

go to the length that some people do in respect to this scheme. Although delegates may be appointed by the Provinces to discuss the question of Colonial Union in England, the resolutions must form the platform—the basis of that discussion. I would myself prefer a legislative Union of the Provinces, but I feel that it is impracticable, in view of the fact that it is opposed by Lower Canada, with its large French population and peculiar laws and institutions which they have retained since the time of Wolfe. Their prejudices must be respected, and therefore I believe, from my conversation with gentlemen of influence in Lower Canada, that we cannot have a legislative Union at present, though do not know what may be in the womb of time. The first course that is to be pursued to adopt is a Federal Union, as propounded in the Quebec Scheme.

Mr. Tohin concluded by apologizing for detaining the House at so late an hour, but he could not refrain from offering some remarks on account of the importance of the question, and set down amid cheers.

In answer to an enquiry, the Provincial Secretary stated that it was the intention of the Government to bring the debate to a close that night. The session was already far advanced, and gentlemen were desirous of returning to their homes. A great deal of ordinary business yet remained to be transacted.

Mr. MILLER said:—I am desirous that we should get to the ordinary business of the House as soon as possible, and I am therefore ready to forego any observations that I might feel disposed to make. I have indeed peculiar reasons for wishing to address the House in reply to the attacks made upon me. Some gentlemen have attempted to charge me with inconsistency in connection with the question of a reference to the people at the polls, but if I could reply I would soon show the fallacy of the statements that have been made in reference to my course. I could justify my action, in this great crisis of the affairs of British North America, in a way that would be a conclusive answer to the charge made against me. If the present crisis was an ordinary one, I would be one of the last men to consent that any great question should be decided without going to the people, but I feel that to pursue such a course at the present time would be suicidal—that it would be tantamount to throwing the whole thing away. Therefore there is no man in this House who has greater reasons than myself to wish to speak to-night, but in deference to the desire of the majority I am ready to forego that privilege, and allow to pass unnoticed the slanders that have been uttered against me for pursuing what I consider is a patriotic course.

Mr. ROBERTSON—I think, as we are discussing the Quebec scheme, it is due to the House and the country that every gentleman who is connected with that scheme, should explain fully the reasons that induced them to sign those resolutions. The Attorney General is the only gentleman who has attempted to deal with the question. The Quebec scheme has been discussed here, and I did not know it was to be brought up.

Hon. PROV. SEC. I have seen quite enough to prove to me that gentlemen have been speaking against time, and wish to delay this question.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL—Gentlemen will remember that we wasted a considerable time during the morning and afternoon sessions because no gentleman was disposed to speak, and we were obliged to adjourn even before the proper hour. It has been well understood that this question was to be decided to-night.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY—I have been obliged every day, since this question has been under discussion, to move a call of the House in order to have the attendance of gentlemen.

Mr. ROSS—The members of the opposition are always here.

Mr. LOCKE—It is twelve o'clock. Surely we should adjourn.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY—I find in the press of this country most dishonorable attempts made to stir up strife and disaffection and disloyalty in this country. We have given every opportunity to gentlemen to speak on this subject, and if they have not availed themselves of it, it is their own fault entirely. I do not think that it is right that this House should longer continue this debate, and retard the general business.

Mr. LOCKE—The Provincial Secretary is afraid of public opinion operating on this Legislature.

Dr. BROWN—I hope the government will consent to an adjournment, for I do not feel well enough to address the House.

Mr. BAY said he did not intend to occupy the time of the house on this question, but the Provincial Secretary having made some observations in reference to him and his constituents on a previous day, he felt it his duty to place before the house and the country a contradiction of the statement which had been made.

Dr. BROWN suggested that the Government adjourn the debate.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that the session being far advanced, and in view of the appeals being made to the country by the Opposition press, the debate, according to previous announcement would be urged to a conclusion.

Mr. ROBERTSON said that the Prov. Secy., in moving the Resolution, remarked that the time for discussing the question had passed,—the manner in which the debate was forced on seemed to support the assertion.

Dr. BROWN moved that the debate be adjourned.

Mr. S. CAMPBELL seconded the motion.

Hon. PROV. SEC. moved that the main question be now put.

Mr. S. CAMPBELL moved that the house adjourn.

The motions were subsequently withdrawn to allow the discussion to proceed.

REMARKS OF MR. BLACKWOOD.

