

Selected Matter.

Judge Marshall on Confederation.

We have much pleasure in selecting from a work on Confederation, by the venerable Judge Marshall, a few items bearing upon points that have been generally discussed here. The Judge is a very able thinker, and demolishes the sophistries of the advocates of Confederation with irresistible force.

A statement has been made here similar to that made by Mr. McCully. Judge Marshall thus meets that point:—

“Mr. McCully says,—‘We have a population in the maritime Provinces and the Canadas of nearly four millions.’ Shortly after, he gave the details of the numbers, as follows:—‘The population of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, is about 600,000 in all, in round numbers; whilst that of Upper Canada alone, is 1,300,000;’ and further on, mentioning Lower Canada, he says, ‘Here were a million of people.’ Well, he is correct enough in these details; but on summing them up, we find they amount to 2,900,000; only 1,100,000 short of Mr. McCully’s four millions first announced. On these points, Mr. Archibald has not committed himself, as to numbers, but without consulting Dr. Cumming, of London, whether the world will remain until 1866, he has given us the prophecy, that in that year ‘the population will be full 4,000,000.’ Well take this, in connection with Mr. McCully’s correct number of 2,900,000 there must be an increase of 1,100,000 in two years, chiefly by immigration; 550,000 each year,—which is rather an extravagant supposition. But all this, is only a mortal uninspired prophecy; and should it be fulfilled, it would further increase the overwhelming power and influence of Canada, over these Provinces, as nearly the whole of the immigration would be to the former country. The Provincial Secretary has twice mentioned, in the most positive terms, that the present population of these Provinces is full four millions. Surely these hon. gentlemen should have made their statements regarding this part of the scheme, as to numbers, something more harmonious and correct. I have thus commented on this point, chiefly to show that such discordant statements concerning it, furnish a good reason for distrust, as to asserted facts and figures, and on other particulars relating to the proposed federation.”

The same contradictory statements have been made here on this matter, and also on the following:—

“The debt of all the Provinces, at present, erroneously stated at only \$21 millions, would, directly after federation, by making the intercolonial railway, and by other expenses, be raised to nearly 112 millions, even according to the calculations of Mr. Archibald; and to 125 millions, if the Hon. Mr. Dorion’s statements are adopted. He says, ‘the present debt of Canada, is at least 75 millions; and one would suppose, that he knows this to be fact, or he would not so boldly state it, in his speech to his country. Here is a difference of only 13 millions. See how little dependence is to be placed on statements of public debts, even at the present time, and as to the future, they are without the slightest value. The same has ever been true in the history of all countries.’”

The effect of the debt of Canada upon us is thus described:—

“In the plan of Confederation, to use our Secretary’s language,—‘Canada enters with a debt of \$2 millions,’ but is even that enormous sum, the whole of her debt, as nearly all in these Provinces will naturally conclude. Not at all, for as already mentioned, the Hon. Mr. Dorion, the Canadian Statesman, in his public speech, which I have seen, has asserted, that their debt is, at the least, 75 millions; only the difference of 13 millions, which would be rather an important item even in Mr. Gladstone’s budget. But to harmonize with the other financial parts of this scheme, as concerning these Provinces, it was requisite to bring it down, and make it appear to the public as only 2 millions. If somewhat similar circumstances had required it, there would have been no more inconsistency in representing it as only 40 millions. But is that a fair representation on the subject? The real burdensome debt of Canada will remain; and even if the

alone has to answer for that surplus, to her creditors, we are to be joined to her, to increase her credit with those who are now holding and dealing with her debentures, or other securities at 23 and 24 per cent. below par, and with reference to that surplus, as well as the \$2 millions, we should in various forms sustain injury, especially by a heavy and oppressive taxation. The Secretary says, ‘by the arrangements made, Canada will also enter with a surplus,’ like as he says of us. There would, indeed, be a surplus as now, but it would be a surplus of liability and debt. Paper articles of Union will not pay or extinguish debts.”

On the probable course of the British Government, the Judge remarks:—

“It is not at all probable, that in our present circumstances any of the Imperial military force will be withdrawn from us. But I admit that it is possible, that if this Confederation should take place, and it becomes at once such a mighty power,—though the population would actually be the same as now,—the Imperial Government, with some good reason, might say, now that you have, in your own estimation, become such a powerful people, so fully able to protect yourselves against all attempts at aggression, you do not need our assistance, and might accordingly withdraw the whole of her military force. Whatever may be said of our Province generally, from what I know of mankind in general, I cannot imagine that our merchants or tradesmen, and those of other occupations, would be filled with admiration and joy at the change. Now I will neither commend, nor recommend the feeling or sentiment of the man who when told that he should do certain things for the good of posterity, said, ‘What do I care about posterity, what has posterity done for me.’ But I will say that it will be neither prudent nor proper for the people of the Province generally, to relinquish or peril present security and steadily increasing prosperity for mere suppositions or visions of greatness at some future and uncertain period.”

