the granting or refusing of an injunction depends upon whether there has or has not been some inconvenience to the public in their uses of the highway by the acts done, but whether such acts have occasioned such a serious and permanent, not temporary, injury to the public, as to justify the interposition of the court by injunction. The defendants say while there may be some inconvenience, the inconvenience is only temporary, for by the contract which the Minister of Railways made with the defendant Snowball, provision was made for the making of road diversions (and by road diversions I understand the making of another convenient road in lieu of the road or portion of the road taken and appropriated) where the highway or any part of it might be taken for the railway. James Carter in his affidavit used in support of the application, states that he had a conversation with the defendant Snowball, and that he informed him that he intended to go right on with the building of the branch railway and would take up the whole highway if required, and that he would not provide another highway as that was not part of his contract, and that he would continue the work unless he was stopped by legal measures. We have on the part of the defendants a copy of the contract between the Minister of Railways and the defendant Snowball for the construction of this branch railway, and also a copy of the specifications which are made a part of the contract in which provision is made for road diversions as follows:—'Diversions "of the Fredericton Post Road should be "made at the places indicated on plan. The "road must not be left less than 25 feet "wide, properly graded and side ditched, "gravelled and made satisfactory to the "road commissioner or supervisor," and the affidavits of Mr. Archibald, the chief engineer of the Intercolonial railway, and of Mr. Fowler, the engineer in charge of the construction of this Indiantown branch railway show that on the plan referred to in the specifications due provision is made for the construction by the contractor of a good, proper and convenient highway for the public, whenever in the construction of said railway it was found necessary to divert the carriage way. Is a contest or dispute then between the Minister of Railways and Snowball, the contractor, as to whether the making of these road diversions was within the terms of the contract or not a sufficient ground for asking the interference of this court by injunction? I think not, and here I may observe that there is not the slightest evidence before me that Snowball is not bound to make these road diversions, but the very contrary appears. All we have in regard to his not being obliged to do so is the statement in Mr. Carter's affidavit that Snowball in November last in a conversation told him (Carter) that he would not provide another highway as that was not part of his contract, but Mr. Snowball has carefully abstained from making any affidavit that it was not part of his contract, either on the original application or when the affidavits in reply were procured when he could have made such an affidavit, while by the copy of the contract and specifications before me it appears that Snowball is bound to make the road diversions, and both Mr. Archibald and Mr. Fowler in their affidavits state that the defendant (Snowball) is bound under his contract to make these road diversions. That being so we then have the further fact that in the contract for the construction of this branch railway it was contemplated that portions of the highway would be taken and permanently taken for construction purposes, and due provision was made for the providing of the necessary substituted convenient road.

Several of the affidavits on the part of the defendants allege that where the highway had been in any way interfered with or diverted another quite equal to it or better had been substituted while the affidavits on the part of the defendant deny this.

Can I then, or ought I, where there is assertion on the one side and denial on the other not only on this point, but as to whether in fact there was any real serious interference with public travel over the road in question, although there might possibly be some inconvenience, to grant the injunction as prayed for. I do not think, considering all the facts before me, that I would be justified for the reasons urged in stopping by injunction a public work, like the one in question, a branch of the Intercolonial Railway and a work being constructed out of the general revenues of the Dominion, and in the interest of the general public and not for the benefit of private advantage or gain. I am further inclined to this opinion from the conclusion I have drawn, from the memorials to the Dominion and Provincial Governments, the form of the injunction and the affidavits, that the machinery in this case was put in motion, not because there was, or was likely to be any serious or permanent injury to the travelling public by reason of the obstructions to which the affidavits refer, but for the purpose of serving the private ends of a section of the public and of driving the Government of Canada into a compromise to meet the views of the persons who had set the Attorney General in motion.

The result I have therefore reached in the case is this, that whether a convenient road has or has not been subsituted where by reason of the railway works, the highway has been interfered with (and to determine this, owing to the conflicting statements in the affidavits, I might had my decision to rest upon this ground have found it necessary to seek further information in some of the ways open to the court) and even, although no convenient road had been substituted, and the acts done were a public nuisance, I am not satisfied that the injury done thereby to the public or likely to be done to them (in fact none is likely to be done to them if the contractor performs his part) is of a serious nature, and I have already intimated that the injury cannot be looked upon as of a permanent character and therefore, in my opinion, there is not that extent of mischief that would justify the interference of the court by injunction.

The order, therefore, I make is that the interim order granted by Mr. Justice Wetmore and subsequently from time to time extended by me be discharged and the injunction applied for refused.

As to the costs of the application, I have not come to any conclusion, and should I think the case is one in which costs ought be given, there would then come up the question whether I can award costs to be paid by the Attorney General where he files an information and bill without relators. This question of costs I reserve.

So far as I have been able to consider the question I do not think that under our practice, where an injunction is applied for before information and bill is filed that I could direct the information to be dismissed, and I do not now make any order in that respect, but reserve it with the question of costs for further order.

