friends and fellow-countrymen the Esquimos of the North West Territory of British Columbia, which might lead to thousands of marriage unions between our sons and their daughters, the effect of which would virtually unite both ends of the Empire, largely improve our race, and produce a thorough British North American people, who would be a terror to the Fenians, a check upon the Yankees, and the means of ultimately rendering the British North American nation one of the most powerful, magnificent, and stupendous Empires the world ever produces!—On Duncan, how I regret that my knowledge of human nature, the history of the past, and the doctrine of cause and effect, preclude me from thoroughly appreciating those noble, disinterested, expansive, and patriotic views, which give rise to that masterpiece of statesmanship—the Confederation Scheme."

The debt of Canada at the present moment amounts to about seventy-five millions of Dollars; to which amount must be added the local debts of the several municipalities (not included in the general debt) amounting probably to sixteen million more. In all about ninety-one millions of Dollars, or thirty-two for every man, woman and child in the country. This fact I gather from a letter written by the editor of the St. John, (N. B.) Telegraph from Quebec, who further states that the local debt bears heavily in certain sections. Some cities and towns in Upper Canada are fearful and embarrassed. Hamilton, in the Upper London, Port Hope, and Quebec, in the Lower Pro-

vince, with one or two other localities, are about bankrupt. In view of those difficulties, it would be absurd to imagine that she could afford us any aid in opening up our resources, or lend us any assistance to cultivate our waste lands. She is unable to open up her own, for it is a strange fact, that all the capital invested in her mines and oil springs belongs to the Americans. I do not deem it necessary to trespass longer upon the time of the House, and will conclude by reiterating my belief that we need no closer union with Canada than that we have already, that though we are now in no very cheering circumstances, yet that "it is better to end the ill's we have, than flee to others that we know not of." We have all the essentials within ourselves to make our people contented, peaceful and wealthy. Our waters teem with riches—superior to the mines of Mexico and Peru—our lands are fertile as any on this side of the Atlantic. With a prosperous seal fishery, followed by a successful cod fishery, I trust this mild dream of Confederation, this selling of ourselves and our country, this disposal of our birthright for less than a "mess of pottage" will be dissipated; and that we shall all labour under our own government, to progress without the assistance of Mr. Brown's "general government" at Ottawa. As to the signing of the Quebec Resolutions by the Newfoundland Delegates, I am not astonished that they should have been seduced to do so. They were feasted and flattered to such an extent that they believed Canada to be a perfect asylum—and her wily statesmen angels of light; they were damed, and, I verily believe "dropped" into forgetfulness of their country, its freedom and its liberty;—from the time they landed in Canada till their departure, it was one continued ovation; and it therefore does not surprise me that they placed their signatures to that document, and did not awake to the reality till the voice of their indignant countrymen accrossed them. With these remarks, I beg to support the Resolution before the chair.

#### THE LONDON TIMES ON CONFEDERATION.

The decision of the Upper House of the Canadian Parliament in favor of a Confederation has a definite and important bearing upon the Imperial policy. It is only from the existing circumstances that it could be necessary to discuss the question at all. Our American colonies are so differently situated both as to their physical geography, their history, race and social character, that we cannot be surprised at the levity, as we must call it, with which a Union has been proposed and rejected, or laid aside or simply forgotten many times since the separation of the United States. But war and the invasions, raids and other outrages that led to it, there is no reason why each Province should not be politically independent of its neighbour. We unite for security; and he greater the danger or the more powerful the possible aggressor, the larger the Union necessary for self-defence. To England it is a matter of very little importance whether she sends one Governor or half a dozen to her American Colonies, and the relation of these communities with the other are only a matter of local convenience. But we are approaching a very different state of things. The government at Washington sees, as it believes, the beginning of the end, and now announces with more confidence than ever that this is the last campaign, and that this very summer will see Federal unity not only restored, but ready for Federal action. They make no secret of their intention to present an enormous list of demands, which they are quite aware we shall not acknowledge, and which, indeed, they do not wish us to acknowledge. Their own public writers admit that the law as stated by the chief American authorities, is against them, and the presidents of American practice are against them, but they hold that the unexampled magnitude of the occasion removes the question out of law and precedent, and justifies the Americans in making a new precedent in place of following an old one. This is equivalent to telling us that submission is demanded as a tribute to superior force; and such a submission we are not prepared to make. Upon our refusal they allow their intention of exacting a material guarantee. Our Colonies lie stretched along a frontier two thousand miles long, and within a day's journey, by timetable, of their most populous cities. To steam down the grand natural highway of river and lake that, for the most part, separate the neighbours is equivalent to a voyage across the Atlantic; but you may breakfast one day at New York, Philadelphia, or Washington, and the next in British America. Such is the possible for, save the moment, and save we must consider the danger. In the face of it the first question we ask ourselves is, whether the Colonies will defend their territory and stand by their allegiance. That intention is to be gathered not from words but from deeds, and the first practical proof that they can offer is Union or Confederation. Hence the significance of the news just received.

