

BRITISH NORTH-AMERICAN  
Association.

---

CONFEDERATION  
OF THE  
BRITISH NORTH-AMERICAN PROVINCES,  
BEING  
EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES

RECENTLY DELIVERED ON THIS SUBJECT

IN

CANADA, NOVA SCOTIA, & NEW BRUNSWICK,

*By the Honourable*

MESSRS. ARCHIBALD, BROWN, CARTIER, CARTER, FISHER,  
GALT, GRAY, McCULLY, MACDONALD, McGEE,  
PALMER, ROSS, SHEA, TILLEY, & TUPPER.

MEMBERS OF THE CONFEDERATION CONFERENCE HELD  
AT QUEBEC,

On the 10th OCTOBER, 1864.

---

LONDON:

F. ALGAR, 11, CLEMENT'S LANE, LOMBARD STREET.

MDCCCLXV.

## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE
Introduction .....	3
Memorandum adopted at the Quebec Conference .....	5
Resources of the British North American Provinces .....	15
Speech of Hon. Mr. Cart <sup>r</sup> <sub>A</sub> (Canada) .....	19
"    "    Shea (Newfoundland) .....	25
"    "    Palmer (Prince Edward Island) .....	29
"    "    Carter (Newfoundland) .....	30
"    "    Ross (Red River) .....	33
"    "    Brown (Canada) .....	35
"    "    Galt (Canada) .....	46
Summary of Financial Position of the Provinces .....	64
Speech of Hon. Mr. D. Mc'Gee (Canada) .....	73
"    "    Mc'Cully (Nova Scotia) .....	77
"    "    Archibald (Nova Scotia) .....	87
"    "    C. Tupper (Nova Scotia) .....	91
"    "    Tilley (New Brunswick) .....	98
"    "    Gray (New Brunswick) .....	106
"    "    Fisher (New Brunswick) .....	117
"    "    John A. Macdonald (Canada) .....	117
Letter from Right Hon. Edward Cardwell .....	137
Import and Export Trade of the Provinces .....	138

## INTRODUCTION.

---

THE Union of all the British North-American Provinces has, from time to time during the past twenty years, been an oft discussed subject on both sides of the Atlantic; but, until the action of the recent Conference at Quebec, no actual steps for its accomplishment can be said to have been taken. The history of this gathering, of all the leading Statesmen of the Provinces at Quebec in October last, may be thus briefly stated.

In the course of last Summer the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, agreed to hold a Conference at Charlottetown, the Capital of the last-named Colony, to consider the propriety of uniting themselves under one government and legislature, and a meeting of Delegates from the Lower Provinces was accordingly summoned for the 1st of September last.

It was not proposed in the first instance that Canada should take part in these proceedings, but the Executive of that Province, considering the period an opportune one, invited the Delegates then about to assemble, to take into their consideration, not only the question of the Union of the Maritime Provinces, but also the larger and more comprehensive scheme of a Union—Legislative or Federative—of the whole of the British North-American Colonies from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The suggestion was at once adopted, and the result arrived at by the Charlottetown Conference was that a Confederation of all the British North-American Colonies “would be highly advantageous to all the Provinces.” A meeting to include the Representatives of the Government of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward's Island, was then summoned by order of his Excellency the Governor-General of Canada to be held at Quebec on the 10th of October last, for the purpose of “ascertaining whether the details of such a scheme of Confederation, acceptable to all the

Colonies, could not be arranged." The Delegates who represented all shades of political party in the several communities were as follows:—

The Members for *Canada* were:—

The Hon. Sir E. P. TACHE, M.L.C., Receiver-General and Minister of Militia.

The Hon. JOHN A. MACDONALD, M.P.P., Attorney-General for Upper Canada.

The Hon. G. E. CARTIER, M.P.P., Attorney-General for Lower Canada.

The Hon. GEORGE BROWN, M.P.P., President of the Executive Council.

The Hon. O. MOWAT, M.P.P., Postmaster-General.

The Hon. A. T. GALT, M.P.P., Minister of Finance.

The Hon. T. D. MCGEE, M.P.P., Minister of Agriculture.

The Hon. W. McDUGGALL, M.P.P., Provincial Secretary.

The Hon. ALEX. CAMPBELL, M.L.C., Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Hon. J. C. CHAPAIS, M.P.P., Commissioner of Public Works.

The Hon. L. H. LANGEVIN, M.P.P., Solicitor-General for Lower Canada.

The Hon. JAMES COCKBURN, M.P.P., Solicitor-General for Upper Canada.

For *Nova Scotia* the Members were:—

The Hon. C. TUPPER, Provincial Secretary.

The Hon. WILLIAM A. HENRY, Attorney-General.

The Hon. J. McCULLY, M.L.C., Leader of the Opposition.

The Hon. ROBERT B. DICKEY, M.P.P.

The Hon. A. G. ARCHIBALD, M.P.P.

For *New Brunswick* the Members were:—

The Hon. S. L. TILLEY, Provincial and Financial Secretary.

The Hon. W. H. STEEVES, M.L.C., a Member of the Executive Council.

The Hon. J. M. JOHNSON, Attorney-General.

The Hon. P. MITCHELL, M.L.C., a Member of the Executive Council.

The Hon. E. B. CHANDLER, M.L.C.

Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. JOHN H. GRAY, M.P.P.

The Hon. C. FISHER, M.P.P.

For *Newfoundland* the Members were:—

The Hon. F. B. T. CARTER, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

The Hon. JOHN AMBROSE SHEA, M.P.P., Leader of the Opposition.

And for *Prince Edward Island* the Members were:—

Colonel the Hon. J. H. GRAY, Leader of the Government.

The Hon. E. PALMER, Attorney-General.

The Hon. W. H. POPE, Provincial Secretary.

The Hon. A. A. MACDONALD, M.L.C.

The Hon. G. COLES, M.P.P., Leader of the Opposition.

The Hon. T. H. HAVILAND, M.P.P.

The Hon. E. WHELAN, M.P.P.

The Hon. Sir E. P. TACHE was the President of the Conference.

NOTE.—M.L.C. stands for Member of the Legislative Council, and M.P.P. Member of the Provincial Parliament.

The Delegates commenced their sittings on the day named, and sat *de die in diem* for upwards of a fortnight, when the following memorandum, as a basis of the Federal Union of the Provinces, was unanimously agreed upon:—

MEMORANDUM ADOPTED AT THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE, Oct. 10th, 1864.

I. The Conference began very properly with a declaration that the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North-America will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain.

II. They then proceeded to declare that in the Federation of the British North-American Provinces the system of Government best adapted under existing circumstances to protect the diversified interests of the several Provinces, and secure efficiency, harmony and permanency in the working of the Union, would be a General Government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country, and Local Governments for each of the Canadas and for the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward

Island, charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections, provision being made for the admission into the Union, on equitable terms, of Newfoundland, the North-west territory, British Columbia, and Vancouver.

III. In framing a Constitution for the General Government, the Conference, with a view to the perpetuation of our connection with the Mother Country, and to the promotion of the best interests of the people of these Provinces, desire to follow the model of the British Constitution, so far as our circumstances will permit.

#### THE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY.

IV. The Executive Authority or Government shall be vested in the Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and be administered according to the well understood principles of the British Constitution by the Sovereign personally, or by the Representative of the Sovereign duly authorized.

V. The Sovereign or Representative of the Sovereign shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Land and Naval Militia Forces.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

VI. A General Legislature or Parliament is provided for the Federated Provinces, composed of a Legislative Council and a House of Commons.

VII. For the purposes of forming the Legislative Council, the Federated Provinces are to be considered as consisting of three divisions—1st., Upper Canada; 2nd., Lower Canada; 3rd., Acadia, or Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, each division with an equal representation in the Legislative Council.

VIII. Upper Canada is to be represented in the Legislative by 24 members, Lower Canada by 24 members, and the three Maritime Provinces by 24 members, of which Nova Scotia shall have 10, New Brunswick 10, and Prince Edward Island 4 members.

IX. The Colony of Newfoundland will be entitled to enter the proposed Union, with a representation in the Legislative Council of 4 members.

X. The North-west territory, British Columbia, and Vancouver will be admitted into the Union, on such terms and conditions as the Parliament of the Federated Provinces shall deem equitable, and as shall receive the assent of Her Majesty; and in the case of the Province of British Columbia or Vancouver, as shall be agreed to by the Legislature of such Province.

XI. The Members of the Legislative Council are to be appointed by the Crown under the Great Seal of the General Government, and shall hold office during life; if any Legislative Councillor shall, for two consecutive sessions of Parliament, fail to give his attendance in the said Council, his seat shall thereby become vacant.

XII. Members of the Legislative Council to be British subjects by birth or naturalisation, of the full age of thirty years, to possess a continuous real property qualification of four thousand dollars over and above all incumbrances, and to be and continue worth that sum over and above their debts and liabilities, but in the case of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island the property may be either real or personal.

XIII. If any question shall arise as to the qualification of a Legislative Councillor, the same is to be determined by the Council.

XIV. The first selection of the Members of the Legislative Council to be made from the Legislative Councils of the various Provinces, except as regards Prince Edward Island, so far as a sufficient number be found qualified and willing to serve; such members shall be appointed by the Crown at the recommendation of the General Executive Government, upon the nominations of the Local Governments, and in such nomination, due regard is to be had to the claims of the Members of the Legislative Council of the opposition in each Province, so that all political parties may as nearly as possible be fairly represented.

XV. The Speaker of the Legislative Council (until otherwise provided by Parliament) is to be appointed by the Crown from among the Members of the Legislative Council, and to hold office during pleasure, and shall only be entitled to a casting vote on an equality of votes.

XVI. Each of the twenty-four Legislative Councillors representing Lower Canada in the Legislative Council of the General Legislature shall be appointed to represent one of the twenty-four Electoral Divisions mentioned in Schedule A of Chapter First of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, and such Councillor shall reside or possess his qualification in the division he is appointed to represent.

XVII. The basis of representation in the House of Commons is to be population, as determined by the official census every ten years; and the number of Members at first shall be 194, distributed as follows:—

Upper Canada .....	82
Lower Canada .....	65
Nova Scotia .....	19
New Brunswick .....	15
Newfoundland .....	8
and Prince Edward Island .....	5

XVIII. Until the official census of 1871 has been made up, there will be no change in the number of Representatives from the several sections.

XIX. Immediately after every decennial census thereafter, the Representation from each section in the House of Commons is to be re-adjusted on the basis of population.

XX. For the purpose of such re-adjustments, Lower Canada will always be assigned sixty-five members, and each of the other sections shall at each re-adjustment receive, for the ten years next succeeding, the number of Members to which it will be entitled on the same ratio of representation to population as Lower Canada will enjoy according to the census then taken by having sixty-five Members.

XXI. No reduction is to be made in the number of Members returned by any section, unless its population shall have decreased relatively to the whole population of the Union, to the extent of five per centum.

XXII. In computing, at each decennial period, the number of Members to which each section is entitled, no fractional parts will be considered, unless when exceeding one-half the number entitling to a Member, in which case a Member shall be given for each such fractional part.

XXIII. The Legislature of each Province will divide such Province into the proper number of constituencies, and define their boundaries.

XXIV. The number of Members may at any time be increased by the General Parliament, regard being had to the proportionate rights then existing.

XXV. The Local Legislature of each Province may, from time to time, alter the Electoral Districts for the purposes of Representation in the House of Commons, and distribute the Representatives to which the Province is entitled, in any manner such Legislative may think fit.

XXVI. Until provisions are made by the General Parliament, all the Laws which, at the date of the Proclamation constituting the Union, are in force in the Provinces respectively, relating to the qualification and disqualification of any person to be elected or to sit or vote as a Member of the Assembly in the said Provinces respectively—and relating to the qualification or disqualification of voters, and to the oaths to be taken by voters, and to Returning Officers and their powers and duties—and relating to the proceedings at Elections—and to the period during which such Elections may be continued, and relating to the Trial of Controverted Elections, and the proceedings incident thereto, and relating to the vacating of seats of Members, and to the issuing and execution of new Writs in case of any seat being vacated otherwise than by a dissolution—shall respectively apply to Elections of Members to serve in the House of Commons, for places situate in those Provinces respectively.

XXVII. Every House of Commons is to continue for five years

from the day of the return of the Writs choosing the same, and no longer, subject, nevertheless, to be sooner prorogued or dissolved by the Governor.

XXVIII. There shall be a Session of the General Parliament once at least in every year, so that a period of twelve calendar months shall not intervene between the last sitting of Parliament in one Session and the first sitting of Parliament in the next Session.

POWERS OF PARLIAMENT.

XXIX. That the General Parliament will have power to make Laws for peace, welfare and good Government of the Federated Provinces (saving the Sovereignty of the Mother Country), and especially Laws respecting the following subjects:—

1. The Public Debt and Property.
2. The Regulation of Trade and Commerce.
3. The imposition or regulation of Duties of Customs on Imports and Exports, except on Exports of Timber, Logs, Masts, Spars, Deals and Sawn Lumber, and of Coal and other Minerals.
4. The imposition or regulation of Excise Duties.
5. The raising of money by all or any other modes or systems of Taxation.
6. The borrowing of Money on the Public Credit.
7. Postal Service.
8. Lines of Steam or other Ships, Railways, Canals and other works, connecting any two or more of the Provinces together, or extending beyond the limits of any Province.
9. Lines of Steamships between the Federated Provinces and other countries.
10. Telegraphic Communication and the incorporation of Telegraph Companies.
11. All such works as shall, although lying wholly within any Province be specially declared by the Acts authorizing them to be for the general advantage.
12. The Census.
13. Militia—Military and Naval Service and Defence.
14. Beacons, Buoys and Light Houses.
15. Navigation and Shipping.
16. Quarantine.
17. Sea Coast and Inland Fisheries.
18. Ferries between any Province and a foreign country, or between any two Provinces.
19. Currency and Coinage.
20. Banking and the issue of Paper Money.
21. Savings Banks.
22. Weights and Measures.

23. Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.
24. Interest.
25. Legal Tender.
26. Bankruptcy and Insolvency.
27. Patents of Invention and Discovery.
28. Copy Rights.
29. Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians.
30. Naturalization and Aliens.
31. Marriage and Divorce.
32. The Criminal Law, excepting the Constitution of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the procedure in Criminal matters.
33. Rendering uniform all or any of the laws relative to property and civil rights in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and for rendering uniform the procedure of all or any of the Courts in these Provinces; but any Statute for this purpose shall have no force or authority in any Province until sanctioned by the Legislature thereof.
34. The Establishment of a General Court of Appeal for the Federated Provinces.
35. Immigration.
36. Agriculture.
37. And generally respecting all matters of a general character, not specially and exclusively reserved for the Local Governments and Legislatures.

XXX. The General Government and Parliament will have all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of the Province as part of the British Empire to foreign countries, arising under treaties between Great Britain and such countries.

XXXI. The General Parliament may also, from time to time, establish additional Courts, and the Government may thereupon appoint other Judges and Officers, when the same shall appear necessary or for the public advantage, in order to the due execution of the laws of Parliament.

XXXII. All Courts, Judges, and Officers of the several Provinces are to aid, assist, and obey the General Government in the exercise of its rights and powers, and for such purposes will be held to be Courts, Judges, and Officers of the General Government.

XXXIII. The General Government are to appoint and pay the Judges of the Superior Courts in each Province, and of the County Courts of Upper Canada, and Parliament shall fix their salaries.

XXXIV. Until the consolidation of the laws of Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, the Judges of these Provinces appointed by the General Government, shall be selected from their respective Bars; and that

the Judges of the Bench of Lower Canada be selected from the Bar of Lower Canada.

XXXV. The Judges of the Court of Admiralty now receiving salaries are to be paid by the General Government.

XXXVI. The Judges of the Superior Courts will hold their offices during good behaviour, and to be removable only on the address of both Houses of Parliament.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

XXXVII. For each of the Provinces there is to be an Executive Officer, styled the Lieutenant-Governor, who is to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council, under the great seal of the Federated Provinces, during pleasure; such pleasure not to be exercised before the expiration of the first five years, except for cause, such cause to be communicated in writing to the Lieutenant-Governor immediately after the exercise of the pleasure aforesaid, and also by message to both Houses of Parliament, within the first week of the first session afterwards.

XXXVIII. The Lieutenant-Governor of each Province is to be paid by the General Legislature.

XXXIX. In undertaking to pay the salaries of the Lieutenant-Governors, the Conference does not desire to prejudice the claim of Prince Edward Island upon the Imperial Government for the amount now paid for the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor thereof.

#### LOCAL LEGISLATURES.

XL. The Local Government and Legislature of each Province are to be constructed in such manner as the existing Legislature of such Province shall provide in the Act consenting to the Union.

XLI. The Local Legislatures will have power to alter or amend their Constitution from time to time.

XLII. The Local Legislatures will have power to make Laws respecting the following subjects:—

1. Direct taxation and imposition of duties on the export of timber, logs, masts, spars, deals and sawn lumber, and of coals and other minerals.
2. Borrowing money on the credit of the Province.
3. The establishment and tenure of local offices, and the appointment and payment of local officers.
4. Agriculture.
5. Immigration.
6. Education: saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools, at the time when the Union goes into operation.
7. The sale and management of Public Lands, excepting Land belonging to the General Government.

8. Sea Coast and Inland Fisheries.
9. The establishment, maintenance, and management of Penitentiaries, and of Public and Reformatory Prisons.
10. The establishment, maintenance, and management of Hospitals, asylums, charities, and eleemosynary institutions.
11. Municipal Institutions.
12. Shop, Saloon, Tavern, Auctioneer, and other Licenses.
13. Local Works.
14. The Incorporation of Private or Local Companies, except such as relate to matters assigned to Parliament.
15. Property and Civil Rights, excepting those portions thereof assigned to Parliament.
16. Inflicting Punishment by Fine, Penalties, Imprisonment or otherwise, for the breach of Laws passed in relation to any subject within their jurisdiction.
17. The administration of Justice, including the constitution, maintenance and organization of the Courts—both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and including also the procedure in civil matters.
18. And generally all matters of a private or local nature.

XLIII. The power of respiting, reprieving, commuting, and pardoning prisoners convicted of crimes, and of remitting of sentences in whole or in part, which belongs of right to the Crown, will be administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of each Province in Council, subject to any instructions he may from time to time receive from the General Government, and subject to any provisions that may be made in this behalf by Parliament.

#### GENERAL PROVISIONS.

XLIV. In regard to all subjects over which jurisdiction belongs to both the General and Local Legislatures, the laws of the General Parliament are to control and supersede those made by the Local Legislature, and the latter to be void so far as they are repugnant to or inconsistent with the former.

XLV. Both the English and French languages may be employed in the General Legislature and in its proceedings, also in the Local Legislature of Lower Canada, and in the Federal and Local Courts of Lower Canada.

XLVI. No lands or property belonging to the General or Local Government are to be liable to taxation.

XLVII. All Bills for appropriating any part of the Public Revenue, or for imposing any new Tax or Impost, must originate in the House of Commons or the Local Assembly, as the case may be.

XLVIII. The House of Commons or Legislative Assembly is not to originate or pass any Vote, Resolution, Address or Bill for the appropriation of any part of the Public Revenue, or of any Tax

or Impost to any purpose, not first recommended to the House of Assembly by Message of the Governor General, or Lieutenant Governor, as the case may be, during the Session in which such Vote, Resolution, Address or Bill is passed.

XLIX. Any Bill of the General Legislature may be reserved in the usual manner for Her Majesty's Assent, and any Bill of the Local Legislatures may in like manner be reserved for the consideration of the Governor General.

L. Any Bill passed by the General Parliament is to be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty within two years, as in the case of Bills passed by the Legislatures of the said Provinces hitherto, and in like manner any Bill passed by a Local Legislature shall be subject to disallowance by the Governor General within one year after the passing thereof.

LI. The Seat of Government of the Federal Provinces will be at Ottawa, subject to the Royal Prerogative.

LII. Subject to any future action of the respective Local Governments in respect thereof, the Seat of the Local Government in Upper Canada shall be Toronto; of Lower Canada, Quebec; and the Seats of the Local Governments in the other Provinces shall be as at present.

#### FINANCES, &c.

LIII. All cash, bankers' balances and other cash securities of each Province, at the time of the Union, are to belong to the General Government.

LIV. The following public works and property of each Province will belong to the General Government—to wit:

1. Canals;
2. Public harbours;
3. Light-houses and piers;
4. Steamboats, dredges and public vessels;
5. River and lake improvements;
6. Railway and railway stocks, mortgages and other debts due by railway companies;
7. Military roads;
8. Custom houses, post offices and other public buildings, except such as may be set aside by the General Government for the use of the Local Legislatures and Governments;
9. Property transferred by the Imperial Government and known as ordnance property;
10. Armories, drill sheds, military clothing and munitions of war; and
11. Lands set apart for public purposes.

LV. All lands, mines, minerals and royalties vested in Her Majesty in the Provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova

Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the use of such Provinces, will belong to the Local Government of the territory in which the same are so situate; subject to any trusts that may exist in respect to any of such lands or to any interest of other persons in respect of the same.

LVI. All sums due from purchasers or lessees of such lands, mines or minerals, at the time of the Union, also are to belong to the Local Governments.

LVII. The several Provinces are to remain vested with all other public property therein, subject to the right of the Confederation to assume any lands or public property required for fortifications or the defence of the country.

LVIII. The General Government is to assume all the debts and liabilities of each Province.

The debt of Canada not specially assumed by Upper and Lower Canada respectively, not to exceed at the time of the Union .....	\$62,500,000
Nova Scotia to enter into the Confederation with a debt not exceeding.....	8,000,000
And New Brunswick, with a debt not exceeding..	7,000,000

But it is expressly provided that in case Nova Scotia or New Brunswick do not incur liabilities beyond those for which their Governments are now bound, and which shall make their respective debts at the date of Union less than \$8,000,000 and \$7,000,000 respectively, they shall then be entitled to benefit by the interest at 5 per cent. on the amount not so incurred, in like manner as is hereinafter provided for Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island; the foregoing resolutions being in no respect intended to limit the powers now given to the respective Governments of those Provinces by Legislative authority, but only to limit the maximum amount of charge to be brought by them against the General Government. The powers so conferred by the respective Legislatures to be exercised within five years from this date or the same shall then lapse.

LIX. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, not having incurred debts equal to those of the other Provinces, are entitled to receive by half-yearly payments in advance from the General Government the interest at 5 per cent. on the difference between the actual amount of their respective debts at the time of the Union, and the average amount of indebtedness per head of the population of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

LX. In consideration of the transfer to the General Legislature of the powers to taxation, an annual grant in aid of each Province shall be made, equal to an amount of 80 cents per head of the population, as established by the census of 1861. The population of Newfoundland being estimated at 130,000. Such aid shall be

in full settlement of all future demands upon the General Government for local purposes, and shall be paid half-yearly in advance to each Province.

LXI. The position of New Brunswick being such as to entail large immediate charges upon her local revenues, it is agreed that for the period of ten years from the time when the Union takes effect, an additional allowance of \$63,000 per annum shall be made to that Province. But that so long as the liability of that Province remains under \$7,000,000, a deduction equal to the interest on such deficiency is to be made from the \$63,000.

LXII. In consideration of the surrender to the General Government by Newfoundland of all its rights in Mines and Minerals, and of all the ungranted and unoccupied Lands of the Crown, it is agreed that the sum of \$150,000 shall each year be paid to that Province by semi-annual payments, provided that that Colony shall retain the right of opening, constructing and controlling Roads and Bridges through any of the said Lands, subject to any laws which the General Parliament may pass in respect of the same.

LXIII. All engagements that may, before the Union, be entered into with the Imperial Government for the Defence of the Country, shall be assumed by the General Government.

LXIV. The General Government shall secure, without delay, the completion of the Intercolonial Railway from Riviere-du-Loup through New Brunswick, to Truro in Nova Scotia.

LXV. The communication, with the North-western Territory, and the improvements required for the development of the Trade of the Great West with the Seaboard, were regarded by this Conference as subjects of the highest importance to the Federated Provinces, and are to be prosecuted at the earliest possible period that the state of the Finances will permit.

LXVI. The sanction of the Imperial and Local Parliaments is to be sought for the Union of the Provinces, on the principles adopted by the Conference.

LXVII. The proceedings of the Conference, when finally revised, to be signed by the Delegates, and submitted by each Deputation to its own Government, and the Chairman authorized to submit a copy to the Governor General for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

This memorandum was despatched to the Colonial Office, for approval, by the Imperial Government, and the letter in reply, from Mr. Cardwell, dated December 3rd, 1864, will be found appended.

#### RESOURCES OF THE PROVINCES.

It may not be uninteresting as a preface to the following pages to give briefly a sketch of the resources of the several Provinces now about to be Confederated into one State.

Of the whole British Colonial Empire, British North-America occupies a prominent place. It contains four millions of square miles, and occupies one-third of the American Continent. It is larger than all Europe, or the Federal and Confederate States together. Its population is about 4,000,000. The tonnage of its shipping enables it to rank seventh among the nations of the earth, and in the last decade its trade has more than quadrupled. Its Exports and Imports reach £27,000,000 a-year, and the agricultural produce amounts to not less than £30,000,000 per annum. Its total revenues during the past year of 1864 are estimated at £3,000,000, and the expenses at £2,700,000. Its greatest length from the Atlantic frontier of Nova Scotia to the Pacific Ocean at Vancouver's Island is 3,000 miles, and its greatest breadth 1,600 miles. The public debts of the whole of the British North-American Provinces amount to about £16,000,000.

And first as to *Canada*, as the largest of the group. In area this Province is about three times as large as England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. It is bound on the East by the Labrador Coast, on the West by Kiministiquia, a stream near the head of Lake Superior, on the North by the Hudson Bay, and South by the Great Lakes, the River St. Lawrence, and the United States boundary. Its length is about 1,600 miles, and its breadth 250 miles, and its area covers about 350,000 square miles, or 240,000,000 of English acres. Its population is now roundly estimated at nearly 3,000,000. In 1863 the Imports amounted to £9,250,000, and the Exports £8,500,000, one-third of the latter was of the forest and of the field. The sea-going tonnage of vessels passing up the St. Lawrence was upwards of 2,130,000 tons. The public debt of Canada is, at the present time, about £13,300,000. The revenue of 1864 was about £2,200,000, and the expenses about £2,000,000.

*New Brunswick*, which lies between Nova Scotia and Canada, is estimated to comprise an area of 27,620 square miles. After agriculture, the forests of New Brunswick constitute its next greatest resource in furnishing materials for its staple, export of timber, and its principal manufactures, ship building, and sawn lumber. The Imports in 1863 amounted to £1,555,000, and the Exports to £1,800,000, and the tonnage to 1,386,980 tons. The population is estimated at 250,000 souls. The public debt of this Province is about £1,200,000. The revenue of 1864 is estimated at £205,000, and the expenditure at £182,000.

The Province of *Nova Scotia*, including Cape Breton, contains a superficial area of about 18,600 square miles. This Colony is rich in mineral productions—especially gold, copper, and coal. The fisheries of Nova Scotia, like those of New Brunswick, are also a source of great and increasing wealth. The coast line of Nova Scotia embraces a distance of not less than 1,000 miles, studded with excellent harbours. That of Halifax is the finest harbour in the world, and as it lies in the direct course of vessels sailing between the North of Europe and America, it must always possess great commercial advantages. The Imports in 1863 were £2,100,000, and the Exports £1,700,000, and the sea-going tonnage 1,432,954 tons. The population of Nova Scotia is now about 350,000 souls. The debt of Nova Scotia at the close of the past year was put down at £1,000,000. The revenue of this Colony during 1864 is estimated at £265,000, and the expenditure at £220,000.

The contiguous Colony of *Prince Edward's Island* is separated from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia by Northumberland Strait. Its length from East to West is about 130 miles, its greatest breadth about 34 miles, and its area about 2,170 square miles. The Island is essentially an agricultural country, but its fisheries are among the best in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Ship building, it may be mentioned, is also carried on to a considerable extent. The population is about 80,000. The Imports of 1863 were £300,000, and the Exports £320,000. The public debt of Prince Edward's Island is about £50,000.

*Newfoundland* is an island lying between N. lat. 46° 35' and 51° 37', W. long. 52° 44' and 59° 31', and, consequently, the first land made by vessels passing to the westward from hence and bound to North American ports. Its area is about 36,000 square miles, and its coast line is estimated at about the same length as that of Nova Scotia, viz., 1,000 miles. The importance of this Colony is mainly derived from its exceedingly valuable fisheries, but as the Island lies midway between the Coasts of Labrador and Cape Breton, and so commands the Mouth of the St. Lawrence, its position in a strategic point of view can hardly be overrated. The present population is estimated at 130,000. The imports for 1863 were £1,200,000, and the exports something more than that amount. The revenue is at present a little over £100,000 per annum. The debt is considerably under £200,000.

*Vancouver Island*, on the Pacific Shore, has an area of 16,000 square miles. Its length is about 270 miles, and its mean breadth from 40 to 50 miles. The recent discovery of Gold, in addition to coal and the other valuable minerals with which the Island abounds, has given a great impetus to the trade and commerce of this Colony. The population is about 20,000 souls.

The neighbouring Colony of *British Columbia* which, with Vancouver Island, until recently formed part of the Hudson Bay Company's Territories, has an area of nearly 300,000 square miles. In length, from North to South, it is about 700 miles, and about 500 miles in breadth, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. The population of British Columbia is roughly estimated at 50,000.

The intervening Territory between the boundaries of Canada and British Columbia, known as the *Hudson's Bay Territory*, is a tract of country stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and roughly estimated as containing about 3,000,000 square miles. The population is about 120,000, of whom upwards of 100,000 are Indians. The Red River settlement at Fort Garry, the chief post of the Hudson Bay Company, contains a population of about 65,000 souls, viz., 10,000 of a white population, 15,000 of half-castes, and about 40,000 Indians. It is believed that arrangements are contemplated between the Imperial and Canadian Governments, and the Hudson's Bay Company, by which this Settlement may be erected into a Crown Colony, and the vast Territory, known as the "Fertile Belt," a tract of land extending westward from the Red River for a distance of 800 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth, thrown open to colonization.

Immediately after the breaking up of the Conference at Quebec, the Delegates proceeded by special invitation to visit Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Hamilton, in all of which cities they were entertained in the most enthusiastic manner. It is from the speeches delivered at these Banquets, and subsequently on the return home of the Delegates, to their own constituents, that the following extracts are made.

At the Montreal Banquet, the Hon. Mr. CARTIER, in reply to the toast of Her Majesty's *Canadian Ministers*, said :—

The question that he might say had brought them together that evening was, as every one knew, whether it was possible for the British American Provinces on this side of the Atlantic to form a

strong Government under a system which might allow all the general interests, those which concerned all the Provinces, to be dealt with by a general government and those of a purely local character to be left to local governments. (Cheers.) Now in view of this question which was agitating all the public men, and indeed everyone who took an interest in the politics and in the welfare of British America, they could not lose sight of this fact, that not quite 90 years ago there was a great Confederation on the other side of our present frontier trying to do all in its power to form a strong Union and desiring to carry out democratic institutions. Well, at that time, Lower Canada, which happened to be the most densely populated of the British North American Provinces, was addressed by no less an individual than General George Washington, supported by a French General, who desired to induce the French Canadians of Lower Canada to join the American movement of 1774 and 1775. (Hear.) Well what was the answer of the French Canadians who in those days had not the advantage which they had now of having, as dwellers amongst them, a large number of people hailing from the British Isles. He called this an advantage, speaking as a Lower Canadian. (Hear, hear.) In those days they were by themselves, and it should be recollected that they had not long been severed from the French and been joined to the British nation. Their priests, their clergy, however, understood well in those days the hollowness of mere democratic institutions, and they did not respond to the address of Gen. Washington and Gen. Rochambaut. (Hear, hear.) Although the rights to which they thought they were entitled had not yet been given to them, nevertheless, they preferred to stick by the monarchical rule of Government (Right, right.) Well, at this moment they were trying to bring about here a confederation, and to establish a general government, not to carry out purely democratic institutions, but to help the monarchical element to take more deep and lasting root in this British North America. (Cheers.) He knew it was expected, and the expectation was perfectly natural, that on the present occasion the proceedings of the Conference might be divulged. That, however, could not be, and he hoped the people of Montreal, the people of Canada, and the people of all the Provinces whose representatives had taken part in the late deliberations, would agree with him that before a report of the proceedings, which were to a great extent confidential, could be published, it would have to be made to the respective Governors and to the Imperial Government. (Hear, hear.) Every British subject here would at once understand that such a course ought in delicacy to be followed, and knew that such was the invariable British practice. In every case, where grave political matters had to be discussed, they had to be laid before the Government to deliberate upon them before they were made the property of the public. (Hear.) Still he would, perhaps, not be committing

an indiscretion if he allowed himself to speak in a hypothetic manner, and to use a series of suppositions. (Hear.) All who heard him, and did him the honor to listen, would please bear in mind that he laid no claim to eloquence—he was a mere dry politician. He was, however, always in earnest, speaking sometimes perhaps rather too bluntly, but at all times sincerely, as his friends well knew. (Hear, hear.) Now, without revealing anything which it might be indiscreet to make known he might say that every one knew that at this moment he happened to be in the Government of Canada allied to a gentleman who for the last fifteen years had been his great opponent in Upper Canada, he alluded to the Hon. George Brown. (Hear, hear.) Not the least doubt, when great matters of public policy had come up for consideration that gentleman and himself had been pitted one against the other, Mr. Brown for Upper Canada and himself for Lower Canada. That useless war had been waged between the two sections without benefit to either of them, when on the ground of trying to find if they could not agree on a great scheme of confederation to unite in one common bond of government all the British American Provinces, Mr. George Brown consented to be his (Mr. Cartier's) ally in the government. As a politician under the British system, he knew that in order to be in a position to give advice to His Excellency the Governor General, it was necessary to be guided by public opinion; but at the same time a gentleman in that position must understand that he must not be merely the reflex of vulgar prejudices and public opinion, but must rather try to lead public opinion. (Cheers.) That was the way he understood the British constitutional system—that the Ministry of the day stood as it were between the people and the crown, and if anything presented itself to disturb the even balance of monarchical government to baffle and defeat it. He did not mean to say that the public man ought not to listen to public opinion, but he did say that a public opinion was one thing and public prejudices another. When a gale prevailed at sea it might drive the ship in one direction and then in another, if it was not well manned; but the good pilot would use the wind in order to bring the ship into a safe and secure haven; and at the end every one would be satisfied—the pilot and the crew, as well as those on board the ship. (Cheers.) As a lower Canadian, he was not one of those who would not recognise and admit that the Union of Upper and Lower Canada had not done a great deal of good. (Cheers.) He must confess, and he had stated it on many occasions, that the Union had achieved wonders for the prosperity of the two Provinces, and that prosperity commanded large respect and esteem in England and the world. (Hear, hear.) He was not one of those who would like to see Upper and Lower Canada separated into distinct Provinces—one having the right to make its tariff, and the other the same right, both thus warring upon each other. What would be

