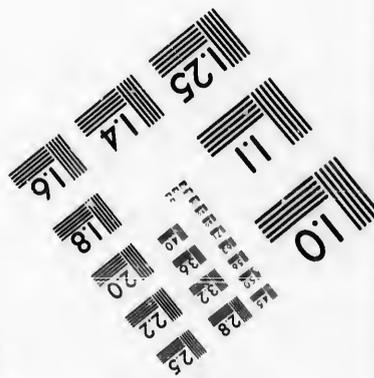
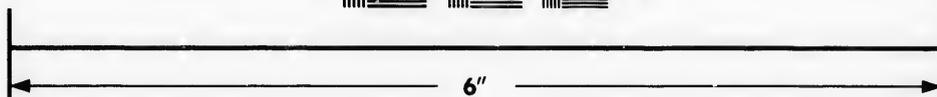
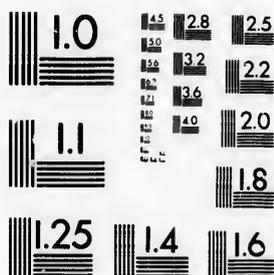


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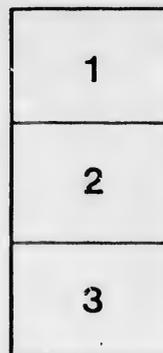
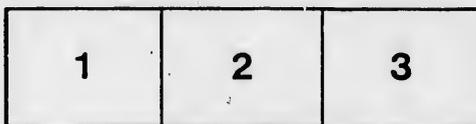
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OF THE

# HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

DURING THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA,

1868.

JOHN S. D. THOMPSON,

(Reporter to House of Assembly.)



HALIFAX, N. S.

PRINTED BY CHARLES ANNAND, "MORNING CHRONICLE" OFFICE.

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DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
RECORDS

ADDRESS

ADJOURN

BILL pro

CONFEDER

COMMITTE

DISTRESS  
DELEGATE  
DELEGATE

ELECTION

ESTIMATE  
EDUCATION

FINANCIAL

INVERNE  
INTERCOM  
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# DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF NOVA SCOTIA.

SESSION 1868.

THURSDAY, Jan. 30, 1868.

The members elect of the House having attended at an early hour, the usual oaths were administered by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose. At about two o'clock His Excellency the Lieut. Governor, Major Gen. Charles Hastings Doyle, having arrived at the Council Chamber, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod conveyed His Excellency's command that the House do attend him there. Upon the members attending in the Council Chamber, His Excellency desired them to make choice of a Speaker, and they returned for that purpose.

### ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

Dr. BROWN said:—I rise for the purpose of nominating John J. Marshall, Esq., as a fit and proper person to be the Speaker.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON said: I have great pleasure in seconding the nomination, believing Mr. Marshall to be a person whose experience as a member of the House qualifies him for the position.

The Clerk put the motion that Mr. Marshall be elected Speaker, which passed unanimously.

The SPEAKER then took the chair, and announced that the House would again attend His Excellency in the Council Chamber.

After the members had returned,—

The SPEAKER announced that he had been presented to His Excellency, as the Speaker elect, for approval, and that His Excellency had been graciously pleased to approve of the choice, and had likewise granted the usual privileges of freedom in debate, immunity from arrest, and free access by the Speaker to His Excellency's person.

The SPEAKER said:—Gentlemen, I have deferred making my acknowledgments to the House until your selection had received His Excellency's approval. I now beg leave to address you on that subject. For this unanimous and unsolicited mark of the esteem of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia I feel deeply grateful. In assuming the high duties of the position to which I have been elevated

by your favor, I am animated by a strong desire so to conduct myself as to make my authority respected. While remaining perfectly independent as regards my thought and action in Committee of the whole, I will permit no distinctions of men or party in the proceedings of the House, but while I hold office it shall be my endeavour to administer without fear or favor the rules which the wisdom of ages has matured, and which are so essential to the honor and dignity of the House.

### THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

The SPEAKER announced that His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor had been pleased to open Parliament by a speech to both Houses of which, for greater accuracy, he had ob-

tained as follows:

*and Honorable Gentlemen  
of the Council:  
Gentlemen of the House*

Representative of our Gracious  
Sovereign Government of the Province, I have called you together at a season which experience has proved to be most convenient for the transaction of Public Business; and I beg to assure you of my cordial co-operation with you, in maturing such measures as are calculated to promote the general welfare.

*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House  
of Assembly:*

The Public Accounts will be submitted to you, and I regret to inform you that the Financial affairs of the Province are not in a very satisfactory condition, and I fear that the funds at your disposal will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of the country.

There is one subject to which I deem it necessary to call your attention, in order that you may make some provision from the Treasury I refer to the contemplated Industrial Exhibition. Such Exhibitions are calculated to develop and display to advan-

tage the Industrial Resources of a country, and merit as liberal support as the circumstances of the Province will justify.

*Mr. President, and Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council:*

*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:*

While rejoicing that the Husbandman in the past season has had no reason to complain of a deficient harvest, I regret that an almost total failure in the Fishery has produced much and general distress among those engaged in this branch of industry, and I have found it necessary to make considerable advances from the Public Treasury for their relief, an account of which will be submitted for the sanction and approval of the Legislature.

Your attention will be invited to some amendments in the Law relating to the subject of Education, and I trust your deliberations may be of such a character as will place the Educational Interests of the country upon a satisfactory basis.

Immediately after the formation of my Administration, it was deemed advisable to appoint a Commission to examine into and report upon the financial affairs of the Province. The Commissioners are engaged in the discharge of the labor assigned them, and as soon as they have executed the Commission, it will be my duty to submit their report for your consideration.

The Railroad from Truro to Pictou has been opened for traffic, affording a vast improvement in the communication between the Harbors of Halifax and Pictou, and greatly facilitating our intercourse with the adjacent Provinces.

The Province of Nova Scotia has ever been distinguished for loyalty and unswerving fidelity to the British Monarchy, and it is peculiarly gratifying to me to entertain a firm conviction, that, if the people should desire any political changes, they will seek the attainment of that object through their representatives, in a constitutional manner, and that their sincere and ardent attachment to British Institutions will not fail to manifest itself in all their proceedings.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

**HON. PROVINCIAL SECRETARY:**—The gentleman whom I am about to propose as the first Clerk of the House has filled that position for a long time with great ability and general satisfaction, and I take it for granted that in his election we will be discharging the duty devolving on us in a way that will be of great advantage to us as new members. I propose Mr. Henry C. D. Twining.

**Mr. BLANCHARD:**—I have great pleasure in seconding the nomination,—the more so because it is not probable that any other candidate will be offered for the office. The gentleman named has filled the office so long and so well that his re-appointment will be creditable to the House and advantageous to the country, and I take his nomination as a pledge of the observance of the rule, frequently so little observed by governments, that the best men will be selected to fill the offices of the country.

Mr. Twining was elected, and took the oaths of office.

**Mr. COCHRAN** proposed Mr. Lawrence J. Power for the office of Clerk's Assistant.

**Mr. TOWNSEND** seconded the nomination. Mr. Power was elected and sworn.

**HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL:**—It is usual for the House at this stage of its proceedings to elect a Chaplain, and as the Revd. J. C. Cochran has filled that office to the satisfaction of the House for years, I now move his appointment to the office of Chaplain.

**Mr. NORTHUP** seconded the nomination, which he trusted would receive the unanimous sanction of the House, and would give universal satisfaction.

**Rev. J. C. Cochran** was elected Chaplain. **Mr. DICKIE** proposed Mr. Angus M. Gidney for the office of Sergeant-at-Arms.

**HON. PROV. SEC'Y.** seconded the nomination.

**Mr. Gidney** was elected.

**Mr. CHAMBERS** proposed Mr. Jno. McCurdy for the office of Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms.

**Mr. COCHRAN** proposed Mr. James Griffin for the office, stating his qualifications, and remarking that as some of the previously appointed officers belonged to the country, the election of a citizen to the office in question was only fair.

**Mr. NORTHUP** seconded the nomination of Mr. Griffin, and endorsed the remarks made as to his fitness for the office.

**Mr. CHAMBERS** supported Mr. McCurdy's nomination, remarking that he was qualified for the duties of Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, and that the election of a person from the country would be generally acceptable.

The ballot, on being taken, resulted in Mr. Griffin's election.

**HON. ATTY. GEN.** proposed Mr. John Fitzgerald for the office of Messenger, remarking that Mr. Fitzgerald was so old a public servant as almost to have a title by possession.