If it be necessary, I do not say it is, and the Attorney General desires it, I would direct that the refusal of the injunction be without prejudice to his taking such steps at law, as he may see fit by way of indictment or otherwise, to abate any obstruction or nuisance which he may consider to exist on the highway in question.

Attorney General of N. B. appeared in person.

Messrs. Harrison & Rand, solicitors for defendants; the Hon. Ministers of Railways, and the Hon. Minister of Justice.

Miramichi Advance.

CHATHAM, - - - - APRIL 2, 1885.

The Northwest Rebellion.

The darkest page in the history of our young confederation is now being written. Our far West, with all its possibilities, is the theatre of rebellion in formidable array.—characterised by aspects and elements of revolting character. Even at this great distance from the scene, we can imagine the dreadful situation of the thousands who, though innocent of responsibility for the causes of the revolt, must suffer even more than those at whose doors such responsibility—in great or less measure—lies. We all remember too well the history of Louis Riel and the manner in which his murderous deeds were condoned by Canada's rulers of the time. We learn—inadequately it is true, but, yet, sufficiently to make us understand the situation—the story of the political favoritism by which these half-breeds have been persecuted. The genesis of rebellion has been the outcome of that "system of purchase" which has corrupted so many of our public men. The prairies of the North-west, its rivers and its magnificent intervales, instead of being disposed of by our rulers for the occupancy of a peaceable and pastoral, christian, people, have been parcelled out, to a great extent, to political favorites of the parasitic class. These have been invaders of the country to the prejudice of the sons of the soil—invaders without either moral right or even the prestige of a semblance of fair conquest, The results are shocking the country. The check the uprising will be to the settlement of the Northwest by immigration, and even to the migration of our own people to it, is a most serious matter as affecting the future of our much too large Dominion, but there can be but one feeling from east to west, and that is the duty of re-establishing peace by resort to the same agencies as the rebels have set in motion. There will, doubtless, be much bloodshed and desolation, of hearts and homes. The immediate responsibility for that will be with the misguided—even though they be ill-used—people under Riel. For him there should be no sympathy or quarter. For those by whose political guilt he has so long escaped justice and who are, in the same sense, secondarily responsible for the blood being shed and the burdens which are to fall on the country in this unfortunate matter, shall there be no reckoning demanded? It will be for the people to say.

The Indiantown Branch.

The portion of Judge Fraser's order in the Indiantown Branch Injunction case, which we publish this week, indicates the character of the affidavits obtained for the Railway Department by Mr. Park and the disposition of His Honor to attach a weight to them which seems undeserved, especially in view of his personal knowledge of the locality. As for the contractor being obliged to make "road diversions" in place of the parts of the Derby Highway taken by the Railway people, we all know it is not so. We all know that the only Highway provided and laid down on the plan will run parallel with and, for nearly a mile, touch or be within only a few feet of the railway, while, for much of that distance, both Railway and Highway are made narrower than usual on account of their being carried along where there is not room enough for both. The learned Judge, in his wisdom, does not think this unusual or a permanent source of danger. If he lived along that road and had to drive his horses over it he might change his mind. When accidents—perhaps fatal ones—shall be caused by this wanton disregard of public safety, it may be that even His Honor will wonder why he could not foresee it.

Where the Responsibility Rests.

(Winnipeg Free Press)

We believe no one will be found to deny that the Dominion Government are directly to blame. They are to blame, in the first place, for the discontent among the half-breed settlers, whose claims they have treated with scorn. Just as in the case of the Manitoba settlers, the Government have preferred to accept the reports of their own creatures and dependents rather than take the word of others who know the truth and tell it. Had the case of the half-breeds been fairly looked into and even a step taken towards doing whatever justice required to be done, the present trouble would not have occurred. But such a method of conducting affairs never seem to commend itself to the Ottawa authorities, especially when the interests of the country are involved. Again, it has been quite evident to those who cared to see, that trouble has been brewing in the district for some time. The Government have been often enough warned of it. Yet when the outbreak occurs they are totally unprepared for it.

In other sections of the Dominion—even on the Miramichi—it may also be said with absolute truth, "the Government have preferred to accept the reports of their own creatures and dependents, rather than take the word of others who know the truth and tell it." There is no open rebellion here, nor even a clamor for the dissolution of the confederation, as in Nova Scotia, but there is undisguised discontent over the treatment the people receive in connection with their most important interests and they are sick of misgovernment and mal-administration. They are disgusted with a Government that does not permit itself to learn what their real wishes and requirements are.

Too Thin,—The Montreal *Herald*—Mr. Mitchell's organ—attributes the Northwest troubles to the mismanagement of the Minister of the Interior, Sir D. L. Macpherson. Sir D. L. is in the Senate and therefore not within reach of popular sentiment. The lesser organs will take this hint, we suppose, and thus endeavor to direct attention from those who are really culpable and who are so faithfully followed by Mr. Mitchell whenever they want him. If, however, he finds them in trouble he will again play the "rat."

