

they have no station, weight, or influence in Imperial councils and Imperial dignities. They are provincials, and provincials of a country which is but little known and less appreciated in Great Britain. Their senators have no voice, their statesmen no name in the Parliament and politics of England. Their deliberations, their debates, and their divisions are unknown beyond the limits of a semi-populated Province; or, if known, known only to be coerced by the power or ridiculed by the sneers of officials at home. Again, they complain that, while on the other side of the American border every sign of mercantile prosperity, and every indication of natural enterprise manifest themselves, on their side all is poverty, stagnation, and inactivity; on the former innumerable railroads tessellate a country teeming with abundant harvests and busy with a thousand mills, while on their side the sterility of an untilled soil is no less disheartening than the laziness of inactive hands or the want of capital to employ them. Of these three grievances the two former are real, the latter is only imaginary; and of those which are real, the first is only temporary. The prosperity which was forced by protection will revive, slowly indeed but surely, under the influence of competition. The energy and industry which have made the United States prosperous might have made Canada no less prosperous; the British Constitution has not checked them; the Colonial Office has not stifled them. The English capital which flowed so readily into the thankless treasuries of Indiana and Pennsylvania would have gushed into the coffers of the Canadian merchants and irrigated the barrenness of Canadian fields, had it not been for reasons for which none but Canadians are answerable. That this complaint, too, is overcharged, we infer from the tenor of the whole evidence given by Canadian proprietors of high character before Lord Montagu's Committee on Emigration. Canada has grown in prosperity, and—considering the very late period of her colonisation and her large elements of the poorest Irish colonists—has grown beyond the hopes of her most sanguine well wishers within a very brief period of time. What is wanting to increase this is English capital—the same capital which has multiplied the wealth of the neighboring states; but which it would be absurd to suppose can only be introduced into her when she ceases to be an English possession. The other complaint is, one which it is easier to deride than to assuage. Our colonists—as such—enjoy only the distant and reflected splendors of imperial power and majesty. We have in this, as in other instances, forgotten the generous but profound policy of ancient Rome, and have curtailed the privileges of those remote subjects whose loyalty and whose courage are the furthest pillars on which rest the glories of the British throne. To remedy this would require considerable alterations, not only in the system of our representative, but also in the laws of time, space, and locomotion. A proposal to change the one may be considered nearly as Utopian as a plan for revising the other.

On the whole, then, the question resolves itself into this. Would Canada better herself, without hurting England, by annexation to the United States? Could we give up to a rival and aggressive Republic a province as vast as France, without perilling our power and damaging our prosperity? Could we give up Canada without affecting the brave loyalists of Nova Scotia, and losing the most valuable harbors in the globe? If Canada ceases to be British, must Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and New Brunswick cease to be British also? Or is there no intermediate course which should secure to the discontented colony independence without forcing her into rivalry or hostility? Is it impossible to devise such a Government—whether Royal, Imperial, or Republican—as, by consolidating the three North American provinces, would erect a huge breakwater between us and our nearest but most formidable rival? All these are questions of moment and importance; but there is one question which takes precedence even of these:—How far are the sentiments contained in the Montreal Address general and popular in Canada?—How far are they merely the expressions of a party spirit? How far Canadian? This it is not only useful but needful to ascertain. To take one single step without knowing this would be to plunge deliberately into darkness and difficulty. Frantic as it was to wage a desultory and sanguinary war against the unanimous opinion of thirteen provinces, it would be fatuous to fling away one province in blind submission to the misunderstood dictates of an overrated faction. Meanwhile—ere this question be solved—let us congratulate ourselves on the reflection that the document which we have quoted proves that the political training which England gives to her colonists is one which need neither make them ashamed of her, nor her of them; and that the future which awaits men thus trained can never be obscure nor dishonorable.

From the London Morning Chronicle.

THE MONTREAL MANIFESTO.