On the question of defences is the following:—

“In the event of a war with the American Republic, Canada would probably be invaded first; and the Confederate Government would have the power to draw a part, or the whole, of our Militia and that of New Brunswick, to serve there; and thus, as to that force, these two Provinces would be left defenceless, though also exposed to the like invasion. In case of such a war, neither Canada nor these Provinces could spare any force, to assist one another, and therefore, confederation would not better the condition of either, as to opposing any such invasion. It would not of course add a man, or any other means of defence, beyond what each now possess. If the Governor-General has not now the power, in case of war, of calling out the militia of any one Province into another, it may by enactments be given to him, and therefore, as to that point, the confederation is not needed. I am aware that in all I have said I may be charged with merely looking at the interests of Nova Scotia. I admit it; and will only answer, that being my native country, its interests and welfare are those which, in duty, I am bound first to consider and to guard.”

Regarding the correctness of just such unfounded statements as we have had here, Judge Marshall remarks thus:—

“I have thus commented on these statements, chiefly to show that no reliance whatever can be placed on any such estimates, or indeed, on most, if not all of the calculations and figures which have been put forth in the course of these discussions. Such erroneous and incredible statements may well engender distrust and non-reliance as to other statements and assertions by the same gentleman.”

The unfairness of Canada having, in the Legislative Council, double the representation of the maritime Provinces, is adverted upon, and the following pretty plain hint is given:—

“While composing these pages, I have heard it said, that the 10 selected Councillors, are to have \$4000 yearly, for their services; but I cannot for a moment suppose, that any of those hon. gentlemen will consent to receive that, or any other sum, to sell the independence of their Country, by putting it under the power of a Canadian Parliament and Government; for that would be their proper designation.”

The only other extract from this excellent pamph-

let, for which we can make room, is the following reference to a matter that has been much discussed here, and which the venerable patriot has made very clear:—

“Moreover, here is another, and a proper view to take, of this point of rate of duty, per head, on the whole population. This rate, when so made, may look small, by an addition of 2 or 5 per cent, but it must be remembered, that when it is so estimated, it includes all in poor or destitute circumstances, even every pauper, and begging child throughout the land. Deduct, first, the thousands of all these, who pay nothing of the duty, as they are consumers of very little, if any, of the articles on which the duties are imposed. Then, divide the rest of the population into families, and suppose each of these to be composed of 5 persons—the usual estimate—the husband, wife, and four children, all dependent on the labour of the man. Apply this estimate to our population, of about 340,000, and it will be seen that there are about 56,000 families; and according to the admitted estimate of \$2.60 for each one of our population, the amount of duty on each head of a family, instead of \$2.60, is \$13.00. Then add 5 per cent to the 10 at present, making 15 per cent, and there will be \$6.50 increase, rather an important addition to the expenses of the small farmer and tradesman, and others of the working classes, whose payment of duties, instead of \$13, will thus be \$10.50. These are plain estimates and conclusions, founded on facts, and which all may comprehend; and which none, by any sophistries, or fallacies, can controvert, or explain away. And, moreover, as Canada, from its embarrassed circumstances, cannot afford to reduce its taxation to 15 per cent, but must remain at 20, ours must be the same, which would make \$6.50 more, making the whole tax on each head of a family, throughout our population, \$26, or £6 10. But when it is considered, that there will inevitably be the increased taxation for the intercolonial railway—the expenses of the General Parliament and Government at Ottawa—for canal extensions and improvements—all in Canada—also for fortifications, many hundreds of miles along the great rivers and lakes of Canada—for a navy of some respectable and adequate number, on those lakes; and for a like adequate military force, in each of the Provinces; besides for many miscellaneous and expensive services, the whole taxation on each head of a family—as already given—can scarcely be less than \$40, or £10. It is true, it will be paid, by what is called indirect taxation, or increased prices of the articles on which duties are imposed; but the expense to the man is the same. Here is the inequality and injustice of this indirect taxation, by which the poor tradesman, and the labourer, pays as much tax for his tea, sugar, coffee, and all other articles of ordinary consumption, as the most wealthy person. If our working-classes, and especially the poorest among them, knew, and bore in mind, all these facts and the liabilities which would inevitably and speedily come upon them, if the Confederation takes place, they would not be quite so ready to shout, stamp, and clap their hands in its favour, in Temperance Hall or elsewhere.”

Hon. Mr. Annand on the Scheme.

The following article, from the pen of Mr. Annand, M. P. P.,—one of the ablest opponents of the scheme in Nova Scotia, and who has there, like Mr. Anglin here, done good service in exposing the iniquity of the measure,—will be read with much interest:—

THE BOTTERATION SCHEME.—Before deciding to hand over to the Canadians the patronage and revenues of Nova Scotia, let us enquire whether there is anything in our present condition to compel us to make this transfer.

Prior to the introduction of Responsible Government into this Province, Downing Street claimed the authority which it is now proposed to erect at Ottawa. How did we like that? Why, so little, that our best men gave the flower of their lives to the struggle by which the system was changed. Huntington and Howe, Young and Uniacke, Doyle and DesBarres, and all their sturdy compatriots, in two or three Parliaments, fought out the great battle