**Dr. BROWN** seconded the nomination.

**Mr. BLANCHARD** said he took this opportunity of adding his testimony as to the efficient services of Mr. Fitzgerald.

**Mr. Fitzgerald** was then elected.

#### BILL PRO FORMA.

**Mr. WHITE** asked leave to introduce a bill to amend the Act for the relief of insolvent debtors.

The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time at a future day.

#### ANSWER TO THE SPEECH.

**Mr. DICKIE** then moved the following Address in answer to His Excellency's Speech:—

*To His Excellency Major General HASTINGS DOYLE, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia, &c., &c., &c.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY—

1st. We thank your Excellency for the Speech with which you have been pleased to open the present Session, and the assurance of your co-operation with the Legislature in maturing such measures as are calculated to promote the general welfare.

2nd. We regret to learn that the financial affairs of the Province are not in a satisfactory

condition, and that the funds at our disposal will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of the country.

3rd. We shall be happy to adopt all such amendments in the Law relative to education as are calculated to improve and render more perfect and satisfactory the educational system of the Province.

4th. We are aware of the advantages of Industrial Exhibitions, and as many persons have probably been preparing for that which has been contemplated, we shall make such provision from the Treasury, for its encouragement, as the circumstances of the Province will warrant.

5th. We highly approve of the efforts made by your Excellency, to relieve the distress of the Fishermen, and in common with your Excellency, we regret that the failure in that branch of industry has occasioned much and general distress among so useful a class of the people.

6th. We thank your Excellency for the appointment of Commissioners to examine into and report upon the general condition of the affairs of the Province.

7th. It is with much satisfaction that we contemplate the vast improvement in the communications between the eastern Counties and the metropolis, and our intercourse with the adjacent colonies by the extension of the railroad from Truro to Pictou.

8th. Your Excellency has by no means over-estimated the loyalty of the people of Nova Scotia, and their fidelity to the British Monarchy, and your Excellency may rest assured that in their efforts to overcome the disadvantages under which they at present labour, and to effect any desirable political changes, they will seek the attainment of those objects through their representatives in a strictly constitutional manner, and that their sincere and ardent attachment to British Institutions will not fail to manifest itself in all their proceedings.

In moving the address Mr. DICKIE said:—

Mr. Speaker,—Of all the misfortunes that can befall a country, one of the most calamitous is an unsatisfactory state of its finances; and one of the first duties of a Government is to inquire into and ascertain, if possible, the cause, and to vigorously apply such remedies as will, at the earliest possible moment, restore them to a satisfactory state. The next most important subject with which we have to deal is the education of the youth of the country. It is with sincere regret I find that the present law does not give that satisfaction to the country that it should; and it will be the duty of this House to grapple with that subject in a manner that will secure the efficient operation of our educational system, and commend itself to the approbation of the country.

While I am fully aware that many advantages may be derived from the holding of Industrial Exhibitions, I greatly fear that in the present unsatisfactory state of our finances, we will be unable to make such appropriations for that object as would be desirable under other and more favorable circumstances.

Mr. Speaker,—In coming, as I do, from an agricultural district, I cannot fully appre-

ciate and realize the sufferings and distress of that worthy class of our population—the fishermen; and I regret that the action taken by the late Government, in connection and by the advice of the Government of Canada, has had the effect of depriving them of their legitimate market, and I trust that the present House may be enabled to make such arrangements with the neighboring Republic as will restore that market of which we have been deprived.

It is with a deep feeling of anxiety that I look for a report of the Commissioners who are charged with the duty of enquiry into and reporting upon the general condition of the affairs of the Province; and I trust that their report will relieve the country of many fears which they have been led to entertain from the, I trust temporarily, altered condition of our political institutions.

I am sorry to learn that the Pictou Railroad is not in as satisfactory a condition as the amount of money expended on that work would warrant us in believing it should be.

Mr. Speaker, the loyalty of this Province, like Cesar's wife, is above suspicion, and I am sure that no people ever submitted to as many grievances, and to such sweeping and injurious changes, as have taken place within the past year—unauthorized by them, against their consent, and in utter disregard to their petitions and remonstrances. It is their extreme loyalty and unswerving confidence in the justice of the British Government that has enabled them to keep within the bounds of law, and to seek redress in a constitutional manner.

Mr. DESBRISAY said:—I rise with pleasure to second the address which has just been moved, and in doing so I beg to say that in my opinion it contains an excellent summary of the views of the people of Nova Scotia on the questions agitating the public mind. I am pleased to be able to congratulate the House and the people of the Province that so soon after the termination of a scheme which was forced upon us against our wishes we are now in a position to demand the restoration of the liberties of the country. I had not an opportunity of making myself acquainted with the contents of the address until I heard it read, but it commends itself to my approval, and I second its adoption.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL moved that the address lie on the table until to-morrow.—Passed.

#### CONFEDERATION.

Hon. ATTY. GEN'L, in moving the adjournment of the House, said:—I feel it my duty at this stage of the proceedings of the House to make one or two observations as to the course which is intended to be pursued by the Government on the all-important question of Confederation. The speech from the Throne has not touched directly upon that matter, for, under the peculiar circumstances of our situation, His Excellency's position is one of no ordinary difficulty, and His Council, in dealing with this question, have also been placed in a difficult position. There is, therefore, in the speech merely an allusion to the probability that political changes may be desired by the people, but it becomes the

duty of the Government, at the earliest moment, to declare to this Assembly, which derives its power from the people, the course which will be adopted. I therefore state that at the earliest possible day I will bring down and move a series of resolutions on the subject of Confederation.

These resolutions will insist that the Constitution of Nova Scotia was irrevocable,—that the delegates who went to England on the subject of Confederation, had no power or authority to confederate Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as they have done,—they will insist that the people of Nova Scotia had a right to be consulted at the polls before their Constitution was touched or altered,—they will proceed to show that the people of this Province never had been consulted as to whether they were willing to be confederated until two months after the Queen's proclamation brought the British North America Act into force,—they will set forth that the people of this Province, having at length been consulted on this vital question, on the 18th day of September last, emphatically and almost unanimously declared that they were unwilling to be confederated,—they will thereupon declare on behalf of the people that this Province is not, has not been, and does not intend to be confederated, and will conclude with a resolution that a humble address be presented to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to withdraw her proclamation, and to cause the Imperial Statute to be repealed so far as it interferes with our rights and privileges.

HON. MR. TROOP.—I desire, at this stage, to second what has fallen from the Hon. Attorney General, in his announcement that the Repeal of the Confederation Act so far as this Province is concerned, is the policy of the Government. I believe that while carrying out that policy we will have the sympathy and co-operation of this Legislature and of the people of the country in the great struggle which lies before us. Our's is a country that by judicious and proper government might be in a satisfactory and harmonious state, and I have sufficient confidence in the Parliament of Great Britain, in the people of England, and in Her Majesty the Queen, to believe that a Repeal of the Union will be granted.

MR. BLANCHARD.—It is due to myself in view of the circumstances in which I am placed, to make an observation or two. A very wise man once said that there was nothing new under the sun, but if what has just transpired is not something new under the sun it is something new in my experience. In all my political observations I have never known an instance like this, where, after it is agreed that the address stand over till tomorrow, two gentlemen rise to speak to its contents. The answer usually re-echoes the Speech, but for the first time we have to-day heard an answer introducing subjects different from that which the Speech contains, and in addition we have had the exhibition of two members of the Government rising to tell us what their policy is to be. They told us of their policy once before, and the country heard the announcement, and yet we have the solemn farce of the leader of the Government getting up and telling us that

they are going to repeal the Confederation Act. Perhaps the Government may be able to do wonders, but they should have allowed us to get warm in our seats before they came down with the thunders of their wrath. As far as my weak power could go I was ready and willing to advocate a conciliatory policy, but I find myself met in a different spirit. It may be that a very large majority of the House will favor the policy which has been announced, but the majority of the people outside in its support is not so large as has been stated. When we have, as I said, the solemn farce, of a young member telling the people of this country what their policy is and should be, and of an address, not re-echoing the Speech, but going out of its way to introduce other topics, and of the members going into the whole policy of the Government on a motion of adjournment, I must say we have seen something new.

HON. ATTY. GENERAL.—I presume that the hon. and learned gentleman who has just spoken is the leader of the Opposition. The Opposition is a very small one, and no doubt require to make a good deal of noise in order to be heard,—therefore it is, I suppose, that the hon. member is so energetic in making his observations on our conduct. A gentleman who has seen so many political and other changes as he, should be the last to complain of novelties.

The House then adjourned to the following day at 3 o'clock.

FRIDAY, Jan 21.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.

MR. DICKIE moved that the answer to the Address of His Excellency do now pass.

The Address was taken up clause by clause, and the first clause passed without debate.

The second clause was then read.