In the event of a war with the States, it is clear that all our Provinces must be placed under one military command. Do what we will, no unity of Administration that we can establish will be equal to that of the invader. If this disadvantage be urged as an argument against the very attempt, it is, in our duty to reply that the Provinces farthest offlying from the Colonial center and most obnoxious to the attack of the foe, are just those which would most depend upon our aid. That gives us a special voice in their case. If the Maritime Provinces seriously intend to adhere to the British Crown, it is impossible to say what fleets, what garrisons, what iron-clads, what ordnance we shall have to pour into Halifax and other ports, all at our cost. Having seen an additional right to speak in this case, we venture to say that if Nova Scotia and Newfoundland have the seamen, Canada the militia. Place all these elements of productivity and power under one central Government and it is obvious that such a Government will be better able not only to make itself respected, but to negotiate for mutual concessions in the way of intercourse and trade. The gain would be the gain of the masses, the loss, even if it is there small, of the comparatively few. The few, too, can make reasonable terms. It is the very object and purpose of the preliminary debates to adjust conflicting interests, and make fair distribution of advantages. That each constituent member of the Confederation should look to its interests of its own is perfectly natural, but it would be wrong to allow such considerations to injure the grand result. We rejoice, therefore, to see that the promoters of the project are not discouraged by the issue of the New Brunswick election, and that the Canadian Parliament will be moved to a vote upon the proposal as originally designed. We cannot put any force upon a dissentient population, but it will be open to us to observe that the contributions made from the Imperial treasury towards colonial administration may be regulated by our conceptions of true colonial interests.—March 21.

**EVERYTHING IN SEASON.** That grey hairs are honorable in old age is a proverbial matter; but are they so in youth? Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's "World-Hair Restorer and Zibolassum, or Hair Dressing, are suited to both young and old, they restore grey hair to its youthful color, giving the roots the natural nourishment. They renew, preserve and increase the growth. Every Druggist sells them. J. J. Dearing, Sole Agent for Newfoundland, to whom all orders must be addressed.

**The Newfoundland.**

course we have taken. It has been repeatedly proposed to discharge the costs of the war out of the land and other property of the rebels themselves, and by the same reason, supposing us to share the crime and fate of the rebels, the whole soil of British America may be confiscated and sold to satisfy the holders of Federal paper. Imagination itself cannot picture the condition of those Provinces, with all the in-rolling varieties of race, handed over to administrators selected for the very purpose of stamping out every vestige of British feeling, and masking their alienation in silence. We have all the essentials within ourselves to make our people contented, peaceful and wealthy. Our waters teem with riches—superior to the mines of Mexico and Peru—our lands are fertile as any on this side of the Atlantic. With a prosperous seal fishery, followed by a successful cod fishery, I trust this mild dream of Confederation, this selling of ourselves and our country, this disposal of our birthright for less than a "mess of pottage" will be dissipated; and that we shall all labour under our own government, to progress without the assistance of Mr. Brown's "general government" at Ottawa. As to the signing of the Quebec Resolutions by the Newfoundland Delegates, I am not astonished that they should have been seduced to do so. They were feasted and flattered to such an extent that they believed Canada to be a perfect asylum—and her wily statesmen angels of light; they were damed, and, I verily believe "dropped" into forgetfulness of their country, its freedom and its liberty;—from the time they landed in Canada till their departure, it was one continued ovation; and it therefore does not surprise me that they placed their signatures to that document, and did not awake to the reality till the voice of their indignant countrymen accrossed them. With these remarks, I beg to support the Resolution before the chair.