Railway Expenditure.—In the House of Commons on Monday, Hon. Mr. Pope, replying to Mr. Weldon, said $33,981 has been paid on account of the construction of the Intercolonial Railway to Indiantown, and $1,884 was the cost of the survey, and Mr. Pope, replying to Mr. Blake, said $5,627,719 was the cost of the existing equipment of the Intercolonial Railway.

Legislative Council,—Fred P. Thompson, Esq., M. P. P. for York and J. Cunard Barbarie, Esq., M. P. P. for Restigouche, having resigned their seats in the Assembly have been appointed to the Legislative Council. This step was, we presume, rendered necessary by the partizan attitude of a majority of the Council and in order to secure decent treatment for Government measures.

The Soudan.—The news from the Soudan is more reassuring. Osman Digna is being deserted by his men and a new False Prophet of quite formidable power has arisen there.

The Russian War Cloud appears to be passing away.

"Natural Law in the Spiritual World."

We did not propose adding to what we have already said on this subject, our object being more to introduce the book to the notice of those who have not read it, and not that of opening a controversy. With those who have read it, we are quite content to leave the interests of Truth. The personalities of Mr. Drummond, Mr. Waits and ourselves are of no moment whatever. They must decrease, but it shall increase. We endeavored to show the unity of the law of love that works alike in mind and matter, so forcibly, concisely and so conscienciously described by Mr. Drummond, and that on the grasp the mind had of the verity of this truth depended all that we value most in the Christian and Spiritual life. But if it is not Truth, then all is chaos—a capricious spirit is working through as capricious laws and subjecting, not subduing man to alternations of hopes and fears, and the Christian is, of all men, most miserable. If the manifestation of God in the visible universe is not His power in love or beneficence, neither is God manifest in the flesh.

We submit that the power of God in love is manifest to the mind of man in nature to his temporal advantage, as God's character and heart are manifest in Christ in love to man's eternal redemption, for this is eternal life, to "know Thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." This seems to be, not only the same law working on mind and matter alike, but mind working on mind through matter by the same law. The truth of this almost resolves itself into the form of a mathematical demonstration, and might be expressed in the axiom, "things that are equal to the same are equal to one another." How wonderfully homogeneous truth is! It is the same in mind and matter, in creation and Creator, from the dew drop on a flower, to the heart of God Himself. He who abides in its simplicity will be kept by its power. Where he sees he worships and, standing on what he sees as the foundation, the mind's eye runs along the rays of light that gather about his feet, up into the unseen, from whence they proceed. He knows God in power by the work of his hands, which are designed in love, and he knows His heart, as expressed in the same love in Christ.

It was the ignorance of this Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity that brought Nicodemus by night to Christ—that mighty Master of all human thoughts and passions—to whom we also must go if we would learn what our person, no more than that of Nicodemus can comprehend, and if He tells us of earthly things and we believe not, how can we believe if He tells us of heavenly things? The dulness of the faculty that will not see Natural Law in the Spiritual World cannot perceive its converse, Spiritual Law in the visible universe, which is complete in the incarnation of Christ, the sum of demonstration. This is the basal fact and verity of all—the everlasting Yea of the universe. All else is mere analogy, seeming and pretence. It is the key of knowledge which is the entrance to eternal life. To Know is to be alive, and not to Know is to be dead, relatively, to that which may be Known, therefore how momentous, how stupendous, how responsible it is to live or die!

We are almost constrained to leave this overwhelming testimony to the truth we are endeavoring to state and pause in presence of its solitary and imperial grandeur and submit to its subduing influence. We are, however, allured to enlarge on it, it is so prolific.—Truth is life, and begets life. It is the biogeneses of facts, while the false is not even dead. It is *not*, it is a mere conception of the intellect, saddled and ridden by reason, just as reason is a jockey or shipmaster in Mr. Waits' economy of mind, except that impulse gets the better or if occasionally when there is fraud or a false start on the course or a mutiny on board. Falsehood is the incarnation of unreality and deception. Its virtue is to represent what it is not, and its vice, its incapacity to fulfil its prophecy. Truth is creative. Falsehood is destructive. Place side by side with the ruling thought in the above—which however, note, is not original, but a feeble transcript of revelation, uttered in the accents of a child—the last sentence in Mr. Waits' article No. II, which also, note, is original and is the utterance of an oracle evolving the energy of his own conscienciousness. "Hence" he says (see last sentence in article No II.) We shall not break the silence which should accompany the solemnity of the decision. It is not the place for the wind, or the earthquake, or the fire, but for the "still small voice.'

