

gleaned from the biographical sketches written by the late Principal Grant, his son William Lawson Grant, and J. W. Longley, and from the *Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe* edited by William Annand in 1858, and republished with many additions under the editorship of J. A. Chisholm in 1909.

Howe was over sixty years of age when he accepted the leadership of the party in Nova Scotia organized to fight Confederation. His motives in taking such a step at first seem inexplicable. In 1849, in 1861, and even in 1864, he had supported with all his fiery eloquence the principle of Confederation. He was still an advocate of Maritime union, and of Imperial union—and yet in 1865 we find him waging a furious battle against the union of all the British North American colonies, or at any rate against any such union as was proposed by the Quebec Conference. The objections he professed to find on public grounds to the terms of the Quebec Resolutions are sufficiently set forth in these letters to Stairs, and in his published Speeches. But no careful student of the character of Joseph Howe can avoid the conclusion that there were personal as well as public reasons for his extraordinary change of front. Howe was a man of brilliant parts, one of the few really great public speakers that British America has produced, and a born leader of men. He was a man of generous sympathies, a delightful companion, and a warm friend—as long as he was allowed to have things his own way. There lies the key to the puzzle. Howe was a supreme egoist. He had unlimited faith in his own judgment, and would brook no opposition. He would put every ounce of strength into a fight, if his place was at the front. He was content that anyone else should have the tangible rewards, but his must be the glory. He was a splendid captain, but an utterly impossible lieutenant.

Unfortunately circumstances made it difficult or impossible for him to attend either the Charlottetown Conference or the Quebec Conference. Had he been there he would probably have thrown himself heart and soul into the Confederation project. But he was not there, and in his place sat his one great rival in Nova Scotian politics, Charles Tupper. The scheme of Confederation probably owed more to the shrewd common sense, political sagacity and indomitable courage of Charles Tupper than to the qualities of any other of its fathers. So far at least as Nova Scotia was concerned, Tupper was the very embodiment of the movement. There remained in 1865 only one place in that movement for Howe, and that place he would rather perish than accept. In his own forcible language, he would "not play second fiddle to that damned Tupper." But if he could not lead the forces of Confederation, and would not follow Tupper, there was still