the consequence of this if permitted? The city of Montreal would be made a city in the corner. He had no reluctance to confess it, that the prosperity of Montreal was due, to a great extent, to Lower Canada, but to a still greater extent to the trade of Upper Canada. (Loud cheers.) It was well that things as they were should be stated. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And he would let it be known to them, as one of their representatives, that he would never consent to any system of Government under which Upper and Lower Canada should have a distinct power with regard to the tariff, trade, and commerce of the country. (Cheers.) In fact, we saw to-day that a large party in Lower Canada, formerly opposed to the Union of the two Canadas, were now defending and upholding it. Why? Because the Union had realized a great amount of prosperity for the two Provinces. (Hear, hear.) But must the politician or statesman who saw that everything had been realized out of the Union remain quiet and still, or employ his talent to patch up the difficulty respecting representation between Upper and Lower Canada. Was that the province or the duty of any public man? No. Supposing that to-day or to-morrow we should adjust our difficulties, what would be the consequence? Canada would still remain the Province that it was, as had been said by one of the Delegates from the lower Provinces, blockaded with ice during six months of the year. The only difference such an adjustment might make, would be, that there would be another basis for political operations in the Lower House or House of Assembly of Canada, but with regard to the Lower Provinces they would still be the same. There would still remain those customs houses between us which must be put down. (Loud cheers.) Well, those Provinces, had been placed in a rather modest position by the gentlemen representing them who had addressed them to-night. He (Mr. Cartier) must repeat here what he had already said to those gentlemen. He had told them that the three great constituent elements to national power and greatness were the territorial element, the personal element and the maritime element. He had also told them that two of these elements—the territorial and personal—were possessed by Canada, but that we wanted the maritime element. In fact, as it had been said by one of the gentlemen whom he had the honor to address at this moment, during six months of the year we had to knock at the door of our neighbours in order to carry on our trade through their territory. Now, the two Canadas were too populous and their territory too extensive to permit us to do as was done twenty years ago—carry on their whole trade in six months of the year. That could not be done now. (Cheers.) In view of this fact, this Confederation had to be carried out, and if we did not accomplish it we inevitably fall into the American Confederation. (Cries of “never.”) He knew that the word “never” would be pronounced when he made that statement, and he was glad to hear

it. He knew that all present, whether citizens of Montreal or not—it mattered not to what place they belonged—they were bound to achieve the national work which would bring all the great interests of these Provinces together, and combine them so as to make us a great nation. (Loud cheers.) When he said a great nation, he did not mean a nation distinguished from the mother country. (Renewed cheers.) When he said this, too, he meant that all those powers granted by the Imperial Government to the different Provinces combined together to make a nation under a general government; and if that was done he felt we should have done a great deal. (Loud cheers.) With regard to the general government, he supposed some gentlemen would like to know his suppositions. (Laughter, and cries of "Yes." Well, had we not, for instance, the tariff question to be decided by it? Was it proper and correct that there should be custom houses in each Colony against the trade of the other? (Cries of No.) Was it correct that there should be a difference of currency in the Colonies? (No, no.) Was it correct, too, that there should be a difference in weights and measures? (No, no.) Was it correct that there should be a difference in naturalization laws? (No, no.) Was it correct that there should be a difference in the postal service? (No, no.) Was it correct that there should be a great difference on many other subjects, to enumerate which in his "suppositions" would carry him too late into the evening. And then there was that great question which demanded consideration above all others—the defence of the country. (Loud cheers.) Could the Islands of Prince Edward and Newfoundland and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick separately devise such a system of militia for the defence of the country as to secure them from American invasion? They could not. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, in case of the invasion of these Provinces by an American army or fleet, the question which would present itself to England would be this: Should its forces be sent to defend these principal and necessary Islands and Provinces of the British Crown? He knew very well that there was a school of politicians in England which disregarded and denied the value of the Colonies to the Mother Country—the school of which Messrs. Cobden and Bright were the leading members; but notwithstanding them, the feeling of the mass of the people was that these Colonies could not be given up with safety. Well, then, supposing Canada was invaded by an American army, although it possessed a greater number of men than the other Provinces, would they be sufficient to defend the country? No; but we would require the aid of others from the lower Provinces who would be called here by the general government to repel the foe. Moreover, if England saw that we were thoroughly in earnest in the defence of the country, not the least doubt she could help us with her army as well as her navy. (Loud cheers.) Now, he saw that there was a good deal of

objection with regard to this system of general government. (Hear, hear.) A great deal of objection was made against it because we have not at once a legislative union of all the Provinces; but at this great and critical moment we had to take into account the different and, to some extent, conflicting opinions and interests of the Provinces to be brought into union, and if we proceeded to present for the adoption of these Provinces and the British Government a scheme which would be the basis for the formation of a general government, we must take care that such measures be adopted as to protect every race, and advance the prosperity of every one. If we did that, would we not have effected a great deal? (Loud cheers.) He was told that in Lower Canada there was great opposition to the scheme, because it was stated that under it the British in that section would be at the mercy of the French population. Well, what was the best answer to that? He thought the British-born inhabitants of Lower Canada ought not to be led away by any such arguments, and that they ought to bear in mind that if the French would preponderate over them in numbers in the local government, the latter, in turn, would be in a great minority in the general government. (Hear, hear.) The French population, in committing their interests to that government, trusted in the good judgment and in the liberality of their British fellow-countrymen. (Enthusiastic cheers.) Was it too much to ask from the British population that they should trust in the good judgment and in the justice of the French people in the local government? (Renewed cheering.) To which would the greater interests be confided—the general or the local government—by the respective populations of Lower Canada? For his part, he was proud to confess to-day that the prosperity of both the Canadas was due to the commercial enterprise and undertakings of the British element in the country. (Cheers.) He had no objection that they should be, as it were, the governing element; but, at the same time, why should they object to the local government in the manner proposed to be established—with the French Canadians, as a matter of course, represented according to their number. He would tell this to his friends of British as well as French origin. As a French Canadian, and as a Catholic, he would never consent, so long as he was a Minister of the Crown, that any injustice should be done, either constitutionally or otherwise, to his fellow-citizens belonging either to the Protestant religion or to his own religion—(loud cheers)—nor would he consent that his countrymen, the French Canadians, because they happen to be of a different race and religion from the people of Upper Canada, should be injured on that account. (Renewed cheers.) We heard a great deal of the question of races in connection with the formation of this great Confederation. Let us look to England at this moment, and we find that although the union of the three kingdoms was called a legislative union, distinct nationalities and

religions existed. Would any one conversant with the history of the glory of England on land and sea like to drop or subtract from that glory the portion of it won by the bravery, courage, and persistence of the worthy son of Scotland? (Cheers.) Was there a man who would like to see drop or subtracted all the glory that had been acquired to England through the eloquence and courage of the sons of Erin? (Loud cheers.) He really thought that England would never have achieved the wealth and the reputation she had gained had it not been for the different nationalities of the three islands. Every one hailing from England knew very well that the question of race was of no consideration there. Many there liked to trace their origin as far back as William the Conqueror, the Norman invader. Well, then, why should it be attempted to create difficulty in the formation of a nation, because we were of different races and religions? (Hear, hear.) Every one knew that England was a great nation which had achieved a great deal more, perhaps, than any other nation. No doubt the army and navy had done much towards this greatness, in conquering Colonies and so forth, while the Houses of Lords and Commons had also accomplished a great deal in instituting wise laws for their governance. In comparing Great Britain with Rome it was found that the latter had some of the qualities which distinguish the former, such as the conquering power. Rome could conquer Colonies, but, unlike Britain, could not hold them, wanting that great element of power possessed by the latter—the commercial element. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Without detracting from the achievements of the British army and navy, or the results of the wisdom of her legislature, it would be admitted that the power of Britain could not be properly estimated without taking into account the commercial element. Immediately a Colony was conquered by the bravery of the army and navy, who followed up and consolidated the work but the merchants of Britain? (Cheers.) They settled there, went to work, and became generally so prosperous after a few years that it was the interest of England herself to protect that new-born commerce with her army and navy. As to the Confederation, Canada had outgrown the last union of both Provinces. They had prospered largely, and were at this moment enriching, by their commerce, the Northern States, while they should be enriching their own Sister Colonies, including the ports of St. John's, N.B., and Halifax. (Cheers.) With regard to Newfoundland, as had been eloquently stated by Mr. Shea, it stood at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, had commercial relations with every nation, and by a union with Canada, would confer commercial advantages of very great importance. (Hear, hear.) It had been said that the British Colonies of North America could achieve the same results by Zollverein as by a political union. He said that was hardly sufficient, and believed that what the people of the British North American Provinces desired for their

common defence and prosperity could not be attained by a Zollverein such as that of Germany. They wanted a closer, political union. (Cheers.) The great commercial current ruled everything. The capital of England made every nation that became her borrower, to some extent, gravitate towards her and feel her influence. The Confederation would produce an increase of the trade of the Provinces with each other and with England. (Hear, hear.) In regard to the objections from the extreme French Canadian party and from the American or Annexation party of Lower Canada, he would remark, should the present movement succeed, there would be a general government to take cognizance of general subjects. By the local governments would be considered such subjects as education, administration of justice, management of Crown lands, penitentiaries, hospitals, and charities—questions touching every one, and more important than were submitted to the former House of Assembly of Lower Canada under the old system. (Hear, hear.) Then this Chamber had nothing to say respecting trade, the postal service, and revenue from Crown lands. Under the system which might at some future day become that of these Provinces, Lower Canada would have, in local government, nearly as much power to legislate as formerly. (Hear.) In Montreal and elsewhere it was sought to prejudice public opinion by stating that taxation would have to be enforced for the support of the local government of Lower Canada. That would not be the case. (Cheers.) Under Confederation the local government would be supported by a subsidy from the general government. Besides, there would be revenue from territorial and other sources to the amount of at least \$1,500,000, and there was no danger of direct taxation on their obtaining a local government, should the latter prove patriotic and prudent. He had said he was impressed with the conviction that this Confederation ought not to be carried out if in any way it jeopardised or weakened the tie that connected these Provinces with England. (Loud and enthusiastic cheers.) He (Mr. Cartier) was for Confederation, because he saw that, in the establishment of a general government for all these Provinces, they would be enabled to maintain in closer form the happy tie which connected them with England. (Renewed cheering.) He would say he thought he expressed the opinion of every one present in observing that any new form of government established for these Colonies ought to be such as to increase the influence and prestige of the monarchical element in our political system. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

At the same Montreal banquet, in responding to the toast of the Lower Province, the Hon. Mr. SHEA replied as follows on behalf of *Newfoundland*:—He had the greatest pleasure in rising on this occasion to return his most hearty thanks for the honor done in drinking the toast in so hearty a manner. Since the arrival of the delegates

in this country they had been the recipients of most princely hospitality, and such was truly the character of that which they were now permitted to enjoy. Though the remembrance of such scenes as the present would not soon be effaced from their memories, these demonstrations had a much higher significance than that of mere good fellowship. They demonstrated how much general interest was taken in the question of Confederation. (Hear, hear.) When he considered the ability with which the general question of the Confederation of the Provinces had been laid before Canadians by their own public men, and by an able and intelligent press, he felt that were he to enter upon it here in the presence of the *élite* of this great commercial community, he would be simply trespassing upon their time and patience. (No, no.) Canada had, no doubt, many great advantages, but he would say, with his friend from Nova Scotia (Mr. Archibald), that its material prospects would be increased by union with the Lower Provinces—the homes of a kindred and generous people. (Hear.) Canada, he repeated, had many great advantages.—that he was perfectly willing to admit—but it would be his duty to mention a few facts which would show that it would be no disadvantage for her to unite with Newfoundland. (Hear.) In considering the question of the union of the Provinces, it became necessary to take into account the position of the proposed Confederation with regard to safety and defence. (Hear.) In this view, the position of the Island of Newfoundland became one of marked significance. Look at it, gentlemen, stretching right across the Gulf of the Saint Lawrence, commanding both the passages by which the vast trade of that gulf region and of that Saint Lawrence River found its way to the ocean. Were this Colony in the hands of a hostile Power, then in war time the trade of Canada would be as hermetically sealed as if perpetual winter prevailed there. (Hear.) Considering this, the statesmen lately assembled at Quebec at once perceived that the position of the Confederation would be insecure unless Newfoundland were made a portion of it. (Applause.) Nor was it the Colony least entitled to consideration, on account of its commercial and financial standing, and the benefits thence to be derived, and perhaps he would be pardoned for going into somewhat minute details—more, indeed, than many of his hearers might desire. (No, no.) Well, then, Newfoundland had a coast line of 1,200 miles, with some of the finest harbors of the world, in which the ships of any navy might repose in security. (Hear.) The agricultural capabilities of Newfoundland were not, he admitted, of the highest order. Its soil and climate were not well calculated for the highest conditions of agriculture, but it still derived considerable advantages from them, and some agricultural operations had been conducted with marked success. It possessed large tracts of country which were highly valuable for grazing purposes, and but for the presence of a race of dogs, for which its people exhibited

a marked partiality, farming would be very highly profitable to those engaged in it. (Laughter.) The mainstay of Newfoundland—the main element of its wealth—was, however, in its fisheries, in which it employed 30,000 men; able, hardy, industrious sailors, fit for anything in which daring and energy were required. In this article of fish it had relations with almost every maritime nation in Europe, with the Brazils, and with the United States. With the Colonies of British North America, its relations were, however, very limited. (Hear.) The imports of Newfoundland were from five to six millions of dollars annually; its expenses were six or seven millions per annum—the exports almost invariably exceeding the imports. There were 350 sail of vessels employed in the seal fishery, manned by about 14,000 men—the very best and most active portion of the community. (Hear.) The revenue of Newfoundland was higher than that of any of the British North American Provinces, man for man of its population, because it imported almost everything it required. With a population of 130,000, it had a revenue of \$500,000 to \$550,000. Its debt, he was happy to say, was not very large, compared with that of the other Colonies, being about \$900,000, represented by public buildings of various descriptions, the Province having ample and tangible value for all the money it had expended, while such was the credit in which its securities were held, that the Government had no difficulty, even at the present moment, when the rate of interest in England was unusually high, in raising money at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (Loud applause.) They had a savings bank in St. John's, guaranteed by the Government, in which were deposited the earnings of the industrious population to the extent of nearly \$900,000. (Hear.) The country had not been sufficiently explored to enable him to say a great deal as to the mineral deposits which lay within its bosom, but it was known that there were some very important lead mines; copper mines, too, had been found in various localities; and it was believed that a very valuable gold mine would be found on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where investigations were now being made under the direction of Sir William Logan, to whom he took this opportunity of returning his thanks for the great assistance he had afforded to the people of that island. (Hear.) There were about 1,200 vessels entering and clearing annually, going to all countries. Recurring to the financial position of the Island, he might say that it was perhaps sounder than that of any of the Colonies or States of America, spite of the frequency of the vicissitudes of its staple trade. In proof of this he would observe that some years ago, in 1846, a serious calamity befel the town of St. John's, and it was visited by a serious fire which swept away the whole of the business part of that place, leaving not a store, nor even a wharf, so that some thought the city never could recover from its effects. The amount of loss was between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000, not one-fourth of which was covered by

insurance. The city did, however, recover, and no one man failed to meet his business engagements in consequence of the calamity. (Cheers.) The Bank of British North America was then the only bank doing business in the community, and at the time of the fire the amount of paper it held was larger than it had been for several years previous. Yet he could assert that not a single man failed to discharge his obligations to the bank. Nay, more, when the Bank of British North America, which had been doing business for twenty years, at last wound up its affairs, the whole of the paper it held was handed over to another bank, and taken at its face value, without any reduction. (Hear.) These statements might appear extravagant, but he made them in the presence of gentlemen who were acquainted with the facts, and his position relieved him from the suspicion of indulging in misstatements. (Applause.) Under these circumstances, Newfoundland might claim to come into the Confederation on honorable and independent grounds. It would contribute its share to the general stock of advantages to be enjoyed. (Hear.) He had said that the imports amounted to between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000. Now, of this they received from \$1,500,000 to \$1,750,000 in value from the United States, chiefly flour, butter, and other articles of that description. A very small proportion of the imports came from Canada. Why was this? Was it because the United States offered superior commercial advantages? This was not the case; they could generally purchase on better terms in Canada than in the United States. (Hear.) It would no doubt be said that political arrangements could have no effect, could exercise no control over matters of this kind. That doctrine, however, had its limits, which were, in some cases, very remarkable. Let them look at the intercolonial railway as an illustration. That road would be productive of the most important commercial advantages to the people of these Provinces, and yet everyone knew that it might have remained for years without any progress towards completion had it not now become a political necessity. How did Newfoundland stand toward Canada at the present moment? Its people had to go to the United States to do business, for they had to pass by way of Halifax and Boston to reach Montreal. It took nearly a month to carry letters between Canada and Newfoundland and back, and the rate of postage was double what it was between the Colonies and Great Britain. If arrangements had been designed for the purpose of preventing commercial intercourse, they could not have been made more effective than these. (Hear, hear.) A commercial union would do away with such anomalies—these almost barbaric features, which all the Colonies evidently felt it necessary to uphold in the present position of affairs, notwithstanding the fact that they were regarded in England as remarkable illustrations of strange political heresies. (Hear, hear.) They must be got rid of. (Hear, hear.) They

must establish steam communication between Newfoundland and Canada; that island had what Canada required, and wanted what Canada could furnish. Newfoundland was obliged to pay a million of dollars in hard money for what it obtained from the United States, without having any reciprocal advantages to obtain from them. It was owing to the fiscal impediments between the Colonies/ that its trade went thither. With free trade it would be a consumer to Canada for her woollens, her leather goods, her cutlery, and the products of those manufactures which were every day growing up within her borders, and must, no doubt, considerably increase. Give Newfoundland the means of centreing into trade relations, and trade would soon spring up. (Applause.) Under the proposed Confederation the town of St. John's would become the easternmost port of the great union, and by making it a port of call for the magnificent steamers of which Canada was so justly proud, it would be placed within six days of the mother country. A close connection with that country was what, he believed, all the Colonies desired; and speaking for Newfoundland, he would say that he hoped the day was far distant when she would have forced upon her any other allegiance than that she now rejoiced to acknowledge. However remote the contingency of a change in this respect might be, yet when such issues were involved, it would be unwise and short-sighted if due weight were not given to it by men charged with the grave task of laying the foundation of a new Empire. (Applause.) He would say but one word more, for he felt he had already trespassed too long upon his hearers' patience. (No, no.) It was that the question of Confederation had never been prominently brought before the public of that Colony he represented, or much discussed in its press; he and his fellow-laborer being here simply as expressing their own opinions on the subject; but he did not hesitate to say that he would think it a grave error if the people failed to enter into what had been the unanimous feeling of the Conference, and hesitated to become members of a Confederation charged with so high a mission, and the grandeur of whose future it was impossible for the wildest imagination to over-estimate. (Cheers.)

At the Banquet given at Toronto in honour of the Delegates, the Hon. Mr. PALMER replied to the toast of the Lower Provinces on behalf of Prince Edward Island and his co-delegates. The island from which he came was a very small country, and required little to be said on its behalf; and most fortunately so, as the task of responding had fallen upon one so incapable of responding as himself. In speaking of the Island he was reminded not to say too much, by the recollection of a facetious observation made by a gentleman whom he thought all present knew, and that was no other than Mr. D'Arcy McGee. He had threatened to take one of the Canadian steamers down the river, fasten a rope to Prince Edward Island, and tow it

into the centre of one of the Canadian lakes. If such a thing were physically possible he (Mr. Palmer) did not know they would have much reason to regret if it were done. The people of Prince Edward Island were an agricultural community; but he would not take up much time in eulogising it. They could send away a million and a half bushels of barley and themselves consume as much more per annum. They were swarming with all kinds of fish all round them. They were asked to join in this union. Their Canadian friends came over to them, and they listened to them. And they were proud to hear them. They resolved very soon that there would be a union, as far as circumstances would permit, on the model of the British nation. The Provinces were unanimous on that. They next resolved that each Colony and each Province should preserve its privileges and free institutions. In that they were all unanimous. They next agreed that the trade of the whole Colonies should be dealt with fairly and equitably; that the tariffs should be equalized throughout, as far as it was possible to do so. They next agreed that whatever necessity might require them to fix the tariff at, as regards the outside world, they would enjoy free trade among themselves. (Cheers.) The Islanders were a careful and thinking people. Perhaps they were a little doubtful at hearing these propositions at first, because they were at present as happy and contented a people as any under British rule. Yet he would venture to say, whatever the community might be, the delegates representing the Island would not hesitate to recommend to their Government that great union which we hoped soon to see accomplished. (Cheers.) Speaking then of Canada, the hon. gentleman expressed satisfaction with what he had seen, especially with the schools, and with the skill of Canadian mechanics, as proved in the apparatus they constructed for those schools. He concluded by expressing a hope that the union of the Provinces would soon be consummated, and resumed his seat amid loud cheers.

Hon. Mr. CARTER, of *Newfoundland*, also responded. He said— I intend now, with your permission, to offer a few observations for myself and co-delegate for the Colony of Newfoundland. Some of you may know something of that Colony, but by the majority, I fear that little information is possessed as to its capabilities. We have been placed, as it were, at the fag-end of this confederation; but in another sense our geographical position places us at the very commencement of it. (Hear, hear.) We are, in truth, at the gate of entrance to the St. Lawrence, which leads on to your mighty inland waters. (Applause.) And without us, it is not too much to say that there would be no stability to this proposed Confederation. (Hear, hear.) I have no doubt myself that when the celebrated navigator, Jacques Cartier, first touched at Newfoundland, when proceeding to the discovery of Canada, he formed an opinion that

these sections of country must one day become united; and in that point of view it is a pleasing thing to know that one of his collateral descendants, the Attorney-General for Lower Canada, should take such a deep interest in the matter, with his friends in the administration, as to endeavour to carry out this Union, which by many of us has been long sought for. (Cheers.) For myself I would say, that I am not altogether unacquainted with Canada, having already paid some three or four visits to this Province, and most of our people know a little about it. There has been within the last four years a growing desire that we should have more intimate intercourse one with another—that we should, in fact, form part of a great whole. In the Conference held at Charlottetown we took no part; we were not invited; and the first invitation we had came from Canada, but a short time before our visit here. To show that we have long been alive to the advantages of union, I may mention that in 1858, when a despatch was received from the Government of Canada, requesting the Lower Provinces to co-operate in bringing about a union, Newfoundland was the only Colony which responded. (Cheers.) From that time up to the present we heard nothing further on the subject, but I think that when you shall have heard from me that scarcely a day elapsed from the time the telegram was received in our colony until we were appointed to come to Quebec and started on our journey, you will admit that it is a proof of the deep interest our people have continued to take in this matter. (Cheers.) Newfoundland, as you are aware, is a commercial place, and is not very celebrated for its agricultural capabilities. The reason of this is, that the attention of our people has been chiefly taken up by the prosecution of the fisheries, which have been most valuable to the people along the coast, furnishing inexhaustible mines of wealth, from which, from time to time, immensely large fortunes have been drawn. But unfortunately those who have amassed those fortunes have retired to spend them, not in the country, but in their mansions on the Clyde and the Thames; and we hope that when this Confederation shall have been accomplished we shall not find our men of wealth deserting us, and spending their money in the old country, but remaining with us, finding their homes as congenial to their wishes as the mansions of Great Britain. (Cheers.) On the subject of our territorial areas, it will not be unimportant that I should say a few words, though I do not intend to go into elaborate statistics, as these were very well gone into by my hon. friend, Mr. Shea, in Montreal. He there stated that we were ready to receive from Canada to the extent of some five or six millions a year, if we had increased facilities, and particularly increased shipping. (Hear, hear.) He also shewed that our public debt is only £200,000—that our exports always exceed our imports—that we are able to raise within the Colony every penny which is required for public purposes—and that our five per cent. debentures are worth a premium of five per

cent. (Hear, hear.) This is a good proof of the state of trade in this Colony, and shows that we can come to join with you in the character, at any rate, of independence. (Cheers.) We have mutual wants, and may be of great benefit the one to the other. You want the maritime element, and we are able to give it to you. You may by-and-by require seamen to man your navy, and where will you be able to get them more readily than in Newfoundland? A more hardy and enterprising people than that colony contains are not to be found. From their earliest days they have been "rocked in the cradle of the deep." (Applause.) Great Britain has given large bounties to create a nursery for her navy; and there are no class of her subjects who stand more ready with willing hands and stout arms to come to her defence when necessary than the people of Newfoundland. (Loud cheers.) Sir, the area of this country, so little known in Canada, is over 40,000 square miles, and that is no little to add, if anything were wanting to be added, to your present territory. It is larger a great deal than New Brunswick; it is larger than Nova Scotia; it is larger than either of the countries, taken separately, of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And its resources, when developed, cannot fail to be of the greatest value. We have valuable mines of gold—I believe silver mines will be discovered, to be worked to advantage—and we have rich mines also of lead and copper. Will not all this, I may ask, be something to bring into the proposed confederation as the free-will offering of Newfoundland. (Cheers.) Then, too, as I said before, we have our fisheries. We are supposed, however, to be almost altogether buried in fog; and when I meet with gentlemen abroad, the first thing they say, on hearing I came from Newfoundland, is—"I believe you are notorious for fogs, and highly celebrated for fish and fogs." (Laughter.) I desire as far as possible to dispel so erroneous an idea. These fogs do not, in truth, prevail more with us than in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and I can assure you that in Newfoundland you will find as cloudless and as bright a sky, and that you can breathe there as free and dry an atmosphere as in any part of the known world. (Cheers.) Many of you may think that this subject is becoming threadbare from being so frequently spoken about; but my excuse for mentioning it again is such that it cannot be too frequently referred to, provided one does not trespass on the time of others. Now, the reception—the enthusiastic reception—of last night, and magnificent entertainment to-day, are strong proofs of the deep interest taken in this question in Canada. We do not come here as distinguished men—we do not come with titles or honours—we do not come ennobled; but we do come as brother Colonists on our peaceful mission, proclaiming the desire of our people to unite their destinies with yours. (Cheers.) We knew that you would receive us for the cause, and no stronger proof could be given us of the deep-rooted feeling which prevails in this Fro-

vince, in favour of union, than is afforded by these receptions. We come here representing all shades of politics—my co-delegate from the Opposition and myself from the Government. We break all distinctions of party down for this occasion, and I hope for ever. (Loud cheers.) If you were to ask me by what differences we are kept asunder in Newfoundland, I confess I should have great difficulty in telling you; and were the same question to be put to my other friends from the Maritime Province, I fancy the response would be the same. I hope sincerely if this confederation is formed, that it will tend to do away with this petty party spirit and those prejudices, and that acerbity of feeling which at one time was characteristic of us; for we generally find that the intensity of the acerbity is proportionate to the narrowness of our limits. (Applause.) And what do we find here? Do we not find here as everywhere else, a combination of men who, like ourselves, are of different shades of politics, but who have united together to promote the same reform? (Hear, hear.) Have you not the ablest men from both sides of the House represented in the Administration, combined together to carry out this noble object? They are no longer fighting at the “ins” and the “outs,” but striving to promote the good of the country. (Hear, hear.) In such an arrangement as is here proposed, we must necessarily lose some of our individualism; but if we do we look forward to larger and brighter and greater prospects—we look to your glory and to our own. We know that as you advance we must advance, and that if you fall we are in danger of falling too. When we blend all our interests together and become as one, we know that whatever honour and glory you may obtain will be reflected on us as well; and for these results, I care not for giving up what is called part of our individualism. (Hear, hear.) I thank you, gentlemen, for the handsome manner in which you have received this toast.

Mr. Ross, representing the *Red River* settlement, said: I feel that I owe you an apology for intruding upon your time this evening; but seeing that you have so kindly received the toast of the North-West, I, as the only representative of that region, feel myself obliged to respond. The people of the country which I represent have been hitherto little heard of, but they must nevertheless be taken into account in the scheme of Confederation which has, for some time past, been under consideration. (Cheers.) This, I fancy, is a new toast. In all the meetings hitherto held a great deal has been said with reference to the resources, the progress, the character and standing of the various Colonies represented in the Conference; but for the first time the Far West, the true Far West, is formally recognised. The people of Red River cannot pretend to compete in point of numbers with any of the other members of the Confederation; but the extent and intrinsic value of that country

must make up for want of population and the other symptoms of material progress. We have about 10,000 of a white population, 15,000 of a half caste, and 40,000 Indians. The government of the country is in the hands of the Hudson Bay Company, and is of an extremely primitive and patriarchal character. This government it is none of my duty, at the present time, to criticise; but I may say, that it is anything but favourable to the progress of that country. To many in this vast assemblage it may be something new to state that the country of which I now speak is 3,000,000 of square miles in extent. Two-thirds of that may be too cold for ordinary agricultural purposes, but the southern portion, which embraces about one-third of the whole, or 1,000,000 of square miles, is eminently adapted for settlement, and I wish the fact to go far and wide as authentic and reliable. Being a native of that region, and a representative in an ethnological as well as a geographical sense, I beg to express my great pleasure in seeing this measure of Confederation likely to be consummated, for I believe it will benefit the West. Apart from the extent of the country, its intrinsic value forms an important element. It is capable of sustaining a vast population, because extensive and fertile. For over 150 miles width along the boundary line, there is as habitable a country as can be found on the surface of the globe. The climate has been represented by exploring expeditions sent from England and from this country as very similar to that of Canada. I know for a certainty that if it is, on the whole, colder, it is also more uniform and reliable. The air may be cold, but it is bracing and healthy. In truth, it is a most salubrious climate. Apart from the fertility of the soil, a source of livelihood to immigrants would be the fish afforded by the waters of the country. There is abundance of white fish, pike, gold-eyes, perch, sturgeon, &c., not an unimportant consideration in a new region. And the channels, which contribute so much to the sustenance of an immigrant population, also afford the means of internal navigation. The Red River district is thoroughly connected with all the parts of that vast region. By means of Lake Winnipeg it is connected with Nelson River, which flows into Hudson's Bay; connected with the Saskatchewan, which leads from near the Rocky Mountains; connected by the Winnipeg and Rainy Rivers with Lake Winnipeg; and connected, lastly, with the interior of Minnesota near the sources of the Mississippi. There is, indeed, over the whole country a vast network of excellent water communication, well adapted for commercial purposes. And then allow me to say before this distinguished assemblage, that the North-west has mineral resources of great value. Between Lake Superior and Red River there are extensive copper mines, and still more extensive ones are to be found along the Athabasca and the Mackenzie Rivers. Coal mines, moreover, abound on the Saskatchewan, and on the

branches which flow into the Assiniboine. Gold, too, has been found in the Saskatchewan region, and in such quantities elsewhere also, that there can be not the least doubt of the auriferous character of that country. From \$5 to \$15 per day are being made, and every successive discovery only satisfies me more and more that the whole country abounds in gold, and that time alone is requisite to develop its resources in respect of minerals. In conclusion—for I must not intrude upon your time—allow me, a native of the Red River country, and its sole representative here—to express the deep gratification I feel in having that part of the country so prominently brought before the attention of the delegates from the Lower Provinces; and allow me to express the hope that in the scheme now being devised, the vast extent, the resources, the capabilities and value of the North-west, may be fully remembered. There is a country there to which the overcrowded populations of European countries may resort and find a comfortable home. (Cheers.)

Hon. Mr. BROWN, on rising to respond to the toast of Her Majesty's *Canadian Ministers*, said: It is an old saying, that England loves not coalitions. And I am sure, if the statement is true of England, it is doubly true of Canada. And I am free to say now as I have already said, that, except under the pressure of a grave and urgent necessity, the combinations of public men of opposite political sentiments to form a Government, under the British Parliamentary system, is very strongly to be deprecated. (Hear, hear.) But if ever there was a coalition that had a sufficient object to justify its formation, I do think it is that Administration which I represent here to-day. (Cheers.) The present Administration was formed for a special purpose—for a great public end—it was formed in the light of day—its whole object and end was fully and openly proclaimed to the world—and no charge of intrigue or desire for present aggrandisement could with justice be laid at the door of any party to the compact. (Hear, hear.) I shall endeavour to glance at our proceedings of the last few weeks, so as to convey at least a general idea of the scheme which has been unanimously adopted by the Conference. (Hear, hear.) Every one is aware that, at the very time the present Government was formed, a conference of delegates from the Maritime Provinces was about to be held, for the purpose of considering the propriety of uniting Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island under one Government. Instantly we opened communications with the Governments of these Provinces, asking to be permitted to send representatives to their Conference, and in the kindest and most prompt manner they sent us a hearty welcome to their meeting. We arrived at Charlottetown on the 1st of September, and mostly kindly and hospitably were we received. We were invited to take seats in the Conference and to address its

members, and we announced to them the object of our mission. We said—"We in Canada have had serious sectional differences; we agreed to a settlement of those evils on a basis just and equitable to all sections of our country; we are about to frame a new constitution, which will be acceptable to the great mass of our people; and it has occurred to us, on hearing that you too were considering a change of your constitution whether it would not be well for us all to sit down together, and consider how far it would be for the welfare and good government of all our Provinces were we to unite them all under one system of government." Well, Sir, we did sit down together—we discussed the whole subject in all its bearings—we looked at it from every point of view, and after eight or ten days' deliberation we came to the unanimous conclusion that if the details could be settled upon a basis just to all, it would be for the advantage of the whole of these Provinces that we should be united. (Loud cheers.) Perhaps I should state that we from Canada were not content with mere argument in coming to this conclusion—for we passed through a large portion of the Lower Provinces, and saw with our own eyes the fairness of the land. Our first visit was to the beautiful Island of Prince Edward, and I think my friend, Mr. Palmer, did no more than justice in what he said of his island home—for a more delightful spot—a spot more likely to become, ere long, the Isle of Wight of the American Continent, it were impossible to find. (Cheers.) And assuredly these Provinces will not be long united before the health and pleasure-seeking portion of our people will be finding their way in thousands annually to her shores. (Cheers.) From Charlottetown we proceeded by steamer to Pictou—the shipping port of the great Nova Scotia coal-beds. We examined the works of one Company, conducted on a very extensive scale. Under the able management of Mr. Scott, the product of that one mine, in a very few years, we found had been increased from 150 tons per day to the vast quantity of 2,000 tons per day. (Hear, hear.) We found lying at the wharves of Pictou not fewer than from 60 to 80 vessels taking in coal; and were told that frequently not fewer than 100 coal vessels were lying in the harbour. (Hear, hear.) Let it be remembered that this is a trade which has only begun to be efficiently developed, and that from Pictou is shipped off the produce of only a small portion of the vast coal districts of Nova Scotia. (Cheers.) From Pictou we passed on through a beautiful agricultural country to the town of Truro. There we found iron claimed to be equal to the best Swedes iron, and works established by an English Company for the manufacture of steel, turning out, as we are assured, not less than 15,000 tons per annum of excellent steel. We were told that this valuable iron ore extends over a very large section of the country, and I believe that the geographical surveys that have been made prove the accuracy of the statement. From Truro, a rapid ride over the rail

brought us to the gold country, and we here enjoyed ample opportunity of examining the working of the gold mines. The general impression of this branch of industry is that it is a species of gambling—that the gold-seekers dig up sand, pass it through a sieve, get little or nothing for their labour, possibly for many days together, but some lucky day make a hit and realize a fortune. But very different from this are the gold mines of Nova Scotia. The precious ore is obtained regularly and certainly by paid and persistent labour. We found 200 persons employed at the mines we visited, getting at that time \$8 a week, the whole weekly expense being \$1,000, and in 14 successive weeks the product of the works had been not less than \$3,000 a week, and sometimes much more. We were assured by the intelligent superintendent that the gold-bearing region extended over an immense tract of country—that he had been to many of the other gold works, and while some of them might be more and others less productive than his own, still he was satisfied that, properly worked, the whole of them might be made to give an ample return for the capital and labour invested. We thus found Nova Scotia to be a land of coal, of iron, and of gold. We saw the great sources of wealth in practical development, all within the brief space of twenty-four hours, and when we couple to these the exhaustless fishing resources of that country, and its ship-building industry, I think my friend, Mr. McCully, was not far astray in suggesting that if Nova Scotia came into the Union she would not by any means come in empty handed. (Cheers.) We proceeded next to Halifax, a most thriving city, and one of the first harbours in the world, but on our doings I need not enlarge, for who does not know the enterprise and the hospitality of the good citizens of Halifax? From Nova Scotia we proceeded to the Province of New Brunswick, and there we saw St. John, a city of which, as British-Americans, we may all well be proud; a city showing marked evidences of vitality—extensive commerce, large ship-building interests, and a vast timber trade—and a harbour filled with ships from all parts of the world. (Cheers.) From St. John we passed by the beautiful St. John River to Fredericton, the political capital of New Brunswick; and we were one and all highly delighted with what we saw of the resources of the country through which we passed. Want of time forbade our visiting the Island of Newfoundland, but I am satisfied that no one who has read anything as to the resources of that Island will say that my friend, Mr. Carter, has over-stated its capabilities. The fishing and mineral resources are very good—a vast fleet of ships is constantly employed in their traffic—the revenues of the Island are very large, and even beyond these as arguments in favour of its coming into the proposed Union in this consideration, that Newfoundland is the key to the St. Lawrence, and during war would be absolutely necessary to us for purposes of offence and defence. (Hear, hear.) You will