In order to avoid the confusion that might arise by the association of ideas in the use of the same word for different things, we desire to be clear, that in the employment of the word Law to denote a method or process, we do not refer to Mosaic institutions. These were designed for and addressed to the Jews—not us—in the conditions under which they lived as the witnesses and keepers of the prophecy of another greater and fuller revelation of God than the visible universe conveyed, though in it they beheld "as in a glass darkly" a vision of love which their souls desired to see face to face. Their prayers, their poetry and their praise are instinct with that eternal hope and expectation which is expressed in the sublimest forms of inspired eloquence that the mechanism of language has contrived. Those laws and instructions were but the intimation of a higher personal and original law from which they emanated—whose function was to chasten, discipline, and develope a condition of heart that would be receptive and subject to the operation of that law when the fulness or developement of time had come. It was expressed in their detail—which involved the subjection of the will—in the types and shadows of ordinances—a working model on the principles of natural law, leading the mind up to that spiritual world of which it was the manifestation—apprehensible to the capacity of men, made in the interim preceding the personal advent of Him in whom all should be finished and in whom all semblances would be swallowed up. In pervading light there is no shadow. When the master of the house has arrived all serve him. He has no representative. The law of the household will be in the eye—such as Peter saw in that look from which he went out and wept bitterly. Is this not, again, a striking illustration of Natural Law in the Spiritual World in all the pathos of its working? The Law of Love projected into both mind and matter, dissolving the one in repentance to redemption and the other in tears. The existence of the Spirit shown in the effect of its Presence. This is that new birth which except a man obtain he cannot see the kingdom of God; that baptism of the Spirit, which is power to grow and of the Word, which is knowledge of the conditions of growth, symbolized in the cleansing and renewing nature of water, of which our pious forms are a shadow, but which, if not accompanied by the substance, become pious frauds, as powerful for deception as the presence of positive evil. It is this Law of love and all that it involves to which we refer, but which words fail to express.

There is no place for reason in this great business, for reason is but the energy of the intellect ranging within the limits of its experience. Its commerce is with the relations of this life, where there is room and verge enough for the flight of its most daring pinion. But on the frontier of its Kingdom it must stop in the presence of a gulf impassible and dark as it is vast. In the mists and clouds that shroud the gloom, shapes and phantoms of earthly features move in endless procession like the phantasmagoria of delirium, to which imagination gives local habitations and names in realms of airy nothingness. This is the paradise of agnosticism, the great lone and unknown land of know-nothingism, from whence no traveller returns to tell us anything—even its language.

Reason and imagination are the faculties of the intellect and die with their temporalities, and in their death rise, purified for their association with the faculties of soul, faith, hope and love, by which it can bridge the chasm and return to its Father's house, in the title of son, to enjoy the robe, the ring and the fatted calf, while reason remains in the land where the famine is, feeding swine. Reason may deal in abstract science, apply itself to politics and mechanics, exert its powers in adding up dollars and cents, but it has no function for eternal life. For aught we know dogs, ants and bees possess it in varying degrees. The home of a bee is a geometrical conception. Ants display political orgnaization and dogs show the ingenuity of a thief with the fidelity of a friend. We call the intelligence of the lower animals—with which we own much in common—instinct, in order to distinguish and deify the same faculty in ourselves, by which we would take the Kingdom of Heaven by violence.

We are at a loss to find a peg to hang up the clothes of our impulses on at the entrance of eternal life, or see their connection with the subject, however important they would be in illustrating natural law in a spiritual world in an opposite direction to that we have kept before us. They are hindrances not helps. They have no part or lot in the matter; they are of the earth earthy and if we thought them worth analysis we might resolve them into mechanical powers and chemical combinations. We shall allow Shylock to dispose of them with his pound of other flesh: "If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If "you prick us do we not bleed? If you "poison us do we not die? and if you "wrong us shall we not revenge?" Certainly, Shylock, Christians, in their impulses are as like you as two peas.

We must raise our protest against the loose way in which Mr. Waits—no doubt unintentionally—speaks of Scripture as not appealing to dead matter as it does to mind. Scripture is not an organic thing in itself. Scripture, in Mr. Waits' oracular sense, speaks to dead matter just as intelligently as it does to men spiritually dead, i. e. not at all. Scripture is a dead language to both alike. It is not a relic or charm to work miracles, but it is a voice to those who will hear, or a vision to those who will see, and a message to those who have hearts that will understand its meaning. To those whom the Spirit of Life has not quickened it is as dull and uninteresting as a letter from Mr. Waits to a person in Australia would be to us, of and about whom we know nothing. Knowledge for good or evil is Power. Do not observation and experience abundantly prove this? Witness the place it occupies in our libraries.