Mr. BLACKWOOD said:—I think that no member should hesitate to give his opinions to the country on such an occasion as this, and I fear that the undue pressure brought to bear to force us to a division will have the effect of preventing some gentlemen from expressing their views. Occupying the position in which this Legislature is placed, I think that ample time should be given to every member to collect his thoughts and bring them to bear upon the discussion. The resolution before us I do not intend to support. I always believed in Responsible Government and the principle upon which that sort of Government rests—that the people shall be ruled according to their well understood wishes. A member who knows the views of his constituents on this question should be prepared to give his vote like a man; but a member not knowing those views, or knowing that a majority of those whom he represents are against the measure, is in duty bound to vote against the resolution which will take away their privileges without appeal. I feel it to be my duty to refrain

from giving away the rights of the people without affording them an opportunity of expressing their opinions and judging for themselves. If the great intelligence possessed by the people of this country were brought to bear on this house to-night, it would be seen that they would not part with their rights without a struggle. Union may be a good thing, but I should like to be sure that we are going to gain some substantial advantages by it. I find in the speeches of those who advocate the scheme a great deal of mere theory. Looking at the matter as a surrender of some of our privileges, I think it behooves us to examine well before passing the resolution. I have yet expressed no opinion on the principle of Union, but I will now say to the house and to the country that I will assent to no scheme until the people have passed upon it. By the division to-night we may establish what will be called an union,—but will that be a union of the people? Give me an union of heart, and thought, and action—a union that will strengthen the arm and nerve the heart upon every occasion. The people, I maintain, are able to judge of the question for themselves, and if they choose Union, I will gladly assent, but if they reject the scheme, away goes the proposition? It may be said that this Legislature constitutes the united wisdom of the country; and while I admit that a large amount of intelligence is to be seen around these benches, I feel that, in the locality which I represent, there are men from whom I should like to hear. As the hour is late, I will not further occupy the time of the house, and I will conclude by saying that this matter should be placed in the hands of the people.

SPEECH OF MR. ROSS.

Mr. ROSS said:—At this hour of the night, or rather of the morning, I do not intend to say much on the question now before the house. As remarked by my friend, Mr. Blackwood, the Provincial Secretary is driving us into a corner, when forcing us to a division when we should be in our beds. I have taken a large number of notes, and intended defining my position, if not to the satisfaction of the majority of this house, at least to a majority of the people of Nova Scotia, and particularly that of my own constituents. A singular but unholy union had taken place. Even during the delegation to Quebec, a certain gentleman in the Legislative Council and the Provincial Secretary could scarcely find language strong enough to express the terms of abuse and reproach which the one applied to the other. When they got those princely dinners,—those ovations, with abundance of good wine, they began to forget what was due to Nova Scotia and to the interests of the people. As long as these were opposed to each other the wrongs and injuries done to our people were well exposed; but now both support each other, without regard to the interests of Nova Scotia. We are told that we are on the eve of a great crisis, and it is true that some Fenians are organizing in the States, but they intend to restore to Ireland what we are about destroying in this Province, namely, our noble and glorious Constitution. The American people are now beginning to enjoy peace, and it will be the work of years to place their financial affairs on a sound and proper basis. They desire peace, and both France and England will look with jealous eye on any extension of their power on this continent. France is interested in Mexico, and Great Britain in the North American Provinces, and both would unite to prevent further increase of territory to the States. This is the best guarantee for peace. In the event of war it is acknowledged by those sent out officially to report on our defences that Canada, with its long line of land and water boundary is our weak spot, and that it cannot be defended as well as Nova Scotia, which is almost surrounded by water. Here we have men who will defend us, and are willing to do so; but will force us into an union with Canada, and you will create a feeling of disloyalty among our people, the extent of which it is painful to contemplate. Therefore, in the question of defence we gain weakness instead of strength. It is said that, with the present rate of consumption, coal will be soon scarce in Great Britain, and then Nova Scotia and Cape Breton would be the last places that would be abandoned. Mr. Archibald says that this house will remain. But take away from us the power of self-government, and you take away what we most dearly cherish. The Quebec scheme is largely copied from the constitution of New Zealand, and it is singular that the constitution of that country was published by Mr. McGeck on the time that our delegates were giving away Nova Scotia to meet Canadian necessities. In New Zealand there are nine different Provinces, each having its own distinct local Government, and there they complain that they are expensive, without any benefits arising from the expenditure. In that country they are strongly advocating separation, and the whole Province of Auckland is unanimous in agitating a separation from the Southern Island. The Confederation works injuriously to the interests of the people, and we are about adopting what they are most anxious to reject. The Governor of New Zealand is called the Superintendent, and is elected by the people; but here our local Governor, selected by the Government at Ottawa, would be some creature that had claims on the political party in power and who would not have popularity enough to get a seat at Ottawa. Such will be the men who will be the future Governors of these Colonies. The House of Assembly is bad enough now, but then it will be worse; they will be like the case of a certain house from which the money-changers were driven. The Provincial Secretary says he did not approach the member from Richmond. That reminded me of an old man once in my county having a copy of Bunyan's Holy War, and showing a neighbor the picture of the taking of Mansoul, said, "See, what the big D—I won't do," he has got the little—s to do for him." Some influences are at work, as will be seen by the sudden change in the minds of some members: If we are to have British institutions, why do we not follow their pattern? When Scotland was united to England, the local Parliament was abolished, and such was the case in Ireland. If we are to have Union, let it be a legislative one. There is something grand in the idea of one Government, one Legislature—but in retaining the local legislature, we will have the expense without any corresponding benefit—the shadow without the substance,—a nest of corruption for persons who will not be able to obtain seats at Ottawa. Our present revenue is about \$5.20 per head on our population; out of this we should have to hand over to Canada for the General Government \$2.40, leaving 80 cents for all local purposes, to which we add royalty on coal and some other small amounts. The first clause of the local ar-