MR. BLANCHARD said—It becomes my duty to review for a short period the speech from the Throne, the answer that has been moved, and the policy of the Government as announced to the House last evening. I cannot allow this second clause to pass *sub silentio*, because it would be thought, and might go abroad as undoubted and conclusive truth that our finances are in the condition in which it represents them to be. I deny the truth of that *in toto*, and I undertake to say that no member of this House or of the Government is at this hour in a position to tell the people of this country what our financial condition is. What do we see in another clause? We find that the Government delegated the power which they should have exercised themselves, and sent out Commissioners to ascertain the state of our finances. If His Excellency the statement that we are to await the report of those gentlemen, I ask what condition are they in to say that we will be unable to meet the requirements of the public service? I assert boldly that no greater mistake as to fact was ever made by any Government or Legislature than is made in that assertion. My knowledge of the affairs of the Province during the few months in which I led the Government enables me to say that the

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country never was in so good a financial condition as at present, and I will ask the government to put on the table the proofs which will contradict my assertion. If they can do so I will be the first to avow the error and withdraw the statement, but I will, in the meantime, give to the House a statement I think it will give them a good deal of trouble to meet. What, then, is our condition?—We have received, and are to receive for distribution as the subsidy from Canada, \$329,000. While I was in the government, and since, there was paid into the treasury \$252,000 of that amount; and there is due to us at this moment the sum of \$60,000, which we have a right to draw. What was done with that \$252,000? It was appropriated by the late government and the present, to the payment of the arrears due for roads and bridges, and navigation securities, to the amount of \$177,000. We have still on hand, as available funds, \$77,000; and the \$60,000 which I have mentioned that we have a right to draw, will make \$137,000. I am dealing now with facts and figures, and if I am wrong in my assertions, the officers of the government will be able to furnish them with the means of correcting me. On the first day of July next we will have \$60,000 more of the subsidy, making \$192,000. Thus the government will be entitled at this moment to appropriate \$329,000. I ask the gentlemen opposite to lay on the table, the figures to contradict me in this statement. I say, boldly, from my knowledge of the affairs, that it is in the power of the government to distribute three hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars, and I ask if we were ever in a better financial condition than that. It may be said that we have much to do with these funds.—Let it be remembered what our liabilities were before. We had \$160,000 of interest to meet every year, which is taken off our shoulders. We had our judges to pay, and a great many other charges which no longer fall on us, and therefore if the government choose to come in with an estimate liberal and fair, they can fully provide for all the wants of the country. I repeat the assertion that there are \$329,000 to the credit of the Province, ready to be distributed, with a full knowledge of the responsibility which I incur in making it, and knowing that if a contradiction can be given, the officers of the Government will furnish it; if no such contradiction be given I ask the House and the country to believe the assertions I have made. In commenting upon the speech I should be sorry to treat it as made by His Excellency, who stands above all party questions. Whatever may be the personal wishes of the Lieutenant Governor on this subject, his Government must be held responsible for the sentiments which are put into his mouth. I find that the speech as printed in the organ of the Government says:

“The Public Accounts will be submitted to you, and I regret to inform you that the Financial affairs of the Province are not in a very satisfactory condition, and fear that the funds at your disposal will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of the country.”

His Excellency appears only to have had a little alarm, but the hon. member for King's,

who moved the address, is quite sure about the matter. I ask if this House is going down on its marrow-bones to tell the people that we are paupers. While the Commissioners are still at work do not the government feel ashamed to say to the country, “we have no money to give you, but do not be angry.” They do not, as I have said, know our actual condition,—they are either incapable of enquiring, or did not want to enquire when they picked up three accountants to do their work; and now, before the report of these gentlemen is presented, the government put into the mouth of His Excellency, and of the member for Kings, the statement that the country is bankrupt. It has been said in the press, and by some of the gentlemen who have come to attend this session, that we are bankrupt because all our money has gone to Canada. What are the facts? I undertake to say, again repeating, that if wrong, the government will be able to contradict me, that the Dominion Government have spent in Nova Scotia, for Nova Scotia purposes, \$600,000 more than they received. I challenge anyone to show me wrong to the extent of \$6000; and I, further say, that not one dollar of the moneys of Nova Scotia ever went beyond its borders. I ask the members of the House who have come from the country pledged to repeal the Union, to digest and consider that statement; and if the government cannot contradict it on the spot, it will be for those members to ask whether all the assertions they have heard and seen on this subject are true or not. I ask these statements to be weighed before any man tells us that we are mere serfs and slaves, sold to a rich country, in whose grasp we are. When I was in the government \$450,000 were sent down and placed to the credit of Nova Scotia, and every dollar of it was spent in our service without a dollar being returned.

If the government cannot meet me on these questions, let some of their subordinates come up and tell me whether I stated what was un-true, when I said, with a knowledge of all the facts, that without a dollar being sent to Canada, we received in two months after the Union, and expended here, \$450,000. What, then, is the meaning of this talk about financial embarrassment, and the cry that our people have been sold for 80 cents a head. I have said that the sums that the Dominion is liable for and has paid on our account, amount to \$600,000; and where has the money gone? One would suppose, by the tone of some of our newspapers, that the dues paid into our Custom House are all sent to Canada; but where has the interest on our debenture bonds come from? Where are the Baring bonds? Have they no claim against this Province? Aye, \$165,000 every half-year; Canada has to pay for interest on the debt of Nova Scotia—poor Nova Scotia, that has been sold away! Does the Dominion Government pay nothing else? Have they not to provide for our Militia service? These expenditures, with the amount of the subsidy, make \$549,000; and I was therefore right in saying that \$600,000 had been expended on Nova Scotian account, without a dollar being returned. If I can be contro-

verted in this statement, I will go down on my knees and beg pardon of those whom I addressed, and I ask the government to meet me here, without seeking for assistance outside, and disprove my assertion to the House and the country. I repeat, that the General Government advanced \$450,000 to us at the outset, and must pay \$150,000 more in a few days, making the \$600,000 which I have named. I ventured yesterday to differ from the government as to the policy which they announced, and as to the propriety of their announcing their policy at this period; and I also objected to the Address, but it is not merely an echo to the Speech. What principle guides us in this matter? The Lieutenant Governor is expected, at the opening of each Session, to submit a speech containing the sentiments of the Council which surround him. The Attorney General said that the Governor was placed in a difficult position. I do not wish to make reference to that position, except in so far as it was referred to by that gentleman; but how does the Speech commence? His Excellency says he is the Representative of Her Majesty the Queen. I rather think that that was a pretty hard dose for his government to swallow. I know nothing of the correspondence of His Excellency with the Council; but there must have been at least one member of the latter to whom that expression was worse than a dose of salts.

But let us see what His Excellency says. He, of course, knows nothing personally of the finances; he is told by the Provincial Secretary that we are bankrupt,—and I can easily imagine, too, how eager the advisers of the Governor must have been to get in a clause about this confounded Confederation, which they are determined to have repealed; but they have put in the next best thing they can, and it is this paragraph:—

“The Province of Nova Scotia has ever been distinguished for loyalty and unwavering fidelity to the British monarchy, and it is peculiarly gratifying to me to entertain a firm conviction that, if the people should desire any political changes, they will seek the attainment of that object through their representatives, in a constitutional manner, and that their sincere and ardent attachment to British institutions will not fail to manifest itself in all their proceedings.”

We all know the statement contained in this paragraph to be a truism. It is not necessary to remind this House that the country that political changes are to be sought in a constitutional manner. True it is that some of the newspapers, the organs of the Government, insinuate that changes will be sought in another manner; they may talk reasonably of what the people can do, and of what the militia can do, but for the Government to express a doubt that changes which may be sought will be sought in a constitutional manner is childish trifling with our position. Who, beyond the precincts of a few printing offices, ever dream that the people will seek changes in any other way? I felt ashamed and degraded as a British subject, when we were told, “Be good boys now, do no rebel; but if you want changes, ask for them in a constitutional manner.” I ask if it became the Govern-

ment to tell us such a truism as that, and to play with us thus? Was it done to make the country believe that there was a necessity for such advice? I, for one, do not thank the Government for telling me that I must seek changes in a constitutional manner, and I view the expression in the speech as a downright and wilful slander upon the country.

The next clause refers to our educational institutions; and I heard with great surprise from the hon. member for Kings that those institutions were not in a satisfactory and effective condition. If there was anything in my experience of which the Legislature had reason to be proud, it was when a majority gathered from the Government and Opposition ranks arranged and perfected a measure of education. To be told that that measure does not work well is to be told what I know to be untrue. I know the Eastern part of this Province as well as any man living, and I am aware that no measure ever passed this Legislature which was so valuable as that measure. If I never were to sit here again, I would feel proud that I had the courage and the manliness on that question to sustain the Government in the interests of right and truth. When, therefore, I am told that the system works unsatisfactorily, I am surprised, and have a right to contradict the assertion in the most emphatic manner.