We must close for the present, although the subject grows in wonderful proportions, and if Mr. Waits has done nothing else he has awakened a discussion which will let in more light than all his darkness can confound. We have just seen his article No. III and are simply appalled, shocked and depressed at the display of either wilful or neglectful opacity and the audacity of his assertion, to say nothing of the confusion of thought and inaccuracies in the use of words with which he fills two columns. The bare dry bones of his lifeless rhetoric, stalks forth in skeleton form, fleshless, save of the mutilated fragments of Mr. Drummond's book, torn bleeding from their spirit and context, and present a picture of the *ne plus ultra* of literary vandalism. His article is but the energy of egotism and the passion of vanity. How responsible it is, wantonly in the spirit of assertion to quench the light for others which we fail or refuse to comprehend for ourselves. The effect of the spiritual light we show around us is the measure of its quality and quantity we possess—"but if that light is darkness how great is that darkness." We may judge it by its result everywhere. We should be careful, especially those who stand in the relation of shepherds both to the flock that is fed and Him who feeds it, that we are not among the long ancestral succession of those who being "blind leaders of the blind" cried out, "this man blasphemeth," "by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils." Mr. Waits hardly claims the *ex cathedra* functions of plenary infallibility and a monopoly of knowledge, yet modesty would better show the degree of his pretensions. Without the prefix to his name his articles would be harmless from sheer incoherence but when a discordant voice from an ordained source comes its tone should be tested by true harmony. Ears not accustomed to melody will be regaled by the buzz and puerility of a Kazoo, and eyes not acquainted with the beauties of art will be delighted with the atrocities of a signboard. We shall leave those who have read the book to decide between it and its critic. It needs not our weak, puny help, but like the historic woman in the battle with the Goths, if we cannot fight well we can at least show what side we are on. It needs not the impedimentia of our assistance in its strong battle for the truth of Natural Law in the Spiritual World.

The Canadian Confederation.

[From the Boston "Herald."]

Montreal, Que., March 13, 1885. We are now considering the reasons which induce us to believe that the present form of government in Canada, and which now binds the several British Colonies in North America together in one confederation, is not destined to long endure, but, rather, having served an accidental purpose, is sure to pass away and give place to some other form better adapted to serve the material interests, the social wants and the political aspirations of the people. In our last communication we noted the fact that the present confederation act represents an attempt of certain politicians to found a nation before there was any national sentiment among the people to base it on, and that its immediate cause was not a noble and imperious clamor for nationality on the part of the populace, but, rather, a legislative embarrassment, local to the Government of Ontario and Quebec, and from which embarrassment these two provinces might easily and speedily have been delivered had the leading politicians of either party had the wit or grace to cease to be mere partizans, and, for a single month even, to look at public questions, and act concerning them, like statesmen. Having thus pointed out the originating cause of Canadian confederation, I will now proceed to explain the mode or manner of its adoption. And here we are, at the outset, brought face to face with the fact that the act not only never originated among the people, was not the offspring of the popular mind and heart, but was never, in any true sense, understood or adopted by them.

In the beginning of 1864 the Legislatures of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island appointed delegates to meet at Charlottetown, P. E. I., to confer together in reference to a union of the maritime provinces. This proceeding on their part was legitimate, for it was the natural result of the popular thought and of a widely felt popular want, About the same time the unwise and, we may add, the unpatriotic politicians at the head of the two political parties of Upper and Lower Canada had so mismanaged things that they had brought their Legislature to an absolute and perilous deadlock. Thus brought face to face with the disastrous result of their mismanagement, the leaders of the two parties suddenly formed a coalition, which has been defined as that last resort of political scoundrels, and a government was formed with the following startling programme:

"The government is prepared to pledge itself to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties (sic) by

ISTRODUCING THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE

in Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the northern provinces and the northwest territory to be incorporated with the same system of government."

Within a month of the formation of this coalition government by the leading politicians of Upper and Lower Canada it appointed delegates—themselves—to attend the convention which the maritime provinces had previously, acting properly through their Legislatures, appointed to meet at Charlottetown, and on the 12th of September, 1864, these delegates from upper and lower Canada met in convention the delegates of the maritime provinces, and at once proceeded to business with closed doors. The outcome of this rapid course of action was that the Charlottetown convention adjourned without, apparently, attending at all to the business for which the several Legislatures of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island had created it, and another convention, styled the intercolonial convention, was summoned, this time by the governor-general of Upper and Lower Canada, to meet at Quebec Oct. 10, 1864. Accordingly, this convention met at Quebec, and was composed of six delegates from Upper Canada, six delegates from Lower Canada, seven delegates from New Brunswick, five delegates from Nova Scotia, seven delegates from Prince Edward Island and two from Newfoundland. This convention sat also with closed doors, and nothing but the bare results of the deliberations was known. The convention sat 17 days, during which time a constitution was adopted, and the convention adjourned. The outcome of these 17 days of deliberation on the part of these 33 politicians—I use the term in no invidious sense, but only to emphasize the fact, and perhaps to point a moral—the outcome, I say, of these 17 days of deliberation on the part of these 33 politicians, who were to all intents and purposes self-appointed, was the adoption of 72 resolutions by one vote from each province—each delegation voting under the unit rule, I presume—which resolutions were laid before the Parliament of Upper and Lower Canada, the really controlling party in this confederation scheme, January, 1865, not as a

CONSTITUTION TO BE DISCUSSED,

article by article and clause by clause, as all history testifies should always be and has always been the case in such a grave and momentous proceeding, but as a treaty, or any mere governmental measure, to be discussed and accepted or rejected as a whole! Verily, if this isn't rapid nation-making, what is?

