THE CANADIAN CONFEDERATION.

WITH CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS AS TO THE INFLUENCE OF CATHOLICITY ON ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

INTRODUCTORY.

II. Our origin as a nation offers a decided contrast to that of the republics into which the greater part of the new world which the greater part of the new world
is divided. They trace their origin to a
violent disruption of the bonds which
connected them with the parent countries;
we trace ours, and it is to us a matter of unqualified satisfaction so to trace it, to the influence and consent of the mother country. Our American neighbors have already passed the hundredth year of their existence as an independent nation. Their system of government owes its strength to its derivation in many of its leading features from the constitutional monarchy of Britain, a form of government dating in its essentials from pre-Norman days. Whatever of weakness it has shown can be traced to its departures in several important particulars from the underlying principles of the monarchical system. Of the three nations identified with American colonization Spain, France, and England, the latter alone can to-day boast of extensive possessions on this continent.
The stern repressiveness of Spanish colonial officials, and the cruel neglect of colonial interests by the French court, lost to colonial interests by the French court, lost to those States possessions in the new world of incalculable value. A dogged per-sistence in a policy radically vicious lost to Britain one American Empire; the other was saved to her by the generous loyalty of the Catholic colony of Lower Greede

Comparisons are frequently instituted between the growth of the American republic and Canada, and conclusions de-ducted almost invariably to the disadvantage of the latter. Now every Canadian should feel proud of the marvellous progress of our enterprising neighbors, sprung from the same honored and renowned ancestry. But if comparisons be insti-tuted, justice must give the honors to

With all the advantages of early colonwith all the advantages of early colonization, a mild climate and a soil teeming with fertility, the growth of American population in one hundred years has been a little more than tenfold, while in the same period the growth of Canadian population has been fifty-fold.

lation has been fifty-fold.

As to our form of government, its origin, eculiarities and excellencies, as well as contrasts with the American system, we refer the reader to the following eloquent utterances of the proto-martyr of the confederacy, Mr. Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

In Dec., 1864, a few weeks after the adjournment of the Quebec conference, Mr. McGee said at Cookshire, in Lower

Never, surely, did the wide field of American public life present so busy and so instructive a prospect to the thoughtful observer as in the same good year of grace, 1864. Overlooking all minor details, what do we find—the one prevailing and all but universal characteristic of American politics in those days? Is it not that "Union" is at this moment throughout the entire new world the mot d'ordre of States and statesmen? If we look to the far South, we perceive a Congress of Central American States endeavoring to Central American States endeavoring to recover their lost unity; if we draw down to Mexico, we perceive her new Emperor endeavoring to establish his throne upon the basis of union; if we come farther north, we find eleven States battling for a new Union, and twenty-five on the other side battling to restore the old Union. The New World has evidently bed new lights and all its state and states had new lights, and all its states and states men have at last discovered that liberty without unity is like rain in the desert, or rain upon granite—it produces nothing, it profiteth nothing. From the bitter experience of the past, the Confederate States have seen the wisdom, among other things, of giving their ministers seats in sweeper of the control of the contro Congress, and extending the tenure of executive office fifty per cent. beyond the old United States period; from bitter experience, also, the most enlightened, and what we new consider the periods the periods.

paratively small communities, owning a common allegiance, existing side by side on the same continent, in the presence of much larger communities owning another allegiance, would not be stronger and safer united than separate, that such a one puts himself out of the pale of all rational

argument.