The speech passes from that subject to the Pictou Railway, and we were told by the hon. member for Kings that that railway is not in a satisfactory condition. That was the first time I heard the statement or knew of any complaint, though I had travelled over the line pretty frequently, and I feel surprised, I must say, at its coming from a member for Kings. I may tell him and the government that I do not believe there is any such railway in British America as the Pictou line, and the hon. gentleman is the first and only man, so far as I know, who has opened his mouth to say a word against it. Then comes the little bit of flattery about our loyalty. With the exception of a few malcontents who have got into the country lately, and who have got hold of a few printing presses, and are circulating the most contemptible kind of treason over the country, there is no class of our people who need this piece of flattery and advice. I am reminded of what a gentleman said to me the other day in speaking of one portion of the press to which I have referred. He said it reminded him of a harp, the editor in playing it began on some of the lower strings, touching first one, then another, increasing in loudness as he went along, feeling the pulse of the people, seeing how they would bear the music, making up his mind to go on as far as he would be allowed, and this person added “he has got up pretty high, and within a month, if the people do not show their contempt of his productions we will have the highest note, which is annexation.” With these exceptions the people are as loyal as they ever were, and I hope and believe they will continue so. Let us see what kind of answer we have got to that paragraph in which we are complimented on our loyalty:

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estimated the loyalty of the people of Nova Scotia, and their fidelity to the British Monarchy, and your Excellency may rest assured that in their efforts to overcome the disadvantages under which they at present labor, and to effect any desirable political changes, they will seek the attainment of these objects through their representatives in a strictly constitutional manner, and that their sincere and ardent attachment to British Institutions will not fail to manifest itself in all their proceedings."

Is it fair to the House thus to go outside of the Speech; and to bring in other matters by the ears? The Government could not get repeal in the Speech, but they have placed the Lieutenant Governor in a false position, for in receiving the address he will be admitting the truthfulness of the remark, after carefully guarding his own expressions on the subject. Did His Excellency say that we labored under any disadvantages? He did not, and how then dare we ask him to endorse such a statement. Was that dealing fairly with His Excellency?

A voice—Yes.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued—Let gentlemen learn a little more of constitutional usage before they undertake to give me a reply. Ask their masters to justify this course if they can.

The SPEAKER said that the expression "their masters," as applied to members of the House, was disrespectful.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued—I apologize for the expression, but I ask the members to go to the Speaker, whom we have elected as the master of all of us, and ask him to hunt up in Hansard and find if he can any precedent of an answer which was more than a mere echo of the Speech. I may be told again, as I was last night, that I am making a great deal of noise. Perhaps I am not so old in political life as the Attorney General, and do not possess his coolness, but I may be excused for exhibiting warmth. I have been told that we have got a tandem opposition. I can only say that I should like the Attorney General for a wheeler. I have not claimed to be the leader of the Opposition, but perhaps it will be as well for some gentlemen not to hallo before they are out of the wood. Before our four years are out, there may be an opposition that will grow amazingly. Anything that is very large can hardly be expected to grow bigger; and anything very small may be expected to grow a little. I do not by any means despair; I know I am right; I have the best interests of the country at heart, and have a tongue in my head, and hope before long to persuade some of these hon. men that I see around me that I am right. But will nobody tell me who is the leader of the government? People will talk; and the story is, that there are two kings in Brantford—two leaders of the government. On the 18th September there was a general election; the government of which I was a member, were, to use a common phrase, "sent cowering to the wall." Instantly we placed our resignations in the hands of His Excellency. I am ready to meet any enquiry as to the length of time we remained in office. His Excellency was then required to form

a Government, and what did he do? We had 38 men, good and clever, elected from all parts of this country. Does he send for any of them? Oh, let it never be told out of Nova Scotia that out of this majority of 36 to 2 there was not a man fit to form a government, and I sometimes wonder at the Attorney General, knowing how high-spirited he is, consenting to come into a government which he was not asked to form. The gentlemen I see before me were told in fact that not one of them was fit to form a government, and Richard McHefey, a gentleman whom I respect above nearly all others, was sent for. That was an insult to these 38 men. They may choose to pocket the offence, and do their duties,—that is no affair of mine. Then, without leave or license Mr. McHefey calls together his party in this room, and the first thing they do is to take the rejected of Cumberland and make him Premier—the man who escaped from the constituency of Halifax. Do not these gentlemen feel ashamed and degraded by this choice? If they do not resent these two insults, it is not for me to protect their honor. I may say, however, that small though the opposition may be, and much as I may be sneered at, it is a good thing that there is an opposition, for were it otherwise, I fear that this legislature would be like a river running down to the sea, that sea being the United States. I make the statement boldly, and repeat that it is a blessed thing for Nova Scotia that we have an opposition, small though it be.

I have spoken warmly in this debate, but without the intention of giving personal offence to any individual,—as regards the Hon. Mr. McHefey, as I have said, I believe a more estimable man does not stand in Nova Scotia, but when he assumed the position which he did assume, he did an act derogatory to himself and insulting to the men who sit on these benches. We have been told that we must look to constitutional means for the redress of the grievances under which they labor; but I ask the House and the country boldly, whether it is true that within a hundred miles of this city, in the County of Pictou, whole companies of militia have gone off the field, refusing to drill or to have their fines collected, and whether that was done by the advice and with the knowledge of the Attorney General? I do not assert that it was, but that is what is generally believed. If that hon. gentleman denies that by word or deed he encouraged that conduct, I will withdraw the imputation, but if he does not, see what his position may be one of these days; a warrant has been issued for the arrest of the delinquents for their fines; the people at West River have taken up arms to resist, have driven off the constables, and we may at any moment hear of life being lost in the encounter. If that occurs, I ask when the Attorney General comes to indict the offenders for murder, if he has encouraged the idea that the people should not drill, will not a share of the responsibility rest on him? When speaking of the finances there is one subject which I omitted to mention. Not only have we \$329,000 to expend next year as Dominion revenue, but we have a large revenue from our gold and coal fields and crown

lands. You will observe that the speech is silent on that point. Is that intended as a blind, so as to make it appear that we have nothing but Dominion funds to expend? Let me state a few facts to the House. At Mount Uniacke the other day 325 ounces of gold were taken from 13 tons of quartz. Of the gold  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. belongs to the government, and I know when I left the Attorney General's office it was proved that on the first of next June our revenue from the gold mines would be \$40,000. If the government give me the revenue to that date I will engage to give them the \$40,000. Instead, therefore, of being bankrupt we will have plenty of money to spend.

But I do not wonder that such statements have been made—could the country expect anything else? The government had not the hardihood to say anything else after what they have said on other occasions. I had some pretty hard things said of me yesterday,—the Atty. General seemed to think he had nothing to do but to rise and tell the House "oh, this is a noisy fellow, do not mind him; I will not condescend to answer him." I dare say he will take no more notice of me now, and will tell the House that he would not soil his fingers by demolishing all I say; but I bring him before the bar of public opinion, where he cannot act so contemptuously;—what I have said goes to the country, where it will be read and studied, and therefore before the members of government can throw aside my remarks, they will have to prove to the people that I am exaggerating the facts, and if I am, let public opinion judge me. It will not do for them to turn me off with the sneer that there is nothing but noise in what I have said. One consolation that the government have is that they will not be bored with opposition speeches from many members, and I trust that they will be satisfied with coming down on me in reply themselves, with my friend Mr. Morrison beside me to aid them, without crushing me by the weight of all their supporters. I think that I have now opened up matter enough to give us a little fun, and I am sure you will agree with me that it would be a great pity if by any exertions I should be deprived of my seat by the attempt which is to be made for that purpose,—we would not in that case hear the Attorney General at all, the Prov. Secretary would not have an opportunity to display the eloquence which reputation ascribes to him, nor would the member for Annapolis, (hon. Mr. Troop) be able to show how he can discourse on political affairs. Sometimes a man comes here with a reputation and never gets the opportunity of making it good,—that will hardly be the case now, for I trust the government will pay sufficient attention to my remarks to oblige me with an answer.