From this resume of the course taken by the prime movers in the Canadian confederation, and which resulted in giving 4,000,000 of citizens their present form of government, it is easily seen how little the people, as a whole, could have known of it, and how slight an influence it must have had upon them; for the whole movement was conceived, begun and ended between Sept 10, 1864, and March 12, 1865! Surely the world never saw such a proceeding as this before; proceeding which concerned the political rights, the commercial prosperity and the national status of four millions of living people and of other millions yet unborn, and which, therefore, should have originated among the people, been discussed by wise and learned men before the people, and after full discussion and gravest deliberation been adopted or rejected by the people in the most public and solemn manner, as becomes such a supreme exercise of suffrage Such, we say, should have been the precedent procedure from which a nation was to rise. But in point of fact, what is the truth as regards the matter? This: Instead of originating among the people, this confederation scheme originated among a few hard pushed politicians bent upon discovering a quick method of escape from perils which their own misbehavior, politically, had brought upon themselves and their country. Instead of being fully and openly discussed by and before the people at large, it was discussed only in conventions that sat with closed doors, and in which these same politicians, numbering less than two-score, sat as the sole delegates, or else by these same parties, sitting in a Parliament not elected on this issue, and in the form of a governmental measure to which, by the tyranny of previous decision already made by these same politicians, no amendment could be tolerated, but which must be accepted or rejected as a whole! And this, remember, was the course adopted in this grave undertaking, not in Mexico, nor in some petty and disorderly South American republic, but in Canada, where English speech and English laws prevail, and where the average citizen is supposed not merely to have the right to discuss and vote upon the form of government under which he is to live, but by his intelligence and patriotism is qualified so to do. In short, the whole project seems to have been looked upon and, in fact, to have been

A MERE POLITICAL DEVICE

or scheme, and not a great national and heroic endeavor. And hence, so far as the subject was discussed at all, it was not, as a rule, discussed broadly as great principles of government are discussed at a grave crisis by statesmen who feel that in the course of human events they have been called upon to frame a system for posterity rather than for themselves; but it was, in the main, discussed as a shrewd arrangement for the present time, and especially for themselves, as if it was a mere bargain between half a dozen trafficking parties whose whole duty it was to see that the local and selfish interests of each and all were abundantly protected. In short, the politicians pooled their issues and possibilities of preferment, and the several provinces their interests, the latter anxious only for an equitable division of the profits, and the former for an equitable division of the spoils.

In this analysis of the causes which led to the confederation and the mode or manner in which it was pushed forward, I wish to be understood as referring chiefly to Upper and Lower Canada, which by reason of their population and wealth represented the potential forces which pushed the movement onward to its culmination. The maritime provinces were free from those political embarrassments and wretched partisanship which, as I have pointed out led to the conception of the confederation plan and also moved with greater deliberation and dignity in reference to its adoption. In the maritime provinces the plan was not favorably received by the people—for the people in these provinces were allowed to have a voice in the matter. Newfoundland rejected it utterly, and is not to-day a member of the confederation, New Brunswick also, at first rejected it by electing in 1865 an anti-confederation House, but "occult influences" (see Doutre on "Constution of Canada") finally prevailed, and the lieutenant-governor, against the known wishes of his ministry—who resigned rather than assist him in his attempt to force the project through against the popular wish—finally succeeded in getting a House sent up that accepted the confederation on a test vote, by 31 against 8. In Nova Scotia the same popular opposition to the scheme was shown, and not until 1866, and after every pressure that could be brought to bear upon them had been exerted, both by the home government and the politicians of Canada, could they get a House of Assembly together that would

VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE SCHEME.

and the final vote stood 31 in favor to 19 opposed. Nor would I convey the impression that this measure was thus conceived and hurridely pushed through the Assembly of Upper and Lower Canada, even, without strong opposition and indignant protest. For, although the Parliament that passed it was not elected to pass upon any such subject, and the government that adopted it as a party measure was the result of a coalition of the two old parties, and, therefore, exceptionally strong; and, although the scheme itself opened the gates of a political paradise to every Canadian politician, in that it held up before his hungry eyes a long list of officer, emoluments and dignities sure to be bestowed on those who voted for the measure, nevertheless, in spite of all this lavish display of temptations, which history has shown time and again are potent on men, many there were that resisted it with all the strength they could command, even to the final vote, which stood 91 yeas to 31 nays