Another objector opposes our project because Colonial Union is inconsistent with Imperial connexion. Well, to that because Colonial Union is lineousistent with Imperial connexion. Well, to that we might answer that we are quite willing to leave it to the statesmen of the empire themselves to decide that point. If England does not find it so, I think we may safely assume it is not so. And, in point of fact, the Imperial Parliament several years ago decided the question when they passed the New Zealand Constitutional Act, establishing six or seven local governments, under one general government, in that colony. Still another objector contends that the complement of Federalism is Republicanism, because most of the States with which we are familiar as Federal States, are also Republies. But this objection is by no means unanswerable. It is true Switzerland is a republic in the sense of having no hereditary head, but the United Netherlands, when a Confederacy, were not a republic in that sense; it is true the United States and Mexica and the Ar not a republic in that sense; it is true the United States and Mexico, and the Ar-gentine Federations were all republican in sis and theory; but it is also true that e German Confederation is, and has always been predominantly monarchical. There might be half as many varieties of federal governments as there are states or ovinces in the world; there may aristocratic federations—like the Venetian,
—or monarchical, like the German—or lemocratic, like the United States; the only definition which really covers the whole species of governments of this description is, the political union of states of dissimilar size and resources, to secure ex-ternal protection and internal tranquility. These are the two main objects of all These are the two main objects confederacies of states, on whatever principles governed, locally or unitedly; federalism is a political co-partnership, which may be, and has been formed by Monarchists, Aristocrats, and Democrats, Pagans and Christians, under the most various circumstances, and in all periods of human history. They may be almost as many varieties of confederation as of companies, in private and social life; w with propriety too, the company at hotel, but the organization of each widely different. Our Federation will be British; it will be of the fourth class of British; it will be of the fournit class of Lord Coke's division, de mutual auxilli—for mutual aid. The only element in it not British is the sectional equality provided for in the Upper House, a principle which is known to be alike applicable to the democratic confederation next us, and the meanwhild confederation of and the monarchial confederation of

Germany. One more objection which comes from One more objection which comes from an opposite quarter to the last, is that our plan is too stringently conservative. Well, gentlemen I can but say to that—if it be so—that it is a good fault, which we may safely leave to the popular elements of our state of society to correct in time. It was remarked long ago by Lord Bolingbroke, and a greater than Bolingbroke has called it a "profound remark"—that it is easier to graft anything of a republic on a monarchy, than anything of a monarchy on a republic. It is always easy in our on a republic. It is always easy in our society to extend democratic influence

said the other day at Montreal, on the old foundations—though the result of our deliberations is popularly called "the new constitution." I deny that the principles on which we proceeded are novel or untried principles. These principles all exist, and for ages have existed in the British Constitution. Some of the contrivences and adaptations of principles are trivances and adaptations of principles are new-but the Royal authority, Ministerial esponsibility, a nominative Upper House, he full and free representation of the the full and free representation of the Commons, and the independence of the Judges, are not inventions of our making. We offer you no political patent medicine warranted to cu e everything, nor do we pretend that our work is a perfect work; but if we cannot make it perfectly we have at least left it capable of revision, by the concu rence of the parties to the present settle ent, and the same supreme authority from which we seek supreme authority fron which we seek supreme authority from which we seek the original sanction of our plan. Still, it is to be hoped that the necessity for any revision will seldom occur, for I am quite sure the people of these provinces will never wish to have it said of their constitution, what the French bookseller of the last century said so wittily, on being asked for the French Constitution—that he did not deal in periodical publication. he did not deal in periodical publications. We build on the old foundations, and I we build on the old foundations, and I t ust I may say, in the spirit of the an-cient founders, as well. The matrix of the monarchical form of Government is humility, self-denial, obedience, and holy humility, self-denial, obedience, and holy fear. I know these are not nine-teenth century virtues, neither are they plants indigenous to the soil of the New World. Because it is a new world, as yet undisciplined, pride and self-assertion, and pretension, are more common than the great family of humble virtues, whose names I have named. Pure democracy is very like pride—it is the "good-as-you" feeling carried into politics. It asserts an unreal equality between youth and age, subject and magistrate, the weak and the strong the viscious and the virtuous. But the virtues which feed and nourish filial affection, and conjugal peace in private life, are essential to uphold civil authority; and these are the virtues on which the menarchical form of Govern-

ment alone can be maintained.