HON. ATTY. GENERAL.—I do not intend to make a very long speech in answer to the observations which have fallen from the hon. member who has just spoken. There is not much occasion that I should do so, for there is little or nothing in that speech that I disapprove of. It was an excellent speech in favor of Canada, and as the advocate of Canada, the hon. gentleman has acquitted himself

magnificently. He quoted yesterday from Solomon. I also sometimes read Solomon,—I admire his proverbs, and I do not forget one very suggestive proverb, in which he says: "even a fool, if he holdeth his tongue, is counted wise; and he that holdeth his tongue is esteemed a man of understanding." I will act on that advice. The hon. member opened his speech by an exordium, in which he admitted that in such a state of hopeless confusion did he and his colleagues leave the affairs of the country that it would puzzle any man living, in the present or any other administration, to make head or tail of the affairs of the Province. In making that admission he stated nothing but the truth. It is not my duty to answer as to the financial affairs, but I will say that, as one member of the administration, I was desirous of becoming acquainted with those affairs. I was told that Canada assumed our debt on the 1st of July, and while canvassing in the country I made every effort to ascertain what the state of our debt was at that date. To my utter astonishment I found that so reckless were the men who had governed the Province, that although the crisis had arrived at which our treasury was to be handed over to the Dominion, that debt had never been ascertained, and our predecessors had walked out of the administration, leaving the affairs in such confusion that no man has yet been able to ascertain what our debt is. That was the way those gentlemen conducted themselves, and now one of them has the assurance to come and attack this government for stating what was the obvious truth, that our financial affairs were so hopelessly confused that we were unable to state precisely what our condition is. There was an immense deal of declamation in what the hon. member said, but I do not hesitate to tell him that after Nova Scotia has received the paltry pittance coming to her from Canada, she will this year, and every year that we are confederated, pay to Canada over and above the sum paid out on her account a very large amount of revenue. That is an assertion, the truth of which is self-evident, and if the fact were not as I have stated it we would not have been confederated. I feel bound now to make an observation as to some remarks which should not have escaped the lips of the hon. member. He said or intimated that some individuals had refused to perform their drill under my sanction,—he asked me to contradict the assertion, and said what the consequences would be if I did not. He should have found out whether the assertion was true or not before he repeated it here; he has made it on his own responsibility, and without condescending to answer such a charge, I will merely say that if his ears were filled with such a report by his friends, it does not say much for the company he keeps.

HON. PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.—For the first time in my life I wish myself a lawyer, for I feel that it requires a large amount of assurance to rise and address this House in the manner in which it has been addressed to-day, and in which it seems to be the custom of some gentlemen to express themselves. I feel myself placed in a somewhat delicate position from the fact that the member for

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Inverness has referred to me as possessing considerable eloquence in debate. I am not aware how such a report got abroad, for I can assure the hon. gentleman that no such opinion is entertained in the locality where I am best known. I am truly surprised that the hon. member could have made such a speech as that to which we have listened, knowing, as he did or should have known, what the actual financial condition of the country was. He knows well that when we undertook the management of the public affairs, our finances were just in the condition indicated in the Speech of His Excellency and stated by my colleague, the Attorney General. He knows well that although he and his friends only held the reins of Government for four months, they in that time drew the whole six months' subsidy from the Canadian Government, and, in addition, \$54,000 in advance on the next six months' allowance; and yet he comes here to-day and tells this House and the country that our finances are in a proper, and, indeed, were never in a more prosperous, state. We found them, as the Hon. Attorney General has said, in a state of hopeless confusion; and I tell the hon. member that no man can in a week place himself in a position to tell accurately what our financial position is to-day. It will be necessary for three or four of the best accountants that can be obtained to go most closely into the figures; and even after that discussions will probably arise from time to time as to what belongs to this department, what belongs to that, what belongs to the Dominion, and what to the Local Government. The hon. gentleman must be well aware of the truth of these assertions, and must know that we are not now able to state accurately what our position is.

I will exhibit to the House one brief statement in connection with this subject, remarking, before I go further, that I do not deal with the matter at greater length because this is certainly a strange time for us to be asked to place the estimates upon the table. For the education of the country we are obliged to provide \$224,000. Now the whole amount of revenue derivable from Canada, according to the statement of the hon. member for Inverness, was \$324,000; the probable revenue from local sources we will put down at \$142,000;—that will make our whole available revenue \$466,000. Deducting from this the educational grant, which I have mentioned, we will have a balance to distribute for other services of \$242,000. In 1866 there were \$244,000 granted for roads and bridges alone. I ask this House, then, if that is a satisfactory state for our finances to be in, and if the statements which I have made can be challenged? Let me ask, too, of the House and the country how our expenses are to be met, and the road and bridge service, and the various other services to be provided for; and the few figures I hold under my hand shew the correctness of the position which we have assumed, without my going into or anticipating the regular financial statement, which at the proper time will be laid before the House. The probability is that in addition to what I have mentioned, we will have to provide for

half a million of debt over the eight millions which the Dominion Government assumed, and that will take \$25,000 more. In view of these facts, I think we were justified in representing the existing state of things as unsatisfactory, and I am sure the country will bear us out in the assertion. The hon. gentleman referred to the appointment of a commission to examine and report on the finances. I am young in Parliamentary experience, but I know that not many years since Mr. Johnston moved for such a committee, and yet we have been told that there is no precedent for the act. Were we going, on taking possession of our offices, to put before the country a statement of the finances as they were left by our predecessors, and have the hon. member deny its correctness, and represent that we had made it unfairly? No, sir, we resolved that an independent commission should put forth a statement that everybody would have confidence in. If the condition of affairs be satisfactory, the hon. gentleman should be desirous that the truth should come out in order to shew that his was an immaculate government. He said again that Canada had paid for us \$600,000 more than she had received; it is true that up to a certain time she had advanced somewhat, because we know that in some quarters of the year the amount of duties paid is smaller than in others—the winter quarter for example. In addition to this fact, I must remind the House that we are charged in that statement with amounts paid for the Annapolis road, and other items that do not belong to the current charges. It is true, as the Attorney General has said, that if Canada is to tax us as she pleases, \$600,000 or \$700,000 will be taken out of the Province annually. The hon. gentleman said a good deal about our being sold for 80 cents a head, and seemed to consider that an excellent joke. I tell him it is no joking matter,—it is a serious and sore thing to the people of this country. I am surprised, however, that before the answer to the speech is passed, and before the debate has been invited, he has gone into the discussion of that branch of the subject. I do not wonder that the hon. gentleman felt and spoke warmly. He might well feel so when he looked around the House, and asked himself "where are the thirty-one men who sat here and voted with me for union?" Echo answers "where?" They have been scattered to the winds by an indignant people, and he stands here alone like a bramble bush in the middle of a prairie, where everything else has been swept away by the lightning, fire and tempest. He has been sent back here by a kind of special Providence to bring us up to the proper point of duty, and to shew that if men undertake to trample on the rights and privileges of a people they may do so for a little time, but when the opportunity comes they will be weighed in the balance, and, if they are found wanting, they will be left where they should be left—*at home*. As regards the Pictou railway, if we can judge by the observations which the hon. member made before, the road is not in a very satisfactory state, and, taking everything into consideration, the House will agree with me that it is not so satisfactory as it should be.

The hon. member made a reference to the mode in which the government was formed, and made it appear that the action of that period was unprecedented. But just look across the water and see who is there called on to form an administration when the reins of power change hands. Is not a member of the House of Lords generally called on? Is there anything improper in a member of the upper House being entrusted with the formation of our government? With nearly every man in the lower House new to his duties it is nothing remarkable at all, but just what was reasonable that should be the case. I therefore say that the hon. gentleman has made a speech to us today out of whole cloth, and this fact will be made more clearly apparent when the proper financial statements are brought down.

Hon. Mr. TAOR said:—I should much have preferred allowing the observations I intend to make to remain in abeyance until the discussion on the matter of Confederation, which has been incidentally mentioned by the hon. member for Inverness, had been brought on by the resolutions on the subject being laid upon the table. But I cannot allow the remarkable speech which has been uttered tonight to go to the country without meeting it on the instant, and giving it that indignant denial which it will meet from one end of the country to the other. It contained not only a slander upon the men around these benches, but a slander likewise on the loyalty of Nova Scotia; and when the gentleman who delivered it, sits here alone and solitary, without one of those colleagues of his who brought Confederation on the country, and when he undertook to lecture the young members of the House on modesty, he should surely have held his tongue in a little subjection. He owed an apology to the people of this country for voting away the rights and privileges which every man in Nova Scotia holds dear, and as one of the men who, at the midnight hour in this Assembly, enacted that scene which will send its authors' names down to perdition as long as Nova Scotia remains Nova Scotia. Will the hon. gentleman still talk about insulting the people, and ask half-a-dozen of the government to come on and meet him? Why I would take the smallest school-boy in the back woods of Nova Scotia, and confound him on his constitutional law, and every other point that goes to make up his case.