I wish at this point to express an opinion regarding the character and quality of the utterances which were made by Canadian public men in advocacy of, and opposition to, this measure of Confederation, and the judgment I have to pronounce is that, with a few exceptions, they are not worthy of the theme or the occasion, if confederation meant nationality. Nearly all the speeches made in the Parliament of Upper and Lower Canada—and they were all stenographically reported—are evidently the efforts of men of naturally mediocre calibre, or else unaccustomed and uneducated to discuss a great theme on a great occasion in a great and grave way. In nearly all of them, the clever smartness of the politician is only too evident. In nearly all, the argument and the appeal are on the lower levels of public thought. In nearly all, a shrewd reticence of expression is practised, as if the speaker feared that, if he should speak the bottom facts of the matter frankly and fully out, he would break off a profitable dicker, or fatally mar the prospects of an excellent trade. Indeed, the entire debate, lasting, as it did, over a month on the part of the affirmative, is suggestive at every step of reticence, concealment and evasion The advocates of the plan impress one as speaking only after conference with some leading and shrewd spirit and along the lines and within the strict limitations of a cut and dried plan. When interrogated, they evade the question, or meet it with diplomatic silence. They seem in a hurry to get on with the thing; impatient at the slowness of thorough discussion and anxious for the vote, as men who know that the noses have all been counted, and the needed number of hands are absolutely itching

TO BE THRUST UP INTO THE AIR

whenever the presiding spirit of the tableau shall give the signal. We have read word for word every sentence printed on the thousand and odd pages of the reports, and this feeling of hurry, of haste, of fear that the whole thing must be done quickly or the whole thing will collapse impresses and oppresses one from beginning to end. Even the speeches of the leaders in the movement are stamped all over with the brand of haste. They are not profound enough for the subject, not patriotic enough for the theme, nor broad enough for the occasion. They evince little research, betray a narrow range of reading, and give no evidence of any profound thinking, either as regards the principles or the successful working of free government. If the speakers were able men, then, they either lacked the time needed for preparation, or knowing that the final decision antedated the debate, did not regard it worth their while to make the necessary exertion.

To this there is one exception. I had waded patiently through nearly 500 pages of common talk when I came at last to a speech. It was delivered by a man whose name I had never heard mentioned. The Canadians either do not know how to recognize an able man, or else are most ungrateful; for here was a man who, beyond doubt, made the ablest speech that was made on the noblest theme and the most notable occasion of their history, whose knowledge of the two great constitutions of the world was so thorough and accurate that one might feel he must have been taught from the lips of Burke of the qualities of the one and learned from the lips of Webster the nature and scope of the other; whose eye, gifted by nature, had been so educated by careful habit to note the connection between cause and effect that his reasoning reads to-day like the prediction of prophecy; and yet of this man, more logical, if less rhetorical, than Burke, as accurate, if less eloquent, than Webster—of this man, who made the only great speech that was made by any Canadian on the confederation scheme, no Canadian had ever whispered to me a word. He no longer lives on the earth, or I would labor to make my acknowledgment to him in such terms as to make him feel the gratitude of a mind that to the workings of his own must stand always a debtor. His name was Dunkin.

If any young Canadian reads these lines, I beg him, as he would escape shame, to no longer be ignorant of this speech or of the man who made it. I know nothing of him save that he is dead, and that he made this speech; but had he been a countryman of mine, this one speech would have made his name a household word with those who, from the herd of public men, pick out for honor the dozen whose eyes could see the way in darkness, and whose minds could not be deceived. It was delivered with a spirit of gravity as became the subject and the occasion. It is the unmistakable outgrowth of profound thinking, its arrangement is logical, its reasoning close and well sustained, and its conclusions prophetic, while the fulness of mental resources, drawn from wide reading and close thinking, which it reveals, places it beyond the measurement of any save those who have been long diligent students themselves. It is a great speech.

Murray.

A Dominion War.

Ottawa, March 27.

The following telegram from Lieut.-Col. Irvine to Sir John A. Macdonald, dated at Fort Carleton via Winnipeg, 27th March, 1885, was read by the Premier after recess to the House:

The party under my command have just arrived. When near Fort Carleton they found that Crozier, who with a party of one hundred went to Duck Lake to secure a large quantity of supplies there stored was met by some hundred rebels, who held an advantageous position at Beardy's reserve and endeavored to surround the police and civilians. The rebels fired first, when firing became general. Crozier, owing to the disadvantage at which he was taken, retreated orderly, arriving at the Fort the same time as my party. Ten civilians of Prince Albert, and two policemen were killed and four civilians and seven constables were wounded. The number of the rebels killed is not known. The police and civilians acted with the greatest bravery under a heavy fire. The killed are: Reg. No 1008, Constable T. J. Gibson; Reg. No. 1065, Constable J. P. Arnold. Civilians: Capt. John Morton, W. Napier, Jas. Bakerly, S. Elliott, Robert Middleton, D. Mackenzie, D. McPhial, Charles Newett, Joseph Anderson, Alex. Eskgr.

The wounded are Captain Moore, leg broken, A. McNabb, W. R. Markley and Alex. Stewart of the volunteers. The N. W M. police wounded are Inspector J. Howe, Corporal Gilchrist; Reg. No. 852 Constable Garratt; Reg. No. 1117, Constable S. F. Gordon; Reg. No. 1045, Constable A. M. Smith; Reg. No. 1045, Constable A.M. Smith; Reg. No. 1048, Constable J. J. Moore; Reg. No. 985, Constable A. Miller.