It is not to sentimental or interested considerations that a project of high political promise should be sacrificed. Nobody can well doubt that on all important points this union or consolidation under a Federal Government would be of vast benefit to our North-American colonies, and that the greatest advantage of the greatest number would ensue upon its realization. In fact, the dissentients hardly venture to allege the real motives of their opposition. Their arguments against the scheme are ostensibly based on other and less interested views, among which that of loyalty to the British connexion is conspicuously advanced. The project is denounced as tending more or less directly to the absolute independence of the new Confederacy. Federal Government, it is urged, is but a step towards self-government, and the old ties will soon be loosened and lost. To this we may reply that we are not insensitive to the good-will expressed, but that the objection can hardly have much weight after the cordial assent which has been given by this country to the scheme. If we see no danger in the project, the colonists need hardly take alarm. In our eyes they cannot be too strong or too united. Our only wish is to see them in the position which shall most conduces to their prosperity and security. We know that in their case, as in all others, union must be strength. This much must at least be gained, and there will be ample opportunity for insuring that nothing be lost.

It is, indeed, not on the ground of mere political safety that the advocates of the Confederacy are now recommending it. They argue very reasonably that, as regards commercial negotiations with their neighbours, a Federal Government dispenses the interests of all the five provinces would enter a conference with hands greatly strengthened. At present the fisheries and other maritime rights are under one Administration, the chief agricultural interests under another. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland have the seamen, Canada the militia. Place all these elements of productivity and power under one central Government and it is obvious that such a Government will be better able not only to make itself respected, but to negotiate for mutual concessions in the way of intercourse and trade. The gain would be the gain of the masses, the loss, even if it is there small, of the comparatively few. The few, too, can make reasonable terms. It is the very object and purpose of the preliminary debates to adjust conflicting interests, and make fair distribution of advantages. That each constituent member of the Confederation should look to its interests of its own is perfectly natural, but it would be wrong to allow such considerations to injure the grand result. We rejoice, therefore, to see that the promoters of the project are not discouraged by the issue of the New Brunswick election, and that the Canadian Parliament will be moved to a vote upon the proposal as originally designed. We cannot put any force upon a dissentient population, but it will be open to us to observe that the contributions made from the Imperial treasury towards colonial administration may be regulated by our conceptions of true colonial

PUBLIC attention has been directed to the necessity of an effort to renew our Fishery at the Banks—recent but too practically demonstrated in the Shore fishery for the requirement to the prevailing industry, the legislature last Session of Two Thousand Dollars for it, and it is very satisfactory to learn that mercantile houses are about to be followed immediately by fellow-capitalists; but at all events we understand, are to be the pioneer enterprise, and are about to fit up the Banks during the present season. Messrs. BAINES we are to be the principal enterprise, and are about to fit up the Banks during the present season. Messrs. BAINES

will be certain to attract further

intelligence from the West unusually extensive preparations for the fisheries this spring. Such is the outfit now proceeding at St. John, informed they will require at least barrels of herring-bait more average supply. This fact, in most detrimental consequences to the people to obtain at the Banks a fortune which the French are also in the same quarter.

But beyond this consideration that, from the unfortunate circumstances we are long be forced by withdrawing our capital and industry from the fishery on our South and traffic carried on there with the destruction of our fishing interest our own evil we appear to be remedy. Such is the view of it by the Imperial Government, the late Duke of Newcastle who local Government were warned sent would be refused to any one either by direct or circuitous interference with the export of bait stop the way of any redress for this respect, and Imperial interest must, it seems be unsevered at means of existence to the popula

There is surely something in the blight of pauperism, the result has of late years fallen upon us, small degree to the cause to which a small dependent colony upon, and we may say, comm

wrong in order that the be conserved with ease best nations of Europe and of those demands of might in add cruelty to the deepest injustice as this must be rendered

On Friday last the Telegraph arrived of sealers at Conception Bay, at Brigus, with 1700, and 3000. At Harbor Grace, Dash, Smart, 2300; Margaret

On Saturday, the Afton, 1400, and the Seaflower day we had the following:—Duff, 1000; Havelock, 1000; Margaret Grant, 2,100.

The accounts brought by whole favourable. They appear that there will be but few, if almost all the vessels will bring themselves to the wharves

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE.—The season was delivered at the last evening by the Right Lordship's subject was "most masterly and instructive." He traced the history of the

eventful periods from the earliest influence they had exerted and progress of the world. illustrious names of Ireland, and the arts in various to those well-known leaders character which seemed to rise for the results it dwelt with power and</p