bitutes gives the power of self-taxation, which is just what we should avoid; but without it our roads and bridges will go down. There is no doubt but that the delegates anticipated in their happy moments the great position that they would occupy under Confederation, forgetting the interest of Nova Scotia in the desire for position and self aggrandisement—imitating Nero, who added when Rome was burning. The member for Kings, Dr. Hamilton, said that in medical practice, physicians often try experiments, but it is only on sick men or dead bodies. Nova Scotia is neither sick nor dead, but sound and in good health, wealth, and prosperity. The Prov. Secretary says that there are but few petitions against the measure; but was it not sent to all parts of the Province that Confederation would not be considered this session? This was no doubt a piece of strategy on the part of the Prov. Secretary, who now takes everybody by surprise. There was one petition that I presented signed by all the magistrates at sessions, and the Custos at the head,—a pretty strong indication that I at least am representing the views of my constituents. The whole history of Confederation is based on the ambition of some of our public men and on the necessities of Canada. Ambition is the sin of angels, and even politicians find that they were losing power, must go to Ottawa. They are like the evil one, as described by Milton, who would rather rule in hell than fill a subordinate place in heaven. I have no ambition to gratify, no self interest to advance,—but as I was early taught that Responsible Government was government according to the well understood wishes of the people, I will not agree to sell their birthrights without asking their consent, but will on the contrary stand by what I consider the dearest rights of Nova Scotia, and the express views of those whom I represent.

SPEECH OF MR. FRASER.

Mr. JAS. FRASER said:—If this were a question of ordinary importance, I would content myself by giving a silent vote, as I have frequently done, but on a measure of such great consequence I do not think that I would be justified in doing so. I will tell the house candidly that my opposition to the resolution before us is not due to any hostile feelings in reference to the principle of union. I do not think it is necessary that petitions should come from my constituents to inform me of their wishes, because, living as I do among them, I must be aware of their views, and unless a very great change has taken place since I left them I know that they are not prepared to adopt the proposition of union at present. At this time last year a scheme of Confederation was before the people, and they had an opportunity of examining and judging it. They did examine it, and a majority of them became opposed to it—not because a great deal of pains and talent had not been taken with the measure; because now that we are about to form a new delegation, I do not think that we can send gentlemen of more talent and more knowledge of the business they have to perform than those who went before. If I vote for this resolution, when I return to my constituents and tell them that I voted for an union they will naturally ask what kind of a union we are to get, and I shall be unable to tell them,—last year I could give them the details, this year I can only say that the matter is to be arranged three thousand miles away, and if they ask me whether the representatives of the people will have an opportunity of passing on it afterwards, I can only tell them no such opportunity will be afforded, and that they will be bound by the arrangements which are made in England. I regret that my convictions compel me to differ from many whose opinions I value, and whose friendship I desire to maintain, but I must act conscientiously, and do what I believe to be for the best interests of the country. I must say that I cannot understand those who say that persons who do not fall in with the idea of an union are disloyal,—the people whom I represent are as loyal as any upon the face of the globe, and if any man had the hardihood to charge disloyalty upon them it would not be necessary to hurl back the imputation—it would rebound with greater force than that with which it came. Union I believe to be desirable when we are prepared for it, but at present the people are not prepared, and they do not understand how we would be in a better or stronger position if we disturbed our institutions. While union, if not formed in opposition to the wishes of the people would be strength, a union so forced upon them would be weakness. I hope to see the day when all these colonies will be united, and I am hardly prepared to go the length of some who propose to wait until another general election,—we can understand the opinions of our constituents without waiting for that, and it is to be feared that other matters would be brought in on such an occasion. I will not longer detain the house, and I can assure you that when the people are prepared for union I will not be found an obstacle in the way believing that a majority of them are at present opposed to the measure; I cannot be a party to an act which will sweep away their rights.