I am not going to detain the House with an elaboration of our financial affairs,—this is not the time, nor am I in a position to do so,—but there is an easy way of coming at the truth, and one that will satisfy the intelligence of the House and of the country. When the hon. member next addresses the House, I trust he will give a plain answer to a plain and simple question. We all know, or at least those of us who are acquainted with the history of Canada for the last fifteen years, and acquainted with her financial affairs, that she is bankrupt in finances and reputation;—log-rolling was resorted to, every contrivance was devised, and at length when her rulers were unable to continue borrowing money, we find them coming down to obtain possession of the Maritime Provinces. I do

not intend to go at length into that part of the case, but I mean to ask this question: When Canada had no more money than she wanted, New Brunswick no more than she wanted, and Nova Scotia no more than she wanted, where in the name of common sense did Canada get the enormous amounts of money which it is said she advanced on our account? Where did the money come from, if it did not come from our coffers, and from those of New Brunswick? Certain we are, that if Canada had not obtained possession of these Provinces she would not have been able to assist us financially. That is the reply which I give to the special pleading which we have just heard on behalf of Canada. It is well known that the Finance Minister of the Dominion gave to the public a financial statement which has been repeated by the hon. member for the purpose of misleading the people. We went into Confederation, it is said, with a debt of eight millions, but it is well known that at the time of the assumption of power by the Hill-Blanchard government, or a short time before, the debt was nothing like that amount; as far as I have been able to ascertain, it was little over six and a half millions.

The hon. gentleman tells me this is bosh,—it is a kind of bosh that will bother him a good deal,—it was what helped to send him and his party to the wall when they were made bosh of so suddenly. This eight millions then was chargeable to Canada, and in paying the interest of it they have charged us with the payment of it as if it were for current expenditure. That is what the hon. member's party have been bragging about and filling their subsidized sheets with. Let them charge us with whatever is chargeable as current expenditure against the revenues collected since the 1st July, but do not let them charge against us the sums which Canada is bound to pay us under the British North America Act. One other statement I was sorry to hear repeated to-day. I am in the hearing of the people of Nova Scotia when I say that it was time the slander was thrown back that we, the Anti-Confederate party, are disloyal men, annexationists, and Fenian sympathizers. We have heard the assertion made by men whose loyalty has no existence, and it reminds me of a certain class of people bragging about their virtue. Because the Speech from the Throne says that the people of this country are loyal and ardent in their attachment to British institutions, the gentleman leading the opposition faction, has had the ill grace to bring the old imputation into the debate. Until the delegates went to Quebec who ever heard of annexation in this country,—disloyalty was born in the same place with that gigantic scheme of Confederation. Those delegates tried their best to make the people believe that the choice was between Confederation and Annexation,—they dragged the Queen's name into the debate, and we had the exhibition of a member occupying a seat in another branch sending bogus proclamations over the country threatening all sorts of evils if we did not bow down and worship the golden calf which had been set up in the backwoods of Ottawa. With one other reference I shall close my remarks. The

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hon. gentleman took credit for great magnanimity in resigning the seals of office after the verdict of the people on the 18th of September;—the Governor who then presided over the deliberations of the Council committed a grievous wrong and insult to the country in giving the sheltering checks and guards of the constitution to a faction and a rump.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that the hon. member was out of order in bringing the Governor's name into debate.

The SPEAKER, while agreeing that such observations had better not be made, said that it was in order to refer to a Governor after he had left our shores and ceased to control the affairs of the country.

Hon. Mr. TROOP continued:—Sir Fenwick Williams kept in office a government that was responsible to nobody; we found him going into the streets and picking up a gentleman to place him in the Provincial Secretary's office, and because we placed Mr. Anand at the head of the Administration, and because Mr. McKeay was called on to form the Government, we are taunted with doing that which the constitution does not justify, and that which was never heard of before.

I will not detain the House by going into a review of the tariff and the duties collectable under it, as I will have another opportunity of doing so, but in the meantime I would say to the hon. gentleman that if he attacks the government, as he has done to-night, we are prepared to meet him on any question, and if we do not give him a Roland for his Oliver; he may account himself the better man, but it would be more becoming in him, as an old member of the House, to have set an example to the younger men instead of making a vindictive and indecent attack. The government, it will be remembered, was formed under peculiar circumstances, new and untried men had been selected, and it had gone forth that men of ability could not be found among those elected to seats here to carry on the public business. I grant you that Confederation has taken many of the best men out of the country, but we are prepared to meet the hon. gentleman whenever he thinks proper to assail us. If, however, he would discuss matters in a parliamentary way, he must discuss them by themselves without personal allusion. In that respect I have to read him a lecture that I trust he will remember—the lecture which was read to him by seventeen counties of the Province, and would have been read by the eighteenth if fair play had been given.

Mr. BLANCHARD:—The statement that I made an indecent attack on the government or brought in personal allusions is utterly incorrect. Let the hon. member for Annapolis give me that lecture which he talks about, and when I reply I think I shall be able to give him a Roland for his Oliver.

The debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned.

SATURDAY, Feb. 1st, 1868.

The House met at 12 o'clock.

DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.

The adjourned debate was resumed.

Mr. YOUNG suggested that the Address should be debated in Committee of the whole House. He would like to hear the Speaker's views.

The SPEAKER said that the usual course was to debate the Address with the House in its full dignity, with the Speaker in the Chair.

Mr. RYERSON said:—I am not much acquainted with Parliamentary usage, but it appears to me that we are taking up a great deal of time in discussing the Address. It is a very plain story, and if the member for Inverness wants to make a long story of it, the better way is not to answer him. The people know all about the matter, and the best way in my opinion is, after the hon. member has said what he has to say, to pass the address without reply. No one can say then that it took 35 of us to put one man down, and that it took us three days to do it. We should get to our work;—the people told us on the 18th of September what it is they want done. For my part, I only wish that we had a large minority here, so that no one could say we were all one way of thinking; but there is no benefit in spending time over such matters as we have now before us.

Mr. SMITH:—The hon. member for Inverness said he hoped he would receive fair play.—I think he should be shewn fair play and full attention in this discussion.

Mr. DICKIE said:—I had the honor of moving the answer to the address with which his Excellency was pleased to open this Session; and I now, at the risk of attempting to do what in the judgment of the leader of the opposition I should leave to my masters,—at the risk of being thought cruel enough to pour water on a drowning animal,—at the risk of calling down on my devoted head the arm of that mighty giant, who offered yesterday to take alone and unaided, the six best men in the house—not boys like myself—and who, I presume, when backed by his formidable follower, would say with a celebrated Scotch warrior of old—

"Come one come all—this rock shall fly  
From its firm base as soon as I,—"

assuming all these risks, and an amount of assurance perhaps not becoming to so young a member, I cannot let the present opportunity pass without saying a few words on one or two subjects contained in the remarkable speech made yesterday on the floors of this House by Mr. Blanchard. And I feel hopeful that I may escape being entirely annihilated when I turn to the history of my namesake of old, and remember that with a smooth stone he slew the giant of Gath. But, sir, I trust you will not think I intend any serious assault on my learned friend, for I can assure you I only intend to have a sly at him with a couple of pebbles gathered from the dry bed of the torrent of his own eloquence. I feel also that the risk I am running is not so great after all, as I have heard

it said that the lion will not injure a mouse, and that an old veteran will seldom draw his blade unless he meet a foeman worthy of his steel.

The first pebble which I shall shy at the leader of the opposition is the School Bill. I thought when the learned member asserted in his place yesterday that he was better acquainted with the sentiments of the people in the eastern section of the province than any other man—and that he was unaware of any dissatisfaction with that bill—that his memory must have failed him in that particular. It may be a dream, but it seems to me so wondrous like reality that I cannot help thinking there may be some truth in it, that one of the reasons given by the late government, which the hon. gentleman sometimes supported, why they would not take the voice of the people of this Province on the question of Confederation was that the people were dissatisfied with the working of the school bill which they had given them—a bill which in their estimation entitled them to the gratitude not only of the present, but also of future generations. And, if I mistake not, the late Premier of Nova Scotia, in his place in the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, attempted to make that Parliament believe that the result of the late elections in Nova Scotia was not because the people were dissatisfied with Confederation, but because they were dissatisfied with this school bill. And yet the hon. member, if you believe his statement made on the floors of this house, heard with surprise for the first time from my lips that the country was not entirely satisfied with that measure.

I was much amused at the vehemence of the hon. member when bringing down his financial statement; and when he pledged his, I take it, political reputation, upon the correctness of his statements, I wondered if there was to be found within the Province of Nova Scotia a pawn broker who would advance the hon. gentleman the value of a groat upon the article in question. If I understand the drift of the gentleman's remarks they were that this Province had been the gainer, and largely the gainer, financially speaking, by the act of Confederation. Allow me to turn the attention of this House for a few moments to the financial statement brought down by the Hon. Mr. Rose and laid on the table of the Dominion Parliament, and I think I shall be able to show that the hon. gentleman has made some slight errors in his calculations which might depreciate the value of the article he staked, if such a thing was within the range of possibility. The very ingenious manner in which the learned gentleman attempted to couple the revenues of next year with those of this, for I take it our financial year ends on the 1st July next, reminds me of a story I once heard of an Irishman whom a farmer hired to thrash his grain; not hearing the flail going the farmer went to the barn and asked his man what he was at. The reply was "catching rats." Upon being asked how many he had, he said, "when I get the one I am after and another one I will have two."

