

union, and ascribing a large share of the responsibility to the Imperial government. These arguments made a deep impression upon the masses to whom the people of the upper provinces were utter strangers. Howe in a public speech made this threat—"The sooner it is known the better; the people of Nova Scotia are determined to defeat this idea of erecting a new dominion in British America; they are determined that not a pound of their capital shall go to paying the debt of Canada, that not an acre of their province shall come under Canadian rule, that not a man of their militia shall be liable to be marched up to the backwoods of Canada to fight the battles of faction or to prevent Canada from burning down parliament buildings or pelting governors through the streets."

Sir Charles Tupper in his book *Reminiscences of Forty Years* says that Howe's appeal distorted the issue and touched a sore point when he said that Nova Scotia would not be taxridden to support Upper Canada. He went on to say:

Early in 1868 Howe and a number of other delegates bearing numerous petitions asking for the relief of Nova Scotia from the union were despatched to England. The Imperial government refused the appeal. The House of Commons of England by a vote of 181 to 87 refused to appoint a royal commission.

After the first session of parliament in 1867 Sir John Macdonald asked Tupper to go to London to oppose Howe's move. Tupper said:

On reaching London the first man I called on was Howe. He was not in, but I left my card. Howe returned the call and on greeting me he said: "I cannot say I am glad to see you, but we have to make the best of it."

Tupper replied:

I will not insult you by suggesting that you should undertake the mission that brought you here. The government and the Imperial parliament are overwhelmingly against you. He replied "I have 800 men in each county in Nova Scotia who will take oath they will never pay a cent of taxes to the Dominion and I defy the government to force confederation."

Tupper replied:

"Howe, you have a majority at your back, and if you will enter the cabinet and assist in carrying out the work of confederation you will control all the provincial patronage, and you will find me as strong a supporter as I have been an opponent."

These are Sir Charles Tupper's own words as written in his own book—that he held out to the Hon. Joseph Howe the patronage of Nova Scotia if he would give up his fight against confederation. Tupper said that Howe was completely staggered, and two hours of free and frank discussion followed:

I told him that between us we could rally to his support three-quarters of the wealth, education and influence of the province. That very night I wrote Sir John A. Macdonald that I had no doubt Howe would become a member of his cabinet.

I was told a few days later by John Bright that he had accepted Howe's invitation to move a resolution in favour of a commission of inquiry.

He goes on to say:

[Mr. Finn.]

I then warned him that the disruption of confederation meant absorption of the various provinces by the United States. Howe replied "I cannot help thinking, Tupper, that it would be a grand thing to see one government rule from the Equator to the North Pole." He then asked me if there was any danger of a revolt in Nova Scotia. I replied that the worst revolt I had expected was to see Howe become a member of Sir John Macdonald's cabinet within six months, requesting him to regard the communication as confidential. Mr. Howe became a member of Sir John's administration six months later, accepting the presidency of the council.

In the session of 1870 the opposition made a most determined onslaught on the government, whose fate was trembling in the balance. Sir John Macdonald came to me and insisted that I must enter his government. Mr. Howe's health was anything but satisfactory, and he was never heard at his best. In the election of 1872 Mr. Howe's health gradually became worse. I knew his ambition was to become a Lieutenant Governor of his native province and Mr. Howe was nominated for that high honour on my recommendation. Before leaving Ottawa, Mr. Howe gave a farewell champagne luncheon. His parting admonition being "Boys, I want you to stand by Tupper as he stood by me." Poor Howe returned to Nova Scotia and had only been an occupant of Government House for three weeks when he died, and the curtain came down on the first act of the drama with the action of bringing about confederation in this country.

Well, Sir, right on this very spot Howe and Tupper both sat in parliament and in the first session after confederation in 1867, Sir Charles Tupper spoke—there was a movement on foot to bring about the repeal of the union—of Canada's future and our place in confederation. He said, and I quote from Hansard:

The old province of Canada, notwithstanding its immense territory and great natural resources, could never attain an important position while for five months in the year it was cut off in access to the ocean and compelled to communicate with the parent state through a foreign country. The Maritime provinces below, comparative small and insignificant, could never hope to occupy a position of influence and importance, except in connection with their larger sister—Canada. No man could look at the geographical position of Nova Scotia without feeling that Providence intended that we form a great highway of communication between not only the sister colonies behind us, but also a large portion of the European world. Yet my hon. friend knows—

Meaning Howe—

—that after he had laboured with great ability for a quarter of a century to accomplish the construction of the Intercolonial railway the effort had failed as it had become perfectly apparent that the great work could never be accomplished by the union of two Canadas and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under one government. Not only has this great boon been secured for our province but it is impossible to glimpse the geological characteristics of Nova Scotia without seeing that Providence has given us all the elements of a great manufacturing industry. Our province, is rich with vast deposits of iron, coal and lime stone, the minerals which have made England the emporium of the manufacturers for the world. Yet with all the mineral wealth it was obvious that without a union which would throw down the barriers of our manu-