Hon. FIN. SECY. explained to the house that in paring with Mr. LeVesconte, who was abroad upon public service, he had promised that gentleman to pair off with him in case the question of Confederation was brought forward. He had no reason to believe that Mr. L. would be opposed to the resolution before the house, but lest it might be supposed that he had broken faith, he would refrain from voting on the division.

SPEECH OF MR. LAWRENCE.

Mr. LAWRENCE said:—I rise to make a few remarks on the question before the House, in discharge of the duty I owe to my constituents, and also to the country at large. I feel some reluctance in addressing the House at this late period of the session, but the profound anxiety with which I regard the feeling of the people impels me to speak. Standing as I do the representative of a free and intelligent people, honored with their confidence, anxious to discharge faithfully the trust reposed in me, I feel it is my duty to express my sentiments freely on the present occasion. There can be no great love for union where the parties to be joined have not the slightest desire to associate with each other,—right or wrong. Beneficial or otherwise, it is impossible to persuade the mass of the people that in the government of the country is not the best. How many of the present members would be here, if they said to the people in 1863, that they were going to change the constitution of the country? All great questions ought to be examined with caution. Party considerations should sink, and as to the spirit with which I enter into this debate, I claim nothing more than to know what the people are best to secure harmony and loyalty in our country. Neither the smiles of friends nor the frowns of foes, no political thunder either on the right hand or the left will move me, or change my mind as regards the action taken by the government on this question. A

mere politician, thrown up by the dark and turbid waters of party, actuated by self-interest, can have no lasting influence over a question of this sort,—this is no party question; it passes beyond all such considerations, and such feelings should be far from every mind. Gentlemen mistake the feeling of the people of this country, if they hope to excite their admiration, or secure their confidence by displaying such newborn zeal in forcing confederation on the people. The spirit of liberty will make itself heard wherever it exists. Let us take care of our rights, for political expediency in limiting a people's freedom is a dangerous principle, and will never satisfy a free people. I believe one of our great objects, at the present time, should be to foster a spirit of peace and harmony amongst our own people, and that harmony can only be maintained by a patriotic, wise, and noble use of power. The people in every part of this country must feel that their rights are protected. So far from lending themselves to any scheme which would threaten the safety or prosperity of our country, we should not hesitate to plant ourselves in opposition even to our political associates when they seek to promote it.

We are a free people, prosperous beyond doubt, advancing cautiously in wealth, under the protection of our good old flag, the only banner which floats over a limited monarchy and a free people. Under the British constitution we have far more freedom than any other country on the face of the earth. We have come from a nation in whose veins the blood of freedom circulates, and who carry everywhere the deepest attachment to their Sovereign. It is the spirit of that constitution which unites and invigorates every part of the Empire, down to the lowest member, but to pass confederation, without asking the voice of the people, will only be sowing the seed of dissatisfaction and contention among a very large portion of our population. A representative of the people is bound by the highest moral obligations to respect their wishes, and obey their will, when their sober judgment has been ascertained. Now I deplore the intolerant spirit which I see every day manifested around these benches; it is utterly inconsistent with the true spirit of freedom. The foundation of free constitutional government is the voice of a majority of the people, and so long as it deserves the name, and wins the affection of the people, it can never be in any great danger. Now it is a question of right arises between the constituent and the representative body, by what authority shall it be decided? If you leave it to the Judges, they will tell you that the law of Parliament is above them. What then remains but to leave it to the people to decide for themselves? My political career may be short, but the accomplishment may fall far short of the purposes, but the consciousness of duty discharged shall be glorious. The people are not asking for any change, and this subject would also if it were not for the rising zeal of some who dread an appeal to the people. Interested men may call for measures which they themselves should be most ready to laud and condemn, but upon them let the responsibility rest.