I exceedingly regret that I have been unable to lay my hand on Mr. Rose's Report,

and I will from memory make this statement: Take from the debit side of the account the interest charged, and put in its place the interest on eight millions for five months, take also from it the construction account which should be charged against the eight millions, take also the subsidy charged, and put in its place the amount we are entitled to for five months, take also the arrears of 1866-7 from both sides of the account, and you will find that the Dominion received for the five months, more than they paid, \$152,400, equal to about \$1000 per day, and that it must be recollected was under our own tariff; and yet if we believe the statement of the learned gentleman we are the gainers. Allow me now to turn the attention of this House for a few moments to the tariff of the Dominion, and compare it with the late tariff of Canada. In carefully comparing the two tariffs, I find but few changes, two of the alterations being against Nova Scotia, and some being in her favor. Spirituous liquors of various kinds have an addition of 10 cents per gallon, and playing cards 10 per cent. A certain class of molasses is reduced 18 10 cents per gallon; black tea 3½ cents per lb.; flour 25 cents per barrel and packages 15 per cent. The addition of liquors will make a difference of some \$75,000; that on playing cards will amount to so little I do not take them into account. The article of flour will not make much difference inasmuch as Canada does not import it to any large extent. Molasses will be quite an item, but as it is only one class I have been unable to ascertain the amount. The same thing may be said of tea, also of packages. But I think this House will agree with me that the balance of the account is against Nova Scotia.

Now let me turn attention for a few moments to the difference between the late tariff of Canada and the late tariff of Nova Scotia. Canada imported in the year ending Sept. 30, 1866, \$53,802,310, and collected \$7,330,725, the average duty being 13 5-8 per cent. Nova Scotia imported in the same year, ending the same time, \$13,381,008, and collected as duty \$1,226,398, being an average duty of 8 5-8 per cent. Applying an average Canadian duty to the imports of Nova Scotia, instead of \$1,226,398 we have \$1,959,412, or a difference of \$732,014. And this, it must be recollected, is taking into account the free goods as well as those upon which duty is charged, covering the whole importations. And this difference is a sum which Nova Scotia pays into the treasury of the Dominion, and for which Quebec and Ontario pay into the treasury no equivalent. If I am in error in these calculations, I will be extremely obliged to the hon. leader of the Opposition to point out to me where I err. Now, add these two amounts together, and you will find something over one million dollars annually which Nova Scotia will lose by Confederation. Add to this amount the infernal—I mean the internal—revenue tax, (they are both the same to my mind,) and the newspaper postage tax, the Bank tax, which is again taken out of the people by allowing their banks to charge 1 per cent. additional, and you have such a sum as Bluenose—if I read the signs of the times aright,

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Dr. House any re if it l speech lookin bited, without told m of his mitted after "Yes, is all mark ately, comm and l Honer and s challer lowers foot, were to membe should hlm to the qu that h in'his have small he had he w case, a gonfed erate of nat oppon and h seried vince When what i truth, an un clares the ot penne and th for Inv When which man, the fac pulling, and ch genera bragg With because ourate I will will be and th enue w tion, t tional the su will s \$466,8 revenue

is, and ought to be, unwilling to pay for the privilege of belonging to so vast a Dominion.

Dr. MURRAY said:—In rising to address the House, I may say that I would not have made any remarks upon the answer to the Speech, if it had not been for the extraordinary speech of the hon. member for Inverness. In looking at the amount of braggadocio exhibited, and the bold assertions which he made without proof, I was reminded of the story told me by a friend of mine: an acquaintance of his had prepared a speech which he submitted to the judgment of his friend, asking after its delivery "Is it not sound?" "Yes," was the reply, "it is sound, and it is all sound." We can apply the same remark to the hon. member's speech appropriately, for it was sound and nothing else. He commenced by speaking as an old member, and lecturing the young members of this House; and when I listened to that lecture, and saw the position which he assumed in challenging the government and all their followers to come on hand to hand, and foot to foot, I was almost inclined to think that we were to have a pugilistic encounter. An old member should have set a better example, and should not have obliged the Speaker to call him to order. Before I look at the merits of the question, I must tell the hon. gentleman that he is wrong in his philosophy as well as in his assertions; he said that large bodies have a tendency to become smaller, and small bodies a tendency to grow larger. If he had studied his philosophy more carefully he would have found the reverse to be the case, and so it will be found with the Anticonfederate party,—we are large, the Confederate party is small, and, following the law of nature, we are growing larger, while our opponents are growing smaller by degrees and beautifully less. The hon. member asserted that the financial condition of the Province was better than it ever was before. When I heard that assertion I felt it to be what in our county we call a Confederation truth. Confederation, we know, is based on an untruth, for the preamble of the act declares that Nova Scotia desired a Union with the other Provinces. The gentlemen who penned that assertion knew it to be untrue, and the bold statements of the hon. member for Inverness are just like one of these truths. When I heard him make the assertion to which I referred, I thought "he is a bold man," and that brought to my recollection the fact that when we see a man on the street pulling off his coat, rolling up his sleeves, and challenging people to an encounter, we generally set him down as a coward and a braggart at heart.

Without going minutely into the question, because we are not in a position to state accurately the condition of our financial affairs I will give a short financial statement, which will be plain and intelligible to the House and the country. Take first the whole revenue which we are to draw under Confederation, the eighty cents per head, and the additional donation of \$60,000, and we will have the sum of \$324,000. The local revenue we will say covers \$142,000, making in all \$466,000. It must be remembered that the revenue derivable from the coal mines is

small, in consequence of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, and when I mention that subject I must remark that the abrogation was to a large extent brought about by the action of the Canadians themselves, by placing local taxes on American goods which they imported, and by encouraging marauding parties from the Southern States to invade the Northern territory and rob their banks. It is my firm belief that while this unholy alliance lasts there will be little chance of the benefits of that treaty being restored. I have stated the total revenue as nearly as it can be approximated,—now let us look at some of the services which are to be provided for out of it. Take Education first:—On the 1st May, 1868, we must provide for that service \$156,000, and after that \$78,000, making \$234,000 for Education alone. Then as to the Civil Government, that will cost \$10,000; the Crown Land Department, \$16,000; Mines and Works, \$14,000; Lunatic Asylum, \$30,000; Ferries, \$5,000; Navigation Securities, \$10,000; Relief, \$66,000; Paupers' Asylum, \$13,000; Legislative Expenses, \$30,000. The new Poor Asylum is to cost \$81,000, of which the Province is to pay two thirds, making \$55,000; Provincial Exhibition, \$6,000; Agriculture, \$6,000; Immigration, \$4,000; Printing, \$6,000; Coroner's Inquests, \$1,500; Miscellaneous, \$12,000; making a total of \$458,000. When gentlemen consider the services which I have mentioned, the sums which I have put down will not be said to be too large. In addition to this \$458,000 we will have to provide, as has been asserted and not contradicted, for half a million of debt in excess of the eight millions. For this according to the Union Act we must pay to Canada five per cent. If the statement that the excess will be to that amount be incorrect why did not the hon. gentleman, having access as he had to all the public documents, contradict the assertion?

It will be remembered that time after time the former Financial Secretary was asked by Messrs. Annand and McLellan to bring down the account from 30th September to 31st March, and he did not do so. When we look at the state of the account, and see the sums expended in delegations to England and Brazil, and the defalcations in some of the accounts, we cannot be surprised that he declined to do so. It is quite possible that a collector might under an ordinarily vigilant government keep back his receipts for three months, and the government discharging him then might be acquitted of blame; but the Tupper Government, of which Mr. Blanchard has come forward as the champion, kept in a collector for more than a year after he became a defaulter, allowing the Province to be swindled thus out of \$20,000. They only exhibited an account to 30th September, 1866, although it was important to know the exact position we were in as we were bound to pay interest on the sum by which our debt exceeded the eight millions. If the excess be \$500,000, we must pay for interest \$25,000; add that to the \$458,500, and we have \$483,500. Subtract from this the revenue we are to derive and we have a deficit of \$17,500, leaving the road and bridge ser-

vices out of the question. Yet the hon. member for Inverness had the hardihood to assert boldly and to publish from end to end of the country that our finances were never in a better condition. That is indeed a confederation truth. It is like all the other features of that scheme concocted amid convivialities and festivities, and signed on Sunday morning. I think the answer I have given is sufficient to show how much reliance can be placed on the bold assertion of the hon. member, and I will not go into the matter more fully lest I should be anticipating the discussion which we are yet to have on the question of Confederation. The hon. member also made the bold assertion that the education of the country was in a complete state. I do not mean to say that the basis of the education is unsound, but under the clause in His Excellency's Speech, we are given to understand that such amendments will be brought forward as are necessary to perfect the scheme. It was most proper for the Governor to refer to that matter in his speech. Can it be supposed that that system is perfect when we find that in one district of the country within the circle of one clergyman's ministrations there were eight schools for months vacant? I do not say what the cause was, but for months that was the case in my county. When that is the case, I do not think it can be said that our educational system is in a complete and satisfactory state. The school law requires amendment, and it will need great judgment on the part of the House to make that amendment.