therefore understand, Sir, that the members of the Canadian Government all returned to this country with a most earnest desire to carry out the Union of Canada with all the Maritime Provinces if it could possibly be accomplished. In this spirit, we at once sought the aid of His Excellency the Governor-General, in summoning a formal Conference for the mature consideration of articles of Union; and I cannot mention His Excellency's name without expressing my sense of the debt the country must owe him for the earnestness with which he has sought to promote this measure, and the hearty desire he has ever shown to give effect to the wishes of the people of this Province. (Loud cheers.) His Excellency, without delay, summoned a Conference of Representatives from the several Governments, and the late sittings at Quebec were the result of that summons. For sixteen days we were earnestly engaged in considering all the details of the scheme, and though, of course, it was impossible that such a body of men could be without differences of opinion, looking at matters as we did from different points of view, and with different interests to protect—still it is highly questionable whether any body of thirty-three gentlemen, even if composed of men of the same country and the same party, could have sat together for so long a period discussing matters of such grave importance, and parted with more harmony and more thorough good-will and respect than prevailed throughout the whole of our deliberations. (Cheers.) The various details of the Confederation scheme were brought up for consideration by the Conference in the form of resolutions. These resolutions were separately discussed, amended, and adopted; and as finally adopted by the unanimous consent of the whole Conference, they now stand on record. (Cheers.) The precise course hereafter to be adopted has not yet been finally settled—but the first step in any case is to submit the results of our official deliberations to the Imperial Government. The next step that will probably be taken is to submit the scheme to the Legislatures of the different Provinces for their approval. And, if they are adopted, as I doubt not they will be adopted by every one of the Provinces—(cheers)—the intention is to embody them in our addresses to Her Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, praying for an Act of the Imperial Parliament, which Act will be and remain as the foundation of our political system, the constitution under which the new Confederation shall be brought into existence. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) A friend asks if the scheme is to go into operation without being submitted to the people? That is a matter for the different parliaments to consider whether it shall be done or whether it shall not be done. It is not, I apprehend, for the administration of this province or any other province to say that this measure shall or shall not be sent specially to the people. We are in the hands of the representatives of the people, and by their decision

we are ready to abide—(hear, hear)—and it ought ever to be borne in mind, that when we came together to consider the nature of the new constitution we were about to found, there were very many interests to be considered. In the first place, we had to consider that this country is of immense extent, presenting a great variety of interests, great and small, for which it would be exceedingly difficult for one body to legislate. And in the second place, even had it been desirable to govern so vast a country by one executive and legislature, it would have been impossible to carry it, as our Lower Canada fellow-subjects would never have consented to it. As the only practicable scheme, therefore, and as in my humble opinion the best scheme, we adopted the plan of constituting a general government and general legislature, to which should be committed matters common to all the Provinces, and local governments and legislatures for each section, to which should be committed matters peculiar to the locality, and in which the other provinces were not concerned. I hear the objection sometimes made, “ Oh! we do not like a Federal Union, we want a Legislative Union, which would bring the whole under one legislature and government.” Now, without referring to the fact that this could not possibly have been obtained, even if desirable, I think any one who looks into the matter, will feel that the local and sectional jealousies which have sprung up between Upper and Lower Canada, ought to have warned us that those things which in our present Union have stood in the way of the peace and harmony of this country should be avoided in the larger Federation. (Hear, hear.) And I am firmly convinced that by providing for local matters by local governments, we have secured the permanence of the Confederation in a way we never could have accomplished by a legislative union. (Cheers.) I am sure it is unnecessary to say that the Governor-General of the United Provinces is to be appointed, as heretofore, by the Crown. The duration of Parliament will probably be limited to five years, and of course it will be composed of two branches, a Legislative Council appointed by the government of the day on the principle of equality of the sections, and in the lower branch we are to obtain that so long desired, so long earnestly contended for reform, Representation by Population. (Great cheering.) Objections will no doubt be urged against the manner in which the Upper House is to be constituted, especially by those who would prefer that the members of that body should be elected rather than appointed. (Cries of No! No!) But I do confess that, in my opinion, an appointed Upper House and an elected Lower House would be much more in harmony with the spirit of the British Parliamentary system than two elected bodies. (Cheers.) I was one of those who, at the time the change was made from an appointed House to an elected House, resisted the innovation. (Cheers.) Not because I was at all afraid of popular

influence that, while the Lower House controlled the government of the day, and the government of the day appointed members of the Upper House, the people had full and efficient control over the public affairs of the country. But I am free to admit this, and I say it with the greatest pleasure, that the apprehension I and others entertained of a collision between the two elective bodies, and a dead lock ensuing, has not been realised. I am bound to say that under the operation of the elective principle, we have had a body of men sent to the Upper House who would do honor to any Legislature in the world, and who would have worked with a degree of harmony and a desire to benefit the country, which have really been admirable. But we cannot forget that, when a new power first passes into the hands of the people, great sensitiveness and care are exhibited in acting upon it, much more than when the new power has lost its freshness, and its exercise sinks down into a thing of every-day wont. The Elective Upper House has not long existed in Canada. Besides, when the elected Councillors first took their seats, they found already in the Chamber a large number of old, appointed members, who, no doubt, exerted a certain degree of influence over their proceedings. But it may fairly be questioned whether, when the elective system had gone on for a number of years, and the appointed members had all disappeared, two Elective Chambers, both representing the people, and both claiming to have a control over the public finances, could work together in harmony. (Hear, hear.) And there is another objection to Elective Councillors. The electoral divisions are necessarily of enormous extent, some of them 100 miles long by 60 wide, so large that the candidates have great difficulty in obtaining personal access to the electors, and the expense of election is so great as to banish from the House all who are not able to pay very large sums of money for the possession of a seat. From all these considerations, it did appear to me, when our friends of Lower Canada, who were most interested in the constitution of the Upper Chamber, desired to have the members appointed by the Crown, that acting in the interest of Upper Canada it was my duty to consent. And I think that those who have objected to our alliance in Lower Canada getting equal representation with us in the Upper House, do so without proper consideration. I am one of those who have always stood firmly up for the rights of the upper section of the Province. But now that our rights are admitted, now that we are seeking a compromise measure of settlement of all our troubles—now that we are seeking to build up a new constitution that will be just to all—I for one am ready to cast aside old feelings of hostility and to consider not only what will be abstractly just, but what will carry with it the hearty sympathy and assent of all the parties to the new compact, and lay the foundation of our new fabric deep and permanent. (Cheers.) I could not but feel that having obtained, as regards the Lower Chamber, for Upper

Canada the position we have so long desired, we ought to allow the gentlemen from Lower Canada, so long as no injustice was done, to frame the Constitution of the other Chamber very much as they chose. (Hear, hear.) In the view taken of this matter by the Lower Canadians, all our friends of the Lower Province entirely agree. I am afraid I am enlarging on these matters at two much length. (Cries of "Go on! Go on!") But there is one point to which I would particularly wish to call attention. In the formation of this Constitution we have been compelled to commit certain matters of an important character to the local bodies, which many of the people of Upper Canada would probably have been well content to have seen left to the General Government. But, if they will examine closely the particulars of the scheme it will be seen that we have given nothing to the local bodies which did not necessarily and exclusively belong to the localities, except one or two matters, such as the school law and the rights of property, and the civil law, which we were compelled to leave to the local governments, in order to afford that fair and just protection which the Lower Canadians claim for their language and their peculiar legal institutions. I am sure we are all glad that they should have that security. (Cheers.) I am sure, notwithstanding all that may have been said to the contrary, that none of us have had any desire to interfere with the mere local institutions of our fellow subjects of Lower Canada. (Cheers.) And if you look at the subjects committed to the local governments, you will find the arrangement has been made in a spirit of fairness and justice to Lower Canada, and with the view of securing that harmony and accord which are so desirable in the future government of this country. (Cheers.) There is another point I wish to dwell on for a moment. In forming our Constitution we have carefully avoided what has proved a great evil in the United States, and that is the acknowledgment of an inherent sovereign power in the separate States, causing a collision of authority between the General and State Governments, which, in times of trial like the present, has been found to interfere gravely with the efficient administration of the public service. In the Government to be formed under this new Constitution I believe we will be found to have avoided that difficulty. For, while we have committed to the local governments all that necessarily and properly belongs to the localities, we have reserved for the General Government all those powers which will enable legislative and administrative proceedings of the central authority to be carried on with a firm hand—with complete efficiency and harmony throughout the country. Among the matters necessarily left to the General Government, are the questions of trade and commerce; all questions of currency, finance, and coinage; all questions of navigation and shipping, and the fisheries; all questions of defence and militia (cheers); all matters connected with the postal service, weights and measures, and all questions

affecting the criminal law. I am sure it will gratify many who hear me to be informed that the whole of the Judges, those of the County Courts as well as of the Superior Courts, are to be appointed and paid by the General Government. (Cheers.) I may mention also that the Lieutenant-Governors of the different sections are to be appointed by the General Government, so that we have a complete chain of authority, extending down from Her Majesty the Queen to the base of our political fabric. The Queen will appoint the Governor-General. The Governor-General in Council will appoint the Lieutenant-Governors. And the Lieutenant-Governors will be advised by Heads of Departments responsible to the people. Thus we will have the General Government working in harmony with the local Executives and in hearty accord with popular sentiment as expressed through the people's representatives. (Cheers.) As to the constitution of the local legislatures, we found there was so much difference of opinion on the subject—that some of the Provinces desired to retain their present institutions, while we in Canada had new ones to establish—that we thought it the wisest plan to leave the constitution of the local legislatures to the existing Parliaments of the different sections. At the next meeting of the present Parliaments of the different Provinces the representatives of the people will determine the forms their future legislatures shall assume. Amongst the matters proposed to be left to the local governments there are, as I have already stated, all questions affecting property and civil rights; all questions concerning the advancement of agriculture; all questions relating to the education of the people. Each section is to have entire control over its own public lands, and to have full control over its prisons, hospitals, and charitable institutions. The municipal institutions of the country will be subject to the local legislatures, as well as public works local in their character. All questions affecting the incorporation of private companies will also be dealt with by the local governments. And generally, while on the one hand, all matters of a general character and common to all the Provinces will be committed to the general government, so, on the other hand, all matters of a local character will be committed to the local governments. The separate powers to be exercised by each will be defined, as I have already said, by an Act of the British Parliament, so that there will be no danger of the two bodies coming into collision. (Cheers.) A very important subject is that relating to the finances of the Federation; but as my hon. friend Mr. Galt is about to address you, I will leave this branch of the subject to him. (Cries of Go on.) I may briefly, however, say this, that all the debts and assets of the different Provinces are to be assumed by the general government. It has been found that with the exception of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, the debts of the several Provinces are much the same in proportion to their population. Newfoundland and

Prince Edward Island have, however, scarcely any debt at all, and we found a difficulty in associating Provinces which were free from debt with those that owed large public obligations. But we fell upon this plan: we struck an average of the debts of the several Provinces, and we agreed that those whose debts exceeded the average should pay interest at 5 per cent. annually into the Public Exchequer, while those whose debts were below the average should receive interest in like manner from the chest—a basis just to all. Then it was found that while some of the Provinces could maintain their local governments without money from the public chest, there were other Provinces not accustomed to direct taxation, and in order to meet their views, we were compelled to adopt a compromise. I hope the day is not far distant when we may be all able to adopt direct taxation to a much greater extent than we have yet seen in Canada—but at present it was very clear that confederation could not be carried out unless we conceded on this point. We agreed to a compromise. We made the Finance Ministers of each section go carefully over the public expense of his Province, and cut down every item to the lowest point practicable after the new duties shall be thrown on the general government, and we found that the smallest sum for which the machinery of government in the different Provinces could be carried on was \$2,633,000. This sum is to be distributed annually as a full settlement for all time for local purposes in the Provinces, and I am happy to say it is to be distributed on the basis of population; and as our population in Upper Canada is very large, of course we get a handsome share. The principle is so just that I do not see how any one can reasonably object to it; and as the sum distributed is not to increase, a very few years of progress will make it of comparative unimportance. There is a very pleasing feature in the finance question. A confederation of five states is about to be formed, and it is to the credit of the whole that not one of them has ever been unable to meet its obligations to the day—(cheers)—and still further, that the finances of all are so flourishing, that at the time of the confederation every one of them will have a large surplus of revenue over expenditure for the current year. (Cheers.) I have thus as briefly as possible traced the outlines of the new constitution which has received the approval of the delegates from the several Provinces. But I cannot conclude without referring to some other things which have received the grave attention of the Conference. And the first point to which I desire to call attention is the fact that the delegates have unanimously resolved that the United Provinces of British America shall be placed at the earliest moment in a thorough state of defence. (Loud cheers.) I am not of those who conceive that Canada stands in danger of attack from our neighbours across the lines. I cannot doubt that they have plenty already on their hands for years to come without rushing on fresh embroilments. (Hear, hear.) Of course, many of those who hear me will

not agree with me; but I confess that notwithstanding the fierce ebullitions of the American press—to which we have, perhaps, attached a truer value than is usually done in England—I have faith in the good sense and good feeling of our neighbours to believe that the idea of an unprovoked aggression on the soil of Canada never seriously entered the minds of any large number of the inhabitants of the Northern States; but assuredly, come war when it may, I am sure I speak the sentiments of every man in Upper Canada when I say that the first hostile foot placed upon our shores would be the signal and the summons for every man capable of bearing arms to meet the enemy on the threshold of our country—(enthusiastic cheering)—and that the people of Canada would show in the hour of trial that that spirit which was manifested in 1812 has not died out in 1864. (Renewed cheers.) And, Sir, while on this point of defence, I have one word to say on a matter which I know is deeply felt in Canada. Sir, no man in Canada appreciates more than I do the generous consideration that has ever been shown by the mother country towards this Province. But I desire to enter a firm protest against the manner in which of late our duty has been laid down for us, chapter and verse, by gentlemen three thousand miles off, who know very little of our circumstances, and yet venture to tell us the exact number of men we are to drill and the time we are to drill them. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Sir, I venture to assert that the language recently used towards this Province is neither just, nor yet calculated to promote a desirable end. (Cheers.) This Colony, like other Colonies of the British empire, was founded on a compact entered into between the Crown and the people; an assurance was virtually given to those who emigrated to this Province that they should be protected by all the strength of British arms. (Cheers.) And nobly has Great Britain fulfilled that promise. Never has she hesitated for a moment to expend her best blood and treasure in defending her Colonial Empire. (Cheers.) I hold that Great Britain is bound to fulfil on her part the conditions on which the settlement of this and other Colonies took place, and to continue to aid us until we have grown to that degree of maturity and strength which will fairly demand at our hands a re-consideration of the terms of the contract. If I am asked whether Canada, united with the Lower Provinces, is able to take upon herself a larger share of the burden of defence than she has heretofore borne, I answer without any hesitation—undoubtedly, “Yes.” (Cheers.) It was unreasonable to expect that to these Colonies the people of England should send armies and navies for their defence, whilst they continued developing the resources of their country, and accumulating wealth untaxed for the appliances of war. (Hear, hear.) But what I do say is this, that when the time arrives that a colony has outgrown the conditions of her first settlement, and when she is fairly formed to assume new and higher relations to the mother country in the matter of defence,

it is only right that the matter should be approached, and the whole subject discussed in a candid and reasonable spirit. (Cheers.) And I am free to express my opinion that had the Canadian people been invited frankly to enter on a discussion of the changed relations, in matters of defence, they ought to occupy to Great Britain, the demand would have been responded to heartily, and readily and sincerely. (Loud cheering.) And it is only due to the present Colonial Minister (Mr. Cardwell) to say that this is the spirit in which he seems desirous of approaching the question—(cheers)—and that such is the spirit in which I believe negotiations hereafter will be carried on between these Colonies and the Parent State. (Renewed cheering.) It is not to be concealed that we in Canada are deeply interested in this whole question of Colonial defence being thoroughly discussed and settled. We all heartily desire to perpetuate connection with Great Britain; but we must feel that this union cannot be perpetuated if the burden of defence is wholly thrown upon the Parent State. It is quite evident that a feeling is growing up in England which may prove dangerous to that good feeling and attachment, unless the duties and responsibility mutually due are fairly performed. (Hear, hear.) And there is another, though a much inferior motive. The attacks which have been made upon us have created the impression not only in England, Ireland, and Scotland, but in the United States, and in other parts of the world, that these Provinces are in a naturally weak and feeble state, that they are in point of fact almost indefensible. (Hear, hear.) Such a feeling, Sir, interferes more than one can estimate with the permanent prosperity of the country, and if we would do away with this false impression, so unjustly created, and place ourselves on a firm and secure footing in the eyes of the world, our course must be to put our country in such a position of defence that we may fearlessly look our enemies in the face. (Loud cheering.) Holding these views, and knowing that they are the views of the great mass of the people of this country, it is a pleasure for me to be able to state, and I am sure it will be a pleasure to all present to be informed, that the Conference at Quebec did not separate before entering into a pledge to put the military and naval defences of the United Provinces in the most complete and satisfactory position. (Cheers.) Nor let me omit to say, that in coming to this decision, there is no Minister of the Crown sitting at these tables who would not be prepared to rise now and express his conviction that notwithstanding all that has come and gone—notwithstanding all the diatribes of the newspaper press of England, the British Government is prepared now as ever to do its duty by these colonies, and to send us their armies and their navy at any moment to aid us in our defence. (Cheers.) I now approach another delicate question—delicate, that is to say, as regards the people of the West. We have agreed—I announce it frankly—to build the Intercolonial

Railway. (Cheers and laughter.) I have not been in favour of that scheme *per se*, situated as we have been. But I have at the same time been quite willing to admit—and I repeat it heartily to-day—that without the Intercolonial Railway there could be no union of these Provinces—(cheers)—and after a careful consideration of the question in all its bearings, and after counting the full cost, I am prepared to advocate the building of that road, in order to accomplish the great objects we have in view in the scheme of confederation. (Cheers.) It may, however, be some comfort for my friends to know that we have a prospect of getting that road built upon terms much more reasonable than we had ever hoped to obtain. I shall not tell you of the tempting offers that have been made, because I have had some experience that what is promised in such offers is not always realized in the end. (Laughter.) In agreeing to build the Intercolonial Railway, it should also be stated that due regard was had to the interests of the West. I am happy to be able to say that with the unanimous consent of the members of the Conference, we have resolved on the extension of our canal system. (Cheers.) Still further, I think it well to state that while we have sought confederation with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, we have not been neglectful of the Far West, but we have made it a condition of union that the Great North-west may come into the federation on equitable terms at any time it pleases, and that British Columbia and Vancouver Island may also be incorporated with us. (Hear, hear.) We have likewise made it a condition that so soon as the state of the finances will permit, communication is to be opened up from Western Canada to the North-west territory. (Hear, hear.) There is another little announcement which will not be without its interest to you, Sir. The decision was unanimously arrived at by the delegates that the old and respectable city of Toronto should be the future capital of the Province of Upper Canada. (Loud cheers.) On the whole, Sir, when we look at the probable results of this union, I think there is no man, from one end of the Provinces to the other, who ought not to give it his most hearty approbation. (Loud cheers.)

Shortly after the delegates had returned to their homes the Hon. A. T. GALT, Minister of Finance, issued an invitation to his constituents, and a large meeting assembled at the Court House in the Town of Sherbrooke, November 23rd, 1864, to listen to such explanations as the hon. gentleman deemed it proper to make in relation to the plan for the Confederation of the British American Provinces.

MR. GALT, who, on rising, was received with great applause, addressed the Chairman, and said, The practice had obtained in

England of late years for the leading politicians and those charged with the administration of the government to meet their constituents and the public during the recess of Parliament, and discuss with them the questions then occupying the public mind. He believed that great advantage had arisen from the practice of instructing the public with reference to the questions then before it, from the fact that, when Parliament afterwards met, it had the intelligent ideas of the people brought to bear upon its deliberations. If ever there was an occasion upon which he might wish to address his constituents, it was now, when they had before them a measure calculated not merely to change their present position, but through that change to raise this country to a scale of greatness which we had longed for, but had not hitherto had the prospect of attaining. That measure was one which had created a good deal of feeling in the mind of the people at large; and, knowing that to be the case, he was sure he was in the line of his duty in coming before them that day, and endeavouring to give them some of the reasons why the measure of confederation for the British North American Provinces was now submitted to the consideration of the people of Canada. He might say that with reference to this particular subject he felt a double responsibility resting upon him. He not only felt the responsibility common to all who represented constituencies in Parliament, but he had also upon him the responsibility of acting as the representative of a class in Canada—of a minority in Lower Canada—and of endeavouring to see, in the measures which were proposed, that justice was done to them in common with all classes of the community. No measure could possibly meet the approval of the people of Canada which contained within it the germs of injustice to any; and if, in the measure which was now before the people of Canada, there was anything which bore on its face injustice, it would operate greatly against the success of the measure itself. He would ask the permission of the meeting for a few moments before entering on the plan of Confederation, to recur to the events which had rendered it necessary to bring before the people of Canada a measure for the alteration of their constitution. And with that view he might perhaps be allowed to refer briefly to the circumstances under which the union of the two Canadas took place, and the political action which had taken place under that union. (Hear, hear.) The union of Canada was an act of Imperial policy not sought for by the people of Lower Canada at all events. It was adopted by the Imperial Legislature with the view of remedying difficulties which then existed between the two Provinces. The inherent defect in the Imperial Act for the union of the two Canadas was this: it attempted to combine the federal principle with unity of action. It endeavoured to give equal representation to the two sections of the Province, while it brought them together for the purpose of dealing as one with all subjects both general and

local. So long as there was no very great difference in the population of the two Canadas—so long as they contributed in somewhat equal proportion to the expenditure—the system worked well, but when the fertile lands of the West attracted emigration in greater numbers to Upper than to Lower Canada; when the wealth and population of that section increased in a greater ratio than it did below, then the difficulties which were inherent in the Act of Union began to appear; then began to rise the claim that in Upper Canada there was taxation without representation, while the resistance which was made from Lower Canada arose from the feeling that if increased representation was given it would be not simply an interference with the mere representation in Parliament, but would affect the whole principle upon which the Union Act had been based. Consequently resistance was offered, and had been systematically maintained to the claims of Upper Canada. Those claims were in themselves undoubtedly founded in justice—but at the same time there was great reason in the objections taken to them—they involved an interference with the Federal principle recognized in the Union Act, an interference which amounted to an entire change in the principles on which the Government of the country was to be administered, and could not be received, otherwise than with dread by a large class, if not by the whole, of the population of Lower Canada. (Hear.) He need not detain them by any reference to the political struggles that had marked the last few years. It was within their knowledge that the claims made by Upper Canada, and the intense feeling evinced in Upper Canada with reference to these claims, were of such a character that they to a great extent debarred public men from joining the government of the country, because they were not able to pledge themselves to grant the demands of the Western section. For that reason, many whose services would have been useful to the country had been rejected by the constituencies of Western Canada, and the Province had been deprived of the services of men who, under other circumstances, would have been valuable members of its Executive and ornaments to its legislative halls. Events, as they were aware, had ripened rapidly during the last two or three years, and within the present year they had seen the machine of government almost brought to a dead lock, the claims of Upper Canada represented on the one hand by a very large majority, and the resistance offered by Lower Canada represented on the other hand by an equally large majority from that Province—these two great contending parties being so equally matched that the work of useful legislation for the country came very near being absolutely stopped. Under these circumstances some remedy had to be found either by way of concession on the one side or the other, or by striking out a new course which might preserve the benefits we had enjoyed under the Union Act, at the same time that it removed the apprehensions felt both East

and West, that injustice might be done to one section or the other. He might for a moment refer to the remedies which had offered themselves for consideration, and in the first place that which would naturally occur to their minds would be that there should have been a concession to Upper Canada of additional members in proportion to its population, but that concession would, as he had already remarked, have been an invasion of the Federal principle, contained in the Union Act, and would unquestionably have been resented to the uttermost by a large proportion, if not by the whole, of Lower Canada. While on this subject, he might say that the interests of the British population of Lower Canada were identical with those of the French Canadians; these peculiar interests being that the trade and commerce of the Western country should continue to flow through Lower Canada. (Hear, hear.) He was therefore of opinion that the concession to Upper Canada of representation by population would have been attended with an agitation most disastrous to the whole country. Instead of being in any way conducive to peace and contentment, it would have been resisted in a way that would have imperilled the best interests of the Province, and with such a warning as we now had to the south of us, it could only have been taken when all other remedies for the existing evils had failed. (Hear.) We could, however, try to retain the blessings of the Union, and, indeed, extend them in such a way as to promote the peace, contentment, and prosperity of the people, at the same time preserving in the new constitution those rights they were afraid would be subjected to injustice. While referring to Representation by Population as one of the remedies, he might also say that another, and probably one that would have immediately followed it, would have been the dissolution of the Union between Upper and Lower Canada; for the struggle would have assumed such an alarming aspect, that it would have resulted in an attempt to compass that. Now he did not think any measure ever adopted in any country had brought greater blessings in its train than the Union thus threatened with destruction. When they reflected for a moment on what had passed during the twenty-two or twenty-three years since the Union took effect, they would with difficulty find a measure fraught with such benefits to the people who had lived under it. We had seen the population of the country more than doubled; we had seen it traversed by railways; its educational system improved; feudal tenure in Lower Canada abolished; the great Clergy Reserve question had been settled—it would take more time than he could venture to occupy even simply to go *seriatim* through all the great benefits that had resulted from the Union—a measure be it remembered which had not been sought for by the people, and which had therefore not come into proper play until several years after its enactment. (Hear.) No one, considering all this, would say we ought lightly to risk these benefits, but every one would at once

agree that, while the great interests of the whole country should be preserved as they now were, the sectional interests—if he might use that term, which he was very reluctant to do—should be assured and guaranteed to each part of it, so as not to do injustice to any. (Cheers.) In point of population, the Provinces of British North America would form, if united, a very respectable power in the world. Many countries which boasted of kings and emperors were not as strong or as great either in population or territory, in trade and commerce, in industry or in the intelligence of their inhabitants, as the united Provinces of British North America would be, when united under one Confederation. With a population numbering now nearly four millions of people, with a territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with a longer coast line than that of the United States, with a river, commercially speaking, the greatest and most important in the world, passing through the centre of our country, connecting the East with the West, and bearing on its bosom the trade and commerce of the whole interior of this great continent—with all these advantages we might look forward to a future for this country, which, whether we lived to see it or not, our children would rejoice to see, and feel that a power was being established on the northern part of this continent which would be able to make itself respected, and which, he trusted, would furnish hereafter happy and prosperous homes to many millions of the industrial classes from Europe, now struggling for existence. (Cheers.) Let him now advert for a moment to the trade and tonnage of these Provinces; because in exhibiting the amount of that trade, he would be able to bring before them, in a very pointed manner, the most important results which must flow from a union of all our resources. The imports of Canada last year amounted to \$45,964,000; the exports to \$41,831,000; together, \$87,795,000. The imports of New Brunswick to \$7,764,824; the exports to \$8,964,784; together \$16,729,608. The imports of Nova Scotia to \$10,201,391; the exports (including \$1,874,480, the value of shipping built in the Province,) to \$8,420,968; together, \$18,622,359. The imports of Prince Edward Island amounted to \$1,428,028; the exports (including £124,955 sterling, the value of the shipping built) to \$1,627,540; together \$3,055,568. The imports of Newfoundland to \$5,242,720; the exports to \$6,002,312; together, \$11,245,032. Consequently, the trade of these Colonies, separated as they were by hostile tariffs, preventing proper commercial intercourse between them—with all the disadvantages of being separated, disunited, and having necessarily smaller Legislatures, and smaller views on the part of their public men—amounted last year to no less a total than one hundred and thirty-seven and a-half millions—in precise figures \$137,447,587—a volume of trade surpassing that of almost any European country. (Cheers.) Referring again to the tonnage employed in carrying on that trade, we would find, in the case of

Canada, a sea-going tonnage (both ways) of 2,133,000. In the case of Nova Scotia—inwards, 712,939; outwards, 719,915; together, 1,432,954. New Brunswick—outwards, 727,727; inwards, 659,258; together, 1,386,980. Not including Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, for which he had not the official returns, the tonnage employed in the sea-going business of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, amounted to no less than five millions of tons, besides nearly seven millions (6,907,000) of tonnage employed on the great inland lakes in the Canadian trade. (Cheers.) Now, these figures were so great, so vast, that the mind required some little time before it could take them in. They represented a trade which was probably the third in the world—exceeded only by the trade of Great Britain and that of the United States, and perhaps the trade of France, which last, however, did not much, if at all, exceed the figures he had just given. With these two or perhaps three exceptions no other country in the world employed the same amount of tonnage of sea-going craft as was employed last year by the British North American Provinces in carrying on their intercourse with the world and with each other. He considered therefore that, possessing as these Provinces did a large and increasing population, a vast territory, and a trade and commerce which, united, would vie with those of almost any other country in the world, it must be admitted there were material interests which would be greatly promoted if we could agree on a measure of such a nature as to induce the several Provinces to entrust the management of their general affairs to a common government and legislature. (Hear.) In considering the mode in which such a union could be carried out, it became necessary to determine whether it should be a Federal or a Legislative Union. A Legislative Union, as they were all aware, had certain advantages over one based on the Federal system. It was a more complete union, and implied a more direct action and control of the government over the interests of the people at large. And, where a people were homogeneous and their interests of such a character as to admit of uniformity of action with regard to them, it could not be doubted that a government on the principle of a Legislative Union was the one which probably operated most beneficially for all. But in the case of the people of these Provinces, brought up as they had been under separate legislatures, having unfortunately for our common interests comparatively little intercourse with each other, the difficulty was felt that, if we attempted to make a Legislative Union of these Provinces in the first instance, the dread, in the case of the Lower Provinces and probably of many among ourselves that peculiar interests might be swamped and certain feelings and prejudices outraged and trampled upon, was so great that such a measure could not be entertained, and we were compelled to look for what was sought in a form of government that would commit all subjects

general interest to a general Government and Legislature, reserving for local Legislatures and Governments such subjects as from their nature required to be referred to those bodies. (Cheers.) The term Federation was used with reference to the proposed Union, because it was that with which the public mind was most familiar. But it must not be supposed, on account of the use of that term, that in the Union now proposed to be established it was intended to imitate the Federal Union which we had seen existing in the United States. In the United States the General Government exercised only such powers as were delegated to it by the State Governments at the time the union was formed. Each State was regarded as a sovereign power, and it chose for the common interest to delegate to the General Government the right of deciding upon certain questions, which were expressly stated. All the undefined powers, all the sovereign rights, remained with the Governments of the several States. And he believed that nearly all the writers and statesmen who had given much thought to the subject of the difficulties now convulsing the United States were of the opinion—and he shared that opinion himself—that the reservation of what were popularly known as State rights had been to a great extent the cause of the difficulties which were now agitating that great country. He thought when we had before us the lamentable results which we now witnessed, when we saw the evils which had arisen there, and perceived that there was apparently no remedy for them within the limits of the constitution, we might well hesitate to adopt any system that would be similar in its character. If we did so we should be lacking in that wisdom learned from the experience of others which was so peculiarly valuable. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, in laying a basis for the union of these Provinces, it was not proposed that the General Government should have merely a delegation of powers from the Local Governments, but it was proposed to go back to the fountain head, from which all our legislative powers were derived—the Imperial Parliament—and seek at their hands a measure which should designate as far as possible the general powers to be exercised by the General Legislature, and also those to be exercised by the Local Legislatures, reserving to the General Legislature all subjects not directly committed to the control of the Local bodies. By this means it was believed we should escape the rock on which the United States had split, and we should not have a sectional agitation springing up in one section of the country or the other, because each Legislature, and especially each Local Legislature—acting within the bounds prescribed by the Imperial Parliament, and kept within these bounds by the Courts of Law, if necessity should arise for their interference—would find in the working of the plan of Federation a check sufficient to prevent it from transcending its legitimate authority. (Hear, hear.) It was therefore proposed. that in the Federation of the British North