This is the frame of government we

have to offer you, and to this system, when fully understood, I am certain you will give a cheerful and hearty adherence. We offer the good people of these colonies jointly a system of government which will jointy a system of government water water as secure to them amply means of preserving external and internal pe ee; we offer to them the common profits of a trade, which was represented in 1863, by imports and exports, to the gross value of 137,000,000 of dollars, and by a sea-going and lake tonnage of 12,000,000 of tons! We offer to each other special advantages in detuil.

The Maritime Provinces gave us a right
of way and free outports for five months out of every year; we give them what they need, direct connexion with the great producing regions of the North-west all the year round. This connexion, if they do not get through Canada, they must ultimately get through the United States; and one reason why I, in season, and perhaps, out of season, have continued an advocate for an Intercolonial Railway was, that the first and closest and most lasting connection of those Lower Provinces, with the continental trade system, might be established by, and through, and in union with, Canada. I do not pretend that mere railway connexion will make trade remedy may safely be left to time. So much for what lawyers call the "general issue."

You will 'probably like me to define, gentlemen, that particular adaptation of the federal system, which has lately found such high favor in the eyes of our leading colonial politicians. Well, this definition has been, I think, pretty accurately given in the published text,—or what professes to be the text,—of the results arrived at Quebec. Don't be alarmed; I am not going to read you the whole seventy and odd propositions.

It is, perhaps, sufficient for my purpose to give you, both by contrast and com-

double set of returns was received from several states, throwing the whole system into jeopardy and the chief executive office into doubt.

office into doubt.

We have had our severe crises, but they have been all amicably adjusted by the steady process of just constitutional

The recent crisis in Maine has drawn from our leaving publicists many just considerations. One of the ablest of considerations. newspaper critics, adverting to the Maine embroglio, institutes a comparison between the American and Canadian systems, which at the present time must be found highly interesting, and, it may e said, in this age of governmental roblems highly instructive. The Maine muddle might be made to

serve a useful purpose in adorning a tale, and it may still properly be taken as pointing a priceless moral. It shows how pointing a priceless moral. It shows how inestimable was the loss which America inflicted upon themselves when they em-barked in the constitution-building busi-ness, and how fortunate we Canadians are succeeding to a Constitution evolved from circumstances and warranted to stand potential strain in any direction. The frand committed in Maine could not have been attempted here. Philo-Americans may urge that it was not successful in Maine, but there is no doubt it was successful in cans may urge that it was not successful in Maine, but there is no doubt it was defeated because, at the very moment when victory seemed sure, a soldier set himself up above the law and restored their liberties to the people. This is not the first time, however, in American history that there have been rival Legislatures. Indiana and Rhode Island among the Neuthern States and several of the Northern States, and several of the Southern States, have had the same experience; and it is only owing to the savperience; and it is only owing to the saving common sense of the people that there were not two National Administrations established in 1876. The American constitution would be perfectly unworkable if there did not exist among the people a spirit of fairness and accommodation to which their statesmen are strangers. In no other community in the world—not even in England itself—would the seating of the present incumbent of the White

of the present incumbent of the White House have been unattended by blood-shed. The peacefulness with which the camp-ign ended, however, is no guar-antee for the future. Great danger must antee for the future. Great danger must always attach to a political system under which such frauds as American history has seen are possible. It is worth while to en-quire, then, what obstacles there are to prevent the success of a Maine fraud in

Supposing that we had in Ontario a

Government that was determined to hold on to power, no matter whether defeated at the polls or not. If a Government were so determined and tried to model their plans on those of Gov. Garcelon and his Council, they must first have decapitated all the sheriffs who were not of easy virtue, or they must have passed a new law placing the nomination of returning officers under party control—some such law, in fact, as that now governing the choice of deputy returning officers at municipal elections in Ontario. The Government would then send private notice to all returning officers who were "right" politically, warning them to be extremely careful in observing certain minutia as to give notices, posting up proclamations, etc.
They would let returning officers of
constitutencies supposed to be inimical to
the Government "gang that ain gait."
Suppose, now, that the election had come
and gone, and the Government had been