The Manifesto on the Montreal Annexation is certainly a very curious document, to have been signed at an hour's notice, by 325 highly respectable persons; and we gladly give the respectable persons the benefit of the apology, such as it is, implied in the statement of a local journal, that many of them, in their haste to sign anything for annexation, have done so without reading it. The notion of dismembering a great empire 'amicably and peacefully,' and of effecting a resolution 'with no other sentiments than those of kindness and respect' towards existing authorities, has a grave irony about it, which—notwithstanding our Irish experience of loyal sedition and peace

able and constitutional treason—we should be slow to impute to 'the first merchant, landholders, and professional men' of any city in the Queen's dominions. Even in the absence of the explanation above referred to, we should have found it difficult to believe in the 'mature and dispassionate investigation' which the authors of this address 'To the People of Canada' profess to have instituted. For, though it would not be the first time within our recollection that Great Britain has been politely requested to take her empire to pieces in order to promote the 'domestic manufactures' of a Province, we had always regarded the O'Connellite and Conciliatory Hall tactics as something purely exceptional and abnormal. The extremely cool proposal of the 325, to make an amicable transfer of their allegiance with the view of obtaining protection for non-existing manufacturing interest, is an absurdity so gross and glaring that we catch at almost any excuse for the unknown individual who penned the document before us, rather than on the respectable persons who have ostensibly sanctioned it.

However, the practical importance of a political demonstration is not always to be measured by its wisdom. Difficult as it is to think or speak gravely of disloyalty and revolution when they come before us in the shape of a 'dispassionate' essay on Protection to native industry, it is quite conceivable that this Montreal movement may turn out to be a more serious matter than it seems. If there is something almost incredibly silly in the scheme of dismembering the British empire in order that Canada may begin manufacturing dear cottons and calicoes, instead of buying cheap ones, it is not a light matter that some hundreds of respectable and influential citizens are so hasty to sign 'anything for annexation.' It becomes a highly interesting subject for consideration, to what extent the spirit which this occurrence discloses is the general and prevailing temper of our Canadian fellow subjects, and whether there is reason to anticipate that it will gain or lose in strength by lapse of time.

We know of no particular reason for fearing a Canadian 'rebellion'—but we own we are very much afraid of an inveterate and chronic disaffection, fostered by perpetual comparisons, of the most damaging sort, between the rapid and prosperous development of a United States 'Territory,' and the industrial and social stagnation of a British Colony. The British Empire may do doubt (if it thinks proper) hold Canada as long as it remains an empire; but we are very sure that Canada will not be worth the holding—now that Lord Elgin has thrown cold water on 'loyalty'—if the Canadians once get thoroughly possessed with the notion that annexation would add 20 per cent. to the selling value of lands and houses.

We trust that Lord John Russell will see to this in time, especially as Lord Grey must be much too busy just now with Cephalonia and the Cape to attend to anything short of a real rebellion. Else that which now has a good deal of the appearance of a *mauvaise plaisanterie* may assume a shape seriously disagreeable to a First Minister of the Crown, and practically inconvenient to the tax-paying public.

From the London Illustrated London News.

THE CANADAS.

The Protectionists of Canada, offended by the Free Trade policy of the Home Government, and the Loyalists, offended by the impartiality with which the Colonial Office has endeavored to steer its course between the contending parties and races that unfortunately dispute with each other for the possession of power, have combined their strength and put forward a document in favor of the annexation of Canada to the United States. We must say, for our own part, that the arguments in this declaration, which has already received a large number of signatures, are, as regards the Canadians, of the very greatest weight.

We have nothing to say upon the Free Trade part of the question, except that it is the weakest point in the Canadian argument, the more especially since the new President of the United States has given his adhesion to the Free Trade policy, and administered a heavier blow to the Protectionist party in the States than it ever yet received; but, as regards the advantages likely to accrue to Canada herself from an amalgamation with her powerful neighbour, whatever the economical policy of the last mentioned may be, we think there can be no doubt upon any reasonable and dispassionate mind, that they are likely to be many.

All these arguments are good as regards Canada; and could the statement of this country believe that they were the sentiments of the large majority of the Canadian people, there can be little doubt that they would agree to the annexation, which in such case would be accomplished sooner or later in spite of them. It remains to be seen, however, whether this document be a mere flash in the pan—the idea of a disappointed faction, or the deliberate opinion of the Canadians. In the first case, this country would resist the proposal to the last extremity; in the second, warned by the experience of the past, and knowing the worthlessness of a discontented colony, our Legislature would, in all probability, make a virtue of necessity, and consent to the emancipation of a dependency, that in such a state of sentiment, would be quite strong enough to pursue its own course notwithstanding our opposition.