American Provinces the system of government best adapted under existing circumstances to protect the diversified interests of the several Provinces, and secure efficiency, harmony, and permanency in the working of the Union, would be a General Government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country, and Local Governments for each of the Canadas, and for the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections, provision being made for the admission into the Union on equitable terms of Newfoundland, the North-west Territory, British Columbia, and Vancouver. Now the next point, having decided that the Federative plan, as he had briefly endeavoured to explain it, was the one which ought to be adopted, was whether they ought to adopt the mode of government which they now saw in use in the United States, or whether they should endeavour to incorporate in the Union the principles under which the British Constitution had been for so many years happily administered; and upon this point no difference of opinion arose in the Conference. They all preferred that system which they had enjoyed for the last eighteen years, by which the Crown was allowed to choose its own advisers; but those advisers must be in harmony with the well understood wishes of the country as expressed by its representatives in Parliament. (Cheers.) They were unanimously of the opinion that this system was more likely to operate for the benefit of the people than any attempt to introduce the American system of Government. They certainly believed that they enjoyed more practical freedom under the British Sovereign than they could under a dictator who was chosen for only four years. He believed that the administration of the country could be carried on with more advantage to the people and more in harmony with their wishes if that administration was obliged constantly to retain the confidence of the people; and if the moment the people ceased to have confidence in those in power they must give place to others who would be able to govern the country more in harmony with their wishes. The secret of the freedom of the British nation from revolution and disturbance was that the people had at any time the power of making the Government harmonise with their wishes—it was, in fact, the greatest safeguard the British Constitution gave. No Government in Canada could venture to set public opinion at defiance. No Government could exist, except for a few short months, unless they had the people at their back; for although parliamentary majorities could be preserved for a short time against the wishes of the majority of the people, still it was impossible to deny that public opinion was, in a complete sense, represented by the opinion of the members of the Legislature. They all knew perfectly well that their representatives were chosen from amongst themselves, and he trusted that we should never in this country lose that control which had been so happily exercised

by the people over the Government of the day. It was, therefore, concluded that in forming an Union of these Provinces it was desirable, in the interest of the people at large, that the system of responsible government now in force should be maintained. (Hear.) The question then arose as to the form of government which should be adopted for the administration of the general affairs of the whole Union, and that form was copied almost literally from the system existing in the several Provinces. It was proposed to have a Governor General, who should be appointed by our Gracious Sovereign. (Hear.) It was proposed to have a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. In the constitution of the Legislative Council it would be observed that the principle which now obtained in Canada, of electing the members of that branch, was proposed to be done away with and that we would again revert to nomination by the Crown. Perhaps he might be permitted to say a few words in regard to that point. He did not think that in Canada they had any cause to regret the change which had been made from the nominative to the elective plan. The circumstances under which that change took place were probably familiar to most of them. The Legislative Council had, from one cause or other, under the nominative system, fallen into public discredit. The elective Legislative Council, up to this time, had given them a number of very excellent men indeed. He doubted, for instance, whether, under any system, they could have had a better representative than the gentleman who now represented this district. (Hear.) Therefore, as far as Canada was concerned, he was not aware that they could say that the principle of an elective Legislative Council had proved in any degree a failure. There was no doubt that, in some respects, the elective principle was attended with difficulties and objections. It had been found that complaint was made that the expense connected with the elections in many districts was such as to debar many able men from attempting to come forward as candidates. There was no doubt that to canvass a district composed of three constituencies, each sending a member to the Lower House, was a most formidable undertaking, and one from which many excellent and worthy men naturally shrank. An election for one was bad enough, but to have an election for three constituencies certainly must be three times as bad. He did not think, however, that in Canada there was anything in the elective principle as regarded the Legislative Council which would have induced us to desire a change. Of course some would desire it, others would not. In the case of the Lower Provinces, however, they had maintained the nominative plan, except in Prince Edward Island, and the gentlemen who came from those Provinces—both the members of the Government and the leaders of the Opposition who accompanied them—were perfectly unanimous in the declaration

that the opinion of the people in the Lower Provinces was against the elective principle. Under these circumstances it was believed that the nominative plan in some respects offered greater advantages than the elective principle, and it was decided that we should again revert to nomination by the Crown. It then became necessary to settle the number of members for the Upper House, and the more so because the Upper House was intended to be the means whereby certain local interests and local rights would be protected in the General Legislature. For this reason it was contended that, while the principle of representation by population might be properly enough extended to the Lower House, equality of territorial representation should be preserved in the Upper House; and it was proposed, in its formation, that the Confederation should be divided into three large districts, Upper Canada being one, Lower Canada another, and the Maritime Provinces the third. Newfoundland not having joined the preliminary Conference, arrangements were made for its coming in with the additional number of four members. With regard to the operation of the nominative plan for the Legislative Council for the purposes of protection, he might say that in his own view he would have been satisfied under the elective plan. He thought that so far as the interests were affected which he personally represented, they would have been able to return their fair share of representatives under the elective principle; but it would not become them to object to the nominative plan, because the members for the Upper House would be nominated by the Crown on the recommendation of the General Government. He might say it here, because it was said by everybody outside, that in the event of anything like injustice being attempted towards the British population of Lower Canada by their French Canadian fellow-subjects, they would most unquestionably look for remedy and redress at the hands of the General Government, who would have the power of causing their interests to be represented in the Upper House of the General Legislature. So far as regarded the interests of the French Canadian population, on the other hand, he thought there could be no question whatever that they might safely enough trust to their representatives in the Upper House being taken from amongst their best men, and in fair proportion to their numbers also. It was proposed that, in the case of Lower Canada, the selection should be made from the electoral limits which now existed, and he thought wisely so, because certain sections of the Province were more particularly inhabited by French Canadians and others by those of British origin; consequently there was a greater certainty that fairness would be meted out to both parties if the representatives in the Upper House were to be chosen from the electoral limits which now existed. It was intended that the first selection of Legislative Councillors should be made from the present Legislative Councils of the several Provinces; and without

referring to the reasons which actuated gentlemen from the Lower Provinces in regard to this matter, he thought it might be sufficient to point out that in Canada, where we had forty-eight gentlemen sitting in the Upper House by the right of election, it would have been doing a wrong, not merely to them individually, but to their constituents too, if they had from any cause been attempted to be overlooked. It was quite evident, even if no such clause had been inserted, that no attempt would have been made to pass over those gentlemen who had been selected by the people themselves as the most fit and proper persons to represent them in the Legislative Council. However, the arrangement was that they should be chosen, regard being held in that selection to the relative position of political parties. If the power of nomination were entrusted to the Government without restriction they might be inclined to appoint their own political friends, to the exclusion of the others; but it was intended that the nomination should be so made that not only the members composing the Government, but also the Opposition to the Government, should be fairly represented in the Legislative Council. So far as Canada was concerned there was no likelihood of difficulty arising on this point, because the coalition which was formed between the Liberal and Conservative parties would preclude any attempt calculated to injure the interests of either. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) In the case of the Lower Provinces the same reasons did not exist. Their governments were still party governments, and though they had associated with them, in the Conference which had taken place, the leaders of the Opposition, still the action to be taken would necessarily be the action of the governments of the Lower Provinces. It was therefore proposed that there should be a guarantee given that all political parties should be as nearly as possible fully represented. Passing now to the composition of the Lower House, the important change was to be made of basing representation therein upon Population. Now unless this were done, it was plain that Upper Canada would not, under any circumstances, have consented to be a party to the Union, since for many years it had been claiming additional representation as a matter of right, and would certainly not have entered a Confederation, unless a due share of control were given it over the expenditure and taxation to which it so largely contributed. The Lower Provinces at once acquiesced in this. Population was made the basis, and to prevent any undue augmentation in the numbers of the lower House of population increased, it was settled that there should be a fixed standard on which the numbers of the House should be calculated, and Lower Canada was selected as affording the proper basis. Although Lower Canada had not the largest, still it had a very large population, which was more equable in its increase than any of the others, not increasing on the one hand so fast as Upper Canada, or on the other hand so slowly as the

Lower Provinces, and the numbers of the House of Commons (for that was the name selected) would not be subject to such irregular variations as if the population of any of the other Provinces were taken as the basis. The House would never have less than 194 members; but it would increase at a very slow rate, as it would only be the greater increase of any Province over that of Lower Canada which would entitle it to additional representation, while, if the agricultural resources of Lower Canada became developed, and its mineral wealth explored, so that it increased faster than Upper Canada, then the number of representatives for Upper Canada would be diminished, not those for Lower Canada increased. Of course to provide for the settlement of the remote portions of the country which might be brought in from time to time, power was reserved to increase the number of members; but such members could only be increased preserving the relative proportions. One advantage which would flow from this was that while 194 or 200 members were certainly sufficient to carry on the business of the country, we should be spared the enormous expense which would be entailed upon us if the representatives were rapidly to grow up to 300 or perhaps 400 members. (Hear.) It was also proposed that the duration of Parliament should be extended from four to five years. The reason for adopting this course was that under our present system Parliaments seldom lasted longer than three years. In England, where their legal duration was seven years, it was found, on an examination of the records of the last sixty or seventy years, that the average length of each Parliament was only a trifle over four years. Now, repeated elections were not in themselves very desirable. What was desired was that elections and dissolutions of Parliament should take place with sufficient frequency to ensure that the representatives should truly represent the people. It was when doubt arose, either through a vote in Parliament, or some other cause, that the representatives did not truly represent the people, that a dissolution was really necessary, and it was thought in conference that no injury would arise from extending the duration of the General Parliaments from four to five years. Some change would have to be made in the duration of the local systems, and it was thought desirable that the term of existence of the General Legislature should be longer than any that could possibly be adopted for the local bodies. He now came to the consideration of the powers proposed to be given to the General Government, and amongst these would be found all that could in any way be considered of a public and general character. In the first place, it would have to deal with the public debt and all the means of sustaining the public credit. It would have the regulation of all the trade and commerce of the country, for besides that these were subjects in reference to which no local interest could exist, it was desirable that they should be dealt with throughout the Confederation on the same principles. The regulation of duties of

customs on imports and exports might perhaps be considered so intimately connected with the subject of trade and commerce as to require no separate mention in this place; he would however, allude to it, because one of the chief benefits expected to flow from the Confederation was the free interchange of the products of the labour of each Province, without being subjected to any fiscal burden whatever; and another was the assimilation of the tariffs. It was most important to see that no local legislature should by its separate action be able to put any such restrictions on the free interchange of commodities as to prevent the manufactures of the rest from finding a market in any one province, and thus from sharing in the advantages of the extended Union. (Hear.) One of the advantages to which we certainly had a right to look forward under the Union was that the credit of the whole country would be greater than that of any of its parts, and that the General Government would be able to obtain money on easier terms than any Province could on its own responsibility alone. Events were already beginning to show the truth of this statement, as would be seen if we looked at the marked advance in the price of our securities that had taken place within the last three or four weeks. According to official advice from England, since intelligence had reached that country of the probability of Union being effected here, our securities, which had been greatly depressed, had risen no less than 15 per cent., our 5 per cents. being now quoted at 90 to 92. (Applause.) That might be received as an indication of what the moneyed world conceived to be the greater security Canada would enjoy under a Union, and we might well accept it as an evidence of the propriety of the course we were now taking, when that which was the most sensitive of all interests—the public credit—was beneficially effected even by the intelligence of the meeting of the Colonial delegates. (Hear.) He might now refer generally to the subject of the Postal Service. If there was one branch of the public service which, more than another, should be under the control of the General Government, it was the Postal Service; and it had been agreed to leave it entirely in the hands of the General Government. Lines of steam or other ships, railways, as well as canals and other works connecting any two or more of the Provinces together, or extending beyond the limits of any Province, would be under the control of the General Government. It was, however, certainly desirable that all the works of a merely local character should be in the hands of the authorities of the Province within which they were situated. But in the case of such works as the Welland Canal, which though situated in Upper Canada, was, as regards the commerce of the country, equally pertaining to Lower Canada, they would not be regarded as local, and must be under the control of the General Government; while if any enlargement or improvement of such works had to be undertaken, it should not be at the charge of Upper Canada or the other Provinces so concerned,

but at that of the whole country, as the whole was benefited thereby. In fact he might say that lines of telegraph, railway, &c., and all works of an essentially general character, as distinguished from those merely local, were intended to be under the control of the General Government, who would administer them for the common interest. They would be put beyond the power of any local government to obstruct or interfere with, they being a means by which the trade and industry of the country at large would benefit. It would not be found possible in any part of the United Territory to offer objection to that which was in the common interest, simply on account of its being situated in any particular locality. The control of the militia was certainly a subject which they must all feel ought to be in the hands of one central power. If there was one thing more than another which required to be directed by one mind, governed by one influence and one policy, it was that which concerned the defence of the country. (Cheers.) It might be that Canada would be attacked at some time, or it might be Nova Scotia; but it was desirable that, on whatever part of the Confederacy the hostile foot was placed, the blow should be felt at every extremity of the country. (Cheers.) Every man in the United Provinces should feel that his own home was in danger though the attack were made a thousand miles away, and that every assistance should be rendered to the General Government in enabling it to resist aggression, from whatever quarter it may come. (Renewed cheers.) Therefore he thought they would all cordially agree with him that putting the defence of the country under the control of the General Government was a wise measure, and should, under any circumstances, receive approval. It must be remembered that, in coming into this Confederation, their means of defence would be greatly augmented. In Canada there was a large population available for the inland defence of the country; while in the Maritime Provinces there was a large sea-faring population, who, though not perhaps required for their own defence, would be available to strike a blow which might have the effect of withdrawing or weakening the hostile attack on Upper or Lower Canada. By a union with the Maritime Provinces we should be able to strike a blow on sea, and, like the glorious old Mother Country, carry our flag in triumph over the waters of the great ocean. (Enthusiastic cheers.) In addition to the military and naval service and defence, the General Government would legislate regarding beacons, buoys and light-houses, navigation and shipping, quarantine, sea-coast and inland fisheries, and all those subjects connected with the navigation of the country. Coming to another important class of questions, he would speak of the currency and coinage of the country. He thought it would be admitted by all that it was most desirable the currency of all the Provinces should be one. They had always been proud of the way in which Canadian currency had maintained its par value under circumstances of great difficulty. He hoped it would always

continue to do so. He was glad also to be able to say as to the other Provinces, there had never been a blot or stigma cast upon their commercial honour. It was desirable the General Government should have the control of the medium through which the trade and commerce of the country was carried on, and that in the establishment of banks, the issue of paper money, and in offering to the public the paper representative of their labour, in whatever part of the country, there should be the same legislative security for the people in every section. He therefore believed that, in giving to the General Government control of banking, currency, coinage, and the issue of paper money, and the regulation of savings' banks, representing the savings and accumulated industry of the poorest portion of the people—which ought to be made as safe as possible—the Conference had done wisely, and he was sure their conclusion was one that would receive the sanction and approval of the people of all parties in the British North American Provinces. (Cheers.) The question of the rate of interest on money was one which had caused a great deal of discussion in this country; it was one in which all had an interest, and was so intimately connected with the subjects just named, that it naturally fell within the scope of the general authority. The settlement of the subject of bankruptcy and insolvency, the adjustment of claims between debtor and creditor, were matters in which all had a common interest, and the administration in regard to them could be better entrusted to the General Legislature than to any local body whatever. (Cheers.) The protection of the Indians, and the naturalization of aliens were matters which necessarily fell to the General Government. There ought clearly to be the same law enabling foreigners as well as citizens to enjoy property and devise it to their children. With regard to aliens, it was clear our object in future must be to attract hither population from foreign countries. We had, and he hoped would continue to possess, a very liberal alien law by which strangers coming into this country might feel they were placed on the same footing as the subjects of Her Majesty as early as possible; and in framing a union of the Provinces, it was desirable that whatever might be the inducement that brought foreigners hither, whether a desire to embark in the fisheries of Newfoundland, in the Lumbering of New Brunswick, or in the agricultural and manufacturing industries of Upper or Lower Canada, we should hold out to them the utmost facilities for becoming subjects of the British Crown here. (Cheers.) He had now, somewhat too briefly, perhaps, endeavoured to go over the machinery and the powers with which the General and the Local Governments were expected to work, and it became necessary that he should say a few words as to the extent of the liabilities and assets of the partnership into which they were about to enter. In that respect there had not as yet been very much information given to the public, and he proposed now to submit a statement of the liabilities of the several Provinces, of their income and expenditure,

and generally of the resources which would be at the disposal of the Confederation, should it be brought about. First, he would refer to the respective debts of the Provinces, and as a great deal of dispute had arisen occasionally with reference to the amount of our public debt, he would take this opportunity of giving a statement of the liabilities of Canada, as made up by the Auditor-General, with a view to this question of Confederation. This unquestionable and reliable document, he might say, contained a statement not merely of the Debenture Debt of Canada, that due to the public creditor abroad, and covered by bonds and other securities, but all other engagements, such as that for the Seigniorial Tenure, which was one of the largest. Though we were not obliged to pay the capital of that debt, still we were obliged to pay the interest, and for the purpose of considering our position in the Confederation, it was necessary to capitalize it, or to consider it as capitalized. The Debenture Debt of Canada, direct and indirect, on the 1st January last, amounted to \$65,238,649; miscellaneous liabilities, \$64,426; Indian Fund, \$1,577,802; Banking accounts, exclusive of Crown Lands, \$3,396,982; Seigniorial Tenure—capital to Seignors, \$2,899,711; chargeable on Municipalities Fund, \$196,719; on account of Jesuits' Estates, \$140,271; indemnity to Townships, \$891,500; total Seigniorial Tenure, \$4,118,202. The aggregate of these amounts was \$74,396,063. On the other hand we had a Sinking Fund, \$4,883,177; and cash and bank account, exclusive of Crown Lands, \$2,248,821: together, \$7,132,068. Making the net liabilities of the Province, on the 1st January last, \$67,263,994. Besides that we had, as the property of Upper and Lower Canada, what was known as the Common School Fund, representing a balance of \$1,181,958, which could not be properly considered a liability of the Province, and might be done away with to-morrow if the Legislature thought proper. The Act setting apart that Fund was, indeed, so singularly worded, that it could not become useful for the purpose of supporting education for the next hundred years. For the Fund to be made in any way useful, the Act would have to be altered. But, as he had stated, the net liabilities of Canada were \$67,263,994. The liabilities of Nova Scotia, deducting cash in hand, were on the 1st January last \$4,858,547. Those of New Brunswick, \$5,702,991. Those of Newfoundland, \$946,000. And those of Prince Edward Island, \$240,673. The aggregate debts of the whole Provinces on the 1st January last—and they had not increased since, but had rather diminished—were \$79,012,205. Now, in the scheme of Confederation, it was proposed that there should be a certain fixed rate at which each Province should have the right of charging its debts against the Confederation, and for that purpose the debt of Canada was placed at \$62,500,000, which was something like five millions less than the nominal amount of the net debt. The mode in which that reduction was made was

this. There were certain liabilities of Canada contracted for local purposes, and certain assets connected with those liabilities. He referred more particularly to the Municipal Loan Fund, and some similar matters which were more local than general. It had not been thought desirable that a transference of those securities should be made to the General Government. It was better that each Province should assume that portion of its debt which was particularly local, and take with it those securities which it held for its redemption. And in that way there was established for the debt of Canada an amount equal per head to the amounts contributed or about to be contributed by the two Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. If any of these Provinces had been in debt to an amount largely exceeding that of the others per head, the matter would have been in a different position. But it was found on examination, that while the debt of Canada might be reduced by the mode he had stated to \$62,500,000—as nearly as possible \$25 per head—Nova Scotia, in addition to her debt, had incurred certain liabilities for the completion of the railway system within that Province, for which she had undertaken engagements amounting to three millions of dollars, which would bring up her debt to eight millions, or \$25 per head also; while New Brunswick, for the construction of her railways, had engagements incurred and liabilities maturing which amounted to \$1,300,000, bringing up her debt to seven millions—a fraction per head slightly above that of Nova Scotia and Canada. Thus, by assuming the local liabilities and assets, we were enabled to put the debt of Canada at the same rate per head as those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and therefore, as regarded the three larger Provinces, the assumption of their debts by the General Government did not offer any difficulty whatever. In the case of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island it was different. Those Provinces, from their insular position, had not been required to incur the same large obligations for public works. They possessed, fortunately for themselves, easy access to all their settlements by water, or by very short distances of land carriage, and consequently had not been called on to construct canals, or to introduce a railway system. Accordingly, the debts of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were found to be much less, in proportion to their population, than those of the others. To place them on a par with Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, it therefore became necessary to give them an indemnity for the amount of debt which they had not incurred; because, in assuming their revenues, we called upon them to contribute to the payment of the interest on the debt which we had incurred, and we could not fairly expect them to do so unless they were in some measure indemnified for it. And it was found that, in taking this course, we were enabled to get over one great difficulty which had met us, which was that those particular Provinces possessed no local reve-

nues, and that in charging them with the administration of their Local Governments, and taking from them the revenue from Customs and Excise, we should leave the Governments of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island without any means whatever of discharging their liabilities. With regard to Newfoundland, he might remark that the people in that Colony being, in regard to agriculture, altogether consumers, and not producers, because they were a fishing and maritime population, the amount of dutiable goods they consumed was about double per head what it was here. They would, therefore, in the shape of Customs' duties, be contributing to the Confederation a larger proportion than properly belonged to them, and accordingly it was arranged that for the amount of debt which they had not incurred, up to \$25 per head, they should be allowed interest, for the purpose of meeting their local payments and providing for their local wants. He might remark, while upon this point, that in addition to the liabilities to which he had referred, there was the question of the Intercolonial Railway. This was one which must unquestionably be considered as most intimately associated with the carrying out of the Confederation, and it was indeed plain that no political union could take place between the Provinces unless they had means of communicating with each other. Although the construction of this railway might, perhaps, be more advantageous, as to its local effects, to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia than even to Lower Canada—without question more advantageous than to Upper Canada—yet as a means by which the Union was to be accomplished, and by which alone it could be brought about, there was an interest belonging to it which could not be attached to it so long as the Provinces remained separate. In the case of the Lower Provinces, the completion of the Intercolonial Railway by the General Government would be less burdensome than if it were done by them alone. They would have been entering upon a large and expensive undertaking with but a small population, and it would undoubtedly have borne more heavily upon their resources; but, as he would in a few moments have occasion to shew, the effect of their union with Canada would be to increase the duties to which they were subject, so that but for the larger share of the railway expenditure, to be borne by Canada, they would have had a larger portion of the burden than if they had undertaken the railway without at the same time going into the Union and subjecting themselves to increased duties of Customs and Excise. We therefore obtained the Intercolonial Railway on terms equitable alike to Canada and the Lower Provinces. (Hear.) In referring to the Intercolonial Railway, he would take occasion to remark that the public debts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had been almost entirely incurred for the construction of railways. There were in operation in those two Provinces upwards of two hundred miles of railway belonging to the Governments, for the

policy they had pursued had not been to construct railways by means of encouragement to private companies, but to build them as Public Works. He thought indeed they were beginning to regret this policy, and see that it would have been better if they had procured the requisite capital by other means. But in assuming the debts of these Provinces, the Confederation would of course become at the same time the possessor of their railways, and out of the 200 miles of railroad there were over 100 miles, he might even say there were nearly 200 miles, that would become available in connection with the Intercolonial Road. He would now proceed to state to the meeting some matters connected with the expenditures and revenues of the Provinces last year, 1863, and to give an idea founded on the information he had received from the members of the Conference of what they were likely to be in 1864, for the near approach of the end of this year rendered it possible to state, without the risk of serious error, what the figures would be. First, as to 1863; in that year we found the revenues and expenditures to be as follows:—

## NOVA SCOTIA.

Revenue .....	\$1,185,629
Expenditure .....	1,072,274

Showing a balance in its favour.

## NEW BRUNSWICK.

Revenue .....	\$899,991
Expenditure .....	884,613

Also showing a balance in its favour.

## NEWFOUNDLAND.

Revenue .....	\$480,000
Expenditure .....	479,420

The gentlemen coming from Newfoundland had not brought the latest returns with them, so that the Conference had to take the figures of a previous year.

## PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Revenue .....	\$197,384
Expenditure .....	171,718

So that for the whole of the Maritime Provinces we had an aggregate

Income .....	\$2,763,004
Outlay .....	2,608,025

Showing a surplus of no less than \$154,979. It was therefore apparent that we were not going into a partnership with Colonies which required our support in a financial point of view. They had always been able to pay their own way, and they were well able to pay their own way now. They even brought into the public ex-

chequer an amount per head greater than we should contribute ourselves, and this because they were a more consuming people than we. In Canada, he was sorry to say, that in 1863, instead of a surplus there was a deficiency—a deficiency of \$982,491, nearly a million of dollars. It was indeed true the deficiency had been made up and more than made up in 1864, and he was happy to have this opportunity of stating that the revenue of Canada for the present year would be considerably in excess of the outlay, even without taking into consideration the additional taxation the legislature imposed at its last session. (Hear.) The Customs revenue alone would show an increase over last year of nearly a million and a half—a fact which would fortunately place us in the position of not being obliged to go into the Confederation with a deficiency, while our sister Provinces were going in with a surplus. (Cheers.) The revenues of the other Provinces had largely increased in 1864, and their united surplus would be considerably greater. Without looking at the new Canadian taxes, which were only now beginning to be productive, we found the following to be the increase of revenue in 1864 as over 1863:—

Canada .....	\$1,500,000
New Brunswick .....	100,000
Nova Scotia.....	100,000
	<hr/>
	\$1,700,000

The Totals of the Provinces for 1864 would be:—

Total Revenues (about) .....	\$14,223,000
„ Outlay .....	13,350,800

Thus there would be a surplus of nearly a million of dollars above the expenditure of all descriptions. (Loud cheers.) Now it was necessary to provide by some means for maintaining certain local expenditures of the various Provinces. There were the public works to be kept in order, the educational institutions to be maintained, the systems of civil law to be administered, and there were a variety of other claims to be attended to, which would naturally suggest themselves at once to any one who reflected on the subject. For this purpose it was found necessary to assign them certain local revenues, of which the territorial revenues formed the bulk. These local revenues amounted, in 1863, in the Maritime Provinces to the following sums:

Nova Scotia.....	\$197,000
New Brunswick .....	89,000
Prince Edward Island ....	32,000
Newfoundland.....	5,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$233,000

These were the revenues that would not be transferred to the General Government, but would be disposed of by the Local Governments, for local purposes. In the case of Upper and Lower Canada together, and he preferred taking them together, since it was for the Legislature and not for him to indicate what the several liabilities of Upper and Lower Canada respectively were, in the case of Upper and Lower Canada unitedly, these local revenues amounted to \$1,297,043. Now one objection to confederation was made on the ground of expense, and in order to meet this, every effort has been made to reduce the cost of the local governments, so that the local machinery should be as little costly as possible, for it would not do to affront the intelligence of the people, and tell them we had devised an expensive kind of machinery to do a very insignificant amount of work. The gentlemen from the Lower Provinces had been asked what reductions they could make in the government of the several colonies, and the figures he was about to give would be most satisfactory as showing the disposition of those gentlemen, who had reduced their requirements to the lowest sum. In her estimate of outlay for 1864 for objects of local character the Province of Nova Scotia had provided for an expenditure of no less than \$667,000, but had undertaken to perform the same service in future under a confederation at \$371,000, or a reduction of 40 per cent. The expenditure of New Brunswick in 1864 for the same objects was estimated at \$404,000. From causes explained at the time and shown to be satisfactory, she proposed to reduce the expenditure to \$353,000, and at the same time undertook within ten years to make a further reduction of \$63,000, making a total reduction to \$290,000. Prince Edward Island would reduce her expenditure from \$170,000 to \$124,000, and Newfoundland from \$479,000 to \$350,000. In regard to Upper and Lower Canada he would not undertake to say what reduction would be made; but he could show that under the scheme proposed they would have the means of limiting the present outlay which was, taking the average of the last four years, \$2,021,979. Besides that there would be an additional item brought against them for the interest on the excess of their debt over that of the other Provinces, making their full local charges \$2,260,149, which was the present outlay of Canada for works which would not become a charge under a confederation. The outlay of all the provinces being however greater than their local revenues it became necessary to make provision out of the General Fund for the purpose of enabling their Local Legislatures to carry on the machinery of Government. It was proposed to take away from them every source of revenue they possessed except minor local revenues, and then to give them from the public chest a sufficient subsidy to enable the machinery to work. The estimate was formed on the wants of Nova Scotia. It was at first proposed to form it on the wants of New

Brunswick, but these were found greater than those of the former, which had consequently been taken as the basis. The estimate was that 80 cents a head on the population of Nova Scotia would be sufficient to enable her to work her local system. She would want \$264,000. In the case of Upper Canada, 80 cents a head was considerably more than she wanted at the present day, and in the case of Lower Canada was at least adequate with the present local funds that would become available to her. But it was felt that in giving a subsidy from the public chest it was impossible to draw a distinction between one part of the country and another. But it was not intended to hold out any inducement to future extravagance to local Governments, but it was hoped that by the operation of natural causes such a check would be put upon expenditures as would bring them down to the lowest point, or at least prevent them from becoming lavish. Therefore the subsidy proposed to be given to local legislatures was fixed, not at an increasing rate according to population, but at the rate which existed at the census of 1861. By this means, as the population increased, the subsidy would not increase with it. Upper and Lower Canada would thus get within a fraction of two million dollars, and when their population increased to five millions instead of two-and-a-half, would get no more. If they increased their expenses in proportion to the growth of population they would be obliged to resort to direct taxation; and he thought they might trust the people themselves to keep a sharp watch over the local Governments lest they should resort to direct taxation. He thought no surer check could be put upon them than thus fixing the grants they were respectively to receive. (Hear, and cheers.) To put the position of the several Provinces into one view, taking the basis of 1864, and assuming that as the basis of the Confederation, were it to take place to-day or on the 1st of January next, the several Provinces united would possess a revenue of \$14,230,000 : from which they would have to disburse \$1,530,043; and would also have to give as a subsidy to the Provinces \$3,056,849. Therefore, there would remain available for the purposes of the Confederation \$9,643,108. The expenditure of all these Provinces amounted, in 1864, to \$12,507,591, of which for local outlay there were no less than \$3,954,212, which would be assumed in consideration of receiving the subsidy and local revenues. Thus the expenditure would be reduced, as charged upon the general revenue, to \$8,553,379, or \$1,100,000 less than the amount that would in 1864 be available for the purposes of the Confederation. He thought this statement was one which would be received as satisfactory in regard to the proposed co-partnership they were about to enter into. In the present state of affairs we found that by uniting all our means, and taking out all wanted for local purposes, there would be left for the General Government upwards of a million and a quarter

dollars over and above our present expenditure. Considering this they might hope that in bringing the General Administration of the country under one Government, there would be a certain amount of economy effected, and an additional efficiency imparted to the Government. It might be true they would be obliged to incur some expenditure in keeping up Local Legislatures, and he was not prepared to deny that; but at the same time they might reasonably hope that when there was taken from them a large share of the subjects previously legislated upon, and putting under one head what was now done under five or six different heads, an economy would be effected; but without making any allowance for what would be achieved in this way, they would have means to meet all the demands for 1864, and have a respectable surplus over. That brought him to a very important point as to whether Confederation would produce increased taxation, of which apprehensions were entertained. In the first place the existing taxation in all the Provinces would have provided more than one million dollars over and above the public demand; but at the same time it was quite true that in a Confederation they would have to incur certain liabilities, such as for the Intercolonial Railway, and for the completion of works now in progress in the Lower Provinces. It must be plain that as the revenue raised by the Colonies under present tariffs was more than sufficient, if we were to raise the tariffs of all the Provinces to that of Canada we should have much more revenue than we required. In the case of the Lower Provinces the average tariff was about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and where they now collected duties to about two and a half million dollars, under a higher tariff like that of Canada at least three million dollars would be raised. Therefore, to make adequate provision for all the wants of the country, they need not bring up their tariffs, but we might reduce ours; and in the raising of duties it would be practicable to find a medium of taxation between the averages of 10 and 20 per cent., which would be sufficient to meet the wants of the country. (Cheers.) He must apologise to the meeting for having detained them so long, but would only keep them a few minutes longer while closing the remarks to which he had invited them to listen. He had gone over the principal points which were arranged by the Conference at Quebec, and what he now felt called upon to advert to was the mode in which those proceedings were likely to affect our respective populations. It was quite plain that to secure the support of the community at large to any scheme of this kind, it was necessary that they should be satisfied that no injustice would be done by the mode in which it was to be worked out. It was perhaps impossible to argue against or to meet mere vague apprehensions. But at the same time we must feel that there were certain subjects, the dealing with which by the General or the Local Governments might be supposed to bring some danger to the institutions which we indi-

vidually and locally might feel most interested in. He referred, of course, generally to the position, first, of our French Canadian friends in Lower Canada, and then of the British population of Lower Canada. For, in reality, the difficulty of dealing with this question was to be found in the fears and apprehensions of these two populations; and it was a fortunate thing, as we were obliged to meet a difficulty of that kind, that we had for so many years got on with so much harmony together—that, if apprehensions existed they could not be shown to be founded on acts of hostility by one part of our community against another part—that, if there was an apprehension, it was an apprehension of wrong in the future, not a bitter recollection of wrong in the past. For over twenty-five years harmony had reigned in Lower Canada, and the British and French Canadian populations had felt they could go hand in hand in promoting the common interests of the country. What was wanted now was to maintain that feeling of confidence, to show that no wrong was thought of by one or the other. The truth was that while the French Canadian population must look to our support in the General Legislature for the protection of their rights—while they must look to us as Lower Canadians, to stand shoulder by shoulder with them for the protection of their rights in the General Legislature—we in the Local Legislature should demand that no wrong should be attempted against us. If it should be otherwise, the result would be most disastrous to those who attempted it. A minority so large as the French minority would be in the General Legislature could not be affronted without danger, and such a minority as the British minority of Lower Canada, conspicuous for its wealth and intelligence, though not so much for its numbers, could not be outraged without important results following that would bring their own remedy with them. He therefore felt that, in taking his position in the Conference, he was charged, not altogether with the simple duty of a representative of the British portion of the population of Lower Canada, but he felt that he equally represented his French Canadian friends; and his conviction was that, instead of there being any clashing and division of interest, they would be found in the future more closely bound together than ever before. It would be found that the effect of the combination of all the Provinces would be to benefit Lower Canada, not French Lower Canada or British Lower Canada—but the whole of Lower Canada—by giving it the position of being the commercial heart of the country—that that position we should share together, and that anything which tended to damage that position would be fatal to the interests both of the one and of the other. (Hear, hear.) He thought our material interests would have to govern us in this respect. He felt that those interests respecting which apprehensions existed on the part of his countrymen, could not be assailed by the French Canadian population, if they should be so unwise as to

think of such a thing, without retribution falling upon them in consequence of the action taken by the outraged population on other matters in the General Legislature or even in the Local Legislatures. It could not be. Their interests could not be severed. They would live together, as they now did in this town of Sherbrooke, happily and well. They had done so, and he hoped they would continue to do so, by taking special care that they should not outrage each other's feelings. In this way he hoped we should overcome any apprehensions which might exist. But at the same time it was well that, so far as might be, we should make provision against the possibility of wrong. If security were taken that wrong could not be done on the one side or the other, then there was less chance of its being attempted. Instead of having to remedy an injury, we should prevent it. And to speak more particularly with regard to the British population of Lower Canada, he would remark that, in the General Government they could have nothing to fear. Their race would of course be the dominant race in the General Parliament, and, consequently, he might say, in the General Government. Their interests would be safe there. The interests of trade and commerce, those in which they felt more particularly concerned, which concerned the merchants of Montreal and Quebec, would be in the hands of a body where they could have no fear that any adverse race or creed could affect them. All those subjects would be taken out of the category of local questions, would be taken away from the control of those who might be under the influence of sectional feelings animated either by race or religion, and would be placed in the hands of a body where, if the interests of any class could be expected to be secure, surely it would be those of the British population of Lower Canada. Hear, hear.) With regard to the position they would occupy in the local Legislature there were two or three questions in which they must feel very great interest, and in which they might fear that hostile action might be taken toward them, if such an unwise course should be attempted by their French Canadian fellow subjects. He would refer first to the question of Emigration and Lands. No doubt here in the Eastern Townships it had been felt by many that possibly, in leaving the lands in the hands of the local governments, some rules might be made which would restrict the occupation of those lands to their French Canadian friends solely. So far as his experience went, we had always been delighted to see our wild lands settled by French Canadians. They had gone in like the rest of the people and bought the lands they occupied. With regard to the public domain it was clear that no distinction could be drawn by the Local Legislatures. It was possible they might adopt the unwise policy of putting on a price which would prevent any from buying, but, if the land was exposed to sale, it must be as open to one race as the other. In some respects he might have preferred, not in the

interests of Lower Canada, but in the interests of the whole country, to have seen them at the disposal of the General Government. But circumstances prevented that—not the position of Lower Canada, but the great importance attached to the public domain by the Upper Canadians, and in the case also of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by their respective Governments and people, who were determined to have control of their own lands. Though he thought the general interest might have been promoted, if we could have gone to Europe and put one comprehensive scheme of colonization and emigration before the world at large, that was prevented now, and all we could hope for was, that such wise measures might be adopted by the Local Legislatures as would have the same results. While it was necessary to leave in the hands of the Local Parliaments and Governments the power of determining the rates or terms on which lands might be obtained by emigrants when they reached us, or when the natural increase of our own population required our young men to take up lands in the back country, he did not think it should be apprehended that the Local Governments would adopt any policy which would check that which was manifestly for the interest of the community at large. Whatever policy were adopted, whether a wise or a foolish one, must be a policy applying equally to all. No distinction could be drawn with reference to nationality or creed among those who went upon the Crown domain to buy lands. He did hope and trust that Lower Canada would set an example of liberality, in regard to the disposal of her lands—which he was satisfied was her true policy—and especially in regard to her mineral lands, which were now exciting so much attention, and he hoped it would be the case that Lower Canada, in seeking to dispose of her lands, would look rather to the advantage of having an industrious population settled upon them, than to the direct pecuniary benefit she might get from their sale. In conclusion, he would remark that the political necessities of Canada seemed to render a measure of union of all the provinces of British North America necessary in itself. He thought that those who examined the subject would find that the federative plan must be adopted. He thought also that it contained within itself the truest protection of all our interests; and that looking at the scheme merely from a material point of view, the co-partnership was one that was fair to all parties and interests. Now, believing this to be the case, he would say that while they believed they had framed a new system of confederation that would meet fully the wants and necessities of our people, they had certainly tried to devise such a system as would contain within itself the germ of unity and not of disunion; they had, he trusted, avoided the evils and errors in the constitution of their Government which were now proving the wreck of the United States; so that in the future they would find the system they were trying to inaugurate a basis of unity among the people,

unity of government making the people more and more homogeneous till at length they might at no distant day be enabled to do away with those artificial boundaries which separated one province from another, and come together as one united people. (Loud Cheers.) It was very probable we might not live to see that day, because it would take a long time to outgrow prejudices and sectionalism, and those trammels which had grown up, leading to mistaken judgments and estimates of our fellow men; but still he believed that the principle laid down that the administration of the affairs of all should be based upon the principles of common justice, would in the end produce a perfect union of all. He was convinced that under such a system the people of the different provinces would become one in every respect, instead of being now merely the inhabitants of different sections—instead of being Nova Scotians, Canadians, etc.,—they would all be the subjects of one great nation. (Loud cheers.) He could not help for a moment adverting to the great future before us. Resting with our back to the icy regions of the North—with the finest river in the world passing through the centre of our land, who could predict our future power and greatness? (Renewed cheers.) True we should have a foreign frontier, but the movement now taking place appeared to be bringing forth more friendly sentiments on the part of our friends to the South, who were discussing the subject in a favorable spirit. And he believed that anything which had a tendency to promote that friendly feeling ought to meet their hearty support and concurrence. (Cheers.) They had seen a degree of mistrust growing up on the part of their American friends which they must try and remove if they could. They were bound to show them in all relations every justice, but at the same time they were also bound by the higher duty to themselves to regard with jealous care their own rights and interests, and should their soil ever be desecrated by a foreign foe to hurl back the enemy and defend their constitution and laws with every energy at their command. (Loud cheers.) Let us come together as one people and be united in one firm front to work in conjunction with the great empire to which we belonged, to labour for the general good. (Applause.) Let it not be said longer that Canada was unable or unwilling to do more in her own self-defence—let us fling back that reproach, and in dealing with that subject let it be known that we did our whole duty with the determination to discharge the liabilities of a nation devolving upon us. (Cheers.) Let it be our pride to do so; let it not be said that we were so selfish or mean-spirited that, while willing to enjoy the benefits and privileges of our favored situation, we were unwilling to pay their cost or fight for them. (Cheers.) In coming forward as we were obliged to do from the necessities of the case, to consider a remedy for our own evils, it was hoped the public mind of Canada would approve the remedy now proposed. We had tried and found, he

believed, a remedy for our own difficulties—not in disunion, not in severing the tie between Upper and Lower Canada, but by including in one bond all the British North American Provinces, which had all a common allegiance and a common interest. And instead of remaining separate as we had done for the last 24 years, let us go forward with a million more fellow-colonists standing at our side in the struggle for national existence; and whatever might betide, he trusted the people of Canada, as well as those of the other British North American Colonies, would be worthy of the great interests confided to them, and never be found backward in defending them, no matter from what quarter danger might arise. (Prolonged cheers.)