And at the last presidential election a ran with and expired with that of his Government, as it does in Maine, there would not be much difficulty there. But our Provincial Governors are supposed to be, and usually are, above party. They hold a well-paid office for a comparatively

long term, subject only to removal for cause assigned. It will be seen then that any fraud based

upon Maine tactics, or any fraud what-ever which would aim to defeat the will of our people, is simply impossible. There are three distinct barriers in the way, each one impassible. First, the responsibility of the Government to the Lieutenant-Govsecond, the fact that neither the Government nor the House is the judge of the validity of elections, that trust having been reposed in judges appointed for life, or during good behaviour, and perfectly incorruptible. Third, the circumstances that the duties of returning-officer are performed by the Sheriffs and Registrars, gentlemen not dependent upon Govern-ment, but appointed for life and during good behaviour, and incorruptible. These returning officers appoint their own deputies and clerks, and are responsible for their good behaviour. Not one of these several barriers could be broken down without the people's consent, and each one of them is, until the people abolish it, a professional content of the con perfect guarantee against fraud. But, after all, the grand difference be-tween the modes of government in the two countries is greater than even the

above recital shows. The secret of the proneness to Government-stealing on the other side of the line is that the vicious "to the victor belong the spoils" doctrine has entirely subverted the principles which the Fathers of the Nation laid down. Ween every office of a State, or the Nation, is held to be at the victor's mercy, the interests involved in an lection become too vast for safety. The division line in election contests is too distinct. Every consideration of patriotism and statesmanship is dwarfed by the bitterness of the conflict for office. The introduction of the Jacksonian system put an end to the decision of great questions on their merits. A large proportion of the electors vote for the "ins" as "ins," and the "outs" as "outs." They neither know nor care for anything further. Then the frequency with which the battles for the spoils take place keeps the nation in a perpetual ferment. Every four years the nation is ranged ing for the enormous stake of the patronage of the Civil Service of forty or fifty millions of people. Every many or fifty willions of people. Every year or two years there come struggles for the con-trol of the State treasuries and the con-trol of State patronage. Between or along with the State contests come yearly along with the State contests come yearly tussles for municipal jobs. Even civic officials go out with their party—from policemen and street-scavengers up to city clerks and treasurers. Hence the

nation is in a perpetual turmoil. Even now we have but skimmed the surface of the advantages of our political system over that of the States or of any of them. There is one great difference in our favor which time is bringing out more clearly as the years roll on. Under the British system great changes come gradually. We do not make a clean sweep of our Legislature from head to foot whenever the spirit moves us. Yet the popular branch is with us ten times more amenable to control by the people than any body elected for a set term can ever be. If our popular House loses the confidence of the people, the members can be sent about their business at once. But the Executive, the Upper House, and the civil servants remain as they were. And even in the popular branch changes are apt to come by degrees rather than speedily. Usually, a man drops off here and another there, and their places are filled by successors who are less and less antagonistic to the measures which is seething But the Executive, the Upper House, and who are less and less antagonistic to the measures which is seething among the people. Reforms come by degrees, but come none the less surely for that. Public opinion is amply prepared for them when they come. Thus came the Corn Laws, Household Suffrage, the Ballot, and the Irish Church Disestablishment in Britain. Thus are coming Disestablishment of the Anglican Church Abolition of Primogeniture, Re-

GLUCK AND HIS ROSARY.