MEN FOR THE FRONT.

A and B Batteries of Quebec, the Kingston and Toronto Infantry School Corps, and 580 men drawn from the Queen's Own and Tenth Royal Regiments of Toronto will leave to-morrow for the Northwest. The Sixty-fifth Regiment, of Montreal, is also ordered to get under arms. Stores are being prepared in this city also, and there is great bustle in military circles. Col. Williams, M. P., has volunteered to raise a regiment for Northwest service.

Several Quebecers, who were captains in the mounted police, have volunteered also.

THE INDIANS.

The government have received information indicating that the news of Riel's first success will make the Indians waver in their fealty.

The Minister of Militia said it was the intention of the government to organize a mounted corps—about 250 altogether—under command of Capt. Stewart. The corps will supply their own accoutrements. The latter would be of great service.

A RIEL EMISSARY.

A despatch from Brandon to-day states that one of Riel's runners, named Gourrinne, has been assested there. He had attempted to wreck a train carrying troops, and was sent down to make trouble among the half-breeds here. This man stated that Riel had fifteen hundred men and six American cannon, and had captured Crozier's force at Carlton. This latter item is not yet confirmed, but it may be true as communication with Carlton has not yet been had. As far as seen the Indians are keeping quiet. Piapot has not left his reserve and one band near Battleford offered one hundred men to the police. The trouble appears to be entirely confined to Carlton, Duck Lake, and Prince Albert.

THE GOVERNMENT UNINFORMED.

The *Mail* this morning says:—"Up to last evening the government had reasonable grounds for believing that disturbances fomented by Louis Riel in the Saskatchewan region were of comparatively insignificant character. That view must now be abandoned. The situation is full of gravity and it is not easy at present to see the end." Referring to the encounter between Major Crozier's force and rebels it says:—"This encounter, more particularly since it resulted in victory for the half-breeds, is, no doubt the beginning of a serious campaign. Riel is reported to have 1,500 adherents armed with Remington rifles, obtained from American traders, with six American field guns. Graver danger, however, is to be feared from the Indians. It is quite evident Beardy's band, who by the way, are Piegans, must have sided with the rebels against Major Crozier, and should the disaffection spread to the other Indians in Carleton agency and to the large bands in Battleford and Edmonton districts, the task of stamping it out will be truly a formidable one. The Government has taken vigorous measures to meet the emergency.

THE CANADIAN FORCES.

The Winnipeg Battalion of Militia, 300 strong, with half a battery of Artillery, is now at, or on its way, to Qu'Appelle station, 323 miles west of Winnipeg, where several trains run north to the scene of the insurrection, Carleton being 205 miles from Qu'Appelle. The police force at Battleford and Prince Albert numbers 70, and the garrison at Carleton, 300 with civilians, so there are 370 men within striking distance. Riel and 300 volunteers, with two Armstrong guns, are six or seven days travel away. In addition to this force the Government has ordered the immediate despatch of 800 eastern troops to the spot. This brigade will consist of 100 men from each of the two batteries of the Dominion Artillery, 250 men from each of the two Toronto Corps, the Queen's Own and the Royal Grenadiers, and 80 men from the School of Infantry. The Canadian regulars are under the command of Col. Otter. Major General Middleton will, of course, take chief command of the whole body of troops. The men from Ontario go by the Lake Superior route, but it will be necessary to transport them by sleighs over the gap of seventy miles of unfinished road.

RIEL'S OPPORTUNITIES.

What Riel may do pending the arrival of the troops remains to be seen. His first move, now that he has openly taken the field, doubtless will be to secure supplies by plundering the Government, Hudson's Bay and other storehouses, if he can, and to incite the Indians to join him in resisting the Queen's authority. Much depends upon the Indians. If they remain true, short work will be made of the half-breeds, but should any considerable number of them go over to Riel and there are about 16,000 of them in the whole Saskatchewan country, the resources of Canada will be taxed in earnest.

Ottawa, March 28.

The greatest excitement prevails over the reports from the Northwest. Everything is activity in the militia and interior departments. It is feared Riel is receiving reinforcements from the half-breeds in Montana, among whom he was residing after his banishment from Canada. The Minister of Militia is in receipt of offers from officers and men from all parts of the Dominion for active service.

The situation is regarded with the greatest alarm by the members of the Government and further news is anxiously looked for.

London, Ont., March 28.

The *Advertiser's* Winnipeg special says the city is in a dreadful state of excitement over the news from the seat of war. Condensed despatches indicate a collision occurred between the Police under Major Crozier and the rebels on Thursday afternoon. Eight Mounted Police are reported killed, in addition to fifteen other whites. On the rebels' side a large number is said to be wounded. Another report says two Policemen and six civilians under Capt. Moore, of the Mounted Police, were killed.

WERE THERE TWO BATTLES?

The special war correspondent of the *Sun* telegraphs