At another Meeting held in the Eastern Townships shortly after the Sherbrooke banquet, the HON. MR. MCGEE availed himself of the opportunity of making a few remarks on the all-absorbing topic, the Confederation of the Provinces. He said:

At the start, I cannot but congratulate the people of all the Provinces on the fortunate conjunction of circumstances which makes this the best possible time for a searching examination and a thorough overhuling of our political system. When I as in the Eastern Provinces last summer—when the Conferences were still a thing to come—I appealed on behalf of the project to the press and the public there, that it should not be prejudged, and I must say I think a very great degree of forbearance and good feeling was manifested in this respect. But I should be sorry, speaking for myself, now that the stage of intelligent discussion has been reached, now that we have got something before us to discuss, that such a vast scheme should pass, if that were possible, *sub silentio*. So far from deprecating discussion now, I should welcome it, for there could not be, there never can be, a more propitious time for such a discussion than the present. (Cheers.) Under the mild sway of a sovereign, whose reign is coincident with responsible government in these Colonies—a sovereign whose personal virtues have rendered monarchical principles respectable even to those who prefer abstractedly the republican system—with peace and prosperity at present within our borders—we are called on to consider what further constitutional safeguards we need to carry us on for the future in the same path of peaceable progression. And never, surely, gentlemen, did the wide field of American public life present so busy and so instructive a prospect to the thoughtful observer as in this same good year of grace, 1864. Overlooking all minor details, what do we find—the one prevailing and all but universal characteristic of American politics in those days? Is it not that “Union” is at this moment throughout the entire new world, the *mot d'ordre* of States and statesmen? If we look to the far South, we perceive a Congress of Central American States endeavouring to recover their lost unity; if we draw down

to Mexico, we perceive her new Emperor endeavouring to establish his throne upon the basis of union; if we come farther North, we find eleven States battling for a new Union, and twenty-five on the other side battling to restore the old Union. (Cheers.) The New World has evidently had new lights, and all its States and statesmen have at last discovered that liberty without unity is like rain in the desert, or rain upon granite—it produces nothing, it sustains nothing, it profiteth nothing. (Cheers.) From the bitter experience of the past, the Confederate States have seen the wisdom, among other things, of giving their Ministers seats in Congress, and extending the tenure of executive office fifty per cent. beyond the old United States period; from bitter experience, also, the most enlightened, and what we may consider the most patriotic among the Mexicans, desiring to establish the inviolability of their executive as the foundation of all stable government, have not hesitated to import, not “a little British Prince,” but an Austrian Archduke, a descendant of their ancient kings, as a tonic to their shattered Constitution. Now, gentlemen, all this American experience, Northern, Southern, and Central, is as accessible to us as to the electors of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Davis, or the subjects of the Emperor Maximilian; it lies before us, an open volume, and invites us to well read, mark, and digest its contents. (Cheers.) It was with a view to contribute my mite at the present stage of the discussion, that I accepted Mr. Pope’s kind invitation, and am now here to offer you as clear a view as I can put into words, of the process of reasoning and observation by which those who composed the late Conferences arrived at the decisions at which they have arrived, in relation to the constitution and powers of the General and Local Governments in the future Confederation. (Hear, hear.) I will take as an instance of the irrationality of such an argument—the particular question, the great test question remaining between Canada and England; the question of defence. (Hear, hear.) The future General Government has reserved to itself, saving the sovereignty of England, the control of our militia and military expenditure. Every one can see that a war between England and the United States would be largely a naval war, and such a naval war as the ocean has never before seen,—(Hear, hear)—a war that would interest and stir the heart of England even beyond the pitch that made her staid merchants astonish Lloyd’s in 1813, with “three times three cheers,” when they heard that the “Shannon” had fought and captured, and carried the “Chesapeake” a prize into Halifax harbour. (Cheers.) Suppose, then, in the event of an invasion of our soil, either in Upper Canada or Lower Canada—suppose that a flotilla was needed on the St. Lawrence, or on Lake Ontario; that England could spare us the gun-boats, but not the skilled seamen; would it be no advantage to Canada to have the 30,000 Atlantic sailors of the Lower Provinces, to call upon for

their contingent to such a service? No doubt the empire would call on them now, but unless it restored the press-gang it could not make them come. But if by our Union we gave that valuable class of men the feeling of common country; if by the intercourse and commerce which must follow on our Union, that feeling grew to the strength of identity, we would have all the help of that description—drawn from what my colleague Mr. Cartier calls the Maritime element—for the asking. (Cheers.) The Imperial Power having conceded to all the North-American Colonies responsible government can only secure their co-operation, even in military measures, through those several separate governments. (Hear, hear.) Every one can see at a glance how much the Imperial Power, and we ourselves would gain in any emergency—if there were but two Governments instead of six to be consulted—how much in promptitude, in decision, in time, in unanimity, and in effectiveness. I need not enlarge I am sure, on so self-evident a proposition as this; the man that will not see it, will not, that is all I need add on that score. (Laughter.) It has, indeed, been asserted by the sceptics in our work that all our theories of a closer commercial intercourse are chimerical; and yet, oddly enough, these are the very same people who think a commercial union would “secure all the benefits” of this chimerical prospect. (Laughter.) Well, I will not meet assertion by assertion, but I will answer a conjecture by a fact. At the very time the Member for Hochelaga was issuing his rather inconsistent declaration against a political union as among other reasons, wholly unprofitable in a commercial point of view—and in favour of a commercial union as all that was to be desired in itself—at that moment, the first steamship, laden with breadstuffs, direct from Montreal to Newfoundland, was dropping down the St. Lawrence, as a result of the partial and brief intercourse brought about between the two communities, through our Conference at Quebec. That is a fact not very important in itself, perhaps, but very indicative of the possible usefulness of Union in a commercial point of view. (Cheers.) I may mention another fact: while we were lying in Charlottetown harbour last September, our attention was called to the arrival of a fine ocean-going steamship—one of a regular line between Boston and Prince Edward Island. The Boston people find the trade of that rich little Island worth cultivating, and they do it; they know where there is a produce and where there is a market, and they establish a line of steamers to run there; yet I am sure they sell nothing to the Islanders, which we, at third the distance, could not just as well supply them with, from Quebec or Montreal. (Cheers.) I repeat, however, I will not argue so plain a point, with Provinces like ours, as that union is strength, is reputation, is credit, is security. I will just give one other illustration on this last head, and then I will drop the topic where it is; the security for peace which a large political organiza-

tion has over a small one, lies not only in its greater interests and disposable force, but in this other consideration, that the aggressor must risk or lose the benefit of much larger transactions, in attacking a larger than in assailing a smaller State. If, for example, in our system of defence—in addition to all the Imperial Government could do for us—if we could, by our joint representative action, be sure to shut up the River St. John upon the people of Maine—to exclude from the Gulf the fishermen of Massachusetts—to withhold from the hearths and furnaces of New England the coal of Cape Breton—no man can question but that we would wield several additional means of defence, not now at the command of Canada. And so with the Lower Provinces, if their statesmen could wield our arms and our resources in addition to their own, does any sane man pretend that would not be an immense gain to them? (Hear, hear.) I may be told again the Imperial Government can do all this for us, if they will; I repeat that the Imperial Government alone can neither do any of these things so promptly, so fully, nor with so little trespass on our responsible Governments, as an united Legislature could, through an united public force, with the aid of a Federal treasury. I really, gentlemen, ought to beg your pardon—and I do so—for dwelling so long on the truism that union is, in our case, strength; but as the first proposition to which we all agreed at the first Conference, I thought I would give some explanation why we had unanimously arrived at that result. (Cheers.) Another objector opposes our project because Colonial Union is inconsistent with Imperial connection. Well, to that, we might answer that we are quite willing to leave it to the statesmen of the Empire themselves, to decide that point. If England does not find it so, I think we may safely assume it is not so. And, in point of fact, the Imperial Parliament several years ago decided the question when they passed the New Zealand Constitutional Act, establishing six or seven Local Governments, under one General Government, in that Colony. (Cheers.) Still another objector contends that the complement of Federalism is Republicanism, because most of the States with which we are familiar as Federal States, are also Republics. But this objection is by no means unanswerable. It is true Switzerland is a Republic in the sense of having no hereditary head, but the United Netherlands, when a Confederacy, were not a Republic in that sense; it is true the United States and Mexico, and the Argentine Federations were all Republicans in basis and theory; but it is also true that the German Confederation is, and has always been, predominantly monarchical. There might be half as many varieties of Federal Governments, as there are States or Provinces in the world; there may be aristocratic Federations, like the Venetians—or monarchical, like the German—or democratic, like the United States; the only definition which really covers the whole species of Governments of this

description is, the political Union of States of dissimilar size and resources, to secure their external protection and internal tranquillity. These are the two main objects of all Confederacies of States, on whatever principles governed, locally or unitedly; Federalism is a political copartnership; which may be, and has been formed by Monarchists, Aristocrats, and Democrats, Pagans, and Christians, under the most various circumstances, and in all periods of human history. (Cheers.) There may be almost as many varieties of Confederation as of Companies, in private and social life; we say, with propriety too, the company at the hotel, or the Company who own the hotel; but the organization of each is widely different. Our Federation will be British; it will be of the fourth-class of Lord Coke's division, *de mutui auxilii*—for mutual aid. The only element in it not British is the sectional equality provided for in the Upper House, a principle which is known to be alike applicable to the democratic Confederation next us, and the monarchical Confederation of Germany.

The hon. gentleman then proceeded to give an outline of the scheme agreed upon for the Confederation of the British North-American Provinces, and which was warmly approved of by the meeting, but as we understand that the recent speeches of Mr. McGEE are shortly to be published in this country, we refrain from quoting him further.

We come now to the speeches of the delegates of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, delivered before their constituents on their return from their Canadian tour. A great mass meeting was held at Halifax on the 9th December, to afford the opportunity to the delegates of expressing their views on the subject of colonial union. After a few preliminary observations, Hon. Mr. McCully said:—

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—Perhaps there has never been an occasion in which an audience like this has been called together to consider as momentous a question as the one to be presented to this meeting. The subject is one which has long been discussed, but it has been recently precipitated upon the public attention of British North America in consequence of circumstances over which Nova Scotia has no control. While our public men were discussing the advantages of union of the maritime provinces, Canada extended to them an invitation to a more enlarged consideration of the question, and out of that has arisen the report of the delegates which we are called upon this evening to explain. But before doing so, I will call the attention of the meeting to the condition in which these provinces stand at the present moment, and what in this discussion we have to deal with. Let me ask, have we the elements of the

empire which we are endeavouring to build up? I apprehend we have. We have a population of about four millions of people—we have, it is said, one hundred million acres of arable land, of which one-half is in the hands of private individuals—we have a farm produce amounting to \$35,000,000 annually—we have products from forests yielding a revenue of \$13,000,000—we have a prolific soil, a healthy climate, and in the vital statistics we can compare favourably with any other portion of the globe. We have, in this British America, a mineral wealth unequalled in the same extent of territory in any part of the world. Canada abounds in iron and copper ore—she has 7,000 square miles of territory producing coal oil—she has her boundless forests and her mighty rivers—the St. Lawrence, Saguenay, and the Ottawa. New Brunswick is a great and expanding country, with gigantic resources, containing the elements of wealth. Nova Scotia is behind in none of these particulars, and can bring her ample quota to the empire. Prince Edward's Island, the little garden in the Straits of Northumberland, is unrivalled in her agricultural capabilities; and Newfoundland, standing like a sentinel in the St. Lawrence, has her magnificent fisheries and her mines of copper and lead. With these materials it is proposed to build up in these latitudes an empire under the British sway.

The necessity of colonial union was the branch of the subject confided to the Attorney-General's care, but I am happy to say, from the state of the public mind, that there appears to be little, if any, diversity of opinion on the necessity of some kind of union; and I have yet to learn that there exists in these Colonies a public man who denies the necessity of a union. There will, perhaps, never be a time more favourable to the settlement of this question than the present. We are pressed by no external influences, but, in a peaceful condition, we are invited to consider the union of the Colonies, and such a union as will be conducive to the best interests of the people. If, then, the necessity of a union be admitted—and I shall largely assume it to be so—I may pass on to consider the kind of union which we ask the people of Nova Scotia to sanction. There are two kinds of union which present themselves to our notice—legislative and federal. A legislative union means that there should be a uniform system of laws and uniformity of institutions; that the same law which would be enforced in Nova Scotia would be enforced in the Red River territory; that there should be a uniform system of representation and administration; that the law-making power of the country should be vested in one Legislature. In reference to this kind of union, I have heard it said, and not in Halifax alone, that it would be more conducive to the interests of this Province than any other; and we have had presented to us the assurance that if the Colonies were united, as Great Britain is united, we would have a state of things more commendable than that which will be brought about by the scheme which we propose.

I will ask your attention for a few moments to that union of Great Britain. We have been told that our system gives to Nova Scotia a representation of only nineteen members in the House of Commons, and that that number is not sufficient, and should never have been agreed to, and that the smaller Provinces are in danger of being overbalanced and overpowered by the preponderating influence of the Canadas. Let us look at the condition in which Scotland was placed by union. England, in 1706, had 513 members in the House of Commons, representing a population of six millions. Scotland had a population of one million, and had but forty-five representatives, so that while Scotland stood in population to England as one-sixth, she received as her share of the representation one-twelfth. In the House of Peers the same proportion was maintained, England having 185 peers to 16 from Scotland.

It has been said that population is not the proper rule for representation, but the union of Great Britain must not be turned to as an example for us. Let me now refer to the condition of Ireland at the time of union in 1801; her population was five millions, that of England and Wales was eight millions. England was represented in the Commons by 500 members, Scotland by 53, and Ireland by 105. Ireland had a population in the proportion of three-fifths, while she received as her share of representation one-fifth. In the House of Lords she had 28 members.

I think I need not tarry long in considering the objection that the representation secured for the Maritime Provinces is unreasonably small, after showing you that it is proportionally larger than either Scotland or Ireland obtained on their union with England.

There is another point on which our terms are more favourable than theirs. It is well known that Irish and Scotch peers do not hold their dignities by the same tenure as English lords; the latter are peers by virtue of nobility, while the former are elected to their seats, the Scotch for a Parliament, the Irish for life, merely. Our constitution, on the contrary, maintains in the House of Commons a principle of equality. This principle of representation by population in our legislature I hold to be fair, equitable, and just. I have been asked, can you fairly represent a colony by taking population as the scale? I answer yes, as to colony against colony. I do not pronounce it a proper scale for large cities like London against a county, but for Provinces, with their small towns and expansive country districts, I maintain it to be the true guide. This principle of representation by population is not the only advantage we gain, as comparing our positions with that of Scotland and Ireland. What have we secured? Not only in the Lower House have we obtained a fair representation, but in the Legislative Council we have secured a double representation for the Lower Provinces. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island have a combined population of about 650,000, the population of Upper Canada is 1,300,000,

therefore the population of these three Lower Provinces doubled, does not equal that of Upper Canada, while our representation in the Upper House is the same as hers. Are these advantages of small moment? Let it not be said that the delegates of Nova Scotia have consented to yield privileges without obtaining a full and ample return; for we have secured a representation amply sufficient to protect us against any combination which can possibly occur. I feel it a duty to say here that it was in no niggardly spirit these concessions were made to us; we met with fairness and even generosity, and were enabled to feel that in discussing this question we stood on a common platform. Supposing that the principle of legislative union had been adopted, what guarantee had we that one of these Provinces might not at some future day be excluded from representation in the Upper House? For example, we may call the Government of Nova Scotia a legislative union of all the counties, but in our Legislative Council some counties have no representation at all, and in the same way in our Legislative Union it might be found that the representatives were drawn from the more favoured Provinces.

We can be met with no such changes now our share in the legislation of our country will be secured to us by force and virtue of a British Act of Parliament. The scheme which we have recommended avoids all the embarrassments which a Legislative Union would bring; it conveys no shock to any Colony, but leaves each the enjoyment of its own institutions and the management of its local affairs till it may see fit to alter them. There is another advantage, also, to which I must call your attention, which will be derived from the scheme laid before you. In assigning powers to the General Government, we have withdrawn from its control a large amount of business peculiarly local, and which the people of each locality are best able to manage. The 2nd clause of our report provides:—

“That, in the Federation of the British North American Provinces, the system of government best adapted, under the existing circumstances, to protect the diversified interests of the several provinces, and to secure efficiency, harmony, and permanency in the working of the Union, would be a general government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country and local governments for each of the Canadas, and for the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections.”

If we had secured a legislative union, all this local business would have gone to the General Parliament. Nova Scotia could not have a single bridge controlled or have incorporated the most insignificant association; the management of such matters would have gone to a parliament knowing little or nothing of our concerns; while it is

the principle of the federal union that the General Government deals only with those matters which affect the whole body of the nation. By reference you will see that the local governments are charged with the matters of education, sale of provincial lands, fisheries, management of penitentiaries, prisons, local works and local subjects of every kind, which they are best able to control. Nor have we too servilely adopted any form, for I contend that the union we propose is a legislative union for all beneficial purposes, and a federal union for all beneficial purposes. We have adopted no such federal union as exists in the United States, but having the history of that republic before us, and perceiving the weaker portion of its constitution, we have taken care to avoid the rock on which they seem to have split. That republic was composed of a society of states, and in forming their union they conferred certain limited powers on the General Government, reserving sovereign powers to the individual states. This it was that divided Jefferson and Hamilton in their early history, but our scheme provides that the powers of the local governments shall be so specific and definite that all the powers necessary for the management of the nation shall reside in the General Government. In our constitution we can have no such disturbing elements as slavery and state rights.

There was, however, another most important difficulty in the way of a legislative union. If we had four millions of people, all unbiassed and unprejudiced, it might have been brought about; but it was not *a priori* case with us—the materials were given and we had to deal with them as we found them. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland, we have a homogeneous people, similar in laws, language, and religion, and with these colonies there would have been but little difficulty in bringing about an uniformity; but in Lower Canada there were the descendants of a proud people, wedded firmly to the institutions which they had inherited, and accustomed to being governed by the civil, in contra-distinction to the common law. These people would have looked on such a measure as robbing them of their very household gods.

My own leanings had been in favour of a legislative union of the Colonies, but when we came to view the difficulties and advantages presented, I formed the opinion embodied in the report, and from that I have since seen no reason to recede. I believe that any man, viewing these matters fairly, will come to the conclusion at which we have all arrived; for it is not to be gainsaid that the long-established customs of a people like the Lower Canadians were not to be touched without extreme tenderness and care, and to have formed a Confederation of British North Americans, excluding more than a million of the people, would have been an abortion. Independent of that consideration, I have come to the conclusion that such an union as we propose, divesting the Federation of the diffi-

culties which have presented themselves in the United States, and reserving to the provinces the control of their local affairs, is one more suited to the growing prosperity of our country. I am aware that on this subject there is a great diversity of opinion in Halifax: it would be strange were it otherwise. I regret it not; for I am confident that it will have the effect of inducing us to look at the question with greater scrutiny, and of proceeding with the greater deliberation. I ask you to dismiss from your minds any prejudice which you may entertain. What object could thirty-three gentlemen, meeting in conference as we did, have in devising a scheme destructive of the best interests of our common country? None, sir; and when this measure has been examined in detail, and sifted thoroughly, if it cannot be defended, perish Confederation, say I. I would be among the last to ask the people of Nova Scotia to go into an establishment which would come tumbling about their ears; and if any suggestion can be made for improving our scheme after it has received a fair and candid discussion, we will be most happy to adopt it.

The time has arrived in our history, sir, when men begin to feel the necessity of having a system of government which will centralise our powers and enable us, when danger and difficulty come, to know where our strength lies. Eight or ten years ago I remember passing through all the Northern States of the American Union and seeing one of the most beautiful prospects ever presented to the eye of man. I was led to believe that the time had passed when the hand of man, by war and devastation, could change such a scene as that; and I think there are some in these colonies under the same delusion still. It would be no surprising thing, after what we have seen there, if in one, two, or three years, we were called upon to summon all our energies for the protection of our liberties and our country. I ask, is it not wise and prudent to provide against such a possibility? That is another of the reasons why the public men of the province should not allow the present opportunity, which I do not think will ever present itself again, to pass unimproved. Is it not the duty of every one investigating this subject to understand the position of the question in England. The circumstance that, when the news arrived of the discussion of this subject in the Colonies, our credit rose ten, and that of Canada fifteen per cent., is one of the most potent arguments that can be presented to an audience like this of the propriety and necessity of a Confederation of these Provinces; and I might forcibly urge your approval of the measure upon that ground alone. And is it to rest there? No; our credit had been declining until that news was transmitted, and the scale was inverted, and has ever since been in the ascendant. Is it nothing for a commercial people like ours, with a thousand miles of seaboard, to have its credit raised to that extent?

There are two classes in the community who entertain opposite views

on this subject; one represents the money made and the other the money making, and I find that people who have money to make are all in favour of Confederation. It opens a field for young and enterprising men such as has never presented itself before in any part of the world.

The educationist, the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the artisan, and the professional man will have a boundless realm for enterprise. I do not agree with those who would check the rising ambition of the young men of our country. I delight to see them claiming to take a higher stand, and I feel we have been too long chafing within the bars which divide us from the outer world. As one of the public men of the country, and as one of the Opposition, I do not feel ashamed to say that I am willing to work side by side in such a scheme as this with men to whom in other matters I stand opposed; if others would but sink their private interests, they might aid us in educating the public mind to the requirement of such a plan as we propose. If time permitted I might occupy another hour, but I refrain and conclude by expressing my conviction that it is alike the privilege of those opposed to the plan which has been laid before you to give a free expression of their opinion as it is the duty of others to support it, in order that the subject may receive that consideration and attention which its vast importance deserve (applause).

A. G. ARCHIBALD, Esq., M.P.P., then rose and spoke to the following effect:—

It is an important fact in the history of the Conference held at Quebec that its main conclusions have received so unanimous a support from the gentlemen who were assembled as the representatives of the different Provinces. I do not mean to assert that in every particular there was a unanimous voice—that has never been found in any conference; but we appear before you with the statement that we were all actuated by one desire and that our conclusions upon the main points were unanimous. My colleague has remarked that he is not surprised to find the existence of opposition to the scheme propounded. Had it possessed no elements of imperfection, it is impossible that it would have received universal sanction, but impressed as it is, and must be, we subject it most willingly to your criticism. It is a providential circumstance that even perfect schemes, as far as perfection in anything human can be had, are not received without great care and deliberation; and I can assure you that among those gentlemen who went up to Quebec there was not one who wished the adoption of any plan which did not recommend itself to you. My colleague has laid before you the general features of the scheme proposed, and it has been left to me to show you the financial aspect of the question as it lies in the minds of the delegates. If I were to rise here and attempt to show you that in dealing with this

matter we had in any thing obtained an unfair advantage, I should feel that I addressed you in a style by no means creditable to your intelligence, and you would feel ashamed of the men who have represented your interests in the Conference. What I do wish to show you is that your interests have been carefully considered; that by joining in the proposed Confederation you would place yourselves in a position far superior to that in which you would stand alone; and that while guarding your interests, we have had in view the welfare of the entire nation.

We have been endeavouring to make a union by which our boundaries will be extended and our future progress insured. We have been asked why it is that a change is necessary. Nova Scotia is in a prosperous condition, she has developed her resources to an extent of which we all may be proud; her coal trade in a few years has been doubled; her gold mines have added largely to the revenue; her shipping has been extended; her commerce increased: and you may well ask why it is that we are not content to "let well enough alone," sailing quietly down on the stream of prosperity? The reason is—and every man who examines the subject feels that we can no longer remain as we are, but that the time has arrived when we must gird up our loins and prepare for a change. What is the prosperity of Nova Scotia but the prosperity of every man within its borders? And yet, while we are enjoying ease and affluence, let us look across the Atlantic to the people of the mother country, and see what burdens we are imposing on them, and what their position is as compared with ours. What do the majority of the working people of England look forward to in old age? Nothing but the bare means of existence, while our people of the same class live in affluence and die the owners of a ship, a mine, or a farm. Well may the people of England ask us what, with all our advantages, we do for our own defence. We thought ourselves very generous last year when we voted an annual appropriation of \$22,000 to our militia organization, and what does that amount to? Little more than six cents per head, while last year the Army and Navy cost the people of England £29,000,000 sterling, amounting to five dollars per man. Does anyone believe that when the people of the old world are paying a hundred cents to our one, they are going to continue putting their hands in their pockets to do the work of which we refuse to bear a fair share? Great Britain has been and is a generous parent, but it is time that the child should do something for its own support and that we should begin to put our own shoulders to the wheel. If we decline to do this, is there anyone so silly as to suppose that England will continue to fight our battles? We need not talk about the Manchester school of politicians or any other school: is it common sense to expect England to do all while we do nothing? Let us do what we ought towards our own defence, and then England will cheerfully fill up her ranks and man her fleets in our support. While

this feeling of reluctance to do our work is growing up in England, there is growing up side by side with it on this side the Atlantic the danger that she may be called upon to do it. In our neighbourhood we see a nation, formerly celebrated for its devotion to the peaceful arts, suddenly becoming a nation of warriors; we find an army of five or six hundred thousand disciplined men created and sustained by a people who four years ago were under the government of a police force of 10,000 men. Is it possible the people of England can look at this without seeing the danger it involves? It may be said that the mother-country derives a great advantage from her colonies, and that she will not readily abandon us; but may she not treat us as we treat her? When we want a loan of £200,000 for a public work, do we consider what will advance the trading interests of Great Britain, or do we simply ask how it can be raised with the least injury to ourselves?

In considering this subject financially, the first objection which meets us is—"Oh, confederation is going largely to increase our taxation; Canada has a high tariff of twenty per cent., and ours must be raised to conformity." If that were true, there would be something substantial in the objection, but let us for a moment look at our real condition. Do people imagine that at our present rate of taxation we are going to have all the improvements promised us in Nova Scotia, even leaving out the question of confederation? There is the railroad contracted for to Pictou; there is the mythical one to Annapolis; and if you will have a government which is determined to fasten that expense on you, that is not my fault but your own. (Laughter.) But are you to enjoy these advantages without paying for them? If I can show you that without confederation your taxes must be increased, you must put the tax to the right account; it does not belong to federation. Our present public debt is five millions, in addition to which we have contracted for a road to Pictou, the probable cost of which is a matter in dispute between the editor of the *Chronicle* and the editor of the *Colonist*. Suppose this would cost \$2,000,000, and suppose another million of dollars to be incurred, whether improperly or not, for the Annapolis road—this gives you a sum of \$3,000,000, on which you have interest to pay. The interest amounts to \$480,000. Now last year we had a revenue of \$861,000; we spent on interest \$261,000, and we devoted to general purposes the balance of \$600,000. Let us give next year an equal sum, and anybody may see that we will need a revenue which will promise us \$1,080,000. Are you going, then, with the present tariff, to meet this expense?

Your tariff must be raised. You have had the misfortune to select a Government of which I did not approve, but being possessed of your confidence they have thought proper to incur certain expenses, and I tell you the result is a burden of \$1,080,000. And then, what of defence? Are you going to tell the people of

England that six cents a head is all you are going to pay for your security? Is that the price at which you value your liberties and your connection with the British empire? As one, I should be ashamed to stand up in the Legislature and say I was content with such an appropriation. I feel that that man is not worthy the name of Nova Scotian who is unwilling to contribute his fair share for his country's defence. \$100,000 would not be an excessive vote. That would add to the present expenses \$78,000, that makes an amount of \$1,158,000, and this we must meet without confederation. In addition to this, I suppose you will ask for the Intercolonial railroad. That implies Confederation, for I ask you to dismiss the delusion that that boon will ever be obtained without union. By abandoning the Annapolis scheme we might possibly secure a connection with Moncton, that would connect Halifax and St. John's, but after that is done you are just where you began; but let Confederation come, and it brings with it connection with every part of North America. In addition to the Intercolonial line, it gives you the North American and European Railway, connecting you with the thirty millions of people of the United States. Are these such small advantages as to be refused, if they are offered to us on reasonable terms?

It has been stated to you that we can have the benefits of Confederation without incurring a large additional expense beyond what we should have to bear without it; and you will probably expect me to prove it. I am prepared to do so, and if any one can challenge the statement, I will be prepared to give up the argument. What I contend for is that we may have, by accepting this scheme, all the advantages I have enumerated, without incurring a higher rate of taxation than three dollars a head. Without Confederation and without any of the works at present in contemplation—without the Pictou Railway—without the Annapolis Railway, you pay \$2.60 per head. If you have the Pictou Railway—if you must have either the Annapolis Railway or the connection with Moncton, you will have to pay three dollars a head at least; but take Confederation, and you can have all these and the Intercolonial and European besides, and provide fairly for your defence.

We are, therefore, promised every advantage which a province can have; we will retain such funds as are necessary for our local wants, and as will suffice for all other requirements. If there be a mistake in these calculations I can only say I have deceived myself. They are such as require no financial ability to make, but such as any gentleman accustomed to financial calculations can make for himself at the expense of a little time. I have said that our revenue last year was \$861,000, but it is unfair to count on this as our ordinary revenue. Last year our shipping interests were prosperous to an extraordinary extent; we created shipping by building to the extent in value of \$2,000,000, and the artisans engaged in this

branch of industry must have consumed a large amount of dutiable goods. Then, again, we had \$9,000,000 worth of ships afloat, returning a profit of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the capital so invested; another million was the result; and I ask you, with these facts before you, if our shipping interests should decline, if our ship-building should decrease and freights become profitless, will our revenue be sustained? Again, our *ad valorem* duties are in an abnormal state owing to the condition of affairs in the United States. Let peace come—let cotton come down to its former value—let woollen and other goods follow, as they would follow,—and a large sum will be stricken off that now comes into our revenue. Therefore, it will not be strictly accurate to take last year's revenue as a criterion. I have thought it best to go back and to take the average from the revenues of the last five years, including 1863, which will give us \$738,000, but the growth and progression of the country will produce some addition, and I assume the total to be \$800,000. Now let us see what the advantages of Confederation will be. Canada has agreed to discharge out of local resources all her debt that exceeds \$62,500,000.

Our debt will be \$8,000,000, that of New Brunswick \$7,000,000, and Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island not being indebted to a proportionate extent, it is agreed to allow them to come in with a debt which, by being apportioned to the population, will amount to \$5,250,000. The total of this is \$82,750,000. The Confederation will bring the requirement of means for the Inter-colonial road, and for this let us count £3,500,000 sterling, equal to \$17,500,000; this at 4 per cent. makes an interest of \$700,000. You have here the whole burden to be borne, with the exception of the expenses attending the business of the civil government and the administration of justice. In Canada, the present legislative charges amount to \$527,000, and all matters of a local character being placed under the care of the Local Legislatures, I believe these expenses will be largely diminished, but of that circumstance I have not taken advantage in my calculation. There are at present 130 members in the Canadian Assembly; add 72 members of the Legislative Council, and the number will be 202. In the Confederated Legislature we will have 194 members in the lower house, and 76 in the upper, making 270 in all. Although I cannot conceive that the expenses of the legislative body will be nearly so large as it has been to Canada, yet for the sake of argument I have added one third, making \$630,000. The expenses attending the administration of justice I allow to be \$800,000, with \$540,000 for the expenses of the civil government. Allow then for military defence an appropriation of \$1,000,000, and I have reason to believe that that would be considered a fair discharge of our duty in England. For public works and buildings I allow \$200,000.

If we unite there will be no necessity for the present costly steam

service of Canada; that service will be concentrated on our shores by the stream of traffic which we will receive and will give Halifax a vast superiority and importance. Instead of our fortnightly mails, we will have weekly steamers between our shores and the other side of the Atlantic, attracted hither by the trade which will be brought by a great line of railway connecting every part of the continent; we will then most need a steam service connecting ourselves with the islands of Prince Edward and Newfoundland, and for that and for what Canada may still desire for the St. Lawrence I allow \$300,000.

The revenue of Nova Scotia will be taken out of our hands; its collection costs us at present about 7 per cent.—that of Canada costs about 6 per cent. I therefore allow, for the expenses attending the collection of the revenue, \$700,000, and having done all this, I throw in for contingencies a sum of \$197,663.

Here is a total of \$12,000,000, which, among 4,000,000 of people, comes to \$3 man for man. To show you that I have made allowance for everything, I have not credited one shilling for the revenue which the public works will yield, and which in 1863 amounted to \$600,000. I am confident that our railways will become year by year more and more productive until they ultimately, when in full blast, will wipe off the debt they have thrown on the Confederation. The time may be distant, but it cannot be doubted that when our lines of railway have connected us with the United States and Canada, some portions of those lines will begin to add largely to the exchequer. I think you will all confess that when I have put down no such credits I have evinced no desire to over-colour or over-value the picture, and if that be the case, who is there, bearing the name of a Nova Scotian, who would not be eager to secure for his country blessings at so low a price? Is there a man in this audience who will stand up and say he is not willing to have these advantages in return for a tax of 40 cents a head? If there be, such an one should be daguerreotyped for posterity. The term "absorption" has been very freely used in this discussion. Sir, I never yet heard of the absorption of a poor country into a rich one; Scotland was afraid of being absorbed in England, but it has been found that Scotchmen have been successful in absorbing whatever was good in England. There will be a greater scope given by union to the brains of our people, and if Nova Scotians have the share of that commodity which they claim, they will have a good field for enterprise here. It is evident that by the growth of Western Canada that section of the Confederacy will be able to lift the debt from our shoulders in the same rate as that in which it increases, and can any one doubt the probability of a vast increase when it has so expanded itself during the last decade, when the whole stream of immigration was poured over the prairies of the Western States. During that time, with all this tide of immigration flowing in upon

them, the population of the United States increased only at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, while the population of Western Canada during the same period increased at the rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. Let peace come, and where will immigration flow? Look at the state of industry on the different sides of the British frontier. In the States at the close of this year their debt cannot be less than \$2,000,000,000; their annual interest will be \$120,000,000, which will be a burden on the population of the loyal states—men, women, and children—of \$5 a head. This has to be raised year by year, and therefore the industry of every American must bear the burden; every man must pay on what he eats, or drinks, or wears, or uses, this enormous annual tax. And what have they to represent this huge expenditure? Devastated homesteads, pillaged towns, thousands of men drawn from the art and industry of the country to fill its hospitals as cripples, but not by a single public work. Our Confederation will have its debt represented by extensive and productive works, built on the broad surface of the soil, creating and developing the resources of our country. Therefore the men who hereafter go to seek their fortunes within the bounds of the American republic will find that they must support a tax of \$5 per head to pay the interest on a debt which represents nothing; while with us they can have a country as good with small taxation, with more security, and under freer institutions.