Sooner or later the independence of Canada is sure to be accomplished—as surely as the infants born yesterday will grow into men; unless, indeed, we shall decree all our colonies to be integral parts of the Kingdom of Great Britain and allow them to send members to Parliament, by the same right and for the same reason that we accord the franchise

to London or to Manchester, to Middlesex or to Lancashire. It is possible that by such a course of proceeding we might preserve some of our larger colonies for a time; but even with such a participation in British power, we doubt whether we could retain Canada for two generations, or the great continent of Australia for three. Their independence is a question of time; and it will be well for us at home if we have sufficient wisdom to know when the time has come, and sufficient virtue to reconcile ourselves peaceably to that which is inevitable. When no longer our colonies they may still be our best friends—still afford homes for our surplus population, and in a far greater degree than at present be the consumers of our manufactures and the encouragers of our trade. To be deprived of Canada by force and the connivance of the United States would be humiliation indeed; but to yield it up of our own free will would be but a small sacrifice. We question indeed whether it would not be a gain.

From the London Times, November 2.

THE CANADAS.

Some of the leading statesmen of Canada seem aware of the predicament to which this movement might reduce them. Mr Baldwin emphatically records his decided opposition to the annexation party. Others must follow. Indeed, it is difficult to see of whom such a party can be consistently and continuously opposed. Will it be of Frenchmen? Why, annexation would swamp them at once. They would be absorbed, engulfed, annihilated in the huge Celto-Saxo-Germanic element of the Republican Union. Of the British population of Eastern Canada? Why, they have not suffered materially by the recent policy of the mother country. Protection did not do much for, free trade does not do much against them. They have no special reason to murmur and complain. The Western Canadians have suffered most. They have been suddenly deprived of a monopoly share in a great market. They have been suddenly exposed to the risks and perils of a mighty competition. They may be spiteful; they may be irritated; but then, many of them are ultra-Loyalists, many ultra-Protestants, many ultra-Churchmen, and no few Orangemen. How will such men coalesce to substitute a Republic for the excitement of Ascendancy factions and Royalist feuds? We do not say that it is impossible for them to do this, and more than this. The recent experience of European history teaches us that nothing is impossible in politics. But we do say that the *imbroglio* in which Canadian parties must be involved ere they can make a movement for annexation, proves that any distresses and misfortunes which Canada may perchance undergo, will receive an increment from other things than English tyranny or Imperial caprice.

But if—under the pressure of temporary adversity, or from an undue estimate of the benefits of Republican institutions—the Canadian people deliberately propose to exchange the freest policy that any colony ever enjoyed for the ambiguous honor of forming a small part of an unwieldy confederation, then let them understand that the conduct of the people of England will be directed by motives of prudence and interest alone. If they think that they can do without Canada, then, and then only will they give up Canada. But in surrendering Canada they will take care not to surrender one jot of sea or land the possession of which really and effectively concerns the maritime and commercial importance of Great Britain. They will not concede Nova Scotia, they will not concede Cape Breton; they will not concede that seaboard and those harbors which must ever command the mouths of the Saint Lawrence and protect the trade of the Atlantic. In parting from England Canada will lose the name of a dependent Province, to be brought more nearly within view of the force which might have perpetuated her dependence; in losing her hold of Canada England will take care to lose only the responsibilities and expense of her retention. But we apprehend that the destined fortunes of Canada and the disposition of her people to make all such anticipations as those wholly superfluous.

Editor's Department.

MIRAMICHI:

CHATHAM, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1849

The Subscriber having been compelled to consume a large amount of time, and incur considerable expense, in his too often fruitless endeavours to collect his far-spread Outstanding Debts, hereby notifies all persons to whom he is not indebted, and with whom he has not a running account, that orders for advertising in the Gleaner, and for Printing in future, must be accompanied with the CASH, otherwise they will not meet with attention.

JAMES A. PIERCE.