One of the greatest artists of the last century, one of the most learned com-posers that has ever existed—the illustrious Gluck, preceptor in vocal culture to Marie Antoinette, was distinguished by Marie Antoinette, was distinguished by his fidelity to the recivation of the rosary. This devotion preserved him from the philosophical and irreligious spirit that pervaded the society in which he was constantly obliged to move during his long and brilliant career. Like the greater number of famous artists, the celebrated composer learned the first elements of his art beneath the roof of an ancient cathedral. One day, says his biographer, a poor couple brought before the proa poor couple brought before the provost of the Cathedral of Vienna a pale, delicate looking child, to obtain his admission among the number of children mission among the number of children who sang the praises of the Lord of Heaven. The child was as happily gifted in heart as in mind. His voice was so wonderfully rich, its expression so pure, that, whenever he sang the Cathedral was that, whenever he sang the Cathedral was filled with an immense crowd listening in admiration. Thus passed Gluck's early years, advancing in art as well as in piety. Often, during the religious ceremonies, when the organ filled the vault with tis sacred melody, the child was meved to tears. Often, too, when his youthful comr des were engaged in their innocent games, he was discovered alone praying in games, he was discovered alone praying in deserted church. At evening the deserted charles. At evening when the rays of the setting sun scattered over the stalls of the sanctuary the varied hues of the stained-glass windows. Gluck, prostrate at the foot of the Gluck, prostrate at the foot of the tabernacle, meditated and prayed. On one occasion, after he had sung better than usual an anthem of our Lady, as he was about to leave the church he was met by a venerable religious. "My son," said the man of God, "You have caused me to shed tears of ion to day. I regret avacationly that joy to-day. I regret exceedingly that I cannot give you something as a testimonial of my gratitude and delight; but take this rosary, and keep it in memory of Brother Anselm. If you cannot recite it entire every day, at least, say a part; and if you are faithful to this practice, I as-sure you you will certainly one day be

great among men.
Gluck faithfully recited his rosary. His family was so poor that they could not furnish him with means to continue his studies, but the young man was not disuraged, and continued his pious prac-One evening, a knock was heard at the door of the poordwelling. It was the celebrated chapel master, who, having been charged with the task of collecting the works of Palestrina in Italy, came to take Gluck with him and have him continue the studies so happily begun. From that time he advanced rapidly; but never did he cease to be faithful to the counse of religion and the practice of piety. At the court of Vienna-that court then irreligious—amid gayety, amusement and pleasures of all kinds, the illustrious comoser might be seen at evening separating imself, and, as a priest would do in order to read his breviary, seek some secluded spot to recite piously his rosary. And when, after a long and glorious life, death came to claim him, he was found ready. He still held the poor and precious rosary of Brother Anselm; it had never left him, and he continued to recite it up to the tim of his death.

THE AZURE GROTTO.

BY BEL MELVILLE. It was evening in fair Italia, that beautiful land of sunny sky and fragrant flower. Moonlight slept softly on the thousand gildeddomes and spires of the populous city of Naples. Massive pile rchitecture lifted themselves towards the blue heavens, and high above them all towered the magnificent palace of the Count Barbarelli. From the splendid mansion there issued the sounds of revelry and mirth. All was joy and festivity. The best and noblest of the land were gathered there; and conspicuous in the jewelled and glittering throng, was a tall and graceful figure in whom, though masked, many re-

ngure in whom, though masked, many re-cognized the beautiful Bianca, the daugh-ter of the proud Count Bardarelli.

The hours wore on, and Bianca stole softly from the gay multitude, and entered a balcony which overhung the water. She gazed around. The moon shone clear on the blue waves beneath, and the

But alas! they retreat of the lo their cars, and tw their cars, and tw A piercing cry res there was a hear few bubbling mu Days, weeks, passed since the still remains. So from it arching is mirrored from The traveller is o to a spot where t moss grows gree above, as the p Bianca and her l

FATHE Crushed with a b Wrecked in the Death came, and "Ah! once I was In the happy and But they say Goo Will he let a po

"In where the it Ah! Justice state Does it mock a Alas!! have falle Oh, God! Oh, n I have fallen as it The sky does not but my heart, it Of the sky it has I have wandered Oh! would that Is God like a mo Any love for a si Her face wore the Her words, the Ah' how can a her the Can be furrow Wild rushed the

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