Now, in regard to Confederation, I say frankly, that whenever a majority of the people speak in favor of union, let them have it; but I will not consent to a change of the constitution without their consent. If the representatives are unfaithful to their trust, and abuse their powers by disposing of the birth-right of the people, then responsible government is not worthy of the name. We have no right to surrender the liberties and privileges which we were appointed to guard. The multitude, even though they know very little of political science, can form a good practical judgment upon government in general, and even a better one than those in office, who cannot see their own defects and errors.

The first move in regard to a union of any kind was made in the session of 1864 by this Legislature. The Provincial Secretary then moved a resolution asking us to empower the Lieutenant Governor to communicate with New Brunswick and P. E. Island, in reference to the appointment of delegates to meet at some central point, to take into consideration and agree upon a basis for a union of the maritime provinces. That resolution was passed almost without opposition. I think it was the duty of the delegates first to have reported for the information of the people of these provinces, what their success was as regards a union of the maritime provinces. But the action taken by the delegates at that time as to a maritime union passed away like a morning cloud or a dream in the night,—poor Nova Scotia was lost sight of, and a delegation to Canada was formed, without asking the lower provinces whether they were willing or not.

I think it is the duty of every man around these benches to define his position in regard to this great question. My position is this: I am in favor of a union of the maritime provinces, but not a union with Canada; that was my position from the time the scheme of union was first brought forward, and I still entertain the same views, and I believe that it is the view of a very large portion of the people of this country. Before I would betray the trust reposed in me, or consent, by any act or vote of mine, to surrender one jot or one tittle of the rights, or the honor, or the glory of this country, my right hand shall forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

We have heard a good deal said about the Fenians, and about disloyalty to the Crown. What does all this mean? Is it to frighten the people into Confederation? Nova Scotia is as loyal as any other country on the face of the earth, but do not disturb the birthright of the people without their consent. Sir, as regards the Fenians or any other foe, whenever they come to disturb the peace of our country, I as one man ready to meet them under the British flag—the flag of freedom; but I intend on this occasion, at whatever hazard or sacrifice of a personal kind, to do what I consider is my duty to my constituents and the country at large.

The principle which lies at the foundation of our constitution, is that which declares the people to be the source of political power. A constitution written on paper is not a safe one, a constitution to be safe must be written on the hearts of the people. The powerful temptation to betray our trust, held out by the Government, to surrender up our own convictions, ought to be resisted; a steady adherence to truth, whether in favor or out of favor, must mark the course of every man who will not lose his own respect. I do not despise popularity, I respect it. But it is that popularity which follows, and not that which is sought after; and if there be one quality, which a representative of our country ought to cultivate at the present time above all others, it is independence. Not a defiance of the well understood wishes of the people; his course should be a manly and steady adherence to a stout defiance of what he considers right through sunshine and through storm. Such independence every man should cultivate who undertakes to serve his country. Caesar, who yielded to that infirmity of noble minds—the

love of power, fell in the very Senate Chamber, under the avenging dagger of Brutus.—Again, Napoleon's brilliant but unwise career was checked, at the moment when he gained his highest position. When he had kept the nations in dread, he was sent a prisoner to an island far from every field of his glory, and where the dashing billows mocked at the surges of his own passions. Our liberty, once taken away, may never return, and I see by the features of the proposed scheme, if it be carried into effect, we would be exposed to two dangers: centralization and dissolution.—the General Government would have gigantic power, and might employ its functions to enrich one section of the union at the expense of the other. Its complex character,—blending the powers of the General Government with those of the several Local Governments, exposes it to dangers from its own action.