Under these circumstances, is Canada to go on increasing only in the same rate as when she received but the dribblets of this tide of immigration; and can any reasonable man say that this tide shall not be changed from its former course? It has been said that, assuming all this to be true, we have not sufficiently provided for the management of our local affairs. Nova Scotia will receive as her quota \$264,000 a year from the Confederacy; add to that the revenue left to our control, and you will see that we have ample means to provide for ourselves as before. Look again at the great mineral advantages we possess. With a country filled with coal, our position on the continent is such that we must necessarily become the suppliers of the whole Atlantic coast. If in the period from 1859 to 1864 we have doubled our coal trade, and the revenue has risen from \$20,000 to \$40,000, will it not double itself again in a few years, and enable us to provide from that fund alone all that we require for education and for the management of our roads and bridges, and our other local concerns? This does not include the revenue from our gold fields, and that has yielded this year \$15,000 above the costs of its collection. See if these advantages do not place us in a position superior to that of our neighbours. This statement of our mineral resources is one that I would not like to have made in Canada; it is too much like "letting the cat out of the bag," for, although we thus obtain no unfair advantage, yet the superiority is one that might have been looked on with suspicion.

Not only does this open up a view of increasing enterprise and prosperity, but it shows us one way to the position we so much desire to fill of becoming the carriers of the world.

I ask you now to look for a moment at the manufacturing interests of the country—what can a country produce in the way of manufactures that has only for its market about 50,000 heads of families? When we can undersell everybody else the whole world will be our market, but till then our home market is our only market. It is the union which the United States have had, and which has given them a market of 30 millions of consumers that has made them the manufacturing country they are. We have all the elements which Great Britain had, and which have made her the manufacturer of the world. The coal, in every hillside where it lies, is a reservoir of undeveloped energy, which represents exhaustless manufacturing power. In reference to our manufacturing capabilities I will take one instance. The manufacture of spirits has been abolished in this province, but supposing it to be carried on; in the first place, for nearly every cargo of fish we export we get back a cargo of molasses; how easily could that be changed into the more portable article of spirits, enabling Halifax alone to supply the wants of the whole confederation? Then, again, what is to prevent us embarking in manufactures of smelted iron? Our coal is at our doors. We have iron in any quantity; but if our iron is too good to be put to the commoner uses, let us take the iron which may be brought to us in ballast day by day, and what is to prevent us from supplying at a cheaper rate than any other part of the Confederation the whole of the large demand which the Union will create? Possessing, as we do, these great resources, it is with the greatest hopefulness that I look upon the future of our people; and if we look at the vast North-West, we must see that the time is not far distant when we will have there four, five, or six million consumers of our goods. If we secure these advantages by breaking down our hostile tariffs, who will say that we have not received the value of this forty cents per head?

When your representatives were at the Conference, they felt they had your interests in their hands. They thought not of their party or their politics; they thought not of personal animosities or political rivalries; they felt and acted as Nova Scotians, and they did their best to secure your interests. There is something in the grandeur and immensity of this question to raise it above the small feelings which the discussion of our ordinary politics engenders; and I am proud to say to you that in all our deliberations we had but one voice and one feeling when we felt that your interests were at stake.

It is for the people of Nova Scotia to ratify or reject what we have done. If it will not promote their interest—if they believe the result will be injurious and not beneficial, let them reject it; but if they feel, as we have felt, that their future prosperity and happiness

are identified with and inseparable from union—if the time is now come for it,—let them be equal to the emergency; let them accept the position which we believe the progress of events and their own true interests render necessary for their future happiness and prosperity. (Applause).

Dr. TUPPER, the Hon. Provincial Secretary, said:—

During the able and eloquent address of the Hon. Mr. McCully, in opening this Meeting, in the warmth of argument the hon. gentleman forgot for a moment that he was not in the presence of the Legislature of his country, and said “the House will perceive.” I felt at the time the full force of the words and the appropriateness of the term he used. If we be not in the presence of Parliament, we are in a more important presence still,—we are addressing those who make the Parliament. To the honour of Nova Scotians be it said, to the honour of every class of public men and to the press of the country be it said, that the great question of intercolonial union has been held too sacred and exalted to be made one of party dispute or factional feeling. Ten years ago, when the Hon. Mr. Johnston, who I am now proud to see on the Bench of his country, drew the attention of the Legislature to this subject, it was taken up in an exalted spirit by both parties in the House. Down to the present time no party called upon to exercise the functions of government ever touched this subject without feeling that on it they could safely appeal to the patriotism of the country, therefore the people have the assurance that the matter shall be dealt with purely on its own merits, and that it will stand or fall according as its advocates are able to carry to the intelligent minds of their fellow-countrymen the conviction that their interests are bound up in the great question of Confederation. We are determined that this scheme shall be thoroughly sifted by you, so that if it does not commend itself to the favour of the people, those opposed to it will have the opportunity of knowing that their opinions have received due attention. Your delegates have dealt with it in the most careful manner; they have met together, as called, to consider the necessity of providing a new constitution for their country. I believe there is a great sentiment of loyalty pervading every section of British America from one end to the other; there is as much of sentimental and personal loyalty as ever existed in any country under the sun, but apart from that there is a strong current of that loyalty which proceeds from self-interest, and which springs from the feeling that, under British institutions, the people have an amount of personal security for life, property, and liberty not enjoyed under any other Government in the world. The people sent us together not to consider the means of aggression on the Throne, but to inquire how far we could advance our interest in connection with the parent

State, and they wisely sent us at a time when we were not convulsed by the throes of civil strife, but when we can meet in the midst of peace and prosperity to consider the means of securing our privileges. There is no man acquainted with our institutions who does not know that they must change. As well might we expect the man to continue in the swaddling-clothes of infancy as to suppose that these Colonies will be able to discharge, in their present situation, the duties which have devolved upon them. It is this that produced, at the commencement of the present century, the simultaneous opinion on the minds of our public men that the question of union was one of the gravest importance, and which has strengthened that impression ever since. In a country possessing, independent of the Red River country and British Columbia, an area of 400,000 square miles, a population of 4,000,000, and a trade during the past year amounting to \$137,250,000, we feel we have the materials of Empire. Our revenue will be between \$14,000,000 and \$15,000,000, and these facts have forced the conviction on the minds of the people that our prosperity may be still further enhanced by removing the walls of partition that divide us, and by uniting our common interests and abilities. But the question has recently assumed a position of more importance than could attach to it as a mere question for philosophical discussion. We have been called upon to measure the efficiency of our energies as a united people as compared with those of a divided State. We have seen, within the last few years, a great commercial country in our neighbourhood plunged in a civil war, become one of the most gigantic military Powers the world has ever seen. Not only that, but we have been impressed with the fact—which the exponents of public opinion in that country show—that from one end of it to the other there exists a growing feeling of hostility in the public mind to ourselves and the State with which we are connected,—a fact which must convince us that all our interests and prospects require that we should assume now such an attitude of determination as will insure for us the respect of our rivals and the assistance of the mother country. And who is there who does not see that England requires that our attitude should be changed, and that the time when she felt called on to provide all the means of our defence has passed away? If we value the British connection we must assume a new attitude—one that will give the people of England the assurance that her efforts on our behalf have been appreciated and sustained by co-operation on this side of the Atlantic. There is another reason still why this proposal has been forced on the public mind—it is the fact that Canada has outgrown her Constitution, and that whether we wished to join her or not, the time had arrived when she must have a change. I need not tell you that the vice which has grown up in Canada is one which we have avoided—that vice was the amount of representation irrespective of popula-

tion, and it is one that has culminated in rendering government impossible. Of late years Upper Canada had advanced with a giant pace, but that arrangement of representation under which she lay produced such an amount of antagonism as rendered government under the same Constitution, as I have said, a practical impossibility. It therefore became necessary that new measures should be devised by the statesmen of that country, and as they found we were all actuated by the feeling that the time had arrived for a universal change, they took the step of soliciting co-operation on our part. From the first we felt the greatest barrier to a union to be the want of a sufficient connection, and you will all admit that when that difficulty is removed the most insuperable barrier will have been broken down. We are able to tell you now that, although without the intercolonial line there will be no lasting Confederation, yet if Confederation takes place that means of connection is secured. Another objection to the union arose from the argument that Canada would come into the Confederation burdened with a heavy debt; that objection has been removed, for Canada, by the present scheme, enters on perfectly equal terms with the rest of us. From the financial position of Canada this other difficulty arose, that for the last few years that Province had to meet a deficiency in its revenue; I am happy to say that also is removed, and that Canada not only comes into the scheme with an equalised debt, but that, in common with the rest of us, she can enter with a surplus of many hundred thousand dollars. I need not tell you that, this being the case, the delegates came to the conclusion that if arrangements could be made in providing this Constitution, by which the rights and interests of Nova Scotia could not only be secured but greatly enhanced, we were bound to give every attention to the means of obtaining such a provision for the country. What we wish is that every one of these arrangements may be submitted to the greatest scrutiny. If it appears that they possess the advantages which we believe they do, it will be strange if they do not commend themselves to the active-minded people of Nova Scotia, and do not receive the support to which they are entitled. The gentlemen who have preceded me have shown you most clearly the advantages of a federal as compared with a legislative union. I do not think it necessary to take that view of the question at all, for I believe it to be useless for men and statesmen to spend time and attention on that which is practically impossible. Looking at the character of the British American people, we felt it would be idle to urge upon the Conference such a union as that would signify, and I feel it, therefore, unnecessary to dwell more at large upon that portion of the subject, but would say that I believe no one could listen to these gentlemen without feeling convinced that this federal union is not only wisely and judiciously arranged, but that it confers on us large advantages from which a legislative union would have shut us out. With regard

to the foundation of this scheme, I believe there was not a man in the Conference who would not have felt humiliated by asking any other representation than that by population, and I can safely say that no other principles would have given to Nova Scotia all the weight and influence to which she is entitled. The other advantages of the scheme are, that the great interests of this country are confided to the General Parliament, drawn fairly from every section of the country, while all that comes especially home to the feelings of the people is placed under the control of the Local Legislatures. You have been told also that no servile copy of the American Constitution has been made by us. I believe that in the United States the question of slavery and the division of interest would never have culminated in so great a trouble had it not been for the doctrine of the sovereignty of each State. In our Constitution you will find that the General Government has that general centralised power which will enable all the nation to be consolidated and combined. If, then, the question of legislative union is not a subject for discussion, the question for your consideration, and for consideration from one end of British America to the other, is this—"Is the scheme now proposed better for the people of British North America than the systems of Government which we at present enjoy?" There is no one of us who can look at the state of British America and see that, instead of being one of a community of 300,000 members, he may belong to a nation with a population of 4,000,000, but must feel that such a scheme must give elevation of character to our public men and advance the status of every freeman in the country. I feel it my duty to express the gratification I experience at seeing that gentlemen who differ with me in local concerns, when called together to consider the interests of British America, have forgotten that we were divided at all, and, irrespective of anything that could make a division, have come to deal in the most liberal spirit with the interests with which they were charged. That to which British America must look is a Confederated union of all the Colonies. Suppose that, looking over the border, our American neighbours should see, instead of a firm and substantial combination among us, an antagonism which we showed no disposition to lay aside for the purposes of nationality and security, how long can we rely on the permanence of our institutions? Look at the effect of this movement on the commerce of our country. What commerce can Prince Edward's Island have against the hostile tariffs of the world? How can Nova Scotia, with her population, maintain a commerce against the tariffs which a union would break down? Suppose the policy had been adopted in settling the Constitution of the United States of hemming around some of the States with a peculiar tariff, would that country have gone forward as it has? Commerce requires area, and the 400,000 square miles at our command will give us the scope we need. Look at the little trade of our province. I do not wish to depreciate or

undervalue her progress, but I would ask this question of the most enterprising firm in Halifax:—If one of you wishes to plant his son in business, to follow his parent in making a name and a position, will he not have to expatriate that son and send him away from the natural field of his enterprise? It has been shewn to you that manufactures require population. I was much struck recently with the remark of a young man who had visited the Northern States. He inquired, in viewing some of their manufactures, where was the market for their products? The answer was, "From the Gulf of Mexico to Portland." A Nova Scotian has, in that sentence, the reason why his country has to stand still until such a scheme as this can open up these four million consumers of his manufactures. Is there a man who looks at the face of Nova Scotia, with her mines in every section of the Province, without seeing the great position as a manufacturing country which nature intended her to occupy, and in which a British North American Confederation will tend to place her? Is it any wonder that Canada wishes us to join with her? When we remember that that great country is so hemmed in as to have to seek an outlet to the ocean through the territory of a hostile rival, can we be surprised at the terms she offers? And while such a seaboard is necessary to her, we will be for ever insignificant without a great back country like Canada, extending our connection to the Pacific. While at present we have no influence in the Canadian Parliament, the action of their public men has a tendency to clog our progress and to check our credit. The defeat of the Militia Bill in Canada, it is well known, struck a severe blow at the debentures of Nova Scotia, and what else is it that has hemmed our credit but that the gigantic power of the United States and the divided position of British America have shaken the confidence of English financiers in our credit? What may not be expected in the future, when the discussion of a union at a dinner given by the Quebec Board of Trade raised our credit in the money market and secured for us in the columns of the *London Times* an advertisement of our resources which we could never before obtain? If the mere discussion of the scheme has been so advantageous, what will be the result of the information that we have decided to form a great Confederation on a secure and permanent foundation? Mr. Archibald very properly told you that the railroad is only to be secured through Confederation. Not one of the thirty-three gentlemen at the Conference did not feel that without a union that road cannot be had for the next twenty years at least. (Cheers.) I will now proceed, sir, to answer by anticipation some of the objections to a Confederation. One is that the scheme is a novelty, and that we are asking the country to take a leap in the dark. Those who urge this statement know but little of the history of the subject if they do not know that the matter has been under active discussion for the last fifty years. If time allowed, I might speak of Mr.

Johnson's resolution in the House of Assembly, in which a Federal Union was recommended, and to the views which the Chief Justice expressed on the subject; also to the resolutions moved by Mr. Howe for a union of the same sort, and I could shew you that if any man failed to understand the measure, it was because he was blind and deaf to the teachings he had received. I regret that in the discussion of this matter some of the elements of personal strife have been combined. I am perhaps to blame for a share of the personality which pervades our disputes, but I regret that such should be brought into the consideration of this subject. We are told, for instance, that Nova Scotia has been sold, that she was to be delivered over to her oppressors bound hand and foot. I do not intend to prolong this acrimony, but I ask what object could we have had in dealing treacherously with the Province? We have, indeed, all a personal interest in the success of the scheme, to the effect that a Confederation will open up a wider field for the talent of the country than we have at present, and we can only feel that if the scheme should fail we have at least done the best for the interests of Nova Scotia? To the objection that a union like this will deprive us of our identity, I reply that the sooner we lose that the better. It has been the great difficulty with us that we belonged to a small isolated country, too insignificant for the enterprise of a man of means. Does the State of Maine object to losing her identity in the American Republic? No, sir, but she is proud to be a member of a great Empire, whose progress has filled the world with astonishment. I am willing to lose my identity for one, but I think Nova Scotia has the guarantee of the past that she can raise up sons to hold an honourable position among the public men of the nation. Nor is there any reason for supposing that our interests will be jeopardised in a Parliament of 194 members. What object could Canada have in attempting to oppress us? Just in proportion as they oppress us would they oppress their own right arm, but I feel assured that under an equalised system of representation by population our Province has nothing whatever to fear, and I know that the man who seeks to prove that we have not obtained our fair share of influence will have to address himself to intellects more stolid than any to be found in Nova Scotia. I will now ask your attention to one of the statements made on a financial view of the subject in an exponent of public opinion a short time ago. The editor thinks the statements of his correspondent so conclusive as to require no comment:—

“The next and most important point to us Nova Scotians is the cost at which this change is to be accomplished, and if not mistaken, I think I can shew that we shall be the losers to the extent of half-a-million of dollars per annum. On reference to the Quebec programme, it will be seen that Nova Scotia is to enter the Con-

federation with a debt not exceeding \$8,000,000, and the interest thereon at 5 per cent., as agreed upon, makes \$400,000—add to this \$280,000, which is the amount we are to receive for our proportion of expenses for the Local Government, and this gives \$680,000. Now, mark this is all we are to receive, and for this \$680,000 we are expected to surrender our entire revenue, which last year amounted to over \$1,100,000—and this year, if all accounts are correct, will come up to near \$1,250,000. Now, if you deduct the \$680,000 we are to receive from our revenue as above, it will leave a balance of \$570,000 to go into the hands of and be controlled by the General Government, and with our small representation of 17 members out of 194 it can easily be seen what chance we would have of getting much of it back again.”

When I draw your attention to this statement, I think I can shew you how hard it must be for those opposed to our scheme to make out a case against us. I will show you, in a few words, what remarkable errors this editor and his vouched-for Bluenose have fallen into, and that not only is his statement quite without foundation, but the balance is at the other side. In the first place, we are to get a subsidy of \$264,000, which is omitted in the calculation. It is well-known that our revenue has been and still is increasing, and, therefore, when I take the revenue of last year, it will be admitted to be a fair and legitimate estimate. (The Hon. Provincial Secretary here went on to shew large omissions in the calculations under consideration, and continued as follows:)—There has been omitted, then, a credit of \$264,000 for our subsidy, \$480,000 for interest on our debt, and \$226,000 left under our local control, making a total of \$970,000, and leaving a balance in our favour of \$75,668, instead of a balance against us of \$578,000. When I shew you that such shifts as this must be used to support the opposition to a Confederation, I think you will say I am justified in concluding that our scheme has most effectually secured the rights and interests of the country. In addition to all other benefits, Confederation will bring you the Interecolonial Road, and I will tell you what the Legislature of Nova Scotia valued that work at. They offered for it \$220,000 a-year, for forty years, and for that sum were unable to obtain it; I must, therefore, add that to the balance in our favour. It is not a question with us as to whether we shall remain as we are, for, without progress, Halifax must be left out of all the benefits of the system of railroads which will be secured. I have not been in favour of Government railways, but that has been the policy adopted by the Legislature, and I am free to confess that the result of our enterprise has been more favourable than I expected; but if I were to ask you this evening if you were willing to go back to the old tariff of 6½ per cent., and take away these public works, I think there is not a man who would be willing

to do so. In the same way, I ask you, shall we keep our tariff at 10 per cent, or shall we progress and make it 15? I have heard it asked, why can we not have the establishment of a Commercial Zollverein? I reply that the effort has been made before by our ablest public men, and the attempt has proved a failure. I was glad to hear the patriotic cheer which arose when my colleague spoke of the necessity of making some more sufficient provision for our defence. It has been suggested that Nova Scotia is very secure, and that Canada is defenceless and would require an exhaustive effort on our part; but I have no hesitation in saying that we met in Conference better prepared to discharge our duties to each other and to British America by knowing that the time had come when it was necessary to provide for a different system of defence, in compliance with the wishes of the parent country. Nor is it the case that the Confederation proposed will sever the tie which binds us to Great Britain; the contrary will be the effect if we act with energy and spirit. It is stated to be the intention of the British Government to withdraw every man from Canada, while his presence can only be a menace to other Powers and while the people neglect their own defence. We have seen near our borders what a people of our numbers can do when fighting in defence of their homes against a great military Power; but we will have the additional protection of the unrivalled army and navy of Great Britain if we shew ourselves alive to our situation. I feel, therefore, that we are not in a position to choose whether we will remain as we are, or change. Change of some kind has been forced upon us; and I feel that in submitting this scheme to your notice we may rely on the intelligence and sound judgment of the people. (Cheers.)

At a meeting held at the Institute, St. John, on the 20th December, the Hon. Mr. TILLEY delivered the following speech:—

He was about, he said, to speak upon a proposition exceeding in magnitude and importance and interest any that had ever come before the people since New Brunswick had been a separate province. He and his colleague, Mr. Gray, the representatives of New Brunswick at the Quebec Conference, had met representatives from the maritime provinces and members of the Canadian Government to consider a union of the Colonies into a grand Confederation that would consolidate and render powerful Canada and the Lower Provinces and be mutually advantageous. The scheme decided upon embraced such matters of interest as induced Mr. Gray and himself to lay before their constituents and the press at the earliest opportunity the nature of the considerations that had led to their action upon the question of Confederation, and to remove from the minds of the public whatever doubts or misconception the matter had caused them to feel. Immediately on his return to the Province, considerations of a public and official nature had compelled his attendance

at Fredericton; and he now took the opportunity of explaining, as clearly and concisely as he was able, the financial arrangements that had been entered into in regard to New Brunswick. He would confine himself to the financial portion of the scheme in so far as it alluded to New Brunswick. He would begin by referring to the steps taken in 1860 to secure free trade. In that year the Canadian Government had applied to the Imperial Government asking that free trade be established between all the Provinces, and the Imperial Government had returned a negative answer, on the ground that if the privilege were conceded the manufactures of Canada and the Lower Provinces would occupy a better position than the manufactures of England, because English manufactures would have to pay such duties as were regulated by our local tariffs. (A voice—"No! no!") A friend on my left says, no! A country that could sell manufactured articles without the payment of duties would certainly have the advantage of one whose manufactures had to pay duties. The Government of New Brunswick then drew up a despatch, which was forwarded by Mr. Manners Sutton, asking that as the privilege had been refused to the whole, it might still be conceded to New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island. After this had been despatched he was sent to the other provinces to arrange for the free interchange of the manufactures and products of each. In the meantime, the memorandum was submitted to the Colonial-office, again brought before the Imperial Government, when the privilege was conceded to all. When he proceeded to Prince Edward's Island, he found the Government of that Colony unwilling to give an answer, and they demanded time for consideration. While in Nova Scotia he not only held conferences with the Government there, but he also took the liberty of conferring with the members of the Opposition, of whom Dr. Tupper expressed himself highly in favour of the free trade project and promised to support it if it came before the Legislature. In his conference with the other provinces he found many difficulties in the way. In Nova Scotia, at that time, there was a large quantity of spirits manufactured, and owing to the trade with the West Indies, by which molasses was procured at a small cost, these manufactories could work cheaply for both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In Prince Edward's Island grain was produced in such abundance that the Island contained many distilleries, and if those principles which he had gone there to advocate had been carried out, the Islanders and Nova Scotia would have raised the duty on spirits consumed in New Brunswick: and the practical result would be that the revenues derivable from these duties would be largely in favour of the other provinces. Again, the duties upon the raw material which entered into the manufacture of articles caused such a difficulty as could only be obviated by an entire uniformity of tariff. They endeavoured to alter this; but these duties, owing to the deficiency of revenue

that year, instead of being lessened were actually increased in Nova Scotia, and this led to the abandonment of the scheme in 1862. Last year he renewed the inquiry with Dr. Tupper, and endeavoured to bring about the matter by legislative enactment; but this also was found impossible. When the Conference met at Prince Edward's Island, a Canadian deputation appeared with propositions relative to the admission of Canada in the proposed union. The Canadians said—You are seeking an extended union; we offer you a still larger one. Instead of 700,000, we offer you a population of three and a-half millions, at the same time enabling you to guard your local interests and consolidate British America in a manner that shall be advantageous to all. They were answered that the delegates from the lower provinces had no authority to enter upon the consideration of the larger scheme; but they heard what was urged, and, without binding themselves to anything, they adjourned the Conference, agreeing to meet at Quebec and consider the matter with the Canadian Government. The Conference was adjourned without a report, and one reason, among others, that they did not proceed was that Canada had submitted propositions highly advantageous. We were seeking to unite in order to extend our trade, and Canada offered us a market of three and a-half millions; she proposed to guard our local interests and place us in a better position financially; and on the financial part of the question the whole scheme must stand or fall. He courted the most careful inquiry, and if the question were argued, as it most assuredly would be, let it be argued upon its merits. He did not wish the people to be carried away by any imputation of improper motives on the part of the delegates. Another strong reason for breaking up the Prince Edward Island Conference was the positive refusal of that Colony to come into the legislative union. The Confederation would give us free trade to all British America, and it would put us in a better position financially than if we remained separate. The scheme would commend itself to the judgment of every business man. He hoped to secure for it such an intelligent discussion as would secure its adoption. The press had dealt with it and had gone into many points in detail. The *pros* and *cons* had been urged and discussed. Many asked—and this was an argument that demanded a few words—if all these advantages would not be secured by a legislative union? He was at first in favour of such a union, but he found that many arguments militated against it, not the least of which was the difficulty of a body drawn from all parts of a Confederation legislating for local purposes. His views on this question had lately undergone some important changes. But to return. He had said that this Confederation would give us free trade with all British North America. It had been hinted that it is utterly impossible that we can drive Canada out of the market and supply the Confederation with our manufactured articles. We don't anti-

cipate anything of the sort. But there are certain manufactures in which we are prepared to compete. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have coal and iron, the possession of which gives a country peculiar facilities for manufacturing purposes, and New Brunswick in iron manufactures will supply British North America. Take Pittsburgh, the great manufacturing centre of the United States, and only the vicinity and richness of its coal and iron mines give it its pre-eminence. Look at the large numbers of mills and manufactures on the seaboard of Massachusetts, to which raw material can be transported at a small cost, and then answer if New Brunswick cannot compete with Canada, at least in some things. Concerning the feeling as to the advisability of the scheme, he would state that after three days of discussion it was unanimously resolved by the thirty-three members that Confederation was necessary to the interests of the now separate portions of British North America. Then arose the most difficult part of the negotiation, on account of the many conflicting interests involved. A careful examination was made of the debts and liabilities of each province. Canada was allowed to come in with a debt of sixty-two and a-half millions, although her debt somewhat exceeds seventy millions; the difference between the two sums, however, accrued from local expenditures, and was represented by purely local advantages, and would be assumed by the separate Governments of Upper and Lower Canada. New Brunswick is allowed to enter the Confederation with a debt of seven millions, and Nova Scotia with a debt of eight millions. Now, what was the nature of the arrangement by which we came in? It was found that the debt of Canada was not as large per head as that of New Brunswick. We came in on better terms than that Province. Its population is a little over ten times as large as ours, and a debt of sixty-two and a-half millions. It might be argued that she should come in with a larger debt. If she did, the debt of Nova Scotia would have to be put down at nine millions and a-quarter. The debt of New Brunswick on the 31st October was \$5,700,000. Owing to last year's legislation, it was necessary to add to their debt the difference between it and the debt we assume in order to cover the building of the railways contemplated, exclusive of the Intercolonial. And one great point urged by our delegates was that ample provision should be made to carry out the acts of last year's session. If these acts were not carried out, our assumed debt would be decreased by the difference between it and the actual debt for which we would be allowed interest. The Nova Scotian delegates, in speaking of our going in with a larger debt, allowed that as our contemplated lines of railway would secure connection with the United States, some of the benefits of which their Province would reap, we should have some extra advantages. And then the question of the Intercolonial Railway arose, when it was agreed that it should be built by the Confederation, and this

was one of the strong reasons that influenced New Brunswick delegates in their deliberations. Of the cost of that work New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had each guaranteed the Provincial credit for three and one-half twelfths, and Canada for five-twelfths. Now the Federation would build the road, and New Brunswick would be relieved of the interest on the seven millions, amounting to \$420,000, as well as of the interest on the three and a-half-twelfths of the three millions sterling, amounting to \$190,000, making in all \$610,000 provided for by the General Government. This Province now paid \$45,000 for collection of the revenue, \$10,000 for militia and defence, various expenses for roads and bridges, education, public works, &c. Over and above all these advantages, we get for ten years a subsidy of \$63,000 per annum. Our local expenditures, summed up, amount to \$320,630. We will receive from the export duty, sales of Crown lands, casual and territorial revenues reserved under the arrangement for local purposes \$90,000; and 80 cents per head on the population, amounting to \$201,637, and an additional subsidy of \$63,000—in all for local purposes, say roads, bridges, education, and maintenance of Local Government and Legislatures \$354,637—ample for present necessities, and leaving us a balance for the opening of new roads. These are the principal points to be looked to. But it has been said that you intend to apply to New Brunswick the tariff of Canada; not so. It is admitted that we have made a good arrangement, but if it practically led to increased taxation, its benefits would be diminished. It is asked—Will you not impose heavier taxes? No; heavier taxes would not be imposed. It seems taken for granted that the Canadian tariffs must be adopted. He repudiated the idea. For a number of years the Government of Canada had been sustained by very small majorities; and will it be said that forty-seven members, the representatives from the Lower Provinces, would not have some voice in the question of tariff? But suppose, for the sake of argument, that the Canadian tariff would be the tariff. It was not so much the nature of the duties levied upon certain specific articles, but the amount assessed upon the whole people for the requirements of the country. The Canadian tariff is higher than that of New Brunswick; and if we were to apply it to-morrow, we must recollect that the Federation will necessarily lead not only to an increase of manufactures, but consequently to a diminution of the revenue. An article now brought into New Brunswick from other Colonies yields to her a portion of the revenue; under the new arrangement it would not. Suppose the three Provinces had united, as was originally contemplated, would it not have been necessary to recast the tariff? If the Confederation establish large manufactories, the revenue will diminish. Newfoundland yields per head more than any other Province, and yet it has a lower tariff. The produce of the fisheries, their only productions, they export; and everything

they use they import. Let Newfoundland come into the Federation, and then by establishing a line of steamers between Newfoundland and the other Provinces, as is contemplated, and her people can purchase manufactured goods and import them without paying a duty. Apply, then, the Canadian tariff to New Brunswick, and it would not increase our taxes whatever. Uncenumerated articles pay 20 per cent. in Canada and  $15\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in New Brunswick. Ships' materials are free in Canada and pay 3 or 4 per cent. in New Brunswick. Other articles pay higher duties. But on wines and brandies it pays only about one-half of what we do, while ships' materials are free in Canada; so if their tariff were applied to us to-morrow under the free trade principle, we would not be more heavily taxed. But with the tariff of Canada (and she is a greater manufacturing country than we, having 2,800,000 to supply, while we have but 250,000), the Canadians in 1863 did not pay so much per head as the people of New Brunswick. And if we were a member of the Federation, we would have to pay but \$2.75 dollars per head, while now we pay \$3.20 per head. If it can be shown that with \$2.75 per head and \$800,000 from our public works we can carry on the machinery of the Government and still have one million for defence, our position is a safe one, and one that cannot be improved upon. But, we are asked, what guarantee have you that you will continue to receive these subsidies promised by the General Government? Most unquestionable security. We are not at the mercy of the Canadians. The question of Federation must be agreed to by Local Legislatures, and then become law by Imperial enactment. The Imperial Government will provide for the payment of the subsidies to the Local Governments, and that Act cannot be changed without the consent of all the parties concerned. What position will we then occupy? We will still have Local Legislatures to guard our Local affairs; and this brought him again to the question of a Legislative Union. This was found to be impracticable in reference to Lower Canada, who had many local affairs the control of which she would not give up. But, even if this had not been so, Legislative Union was not desirable. If you put into the hands of a General Legislature your Local affairs, you will find the difficulty of working the machinery. He did not wish the people to lose sight of this fact, that the General Legislature was only meant to deal with general questions. Concerning the representation, that by population was the only one that could be adopted. The question had for a long time been agitated in Canada. Upper Canada, with a population of nearly 400,000 more than Lower Canada, had only the same number of representatives. On the question of representation by population there was but one opinion, and that was that it was the correct principle. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, with a population of 700,000, have the same representation

in the Upper House as Upper or Lower Canada, one with 1,600,000, the other with 1,200,000. Concerning the disregard of lower provincial interests in a house composed so largely of Canadians, he would ask, if in our own Local Legislatures any two members representing the smaller counties of this Province ever complain that injustice is done their county, because they only represent one-twentieth of the whole? Certainly not; they always have their fair share of influence. And so will it be with New Brunswick and the Maritime Provinces in the proposed Federation. So close has the contest been between parties in the Canadian Legislature for the last two years that even the five Prince Edward Island Members by their votes could turn victory to whatever side they chose, and have the game entirely in their own hands. Suppose that Upper Canada should attempt to carry out schemes for her own aggrandisement in the west, adverse to our interest, as has been represented; could she, with her 82 representatives, successfully oppose the 65 of Lower Canada and the 47 of the lower Provinces, whose interests would in that case be identical? Certainly not, and she would not attempt it. There was one other thought he must bear in mind now, our changed position with reference to our western neighbours. He felt himself free to refer to this subject, as he had never expressed any opinion, public or private, that could in any way be calculated to wound in any way the feelings of either of the belligerents. He had his own views of the contest, but he had kept them to himself, and he felt nothing but the most kindly feelings towards the American people. It was plain, however, that the English public, as well as the British Government, have felt for some time that our position with reference to the United States is not as satisfactory as it was in times past. Commercial men well remember that the year 1857 was one of even greater depression than the present. In that year, notwithstanding the monetary distress that prevailed throughout the whole civilised world, our Colonial securities were at par in the English market, or were generally taken up by English capitalists; but now, notwithstanding that every cent of the interest on these securities has been paid, and there was not one hour in which, since their issue, it had not been paid, with a surplus this year among all the North American Colonies of a million and a half of dollars, their 6 per cent. securities ranged from 92 to 97—on an average six to seven per cent. less than they had been during the commercial crisis of 1857. Why was this? It was owing to the uncertainty felt by British capitalists with reference to the future destiny of British America. The feeling of the British Government is that there is security enough for us in these Provinces. Since September, 1863, that Government has had the matter under its most serious consideration. It was well known that a commission of military officers of high standing had visited the country to report upon our defences. The feeling of the Home Government

and of the people was undoubtedly that we should contribute much more than we had yet done to our defences; and in support of this he read the following from a speech of Lord Stanley in the House of Commons. His Lordship, it is true, was not a minister of the Crown, but his remarks appear to be a true exponent of English feeling upon this subject.

“ There is one Colony, with regard to which we are in a position of great perplexity—I mean Canada. In the event of a rupture with the United States—I hope it is most improbable, but in their present temper nothing is impossible—Canada is our vulnerable point. It is the most indefensible country in the world. A long, narrow strip, with no depth of country that is habitable to fall back upon, and with a sparse population who have had no experience in war. And yet the case is not one in which we can honourably say to the Canadians—defend yourselves, it is not our affair. If they were to be brought into a war, in consequence of a quarrel between England and the United States—a war which they did nothing to bring about, and to which they had not even had a voice,—we could not in honour or duty abandon them. All that we can do is to call upon them, so long as they retain their connection with us, to do more toward their own defence than they have as yet done, and to make our assistance conditional upon their doing that.”