NOVASCOTIA.—It appears by the papers that the Electric Telegraph is in successful operation in Halifax. The Sun thus notices the fact:—

We understand that the news for the New York Associated Press, was telegraphed to Calais in the extraordinary short period of 3 hours and forty minutes. The despatch contained 3,056 words. Every figure was written in words at length, and all the proper periods made,—and notwithstanding the rapidity of the operator's manipulations,—by calcula-

tion, about five each second—but one repetition was necessary—and that was caused by some slight derangement of the instrument at Calais, as the writing on the paper in the Halifax office was clear and correct. The gentlemanly superintendent of the Halifax line, Mr Gisborne—himself the operator—commenced at 25 minutes to 9, p. m.—(the line between Saint John and Calais having been down all day)—and was stopped at 15 minutes past ten, to give time to the copyist at the Calais office to transcribe the news. He commenced again at twenty minutes past eleven, and was through at one. We doubt if on any occasion hitherto, the news was telegraphed with like rapidity. Mr Gisborne deserves credit, for having so ably acquitted himself of his first important task, and we take great pleasure in noting the fact, that the public home and abroad may know that the Halifax office is in efficient and confidential hands.

CALIFORNIA.—The intelligence from this quarter still appears to be very conflicting. The New York Express contains the following paragraph which gives anything but a flattering picture of the state of affairs in this 'land of gold.'

We have had an opportunity of conversing with a gentleman residing at Worcester, Mass., who arrived from California in the Empire City Steamer. He gives a melancholy picture of affairs in California, and predicts that the next steamer will bring intelligence of a general smash up there. Property, he says, is tumbling down, wages are reduced, and hundreds of persons are begging for chances to work their passage home in the steamers, guaranteeing, at the same time, to pay their passage after their arrival here. This gentleman also tells us, that miners returning from the mines to San Francisco, have ceased to bring gold, and now bring instead, sore heads, sore legs, and ruined constitutions; according to his account, many persons have perished at the mines and upon the road for lack of food and raiment. But we cannot give his report more in detail—it is a most melancholy one, and, he says what makes affairs still worse, is that speculators in California are doing their best to send out favorable accounts, in order to get out of the scrape themselves, by putting their burdens upon the shoulders of new adventurers.

A late number of Bennet's New York Herald, furnishes a very different account of affairs as they exist at the 'diggins'; and it would also appear by this article, that the desire for emigration is still raging in the United States with unabated violence. The Editor remarks:—

The rush of emigration to California has broken out afresh. The two steamers which sailed yesterday were full of passengers, and all could not be taken. The last accounts which we received from California have evoked this great additional excitement. It appears that further and greater discoveries of gold have been made there, not in placers, or in diggings, or in holes, but in real veins—in mines—similar to those of other metals in other parts of the world. These latter discoveries are on a magnificent scale, and if one half of what is said of them is true, it would appear, indeed, that no real discovery of the existence of the precious metal in inexhaustible quantities had been previously made.

The discovery to which we refer was made on property owned by Colonel Fremont, son-in-law of Colonel Benton. It seems that the gold is found mixed with quartz, and that the vein had been traced by a competent person, and was found to extend to a distance of two leagues, with an average breadth of two hundred and fifty feet. The dip, as it is called, is only about twenty degrees, so that the vein can be worked with comparative ease. The specimens which were examined and tested, were found to be remarkably pure. Some of the quartz which was taken without selection from the top of the strata, was assayed, and it yielded two ounces of gold to every twenty five pound weight—a product very extraordinary. In addition to gold, large quantities of silver in a native state, has been found in the same locality, sufficient to pay the expense of erecting machinery for working it. We have received specimens.

The influence of these vast discoveries in California has already been felt in this region. The gold mania has again broken out with greater violence than ever, and hundred and thousands are settling their affairs, packing up their traps, and preparing to emigrate to that wonderful region, which in its richness surpasses all previous discoveries. The general effect will be to produce as much excitement throughout the country as the first discoveries did, and to swell the tide of emigration thither from the Atlantic coast, as well as from the interior. We would not be surprised to witness the departure of twice as many people to that destination next spring, as went there this year, from all parts of the world. It will also tend to excite and expand the spirit of speculation which is now visible throughout the United States, as well as England, and to build up on the shores of the Pacific, a community, in point of numbers, and a commerce, rivaling those on the Atlantic.

THE COLONIES.—Turn which ever way we may, the Colonial dependencies of Great Britain appear to be labouring un-