We are yet in the freshness of youth, and the fairest of our sisters, our seaboard and mineral wealth hold out a strong temptation to those abroad. But, sir, I would say with all sincerity, let the people of Nova Scotia make their own choice. The power of figures has been brought forward in gigantic appearance before the people of this country, differing in the various calculations to the amount of some millions of dollars, but it would puzzle the brain of the best mathematical scholar to arrive at the real truth of the matter. We may rely upon it that trade will regulate itself like water, it will find its level. That union is strength, is true, but to be strength it must be a whole union, not a half. We see nothing like a united public opinion in favor of Confederation in this country,—the contrary is the case, public opinion seems to be split throughout the land,—so much so, that a small majority in favor of the resolution would be a very poor safeguard of a lasting union. It has been said with a good deal of force, that the power to deal with this question is invested in the representatives of the people. I do not deny that they have such power, for a government with a large majority can do almost anything. But such power in regard to a change in the constitution without the consent of the people of this country will never be exercised by me. Slight causes have given rise to the fiercest and most cruel wars which history records, the plunging of a few acres of soil plunged the states of Greece into a sanguinary conflict. An attempt to collect ship money shook the empire of England, and drove Hampden to the field, where he lost his life in one of the first battles ever fought for constitutional liberty, and brought the appointed head of a king to the block. A tax of a few cents on a pound of tea drove the colonies into a war, which broke the dominion of the British government, and left them independent states.

Again, look at Ireland. She constitutes a portion of the British Empire. What battle has been fought in modern times by the British arms, where Irish blood has not been freely spilled, and where Irish valor has not contributed to win the day? The Irishmen in the ranks have ever been true to their trust. They bore the British flag in triumph against the marshals of France. At Waterloo, they upheld it for Wellington against the splendid array which Napoleon mustered in person, and yet what is the state of Ireland to-day? Why, the fertile soil of Ireland, teeming with abundance, is made to support foreign landlords, absentee, who squander abroad the wealth which Ireland yields, and thousands of her sons and fair daughters have to come to America, where they can have all the safeguards to industry and enterprise.

Every Novascotian can survey his country with patriotic pride; he may sit in her councils, an equal among equals, and no man who represents her people should surrender their rights. If he does so he is already dead to the noble impulses which can alone preserve peace and liberty. The protracted discussion carried on in this House, and the angry feelings which too often characterized it, only fill the country with apprehension, and impede the progress of public business. A storm which sweeps the ocean and drives the vessel before its fury, makes the mariner look more closely to his means of safety, and a political storm which threatens to disturb the constitution of a country, only brings about a new impulse as to the great elementary principles upon which the fabric rests. Now, as regards the petitions that have come from the country, they have not met with that cordial reception which they are entitled to. It has been said that they were signed by men, women and children, and were got up by a political opposition. Now, sir, as regards the petitions that came from North Hants, I beg to say from my own personal knowledge of the names attached to them that they were not signed by women and children, but were signed by Conservatives and Liberals (so called); men that know their duty both to themselves and their country, and would not be backward in speaking out for the protection of their birth right, if called upon to do so. General Harrison, when about to give his vote on a great question, made a noble reply to a friend, who told him he would ruin himself by the vote which he proposed to give, he exclaimed, "It is better to ruin myself than to destroy the constitution of my country."

In a free government there must always be divisions and parties; and there should be,—because eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and nothing so stimulates vigilance as the conflicting opinions of parties. But we should ever remember that the claims of our country stand far above the claims of party. Why does a patriot await the result with suspended animation and pale cheek? Because upon the issue hangs the fate of his country. If victory light upon his standard, his altar and his fireside are safe. Now, sir, with our fertile soil, our noble streams, our mineral wealth, large seaboard for navigation and shipping,—our population intelligent, enterprising, and religious,—these will enable us to advance with a steady and sure march in civilization. And I am for that sort of industry which spreads wealth among the laboring classes, and elevates them gradually in the scale. I believe in a firm protection of the rights of the weak, whenever they are in danger by the power of the strong; and wherever you find Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, you will find that they carry with them the high qualities of their race, which have led the way in civilization, by spreading the great principle of freedom—freedom in religion and freedom in government—over the world. Their prosperity has been brought about by an overruling Providence. There are many who look more to the creature than to the Creator; they trust to their own strength instead of looking to Him who governs the affairs of men; and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, it is also probable that an empire cannot rise without His aid. May the light of liberty which now shines over our land long remain to gladden generations yet unborn! May the flag that floats over every part of British territory, and catches the eye of the navigator returning from every country, which is borne by our ships upon all the waters of the globe, and which is known and honored as the flag that is