The proposition of the Home Government is, that we should do more than we have yet done. They say to us, in substance, if you desire to remain connected with us we are willing to spend of our blood and treasure in your defence; and if he understood the feelings and thoughts of the people of New Brunswick, he knew the response they would make to this. They would readily contribute their fair share of the expense. (Applause.) It was the knowledge of this feeling among the delegates—or a portion of them—at Quebec, that had induced them to give their warm support to the proposed union, and to expend, instead of \$500,000, the sum of \$1,000,000 annually, to meet the demands thus made upon us for our defence. He thanked them for the patience and attention with which they had listened to him. There was but one other topic on which he had to touch. It had been asserted that the delegates have assumed an authority in dealing with this question that they ought not to have assumed; that they have taken upon themselves an authority that they ought not to have taken. This was a strange charge to make. It would be a new thing, indeed, to refuse to respond to the invitation of a sister colony to consider questions of great magnitude affecting them all. Had they refused, they would be charged as a do-nothing Government. From the way these objectors talked, you would imagine that the delegates were to make all the arrangements, and force them upon the people here, and

urge them through the Imperial Parliament without giving any time for their consideration. Nothing of the kind was ever contemplated. The delegates were only in the performance of their duties—duties for which they were paid by the people to well and faithfully discharge. They had assumed nothing. Each Government was left to act its own pleasure upon the way in which the question was to be put before its constituents. It was not the intention of the Government of New Brunswick to force the matter upon the people. It was now before them, and he asked for it a calm and candid consideration. He could assure them that, if there is the least question as to the opinion of the people upon it, it shall be submitted to them at the polls. They wanted to have it fully and freely and fairly discussed: discussion was their policy. The matter had been thoroughly revised by thirty-two members representing the different colonies. It was now presented to the people: he believed that it would receive fair treatment at their hands. If the scheme appears to them sound and good—one that will be beneficial to their interests and productive of benefit in the present and the future,—the intelligence of the country will endorse it. If, on the contrary, it appears likely to result in evil, they would reject it. He asked no better tribunal than the public opinion of the Province. He asked nothing more for the scheme than an investigation into it upon its own merits, irrespective of any like or dislike they may have for those who present it. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. Mr. GRAY said:—The strongest evidence of support of the position taken by Mr. Tilley, that the delegates had no object in forcing the proposed measures upon the people of the provinces, is shown in the fact that two of the delegates are before you this evening to explain the matter, that all may understand exactly what they are called upon to do. And I will say, first, that we have not, as charged, sacrificed one iota of the constitutional rights of the people while acting in the capacity of delegates; if we had, we should not be worthy of your confidence. In our action thus far we have taken jealous care that every right should be maintained, and no effort spared to advance the interests of the British Provinces. At present our revenue is disposed of in two different ways—one, and the greater part, is appropriated for the public debt and liabilities and the remainder for local and internal improvements. By the proposed Confederation these burdens are not only taken off from our shoulders, but we have out of the same amount we now pay a considerable sum left for the public defence. Our resources derived from our mines, fisheries, manufactures, &c., all go for our local benefit, and to the General Government; while at the same time we receive large contributions from Canada for the construction of the Interoceanic Railroad, our rights are all reserved and our position elevated. But it has been contended that we are getting on well enough as we

are ; why, then, have the Union. I answer, we should not be satisfied merely with what is enough ; we want more than sufficient. Private persons are not usually content with a bare sufficiency—they are constantly seeking for more. If we look at the surrounding countries we shall find that their advancement is due to large markets and to union. There are no custom-houses in the United States to restrain trade ; from Maine to Florida a market is open for all who can manufacture the cheapest. As for our own artisans, they have no market but New Brunswick. Whenever they cross the lines, they are met by duties. Our own manufacturers are loudest in their complaints of these restrictions. Our sugar refineries, and our ironworks, oilworks and manufactories of all kinds are suffering. People who have not one cent invested in manufactories are fearful that our manufacturers will be swamped and ruined ; but the manufacturers have no anxiety whatever on the subject (laughter and applause). But union is not only expedient, but necessary. Public opinion in England is becoming convinced that the Provinces are too expensive a toy to keep much longer. If England withdraws her support, the events will prove that we shall have to make up our minds whether we are to go with Great Britain or the United States. We cannot remain isolated by ourselves. We do not entertain serious apprehensions of a collision with the United States. The present attitude of that country seems to be a desire rather to humiliate England than to injure us ; nevertheless, we shall stick by the mother-country. (Applause.) But we will lay aside questions national and defensive and speak of pounds, shillings, and pence. Let us compare the trade of Canada and the maritime Provinces of to-day and in 1848, the year of the union of the two Canadas. Previously the Canadas were isolated Provinces, with separate laws, separate interests, &c. By union, all local divisions and distractions were obliterated. In 1848 the trade of Canada, imports and exports, amounted to £6,300,000 ; in 1863 it was £22,000,000—a remarkable increase of 265 per cent. in 15 years. The trade of the maritime Provinces in 1848 was £4,205,000 ; in 1863 it was £10,155,000. We have greater natural advantages than Canada, but have not increased so rapidly in proportion. Why ? Because of union, and the casting aside of restrictions. Another question much discussed in the public prints (and it should be weighed not as a personal question, but as the best for the country) is whether a federative union is better than a legislative union. The speaker showed by illustrations that with the latter parties in remote sections of the country could not receive the attention they were entitled to. Municipal institutions and direct taxation in every country would be the only means of getting along in such a case ; but this he was opposed to. A legislative union was regarded as utterly impossible ; but in a federative union only their commercial and other interests were to be considered which involve the general interest. Local

legislatures were deprived of nothing. Respecting the constitution by which the union is sought to be accomplished, he had seen it stated in a paper that it is proposed to surrender by Act of Parliament all the liberties we have ever had, and place them in the hands of the Imperial Parliament; but the delegates would forfeit the confidence of the people if they sought to do this. The act of the Imperial Parliament only cements the action of the Local Parliaments, and prevents the greater power from infringing upon the rights of the smaller; it is the keystone of the arch, to make it as compulsory on the strong as on the weak. No rights were lost by act of Imperial Parliament in the Canadian Union of 1848. If rights are once conceded, no power can take them away. We cannot suppose that the Imperial Parliament wishes to deprive us of our rights; on the contrary, they are urging us to assume new ones for ourselves. In illustration of the friendly purpose of the Government he read from a despatch of Galt to show how, when the British Government had withheld its assent from the Canadian Revenue Act because it bore too hard upon British manufactures, that Minister, then junior Member of Canada, warmly upheld the right of the people of Canada through their Legislatures to levy duties when and how they pleased. As to the details of the Constitution, they may be stated—1st. To perpetuate our connection with England and promote the interests of the maritime Provinces, we must make it as near as possible to that of England. Is that an objection? That has been selected as the model. 2nd. The Governor-General is appointed by her Majesty; it would not be desirable that his tenure of office should depend upon the caprice of political elections, but be permanent like the Queen's. With this single exception, no person is appointed from abroad, and not a dollar extracted from our pockets. Even the Local Governors will hereafter be men of our own choice—men taken from among you—men who have risen with and will fall with your prosperity. (Applause.) 3rd. The Governor is to be controlled and advised by his Cabinet as now, and as is done in England. If he does not do right, he must either change his course or go out. (Hear, hear.) 4th. As to the construction of the Legislative Council, example has been taken from the United States. The troubles in that country should not be attributed to a defective constitution, but to diverse interests and antagonistic productions; but here we have but one latitude and one climate; we have a similarity which raises no conflicting interests. All of us have the same freedom and the same rights. We must examine their constitution, not in reference to present difficulties, but anterior to them. Well, it gives in the Senate equal representation, and unequal representation in the Lower House. Our own plan is superior to this, as I shall show. The British North American Provinces, except Newfoundland, are three very nearly equal sections; but the three Lower Provinces, with less area and population, have an equal representation with

Canada. The question then comes, how these members are to be appointed—whether elected or appointed by the Governor-General, with the advice of the Council? The Convention, after ample discussion, agreed unanimously that it should not be elective; it has been already found in Canada to be too expensive. Of electoral districts in that Province, whose senators are elected, one man paid £6,000 for ordinary election expenses; and another, representing 150,000 people, travelled 2,000 miles, and addressed 150 public meetings. The practical result would be to throw it exclusively into the hands of rich men. We do not want these; we want representatives of all classes—of practical daily life. Not that the wealthy man is not practical; he must probably have been practical to have gotten his wealth. But the tendency would be to look out only to secure his seat, and to show no disposition to advance the general interests of the country. On the other hand, efforts would be made to select the best men. The member to be elected must also have a property qualification—a certain wealth and freehold property—and must retain it during his incumbency. If he become bankrupt, he must resign. The Lower House is a representation by population, but this does not mean universal suffrage. On questions of suffrage, it was arranged by Conference that the basis should be representation by population. This does not mean universal suffrage—not that every man with a head on his shoulders, possessing no property or other qualifications, should have the privilege of voting for representatives, but that the different Colonies should have representatives or members in the General Parliament according to the number of inhabitants which each possessed. The whole scheme was sought for by Canada, in order to adjust her own political difficulties, arising out of this question of representation. It was the deliberate and conscientious conclusion at which her statesmen arrived, and was not, as has been repeatedly asserted, the device of ambitious and unscrupulous men. The groundwork of all their political differences in Canada was that when the union was effected between Upper and Lower Canada, the number of representatives which each section was allowed in the united Parliament was equal. Upper Canada increased more rapidly in population than Lower Canada on account of the people being more progressive, and having a more expansive territory, until, at the present day, the former has 500,000 inhabitants more than the latter, while the representation remains the same, there being 500,000 people in the upper section who have no representation in Parliament. If we had even 5,000 more in this Province who had no representation, the people would cry loudly against it, which would be quite reasonable, and say that they should have. To this question of representation the delegates had given much attention, and had so arranged it that no portion of our population could remain without representation. He saw it stated in some of the newspapers that Upper Canada would, on

account of its rapid increase in population, soon override Lower Canada and the maritime Provinces. Even if this were so, no great mischief could be done, as the power is still vested in the local Legislatures of the respective Provinces to transact their own internal affairs. By an examination of the document drawn up in Canada, however, it will be seen that a section was framed with a view of obviating any probability of one Province "swamping" the others in the Lower House, or General Parliament, of the united Provinces. This paragraph reads, that for the purpose of adjusting the representation of "Lower Canada shall be assigned sixty-five members, and each of the other sections shall at each such re-adjustment receive, for the ten years then next succeeding, the number of members to which it will be entitled on the same ratio of representation to population as Lower Canada will enjoy, according to the census then just taken, by having sixty-five members." Under this arrangement, then, it is impossible for Upper Canada to outnumber the other sections in the General Parliament for at least half a century to come. It was found to be impossible to secure a larger representation for New Brunswick than 15 members in this branch of the Legislature. If New Brunswick had a larger number of Members, the other sections would necessarily have required a representation proportionate to ours, which would have made the Parliament too cumbrous; so that the whole number of members in the lower branch could not be much larger than 195, at which the Conference fixed it. There could, then, really be no objection to the present position of the lower provinces in this respect. What would be our position if a part of the United States? Would it be as favourable in respect to representation as is here stipulated? Let us look at some of the neighbouring states. Maine, for instance, which has a population much larger than ours, has 5 representatives in a Congress of 233 members. Is Maine "swamped?" Is little Rhode Island "swamped" with but two representatives in the same House? These states have but 1 representative to every 125,000 of their inhabitants, and the same proportion is completely carried out throughout the whole of the United States, yet we hear nothing of their being "swamped" by the vote or action of Congress. Does any man get "swamped" by being a member of a large community. When, for instance, a man comes from Sussex, does he lose his identity or are his interests forgotten in the populous city of St. John? Are the interests of any member of a large firm forgotten? To prevent this "swamping," then, this section quoted above was arranged. (Hear, hear.) The honourable gentleman, argued, therefore, that it was impossible for the population of Upper Canada to increase in such a ratio that its representatives could override that of the lower provinces for many years.

New Brunswick has 15 representatives in the Parliament of the proposed confederation. Rhode Island has only two and Maine only

five in the Congress of the United States—a body numbering 233. How much better, then, is our position than that of states of the union, and how much better is it than it would be if we were annexed to the United States? Our position as compared with theirs is that we have 15 representatives from a population of 250,000 in a house of 195, while in the United States their representation is one member to a population of 125,000 in a house numbering 233. Another right saved by the arrangements of the Conference was that the receipts from export duty on lumber and the receipts from stumpage remain under the control of the local legislature, to be appropriated for local purposes—schools, roads, bridges, or any other local institutions in which our people were immediately interested. If it should turn out that St. John would be the terminus of the Intercolonial Railway, as likely it would be, the income from the increased trade and revenue will go into our own treasury, and for our own local benefit, and into our own pockets; so that it could not be argued against the scheme that New Brunswick would be “swamped” or lost in the proposed scheme. This matter, and others bearing upon it, the hon. gentleman would have gone into more fully if time had permitted. Another matter of considerable importance demanded attention—the rights and powers of the local government. In this everything stands as it is at present, except that our Lieutenant-Governor, who has heretofore been selected from among the favourites of Ministers or Governments of Great Britain, will be selected from among men who have identified themselves with the people of the province, with the local affairs and interests of the country, and who have devoted their talents and energies to its welfare in long years of public service in the confidence of its inhabitants. It has been urged by some of the newspapers in St. John that there will be a power in the Government, according to the proposed system, to pass laws for direct taxation. Again he would say he was pleased to see the newspapers fully ventilating and discussing the question. This, however, could not be used as an argument against the proposed confederation; for had not our own Government at the present day the power to pass laws imposing direct taxation upon the inhabitants? The judiciary was very briefly referred to, but in language showing conclusively that by confederation the Bench of New Brunswick would lose none of its standing and high reputation. It was not intended to hurry this proposed scheme into actual life and operation. It is not to be carried out to-day, but years may roll by before it is carried into effect. It is not intended for the aggrandisement of the public men of the present generation, unless the people of the provinces desire that it should be now put into operation. Its advantages remain for those who are now journeymen mechanics in our workshops, our manufacturers in the future; for the future merchants and business men of New Brunswick, who are now

performing their daily routine behind the counters of their employers, unknown it may be but possessing the talents and energies to take advantage of its privileges and the field which it will throw open for the exercise of them; to the boys at school and to the youth of our province, who at some future day must fill the places of those who are daily passing away;—to the rising generation the benefits will be, for those now battling for the best may have passed away ere its consummation. The management of our own affairs, he would again endeavour to impress upon the mind of his audience, were not trammelled in any way by the arrangement entered into by the Conference; but we had the power to borrow money, pledge our credit to any extent, impose duties or take them off our lumber. In fact, there was no measure except the arrangement of the general tariff but the local government of the province could not adopt without the interference of the General Parliament. There was a matter to which he would like to refer before bringing his remarks of this evening to a close. The man, he said—the public man, who is so thin-skinned as to be unable to stand the many insinuations and blows that are thrust at him is incapable of filling the position which he has taken, and should retire from an arena in which he must expect to meet much opposition. He did not wish to complain, however, of the gentleman to whom he was about to refer, but he wished to prove his own consistency in relation to this affair of an union of the colonies. Immediately on his return from Canada he read in one of our city papers a charge made out against himself of being one time a staunch advocate for annexation to the United States, and the editor remarked that it might be interesting to the public to hear his ideas of annexation at the present day. It will be remembered that the annexation fever raged here some sixteen or seventeen years ago. (Hear, hear.) Now he would show what were his opinions at that day, and that they were identical with those which have possession of his mind in the present. He was then in favour of an union of the provinces in opposition to annexation. He had exhumed the proof of this statement from an old volume of the *Morning News* for 1848. He read a report of his speech in support of a resolution favouring union, moved at a meeting held in the Mechanics' Institute in that year, in which he strongly urged some sort of connection between the colonies by which the barriers to trade would be thrown down, so that the growing feeling in favour of annexation to the United States would be counteracted and our connection maintained with the mother-country. This is just, he said, what he is doing at the present day.

The hon. gentleman concluded his remarks by stating there was no cause why we should remain a drag upon the mother-country or why we should annex ourselves to the United States, and by again assuring the audience that neither the Conference

at Quebec nor the Government of New Brunswick had any intention of taking away any of their rights, or even changing their system of government, without asking the approval of the people. There was no power on earth that could do it. He would earnestly support the Government in this matter; he believed it would advance the interest of the province 100 per cent.

At a Meeting held at Woodstock, New Brunswick, immediately after the St. John's gathering, the Hon. Mr. FISHER delivered an exceedingly able address, and which, we regret, our space forbids us giving *in extenso*. After a few observations he said:—Moved by a common impulse to provide for mutual defence, we conceived that object could be best obtained by union. Conscious that, whether by the proposed federation or in some other way, such provision must be made, and that we had not hitherto contributed towards our defence in proportion to the rights we enjoy and to our national obligations, we knew that at the best our contribution must be small and of itself totally insufficient for the purpose, yet that the people would most cheerfully contribute to the extent of their means. We were convinced that, evincing such a disposition, and showing ourselves prepared to do all in our power, the whole strength of the Empire would be put forth to sustain us. I do not anticipate any difficulty with the neighbouring Republic, but the unsettled condition of our border relations is worthy of grave consideration, and a cause of much solicitude to the British Government. Moved by a common desire to extend our trade and commercial relations, we feel the necessity for a wider field of action for this interchange of our commodities and extension of our trade. We have now five separate tariffs, as many different customs' establishments, each with fiscal regulations peculiar to itself, and operating as a restraint upon each other—stifling the colonial mind and cramping the colonial energies. To new Brunswick or any of the maritime Provinces we offer 3,000,000 of new customers with whom to trade and for whom to manufacture. To Canada we offer 1,000,000. Our country abounds with water power and cheap facilities for manufacturing purposes. Our rivers afford convenient modes of access to the ocean or transit through the Province, but notwithstanding that nature has made these rich provisions, from the want of a suitable market there is no inducement for the expenditure of capital in the erection and maintenance of manufactures; and, as a consequence, our raw material is carried abroad—even our sheep pelts are continually being carried out of the country—there to be manufactured, giving labour and living to foreigners. Our people are wanting neither in energy nor enterprise, but their field of labour is too contracted to give proper room for the exercise of either. The connection of a poor with a rich country must of necessity benefit the former. As an illustration,

take Scotland, which has so greatly increased in all the elements of wealth and industrial progress since her union with England. Every one must have observed the rapid strides made by Canada in the short time since her union—little over twenty years—in the development of her resources, the improvement of her agricultural interest, the increase of her manufactories, and the extension of her commerce. She has been enabled thereby to complete her canals and to secure the extension of her inland navigation for the transit of heavy freights to the ocean. She has been enabled to construct over 2,000 miles of railway, has doubled her population, and given evidence of a progress scarcely paralleled in the history of the world. All these are the direct results of her union, without which they would not have been accomplished. Another reason for union—we desire to elevate the people from their petty and insignificant provincial individuality to that of a nation, with national feelings, sympathies, and aspirations. What position does a New Brunswicker or a Canadian occupy abroad in contrast with men who are often his inferiors? How are your leading men treated in comparison with those of any of the petty principalities and governments of Europe? Have they not too often heretofore been considered as an inferior race? The Canadian statesmen, in explaining the necessity and advantages of union, stated three elements as essential—the territorial, the popular, and the maritime. Canada has the territorial and the popular; she possesses extensive, almost boundless territory, embracing great rivers and extensive inland seas—nearly three millions of people, and rapidly increasing; but she has no outlet to the ocean, and she desired to be united to the Lower Provinces because they possessed the maritime element and furnished her means of access to the ocean. We, in the maritime Provinces, have exhaustless fisheries, an extensive sea coast, deep bays, fine harbours open at all seasons of the year. We have the forland, the nearest point towards the Old World on the Atlantic ferry; the command of the great oceanic telegraph; Newfoundland, the key to the Gulf and the half-way house on the highway from the Old to the New World; innumerable rivers, invigorating the country and providing facilities for navigation and manufacturing. We have an extensive coasting and foreign trade, employing a large fleet of ships, a nursery for seamen, and even in the present infant state of our mercantile marine we are the fourth maritime Power in the world, being only exceeded by Great Britain, France, and the United States. These are our elements of national wealth, giving unmistakeable evidence of our title to become a nation—and greater than some of the Continental Powers. The first Commons of the Confederated Parliament will represent 4,000,000 of people, metaphorically illustrating the language of inspiration “A nation born in a day.” Imagine the field that 4,000,000 of people will offer to the enterprise of our merchants and the skill of our manufacturers, with the almost certain prospect of extending to the Pacific. When these political

arrangements are made, and facilities of access provided for the vast territory lying to the west of Canada, it must of necessity give an extraordinary impetus to immigration and settlement. What a field for our lawyers and public men; it will promote greater competition and secure a higher order of intellect. Instead of small provincial assemblies we shall have the representatives of millions, an arena in which shall be displayed the brightest intellects and varied talents of the chosen men from all parts of the Confederacy. It will raise men from mere politicians to the dignity of statesmen; it will generate a more vigorous public opinion and a more vigorous press, acting upon public men and reflecting back the public mind. To attain these ends and develop our vast material interests, free government is necessary. Turn to many countries where nature has lavished her favours with most bounteous hand—where the best products of nature grow spontaneously, with elemental wealth of untold values, but where, from the nature of the government and the character of the people, wealth dare not seek an investment and where life and property are insecure. Do you want an illustration of what free government does, look at England; mark how her history has been the history of the development of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial progress until the clear annual surplus of the national savings has reached a fabulous sum. Whatever she is, may be attributed to the energy of her people fostered by free institutions. The United States, previous to the war, presents another illustration of the same principle, and their capacity to provide for all the unexpected demands of the present war is only an additional proof of their rapid progress in the past. We desired to lay the foundation of a good Government, with a strong and vigorous executive. We have the sympathies of the British people, who feel an interest and pride in our work. The intelligent men in the United States look with favour upon our efforts, who, while they have so much to deplore in the present unhappy state of their country, and anxiously await the result of that trial through which they are now passing, still wish us God-speed in our endeavours to establish a new and powerful federation. After resolving that it was desirable to form a Confederation under the British Crown, it was agreed, for the purpose of securing good government and perpetuating British connection, to adopt the British Constitution as a model. Whatever differences of opinion existed in the minds of the Members of the Conference on other points, they were all actuated by the foregone conclusion that British connection must be maintained. This question was not deemed debateable. All were of opinion that if the Colonies remained separate, they must necessarily ultimately fall into the hands of the resistless maw of American democracy. So long as they remained separate, the commercial as well as social relations between the several Provinces and the United States were gradually drawing them together by the strongest ties—common interest. By uniting, the Provinces would feel a common

interest in each other, and, becoming one power in connection with the parent state, would necessarily receive a larger measure of consideration and regard from the British Government and people. In framing the Constitution, they had not only the experience of the working of the British Constitution, but, as well, the Federal Constitution of the United States, and were thus in a position to adopt any portion of it which might seem desirable, and to avoid any imperfections which had been discovered in it. In adopting the British Constitution as a model, we knew that where it had been established, it had secured as great an amount of political liberty as the people required; that though it was the growth of ages, such was its elasticity it had adapted itself to every age, to every country, and every condition of things; it had made Britain the very sanctuary of freedom; it had maintained its position as a great power on the earth when the Governments of Continental Europe were borne down with revolutionary tornadoes which had passed over the Continent. We desired to give the Monarchical principle a fair trial on this Continent; in the language of Mr. M'Gee, "to mix tradition with progress," to unite chivalry with modern utilitarianism, to bind together the Gothic characteristics of the past with the fresher inspirations of the present. I now come to the immediate work of the Conference. After due deliberation, they were enabled unanimously to agree; there were several things in the Constitution which I should prefer to have otherwise; but as a whole I considered it an extraordinary result, and regarded it as a great achievement that we should have been enabled to frame a Constitution that would receive the unanimous approbation of the whole convention. It must not be supposed that the only difficulties in the way of giving effect to the Constitution existed in New Brunswick; each Province had difficulties peculiar to itself, and the other Delegates supposed the arrangements made with regard to New Brunswick were so favourable as to make it less difficult in carrying it here than in any other Province. There had been difficulties in Upper Canada, but public opinion was evidently changing. It was supposed that Lower Canada would offer the greatest obstacles arising from the difference of race, still we believed there were legal patriotic men in that country who would be enabled to induce its adoption; and you must bear in mind that in reserving to the different Provinces the control of affairs purely local, and the maintenance of their peculiar institutions, was a provision of peculiar import in its application to Lower Canada, whose laws, institutions, and language are specifically retained for her local control. The Conference agreed to recommend a Federal Union, comprising the two Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, with a General Government charged with matters common to all, and Local Governments with local matters, applicable to each Province, with provisions for the admission of Newfoundland, the North-West Territory, British Columbia, and Vancouver's Island

The motion affirming the resolutions of the Quebec Conference was proposed by the Hon. John A. Macdonald in the Canadian Legislature on the 6th February, when the gentleman introduced it to the notice of the House with the following speech. He said:—

In fulfilment of the promise made by the Government to Parliament he moved for "An Address to Her Majesty on the subject of the Union of the Colonies of British North America, based upon the resolution adopted by their delegates on the 10th October, 1864." He had the honor, on behalf of the present Government, to submit a scheme for the Confederation of all the British North American Colonies—a scheme which had been received, and he was glad to say it, with general, if not universal approbation in Canada. The scheme, as propounded and published through the press, had received almost no opposition. Although, here and there, there might have been occasional dissent from some of the details, yet the scheme as a whole had met with almost universal approbation. The Government had the greatest satisfaction in presenting it to this House. This subject, which now absorbs the attention of the people of Canada and of the remainder of British North America, was not new. For years it had, more or less, attracted the attention of every statesman and politician of those Provinces, and had been looked upon by many far-seeing politicians as being the best means of settling very many of the vexed questions that had retarded the prosperity of the other British Colonies, as well as of Canada. The subject was pressed upon the public attention by a great many orators and politicians; but it first, he thought, received an expression of opinion through the advocacy of his honorable friend, the present Minister of Finance. Some years ago, when he was an independent member of the House, before becoming connected with any Government, he, in an elaborate speech, expressed his views at great length and with great force upon this subject, and in favour of a union of those colonies. But this scheme was not adopted by any party as a feature of policy till the year 1858, when, upon the formation of the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry, it was announced as one of the measures which it would attempt to bring, if possible, to a satisfactory solution, and, in pursuance of this promise, the letter which had been so much and freely commented upon, was addressed by three of his colleagues to the then Colonial Secretary. The subject, though at the time there was no expression of opposition to it, did not assume its present proportions until last session of Parliament. Then, men of all shades of politics, becoming alarmed at the aspect of affairs; finding that such was the opposition between the two sections of the Province; that such was the danger of anarchy, in consequence of the irreconcilable differences of opinion existing between the people of Upper and Lower Canada; saw that unless some solution was found for those difficulties we should suffer

under a series of weak Governments, weak in the power of doing any good for the country. All were alarmed at this state of affairs. We had had election after election, and with the same result; we had seen Ministry follow Ministry, and the results were still the same. Parties were so weak when they balanced that the vote of a single member was sufficient to decide the fate of an Administration, and stop the course of legislation from year to year. This condition of things was well calculated to arouse the earnest consideration of every lover of his country, and he was happy to say that it did so. No one was more impressed with the momentous state of affairs and the great apprehensions that existed of the occurrence of anarchy that might destroy our prosperity and commerce than some of the leading members of this House; and the leading politicians on both sides came to a common conclusion to relieve the country from the dead lock that existed. With that view the hon. member for South Oxford last session made a motion, founded upon the despatch to the Colonial Minister to which he had referred, to consider our constitutional difficulties with a view to their removal. A Committee was struck, composed of members of all parties, for the purpose of giving consideration to the evils that threatened Canada. The result was most happy. The Committee, by a wise provision, and in order that each member might have the opportunity of expressing his opinions without being compromised before the country, agreed that the discussion should be entered into without reference to the political antecedents of any member, and that they should sit with closed doors, in order that they might approach the subject in a spirit of fairness and boldness. The result was the discovery of an ardent desire, a creditable desire on the part of all the leading men in Canada to approach this subject and work out some solution that might relieve Canada from the great difficulties in which she was placed. The Report of that Committee was laid before the House, and the political action that followed resulted in the formation of the present Government. The principles under which it was formed had been announced, and were well known. It was formed for the very purpose of carrying out the object which had now arrived at a certain degree of completion, by the framing of the resolutions which he had now the honor to submit. Many gentlemen who supported the present Government had been opposed to it, and political hostility had existed to an extent that affected the social relations of members. Those who now formed the present Administration had found it their duty to lay aside all political and personal feeling—to sacrifice their position to some extent, and run the risk of having their motives impugned—to arrive at some conclusion that might be satisfactory to the country. The present resolutions were the result; and he was proud to believe the country would sanction, and trusted the representatives of the people in this House would sanction the scheme

now before it for the future Government of British North America. Everything seemed to favor the project and to show that the present was the time, if ever, that this great union of all Her Majesty's subjects in British North America was to be carried out. When the Government was formed it was believed by many that the difficulty of effecting an union of the British North American Colonies was so great as almost to make it hopeless; and with that view it was the policy of the Government, if they could not succeed in procuring an union between all the British North American Colonies, to attempt to free the country from the dead lock which existed between Upper and Lower Canada—owing to the difference of opinion and sectional feeling—by a severance to a certain extent of the union of the two Provinces and the substitution of a Federal Union. Most of us—all of us he believed, would agree as to the expediency of effecting an union between all the British North American Provinces, and that such a design was superior to the very small scheme of an union between Upper and Lower Canada, if the larger one were only practicable. By a happy concurrence of events the time came when that proposition could be made with some prospect of success, and by a happy coincidence the desire for union existed in the Lower Provinces, where a feeling of the necessity of strengthening themselves by uniting together the scattered Colonies on the seaboard had operated. A convention of their own for the purpose of effecting an union of the Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island had assembled. The Legislatures of those Colonies had formally authorised their respective Governments to send a deputation to meet in Prince Edward's Island, for the purpose of attempting to effect an union of some kind, whether Federal or Legislative—to make themselves one people instead of three. We, ascertaining that they were about to take such a step, and knowing that if we allowed them to proceed to action, break up all their political organizations and create a new one, that they could not be expected to again abolish it, and form a system newer, took the opportunity of asking them if they would hear a deputation from Canada, who would go to lay before them the advantages of a better and more extended union. They at once kindly replied, they would receive and hear us, and we were received amicably and generously, and asked to lay a scheme before them. We did so at some length, and so satisfactory were our reasons, and so well did we show the superior advantage of a greater union over a lesser one, that they at once set aside their own project, and joined heart and hand with us in entering into the larger scheme, and in trying to form, as far as they and we could, a great nation and a strong Government. (Cheers). Encouraged by this arrangement, which was altogether unofficial, however, and unauthorised, we returned to Quebec, and the Government of Canada invited the Governments of the sister

Provinces to send deputations here, to consider the question with something like authority from their respective Governments. The result was that the first day on which we all met here, the 10th of October, after a full discussion some time before in Charlottetown, the first resolution now before this House was passed unanimously, and with acclamation, as being, in the opinion of all, a proposition which ought, and was likely to receive the sanction of each of the Colonial Governments and each of the Provinces. The resolution was—"The best interests and the present and future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such Union can be effected on principles just to the several Provinces." It seemed to all the statesmen of the Lower Provinces—and there are great statesmen there, men who would do honour to any country, government, or legislature—that it was clear that the best interests, and that the present and future prosperity of B. A. America would be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain. It seemed to me as it seemed to them that, if we wished to become a great people instead of a small one—if we wished to form a great nationality commanding the respect of the world—able to hold our own against all enemies and to defend those institutions we prize—if we wished to have one system of Government, and unrestricted free trade with our fellow-colonists, obeying the same sovereign, speaking the same language, and we might say holding the same faith as ourselves—of affording each other mutual support and defence in case of aggression—it could only be obtained by an union of some kind among the British North American Provinces. (Cheers.) The very mention of the scheme—at the proposition to add to Canada, or join with her population, five hundred thousand people more, would bring with it its own approbation. Supposing that, in spring, we were told that this year five hundred thousand, or between that and a million people, were coming from the United Kingdom to make Canada their home—although they brought only their strong arms and willing hearts, and neither skilled nor experienced, we would receive them with open arms. But when, in addition to that number added to our population, we found them including old and established communities, possessing an immense amount of realized wealth—people of skill and education, who were in common with us interested in the welfare of these Provinces—a people who had got a country which they loved and to which they were attached, and for which they would fight, and, if necessary, shed their blood—we would see the value of an union with the Lower Provinces. There were only three modes of relieving Canada from the momentous difficulties with which she was surrounded—from the dead lock and the dreaded anarchy and evils that impended, and of insuring prosperity to the country—which could be suggested. One was the dissolution of the Union between Upper and Lower Canada, leaving

them as they were before the Union of 1841. He believed that the proposition in itself had no supporters. It was felt that although it would do away with the sectional evils existing, and with the pressure on the part of the people of Upper Canada for Representation by population, and do away with the jealousy on the part of the people of Lower Canada, and the fear that they and their institutions would be prejudicially affected by that measure, that this dissolution would be a retrograde step which would bring back the country to very much the same position it occupied before the Union; that it would sever a connection that had existed for twenty-five years, and which, although it had not been altogether successful in allaying the local jealousies that circumstances had created before the Union, had lasted a long time and under which the Province as a whole had flourished and increased in prosperity. It was felt that that dissolution would have destroyed what credit we have gained by being united Provinces, and would have left two weak and ineffective Provinces instead of one comparatively strong one. The next mode by which the dead-lock could have been done away with—namely, granting Representation by Population to Upper Canada. We all knew how that question was regarded by the people of Lower Canada, and that while in Upper Canada the desire to secure a fair representation was daily increasing, the resistance to it in Lower Canada was increasing in strength. If some such solution as Confederation had not been found to relieve us from the sectional difficulties which existed between the two, Representation by Population must eventually have been carried. No matter although it would have been felt in Lower Canada as being a breach of the treaty of Union, and as prejudicing their local interests, it was certain that in the progress of events Representation by Population would have been carried; and, if it had been, he did not think it would have been in the interest of Canada. This had always been his view of the matter. It would have left Lower Canada under the impression of injury, and there would have been a sullen feeling of discontent among the people, who would not have worked cheerfully under such a system, and they would have ceased to be what they are now—a great people; and, for the purpose of defending their own sectional laws and interest, they would have become a faction instead of the great people they were now. The third and only means of a solution of our difficulties was a Confederation of the Provinces, either by Federal or Legislative Union. Now, with respect to the comparative advantages of a Legislative Union and of a Federal Union, he never hesitated saying that, if practicable, a Legislative Union would be preferable. (Hear, hear.) He had again and again stated that if we could have one Government and one Parliament, legislating in every respect for the whole of this people, it would be the best, cheapest, most vigorous, and strongest Government. (Hear, hear.) On looking at the subject, and dis-

cussing the matter, as we did, unreservedly, and with the desire to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, he found such a system was impracticable. In the first place, it would not meet with the consent of the people of Lower Canada, who felt that in their peculiar position, as a minority, speaking a language, and professing a faith different from those of the majority of the people under Confederation, that their institutions, their laws, their national associations, which they prized, might be prejudiced; and therefore it was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality of Lower Canada would not be received by her people. We found still further, as to the Lower Provinces, that, though their people spoke the same language and enjoyed the same common law as the people of Upper Canada—which law was founded on the common law of England, there was a great disinclination on the part of those Provinces to lose their individuality as a nation, just actuated by a similar feeling to that observed in Lower Canada. Therefore we found, after a full consideration of this subject and of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the two systems, that we must either abandon the idea of Confederation or Union altogether, or obtain a system in which the separate Provincial organizations would be, in some degree, preserved. Another obstacle to a Legislative Union arose from the fact that though the Maritime Provinces had a common law derived from the same source as Upper Canada—as every one of them had an immense amount of law of its own, framed for itself and affecting every relation of life, such as the law of property, municipal law, assessment law, law connected with the protection of property or the preservation of the liberty of the subject. This statutory law of the different Provinces was so various, so diversified that it was almost out of the question that the different Provinces could have a Legislative Union at once. Every one of the Colonies had laws of its own to which it was attached: we in Upper Canada could understand it, where we had our municipal system for years and valued it. We knew the great variety of subjects upon which we had laws, many small in themselves, but of vital interest to the great body of the people; and when we reflected that every Colony had laws of the same kind, and that it would take years before they could be assimilated in one law, we felt that, at first, at all events, any united legislation would be almost impossible. He was happy to announce that with regard to the Lower Provinces a strong desire was evinced for a final assimilation of our laws. It was one of the propositions that an attempt should be made to assimilate the laws of the Maritime Provinces with those of Upper Canada, for the purpose of eventually succeeding in establishing one statutory law founded on the common law of England, which was the father of all the laws of the Provinces. One great objection made to the Federal Union was the expense of the increased number of legislators. But the Finance Minister would be able to show that it would not be

greater than at present. (Hear, hear.) For instance, taking questions of general legislation : here we had a legislature between Upper and Lower Canada, which dealt not only with subjects of general interest, but with all matters of a private right and of a sectional character, and with what was called private bills as opposed to general legislation ; and we found that the great cause of expense in the administration of affairs was the cost of legislation. We found that now the admixture of subjects in legislation of a general, as well as of a private character, caused an interference of one with the other. We found that the debates on great subjects went on from day to day, and that certain days were appropriated to measures of a general and other to those of private interests; and so with the two together the session dragged its weary length along ; whereas if the legislation were confined to measures of one kind or the other, the sitting of the legislature would not be so protracted and the expense not so great as now. All the subjects of great and general interests—all which affected the Provinces as a whole were proposed to be left exclusively to the General Legislature, while the Local Legislatures would deal with private interests, or matters not generally concerning the whole Confederation. The sittings of the General Legislature could not possibly be as protracted as that of Canada alone; and so in the same way as regards the Local Legislatures, their attention being confined to subjects that interested their own sections, their sittings would be shorter and less expensive. Then when was considered the enormous saving that would be effected by the administration of affairs by a General Legislature—when we considered that in every department every one of the five Colonies had a minister, that there was a separate Militia Department with an Adjutant-General and Staff respectively—that there was a Customs and Excise Staff in all the Colonies, and that in each there was as complete and full a staff of public officers as would be required for the General Government, we could well understand the enormous saving there would be by having one General Legislature and one head over all the departments of the administration of public affairs. With respect to the disadvantages of Federal Union, we knew something of it in Canada as well as its advantages. But we could not disguise the fact that although we had nominally a Legislative Union here—although we sit in one Parliament, supposed constitutionally to represent the people with regard to sections and localities, yet we knew, as a matter of fact, that since the Union we had a Federal Union; that in matters affecting Upper Canada members from that section did the legislation, those from Upper Canada also being responsible for the laws affecting its local concerns. We had a Federal Union in fact though a Legislative Union in name: and we knew that in hot contests in bygone years, that if on any occasion a measure affecting either section was passed by aid of a majority from the other, that the bitterest complaints and protests were

uttered by those more nearly interested regarding the infringement of their liberties. So it was in his own country; so it was in the United Kingdom as regards the Federal character of the Union. With respect to Scotland, its connection with England was a Federal Union in fact and almost so in name. By the treaty between England and Scotland there was a Federal Union at this moment. The Act of Union provided that the Scotch law could not be altered, except with the will of the people of Scotland, and that had been held to be so obligatory on the Legislature of Great Britain that no law affecting Scotland could be passed without securing a majority of the votes of Scotch members—no matter how great such law might be for the advantage of the Empire as a whole. If legislation in the United Empire could not be altered, so in questions respecting the law of Scotland, or no alteration of its law be made unless by a vote, as before stated, so far we had an example of a Federal Union. The whole scheme of Confederation, as propounded by the Conference, as agreed to and sanctioned by the Canadian Government, and as proposed in this House, the country of Canada, bears upon its face the marks of compromise. He did not hesitate to state that, of necessity, there must have been a great deal of mutual concession. When we thought of five colonies, all supposed to have different interests, meeting for the purpose of pressing their individual interests, their own views respecting their own localities and sections, and on the great question of government and legislation—if we had not met with a spirit of conciliation, with an anxious desire to promote this union—if we had not been impressed with the idea that the best interests and the present and future prosperity of British North America would be promoted by Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain—if we had not felt that in coming to this conclusion we were bound to set aside our private opinions and look at the one great question, and look at what was practicable, and not obstinately reject the opinion of others—if we had not met with the desire of forming one great people and Government, we would never have succeeded. It was under those circumstances we pressed this question before the House and country. If the House was not of the opinion that the union of the people of the five colonies was not for the advantage of the country, let them reject the scheme; but if, after a calm and fair and full consideration of the scheme, it was really believed that, as a whole, it was for the advantage of these Provinces—if it was believed that the system was one that would insure for us the continuance of British laws, institutions, freedom, and connexion with the mother country, as well as the increasing development of our national, social, and political prosperity—we implored this House to lay aside prejudices, and meet the question in the same spirit as the delegates had done and accept the scheme as a whole if it be considered beneficial and advantageous as a whole. This

scheme must be considered in the light of a treaty entered into under a most happy coincidence of circumstances. If it had not been so we never perhaps, for a series of years, could have been able to bring the scheme to a practical solution. Every one of the Governments was represented in the Conference, and the different deputations, on returning home, pledged themselves to lay it before their respective Governments and to ask the people of the respective Provinces to accept it. If this scheme was not accepted as a whole—if it was altered in any important detail—the whole scheme must be set aside, and we would have to begin *de novo*. If any important changes were made every one of the Colonies would feel itself absolved from the implied obligation to deal with it as a treaty, and receive it as an arrangement mutually entered into by all the Colonies; and they would also have their own particular views and purposes to carry out, as also their own particular amendments, and the whole of our labour would be set aside and we would have to recommence the negotiations with all the Colonies to establish some new scheme. All the statesmen and all the politicians who had spoken on the subject admitted the advantages of the union, if practicable. He had not heard one express an opinion to the contrary, either in this or in any other Parliament. Now, when an union was to be brought about, if we did not embrace this opportunity the present favourable time would pass, and we would never have a similar one again. (Hear, hear.) Because, as sure as this was rejected, the old proposition for a junction of the Lower Provinces would be taken up, as they would not remain in their present position—powerless, scattered, and helpless communities; they would form a strong and respectable community of their own, and then it would be too late for us to attempt to strengthen ourselves by this scheme, which, in the words of the resolution, “was for the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America.” If we were not blind to the present position, to all the interests of Canada, standing in the position it occupies with respect to the United States, we would adopt the proposed project. He (Mr. Macdonald) was not an alarmist. He did not believe in the prospect of immediate war with the United States, thinking that the common sense of these two communities would prevent war. Still we could not trust to such possibility; we, as a Government, would be wanting in our duty, as would also the Legislature, if we ran any risk on this subject. We knew that the United States, engaged in a war of enormous proportions, was liable at any time, owing to causes of irritation, to come into collision with Great Britain, and then it would be too late for us, when war had commenced, to think of measures for strengthening ourselves, or to commence the negotiations for a junction with our sister-Provinces. Considering the irritation that had arisen between Great Britain and the United States; that

the Reciprocity Treaty was about to be put an end to, and that at the present moment our trade was so hampered by the passport system that at any moment we might be deprived of permission to carry our goods through the United States over their railroads; that already we were threatened to be locked up during the long winter, and obliged to trust for the continuation of privileges which were formerly granted us by the United States: our mercantile men would be obliged to return to the old system of during the summer months bringing to Canada supplies for the whole year. Already we were threatened with having our trade interrupted, our commerce destroyed, by the United States, and if we did not take warning while we had an opportunity, and while one avenue was threatened to be closed to us take advantage of the present desire of the Lower Provinces to form a closer alliance with us, we would suffer commercial disadvantages which we might never again be able to repair. (Hear, hear.) The Conference, finding a Legislative Union impracticable, the next attempt was to form a Government on Federal principles, under which we might give the General Government all the strength of a purely legislative and administrative union, while at the same time we would preserve the liberty of action for the different sections allowed by Federal Union; and he (Mr. Macdonald) was proud to believe they had hit upon the happy medium, in this series of resolutions, and had formed the scheme of a Government which united the advantages of both, giving us the strength of a Legislative Union and the sectional freedom of a Federal Union with protection to the local interests. They had had the advantage, in this matter, of the experience of the United States. He was not one of those who looked upon the Constitution of the United States as a failure. (Hear.) He thought it was one of the most wonderful works of human intelligence ever created, but to say it was perfect would be wrong. We were happily situated, in being able to take advantage of its operation, and witness its results from infancy. It was formed upon the Constitution of Great Britain and adapted to the circumstances of a new country, and was perhaps the only practicable system under the circumstances existing at its formation. In the first place we had provided, in this scheme, that for all time to come we should have for our chief executive the Sovereign of Great Britain. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) No one could look into futurity and foresee the fate of this country; but as far as we could perceive, for all time to come, the Sovereign of Great Britain would be the Sovereign of British North America. (Cheers.) By adhering to the monarchical principle, we avoided one inherent weakness in the United States Constitution. By the election of the President for a short period, he never could become, as it were, the Sovereign of the nation, or one looked up to as its exponent or head; he was only the successful leader of a party, and under the principle of re-election would naturally desire to

govern in a way to secure for his party the continuance of power for a long period. But our adhering to the monarchical principle—not only from the motive of loyalty, loyalty of affection as well as of interest—saved us from the republican system, we having a sovereign, permanently placed, to whom we could at all times look up. Besides having a sovereign to rule over us we had proposed to introduce a system which obtained in this country, as in the mother country, that is—that the Sovereign should be advised by a body or Government responsible to the people. That was another instance in which he thought the Constitution as we had it now, or would have it under the Confederation, would avoid a great defect of the Constitution of the United States. In the United States the President, for four years, was a despot—a one-man power to a great extent—with an infinite amount of patronage under control, as being in effect the executive uncontrolled by advisers, his cabinet being merely departmental officers whom he might not advise or consult with. Our—the responsible system—avoided this defect. At the time of the Union the States were separate Sovereignties, independent or possessing sovereign rights; and ever since the Union was formed the difficulty of state rights had existed. This had much to do in bringing about the present unhappy war. The advocates of states rights declared that each state was sovereign in itself, and that all the powers belonged to it except those specially conferred upon the General Legislature. Here we had adopted a different system. We had sovereignty confided to the General Government, which had delegated to it all the great subjects of legislation, and all the powers incident to sovereignty and nationality. We had declared that all subjects of general interest, not conferred upon the Local Legislatures, should belong to the General Government, and local matters to the Local Governments. By this course we had strengthened the General Government and General Legislature, and had avoided that great source of weakness which had been the cause of disruption in the United States, namely, the conflict of jurisdictions and authorities; and if this Constitution was carried out and sanctioned by the Act of the Imperial Parliament, we would have, in fact, all the advantages of a Legislative Union, and of one administration, with, at the same time, guarantees for its local institutions and the local laws insisted upon by so many of the Provinces now about to be united. Knowing that our rights and wishes were respected by Great Britain, and believing that she had no desire to give up her colonies, and actuated by a spirit of loyalty, the first proposition at the Conference was that the Union should be under the Crown of Great Britain; and, in framing the Constitution, almost the first sentence was that the executive authority of the Government should be vested in the Sovereign of Great Britain, to be administered by the Sovereign or her representative. This met with the unanimous assent of the Conference. The desire to remain connected with Great Britain, and

retain our allegiance to Her Majesty was unanimously expressed. And, although we were told that perhaps Canada, from her exposed position, might be subjected to all the horrors of war, in case of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States from acts over which we had no control; yet there was an unanimous feeling that we were willing to run all hazards of war rather than lose our connection with the mother country. (Cheers.) By the Constitution no restriction was placed on Her Majesty's prerogative in the selection of the representative for Canada. She might send one of her own family in the capacity of a Viceroy, or one of the great statesmen of England to administer our affairs.—The hon. gentleman then proceeded to speak upon the constitutional provision respecting the legislative power, and read the sixth resolution defining it. In answer to the cavilling of an English newspaper, with respect to the exclusion of the Sovereign as a portion of the Legislature, he would say that, in one sense, the stricture was justified; but in ordinary parlance and strict parliamentary usage, the legislature consists of its King, Lords and Commons. This was merely a verbal criticism, as of course the Legislature as in England would be composed of the King, Lords and Commons, our Upper House standing in the relation of the English House of Lords. We had called the Lower House the House of Commons, believing it should have that appellation, possessing the same privileges, attributes, parliamentary practice and authority as its prototype. It was found necessary that as to this House, representing the people, representation by population should obtain. We had found requisite in order to protect the local and sectional interests of all, and to prevent sectional jealousies, that the three great sectional divisions into which British North America was divided, should be represented equally in the upper branch of the General Legislature—namely, Western Canada, Lower Canada, and the Maritime Provinces. The only disturbance of that principle of equality was the addition of Newfoundland, which stood on a separate footing, with four members in the Upper House, to represent its own peculiar interests. It was connected with Canada from its position at the entry of the Gulf, and though possessing sectional claims to be protected, had no common interest with the Maritime Provinces. In the Constitution of the Legislative Council a great variance of opinion at first existed, the system of constituting the Upper House being different in some of the Provinces. In Prince Edward's Island they have the nominative system, and we found an universal disinclination on the part of the Lower Provinces to the elective system, they being in favor of nomination by the Crown. We intended that the system should be founded on the British Constitution as nearly as the circumstances of the country would allow, and that the Upper House should be appointed by the Crown as in England, so as to have no hereditary Upper House in British North America. The arguments for the

elective principle were numerous and strong, and it had not been a failure in Canada, but there were causes why it did not as fully succeed as was contemplated. The hon. gentlemen described some of the causes which had led to the partial failure of the elective system, as regarded the Upper House and which had led to the diminution of its influence. Under the new system ministers, would not be able to fill the House with political partisans or override the independent opinion of the Legislative Council. As to the objection that in consequence of the Crown being deprived of increasing the number of the members of the Upper House at will, there was a chance of a dead-lock occurring between it and the Lower House, he anticipated no such result, such not taking place in England. In case of difficulty the Upper House here would, as in England, always yield to the expressed wish of the people. This would be more likely to occur, the members of the Upper House being selected from the people, with feelings and interest akin. There was no danger, whatever, of a dead-lock between the two Houses. It was provided in the resolutions that, in the selection of members of the upper branch of the Legislature, regard should be had to similar positions under our present system. This was a very wise provision. There were men of excellent ability in the upper branch in all the Provinces; and there was no reason why those who were now serving so well should be passed over and new ones selected. Therefore it was proposed the selection should be made from those now serving in that capacity. We all knew that a similar provision was made on the occasion of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, with reference to the Irish representatives in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom. In the formation of the House of Commons of the proposed Confederation, it was intended that the principle of representation by population should prevail in a manner equally ingenious and simple. On the first contemplation of the principle it offered the difficulty of a yearly increasing body; but, in the system as proposed to be adopted, any inconvenience would be obviated by the adoption of Lower Canada as the pivot. We had therefore in the lower branch of the Legislature the principle of representation on the basis of population without an inconvenient increase of the number of representatives. The proposition was simply this: If Lower Canada has a right, with one million one hundred thousand inhabitants, to sixty-five members, what will Upper Canada, with one million four hundred thousand have a right to? The same principle would apply to the other provinces. It was also provided, if it was necessary to increase the whole number of representatives in the lower branch that Lower Canada should still, in that case, be the pivot. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Macdonald) had no hesitation in saying that he would have preferred a larger number than one hundred and ninety four members. Nobody, however, could say that it would be excessive for the whole of the

British North American Provinces, since we had already one hundred and thirty members for Canada. But while alluding to the adoption of the principle of representation according to population, as it was intended to be applied to the popular branch of the Federal Legislature, he might here take occasion to state that there was not a single member of the Conference, from the Maritime Provinces, whether belonging to the Government or the opposition party, in favor of universal suffrage. A great difficulty, it was felt, would arise if any attempt were made to settle the question of elective franchise for the whole of the new federation. In each one of the Provinces we had our own laws regulating this point, and it was therefore proposed that as provided in the Union Act of 1841, the election laws and electoral procedure of each Province should prevail at the first election for the Confederated Parliament, so that the same people who now selected the representatives in their respective Provincial Parliaments would also choose the representatives for the new General Parliament. (Hear, hear.) It would then be the first duty of the new Confederated Parliament to arrange and define the electoral system that should in future prevail over all the British North American Provinces. The duration of the General Parliament had been fixed at five years. He (Mr. Macdonald) would have been willing to give a duration of seven years to the General Parliament. On considering the subject from a general point of view, however, it was of comparatively little importance, inasmuch as it was found, on looking over a list of the British Parliaments since the reign of George III., that there were seventeen Parliaments before the present one, and that their average duration was only three years and a half, or rather under the duration of Parliaments in Canada. It was thought at any rate, and very properly, that the duration of the General Parliaments should be longer than that of Local Parliaments. A good deal of misapprehension had arisen in reference to the twenty-fourth clause, owing to the omission of several words. It was thought, in consequence, that the Local Parliaments would have the power of altering the extent and limits of the several Constituencies. What was intended was this—for instance, the Parliament now should settle what were to be the different Constituencies and their boundaries, and the Local Parliaments should have the power of regulating the boundaries of their Constituencies for their own Local Legislatures. It would be a decided anomaly for them to have control of the Constituencies so far as the General Parliament was concerned. He would not now enter into any very lengthy explanation of the powers proposed to be conferred on the General Parliament as distinguishing it from the Local Parliaments, inasmuch as any honorable member, on reading the details of the distinct powers, would at once see that all the management of all the great questions were conferred on the General Parliament,

while all local matters, local laws, and local interests were conferred on the Local Parliaments. Of course the General Parliament would have the sole control over the debt, over matters of trade, commerce, customs, excise, raising money, &c., &c. It would be seen, however, that the Local Parliaments had the power of control over all purely local works. The great advantage of this arrangement would be that each locality would have an opportunity of developing its own resources in its own fashion and after its own way. But any work of general benefit, any work connecting any two or more Provinces, or laying between two or more Provinces, would of necessity come within the domain of the General Legislature, as also such works as were by public act declared to be for the public or rather for general advantage. There were many such in the British North American Provinces, as for instance the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence Canal. These, though situated in one section, were for the benefit of the whole. The census, as a matter of general interest, was placed within the control of the General Legislature. The very important subject of defence would also come within the province of the General Legislature, and this would be one of the great advantages of federation. Instead of being, as we were now, with different systems of defence, with several staffs and several establishments—a mere rope of sand, with no means of acting together—we should, when under federation, have one general system of defence, and one great combined plan. (Hear.) We could, in case of necessity, send down the hardy sons of the West for the purpose of defending the shores of the Lower Provinces from the invasion of the foe; and if the enemy threatened us on our Western Lake frontier, we could at once call to our aid the hardy seamen of the Maritime Provinces. (Hear, hear.) The criminal law of the United Provinces—the question of what is crime and what is not—is proposed to be left to the General Legislature. This course was at once proper and necessary. It was one of the great defects of the United States' system of government that each State might have a distinct criminal code of its own, so that what was a capital offence in one State was a venial offence in another State. By the course now proposed we should have a great uniform criminal system for all. This would be one of the most marked instances of our taking advantage of the example afforded by the defects in the United States' system. The thirty-third resolution or clause was very important. It was for the purpose of rendering similar all laws relating to property in Upper Canada and Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the other Lower Provinces, and all the procedure relating thereto. The general principle in the Provinces was the same with the exception of Lower Canada, and he was glad to see that the Lower Provinces were also desirous of joining with Upper Canada in an assimilation of the laws already mentioned, and that they also shewed a disposition towards introducing our municipal and assess-

ment system as in force in Upper Canada. (Hear, hear.) In one of the Provinces they had no municipal system at all; in another it was merely permissive, and had not obtained to any extent. It should be one of the first acts of the Confederated Parliament to move for an assimilation of all those laws of property which had the same foundation, namely, the laws of England. But to prevent local rights from being over-ridden it was provided that no change in this respect should become law until it had received the sanction of the Local Legislatures. (Hear, hear.) Power was given to the General Parliament to establish a General Court of Appeal. This, however, was merely permissive. We had here a right to establish a General Court of Appeal for Upper and Lower Canada, but we never had done so. It was, at any rate, though just and proper that the General Legislature should have this power conferred upon it. He would not now allude to the other clauses conferring powers on the general Parliament, inasmuch as the financial and commercial matters relative thereto were, he felt confident, in much better hands. With respect to the Local Governments, it was provided that each should be headed by an Executive officer appointed by the General Government. As there was to be one great Government, one great people, so it was obvious that the chief executive officer of each section should be subordinate to the principal executives of the whole, just as the local legislatures were subordinate to the general legislature. This local executive officer would, as already stated, be appointed by the General Government, would have to report to it, and would be liable to be removed by it. With respect to the allegation of there being an infringement of the prerogative in giving the right of pardon to the Local Governors instead of to the General Governor alone—this much should be considered, namely, the almost innumerable instances which the person in whom the prerogative was vested would be called upon to devote his attention, inasmuch as the power of pardon related not only to serious offences, but to fines, &c., it was felt that the duties which it involved could not be satisfactorily performed by one person. The fact was that the practical inconvenience, as could be at once seen on considering the subject, was so great that, with every desire to guard the prerogative, the Conference had been induced to take the course now proposed to be adopted. If, however, the Imperial Government, or Imperial Parliament, were not convinced by the arguments which could be advanced in favour of this system, of course they would set it aside. To prevent a conflict of authority it was provided that, where there was a concurrent jurisdiction in the General and Local Parliaments, and where the legislation of the one was adverse to that of the other, the legislation of the General Government would over-rule that of the Local Legislature. As for the working of the true spirit and principle of the British Constitution, in so far as regarded money appropriations, expenditure, &c., due provision was to be made.

With respect, however, to the scheme relative to the future liabilities and other kindred matters, his friend, the President of the Council, would do them ample justice, and he (Mr. Macdonald) felt that he should be attempting too much were he to allude to them. The last resolution of any interest was that which proposed that her Majesty the Queen should determine the rank and name of the Federated Provinces. He did not know whether they would be styled a kingdom or a vice-royalty, or whether they would continue to retain the grade of Provinces (hear, hear, and laughter), but of this he felt sure, that the matter would receive due consideration from our most gracious Sovereign, and that the name bestowed upon us would be worthy of our extent, worthy of our position, worthy of our resources, and worthy of our future. (Cheers.) In conclusion, he would ask hon. members to read these resolutions in a proper spirit, to consider them as a whole, whatever might be their former prejudices or preconceived ideas; and if they believed that, as a whole, the system proposed was one which would conduce to the welfare of the people of these Provinces—that the prosperity of our country would be advanced—that we should increase in wealth and credit—let them, he repeated, set aside all party views, and consider the proposition on its merits. It had been urged by some that this step—this scheme of Federation, was a step towards independence, towards a severance from the mother-country. He had no apprehension, whatever, of this kind. He believed that as we grew in wealth and strength, England would be less ready to part with us than if we were broken up piecemeal and defenceless. (Hear, hear.) If the population were increased by one million souls, would it be contended that we, on our part, would be one whit more favourable to a severance of connection from the British Empire than we were now? And why should a junction with the Lower Provinces lessen our desire for British connection? The people of Canada were loyal in the true sense of the word—they were loyal to the core, but if it were possible they could be excelled in this respect, they were excelled by the people of the Lower Provinces. (Cheers.) Should this Union take place, we would find ourselves approaching to five millions of inhabitants. We should then be no inconsiderable people. In Europe, with such a population, we would occupy the position of a second or third-class power. With our rapidly increasing credit and resources, we would offer an attractive field, not only for British emigrants, but for European emigration generally; and our ratio of progress would therefore be proportionately great. The last twenty-five years had shewn a great increase, but he believed the next twenty-five years would shew a far greater. (Hear, hear.) When we had a population of eight or nine millions, our alliance would be sought because it would be valuable. There was a party in England who urged the desirability of getting rid of the Colonies, but they were a small party. He (Mr. Macdonald)

did not believe any such opinion was entertained by the Government of England, the statesmen of England, or the people of England. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The British North American Colonies were now in a transition state. We were rapidly approaching the position of a powerful friend and ally rather than a mere dependency. England would soon have nations subordinate to her, but ready and willing to aid her in peace and in war—to assist her, if necessary, in holding her own against the world, in arms, as she had often done before. (Cheers.) It was true that, in the position in which we stood, there might be said to be some danger of war. But how would the feelings of the people of Canada rise at the very idea? We could realise the horrors of war, to which we knew, in such case, our country would be subjected, but we were, nevertheless, ready and determined to stand by the mother-country. (Hear, hear.) There was no difference of opinion expressed on that point at least. (Cheers.) We knew the moral benefit of the protection of England. We had here the great test of true constitutional liberty—the rights of the minority were respected. So long as we remained connected with Great Britain we had the benefit of her free institutions, the conduct of her statesmen before us for imitation, the purity of her legislation, and the administration of her laws for our example. These, although not material advantages, were, nevertheless, most invaluable benefits, and were worth all the sacrifices we might have to make in order to preserve the connection which secured them to us. (Hear, hear.) We had also the great benefit of being able to discuss and contemplate this great constitutional change in the midst of peace and prosperity. We were, without restriction or control, permitted to sit down calmly and consider what was best for us to do under the present circumstances. The Imperial Government have told us that they gave full sanction to our deliberations, and Her Majesty's only solicitude was, that these deliberations should result to our full satisfaction and benefit, and they were certain to receive her gracious assent. He had to ask pardon of the House for having occupied its time so long. (Hear, hear, cheers, and cries of "Go on.") He implored the House not to allow this opportunity to pass. It might not occur again. It was a peculiar concurrence of circumstances which had brought about this opportunity, and enabled us to take advantage of it. If we neglected it, we might have occasion to regret our negligence; and he hoped, therefore, the important subject now before the House would receive the attention which it deserved. (Loud cheers, amid which the hon. gentleman resumed his seat.)

It is to be regretted that the space at command did not enable the re-publication of the whole of the speeches *in extenso*, and also others which have been delivered by the several honorable gentlemen at different times, but it is believed that the foregoing

extracts compass the views of the several speakers, and as a fitting conclusion to these pages the reply of the Colonial Minister to the Quebec Memoranda is appended hereto. The deep interest of Her Majesty's Imperial Government in the successful accomplishment of the scheme of Confederation is manifested in every line of this document, and with so sincere a desire on the parts, both of the Mother Country and her Colonial dependencies to see this Union consummated, it cannot be doubted that a few months will see it accomplished. The following is Mr. Cardwell's letter to the Governor-General of Canada :--

(COPY.)

*Canada—No. 93.*

DOWNING STREET,  
3rd December, 1864.

MY LORD,

Her Majesty's Government have received with the most cordial satisfaction your Lordship's despatch of the 7th ultimo, transmitting for their consideration the Resolutions adopted by the Representatives of the several Provinces of British North America, which were assembled at Quebec.

With the sanction of the Crown, and upon the invitation of the Governor-General, men of every Province, chosen by the respective Lieutenant-Governors without distinction of party, assembled to consider questions of the utmost interest to every subject of the Queen, of whatever race or faith, resident in those Provinces, and have arrived at a conclusion destined to exercise a most important influence upon the future welfare of the whole community.

Animated by the warmest sentiments of loyalty and devotion to their Sovereign, earnestly desirous to secure for their posterity throughout all future time the advantages which they enjoy as subjects of the British Crown, steadfastly attached to the institutions under which they live, they have conducted their deliberations with patient sagacity, and have arrived at unanimous conclusions on questions involving many difficulties, and calculated, under less favorable auspices, to have given rise to many differences of opinion.

Such an event is, in the highest degree honorable to those who have taken part in these deliberations. It must inspire confidence in the men by whose judgment and temper this result has been attained, and will ever remain on record as an evidence of the salutary influence exercised by the Institutions under which these qualities have been so signally developed.

Her Majesty's Government have given to your Despatch, and to the Resolutions of the Conference, their most deliberate consideration. They have regarded them as a whole, and as having been

designed by those who have framed them, to establish as complete and perfect an union of the whole into one Government, as the circumstances of the case, and a due consideration of existing interests, would admit. They accept them, therefore, as being—in the deliberate judgment of those best qualified to decide upon the subject—the best framework of a measure to be passed by the Imperial Parliament for attaining that most desirable result.

The point of principal importance to the practical well-working of the scheme, is the accurate determination of the limits between the authority of the Central and that of the Local Legislatures, in their relation to each other. It has not been possible to exclude from the Resolutions some provisions which appear to be less consistent than might, perhaps, have been desired with the simplicity and unity of the system. But, upon the whole, it appears to Her Majesty's Government that precautions have been taken, which are obviously intended to secure to the Central Government the means of effective action throughout the several Provinces, and to guard against those evils which must inevitably arise if any doubt were permitted to exist as to the respective limits of Central and Local authority.

They are glad to observe that although large powers of legislation are intended to be vested in local bodies, yet the principle of central control has been steadily kept in view. The importance of this principle cannot be overrated. Its maintenance is essential to the practical efficiency of the system, and to its harmonious operation both in the General Administration and in the Governments of the several Provinces. A very important part of this subject is the expense which may attend the working of the Central and the Local Governments. Her Majesty's Government cannot but express the earnest hope that the arrangements which may be adopted in this respect may not be of such a nature as to increase, at least in any considerable degree, the whole expenditure, or to make any material addition to the taxation, and thereby retard the internal industry, or tend to impose new burdens on the commerce of the country.

Her Majesty's Government are anxious to lose no time in conveying to you their general approval of the proceedings of the Conference. There are, however, two provisions of great importance which seem to require revision. The first of these is the provision contained in the 44th Resolution with respect to the exercise of the prerogative of pardon. It appears to Her Majesty's Government that this duty belongs to the Representative of the Sovereign, and could not with propriety be devolved upon the Lieutenant-Governors, who will, under the present scheme, be appointed not directly by the Crown, but by the Central Government of the United Provinces.

The second point which Her Majesty's Government desire should be reconsidered, is the Constitution of the Legislative Council. They appreciate the considerations which have influenced the Conference

in determining the mode in which this Body, so important to the Constitution of the Legislature, should be composed. But it appears to them to require further consideration whether, if the members be appointed for life and their number be fixed, there will be any sufficient means of restoring harmony between the Legislative Council and the popular Assembly, if it shall ever unfortunately happen that a decided difference of opinion shall arise between them.

These two points, relating to the Prerogative of the Crown and to the Constitution of the Upper Chamber, have appeared to require distinct and separate notice. Questions of minor consequence and matters of detailed arrangement, may properly be reserved for a future time, when the provisions of a Bill intended to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, shall come under consideration. Her Majesty's Government anticipate no serious difficulty in this part of the case, since the resolutions will generally be found sufficiently explicit to guide those who will be intrusted with the preparation of the Bill. It appears to them, therefore, that you should now take immediate measures, in concert with the Lieutenant-Governors of the several Provinces, for submitting to the respective Legislatures this project of the Conference; and if, as I hope, you are able to report that these Legislatures sanction and adopt the scheme, Her Majesty's Government will render you all the assistance in their power for carrying it into effect.

It will probably be found to be the more convenient course that, in concert with Lieutenant-Governors, you should select a deputation of the persons best qualified to proceed to this country, that they may be present at the preparation of the Bill, and give to Her Majesty's Government the benefit of their counsel upon any questions which may arise during the passage of the measure through the two Houses of Parliament.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) E. CARDWELL.

Governor Viscount Monck,  
&c., &c., &c.

THE TRADE OF THE ATLANTIC BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES.

The following Tables shew the Trade between England and Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland for the years 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, and 1863 :—

## CANADA.

## IMPORTS THEREFROM.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Corn .....	1,776,130	3,509,773	2,316,819	1,154,219	160,103
Skins, Furs .....	60,557	38,700	36,067	33,315	21,726
Timber .....	3,483,261	2,491,019	3,043,140	2,931,697	975,933
Ashes .....	201,058	198,174	177,695	164,882	188,223
Bacon, &c. ....	163,734	195,111	143,422	87,014	28,808
Other Articles .....	157,338	139,653	72,485	51,425	80,750
Total .....	£ 5,867,098	6,572,430	5,989,648	4,422,552	2,784,973

## EXPORTS THERETO.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Apparel .....	417,982	302,679	304,716	309,242	353,923
Coals .....	58,664	54,570	46,814	47,728	35,471
Cottons, &c. ....	368,277	413,443	421,038	461,909	394,612
Iron .....	406,698	322,890	288,216	321,548	306,009
Woollens .....	420,925	408,684	369,639	354,159	268,181
Other Articles .....	856,684	214,954	142,023	643,241	499,875
Foreign and Colonial.	458,971	520,339	276,479	129,091	148,995
Total .....	£ 2,938,201	2,757,839	2,357,925	2,266,918	2,005,046

## NEW BRUNSWICK.

## IMPORTS THEREFROM.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Fish .....	9,848	9,811	9,777	6,382	6,145
Timber .....	1,412,970	1,093,553	1,727,071	1,524,405	1,809,043
Other Articles .....	24,423	16,380	12,192	5,640	5,095
Total .....	£ 1,447,241	1,119,744	1,749,040	1,536,447	1,819,283

## EXPORTS THERETO.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Apparel .....	45,431	34,412	44,218	66,268	81,225
Copper .....	26,914	14,634	8,188	8,562	8,295
Cordage .....	32,644	29,153	16,938	19,063	16,701
Cottons .....	60,147	73,428	47,742	68,139	82,555
Iron .....	118,622	85,830	79,221	69,149	122,538
Linens .....	32,709	24,574	13,299	14,525	14,953
Woollens .....	36,262	25,083	32,715	40,678	66,764
Other Articles .....	178,017	112,844	192,514	116,672	111,677
Foreign and Colonial.	53,569	62,392	35,286	22,878	40,807
Total .....	£ 539,884	447,958	370,122	425,934	545,515

## NOVA SCOTIA AND CAPE BRETON.

## IMPORTS THEREFROM.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Cotton .....	19,596	—	5,290	—	—
Oil .....	4,827	1,552	2,277	1,954	—
Sugar, &c .....	2,474	2,440	10,620	18,618	7,605
Timber .....	109,537	82,930	148,381	99,365	81,256
Other Articles .....	18,832	24,503	30,648	24,204	8,871
Total .....	£ 155,266	111,425	197,216	144,141	97,732

## EXPORTS THERETO.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Apparel .....	215,768	135,988	125,109	135,100	132,157
Cottons .....	124,569	126,654	82,861	83,596	102,562
Iron .....	106,800	71,094	43,312	40,155	44,733
Linens .....	45,250	36,561	10,799	10,303	11,408
Woollens .....	123,596	91,539	87,135	75,333	91,138
Other Articles .....	296,677	260,493	190,691	184,607	216,916
Foreign and Colonial.	90,623	105,038	71,686	46,125	78,114
Total .....	£ 1,013,283	827,367	611,593	575,219	677,028

## PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

## IMPORTS THEREFROM.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Corn .....	10,708	30,394	33,726	18,167	4,279
Pork .....	302	1,517	567	269	—
Timber .....	50,031	32,006	30,969	34,384	26,559
Other Articles .....	2,474	2,730	8,209	1,977	365
Total .....	£ 63,515	66,647	73,471	54,797	31,203

## EXPORTS THERETO.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Apparel .....	21,109	13,995	18,912	21,765	12,675
Cordage .....	11,770	7,400	4,761	3,114	3,622
Cottons .....	11,796	7,228	9,573	10,454	7,421
Iron .....	17,216	12,500	9,291	9,052	8,162
Other Articles .....	55,849	31,607	32,992	29,396	24,897
Foreign and Colonial.	22,576	20,979	15,086	8,797	10,476
Total .....	£ 130,316	93,708	90,615	82,578	67,253

## NEWFOUNDLAND AND COAST OF LABRADOR.

## IMPORTS THEREFROM.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Fish .....	57,645	77,383	149,325	157,463	108,962
Oil .....	313,082	287,224	267,841	232,910	284,700
Skins .....	51,210	56,689	72,811	66,789	85,910
Other Articles .....	13,747	32,785	22,948	26,843	34,491
Total .....£	435,684	454,081	512,925	484,005	514,063

## EXPORTS THERETO.—VALUE.

ARTICLES.	1863.	1862.	1861.	1860.	1859.
Apparel .....	180,776	68,665	87,015	105,362	98,701
Cordage .....	29,792	17,371	14,767	16,467	21,153
Cottons .....	43,048	35,118	30,219	33,207	40,095
Fishing Tackle.....	20,553	18,221	21,621	29,295	31,410
Iron .....	32,920	13,711	19,056	34,033	22,676
Leather .....	48,962	38,259	46,442	51,047	55,396
Linens .....	24,002	12,439	11,934	18,147	13,940
Woollens .....	67,422	46,565	59,426	47,383	78,771
Other Articles .....	94,627	81,103	101,396	131,631	110,552
Foreign and Colonial.	49,919	50,989	51,530	37,613	54,031
Total .....£	492,021	382,441	443,406	504,185	526,725