The next question referred to in the Speech was the appointment of Commissioners to examine the public accounts. I have no doubt that the hon. gentleman felt that sorely,—he would rather that the investigation had been left to the members of the government in order that he and the subsidized press reflecting his sentiments could create the cry over Nova Scotia that the report was got up purposely, and that the state of the accounts was falsified. In my estimation, the Council acted wisely in appointing three men, of known ability as accountants, and irrespective of their political opinions. I am glad that that was done, because when their report is given, the country will believe, and know to be true, their statements. It is said that language is used by some men to hide their ideas, and the late government appear to have so mixed up the accounts that the defalcation and misappropriation could not be unravelled.

I will now refer, for a short time, to the 7th clause of the address, which is as follows:—

“It is with much satisfaction that we contemplate the vast improvement in the communications between the eastern Counties and the metropolis, and our intercourse with the adjacent colonies, by the extension of the railroad from Truro to Pictou.”

If my memory serves me right the hon. member stated that the railroad to Pictou was the best in British America,—all I can say is that if that be the case save me from the others. As that subject has been opened up, and as the hon. member appeared to endorse all that the previous Government did in that matter

I will make a few remarks as to the history of the road. My impression is that that work has been one of the greatest swindles that was ever perpetrated upon any people. It was first advertised for contract by sections or by the whole,—It was so tendered for,—the Government saw fit to give it out in sections under the advice, as I am informed, of Mr. Fleming. In the remarks which I am going to make I wish it to be understood that I do not cast any reflection upon Mr. Fleming personally,—he was the servant of the Government, and for the wrongs which have been perpetrated he is not to blame, I presume, for he was but acting upon his instructions. Nor would I now refer to that work so largely if it were not that the road was made subservient to Confederation—so Canadianized and so de-Nova Scotianized had those who governed us become. That swindle would not have been perpetrated if it had not been for Confederation. Some months after the contracts had been given out, pressure was brought to bear upon the contractors; mason work was rejected which was said to have been as good as that which was generally used,—masonry being ordered to be pulled down because lime instead of the best cement was used,—after a while the contracts had to be given up. Was the work again put up to tender and contract. No,—it was generally supposed that the Government were carrying on the work themselves, but it afterwards transpired that the work had been handed over to Mr. Fleming himself. I was informed by some of the employees on the road that they were perfectly ashamed at being ordered to put in stones and culverts in January and March which they had been ordered to reject before. When it was found that Mr. Fleming had obtained the contract at a lump sum, the whole matter was understood. I will give one example of what I refer to. In section five or six, just before the work was taken from the contractors, the engineer ordered a culvert to be pulled down for want of sufficient cement;—when the contract went into other hands was more cement put in? No, that same culvert was built, not even with lime, but a box culvert was put up. When the late Financial Secretary returned from his delegation, and went into his constituency, he heard a good deal of dissatisfaction, and to him an offer was made to do the work, and make a complete road for \$100,000 less than the amount demanded by Mr. Fleming. Mr. McDonald had that offer placed in his hands; he said he would lay it before the government; the offer was never answered. It has been repeatedly said that there were sleeping partners in that concern; I know not who they were, but it is significant that while security was demanded from the other contractors, none was demanded from Mr. Fleming, relieving him of \$15,000, which that would have cost him. I undertake to say that that railway is not what it would have been, had it been built by the old contractors, with Mr. Fleming as the Chief Engineer. If there had been the same checks and guards over Mr. Fleming as over the other contractors it might not have been so bad; in such a work there is every inducement to the contractor to econo-

mize the work, for in every foot of excavation that he saves, he does not merely save a foot in depth, but the sidings have not to be so wide. Mr. Holmes, the Editor of the *Colonial Standard*, was challenged by Mr. Fleming to an examination of the work; he accepted the challenge, but no investigation was ever held. Mr. Fraser (Downie) asked for the appointment of an Impartial Engineer to report on the road; the government answered that it would cost too much; he replied, "never mind what it will cost, we want the appointment made." Nothing more was heard of his application. I can also safely assert that the road is a crooked road, and an up and down hill road; before the engine goes half a mile, in many places where the road is straight, it goes out of sight of a person standing on the track, and I fear that these grades and curves will make it unfit for the coal traffic. Even if the cars, with their heavy loads, could get over it, the wear and tear would be far greater than if it had been properly built. Turn again to another fact: the land taken along the tract was of the width of 95 feet; when they got down to Fisher's Grant did they confine themselves to that allowance? No, but they took 103 acres, which were altogether unnecessary. When contesting my election, I asked the Financial Secretary of the late government to say for what purpose that land was taken. He could give no reply, except that it was for railway purposes. It was taken rather as a speculation, and thus a great tract of land on the frontage of Pictou harbor has been taken by them. Besides that, when we go down to the terminus, we find that the government took possession of a large water frontage. Some one sent to Halifax to get a plan of the harbor and terminus, and from that it appears that although the plan states that the land and water privilege between the terminus and the light house, a distance of about a mile, was taken for railway purposes; such is not the case, as it has in reality been leased by the government to private individuals. People cannot help drawing inferences, and as Mr. Blanchard has endorsed the action of the Tupper Government in so many particulars, I feel inclined to suppose that he endorsed their action in connection with the Pictou road—the greatest swindle ever perpetrated in this country, if we except Confederation, which is a greater one because it takes away the Province itself.

The hon. member also remarked upon the formation of the Government, dragging in the name of the Lieutenant Governor. I do not know General Doyle personally, but I know him by reputation to be a gallant soldier and a gentleman, and it is not likely that he would do anything insulting to this House. But who called in Mr. McHaffey? Could not the hon. member himself exercise some control over the matter? Is it not customary for the outgoing Administration to give advice as to the person to be called upon? If that be the case, the hon. member is himself to blame; he should have advised His Excellency, instead of coming here with an inuendo about backstairs influences. I trust our present Governor will always maintain his due position without seeking

unduly to control the action of the Legislators. But how was it with the Governor whom we heard extolled—General Williams? I was glad to hear it stated last night that we were at liberty to criticize his conduct now that he has ceased to be a Governor, and I ask how he acted? As Mr. Jones said in his speech at Temperance Hall:—

"It appears to me that when the late government had anything to do in the shape of bribery or corruption, all they had to do was to go to Government House and enlist the sympathies of the Lieutenant Governor. It was he who converted Messrs. Bill and Bourinot; for I heard the latter state at Ottawa that the Tupper Government had done all they could to prevent his getting his present position; but that he had the pledged word of a higher functionary."

Of whom was this said? Of no less a person than the Hero of Kara. Judge Marshall, a man whose name is a household word all over Nova Scotia, said: "a real hero is always magnanimous," but Governor Williams came to do and did the work which Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell refused to do. When that functionary was asked to do this work, he doubtless recalled to mind the scenes which were enacted in Ireland, his own country, "first gem of the sea;" when his native land was swindled out of her legislature by a corrupt ministry, bribing some with money and others with titles. To his honor be it said that Sir Richard MacDonnell refused the work which General Williams accepted." The hon. member for Inverness said that his name would be remembered with gratitude in this Province,—in my judgment as long as Nova Scotia is known his name will stink in the nostrils of our people. The hon. gentleman referred to loyalty;—our people are loyal,—they love the old land and the old flag that—

"Has braved a thousand years  
The battle and the breeze."

and if they were not so how long would those gentlemen who became traitors to their country, and bartered away its rights and privileges be allowed to go at large? Do you suppose they would be allowed to do so in any other country? The Ministers who would do in England as they have done here would be taking their lives in their hands. We were told also that the Government disgraced themselves by coming down and saying that they were bankrupt. The Government did not say so,—they merely said that Nova Scotia at present labors under disadvantages. If such be the case, who are to blame for it? Was not our Province prosperous before the scheme was enacted? Was not her revenues increasing every year? In the last ten years her revenue was trebled. It stands otherwise to-day and yet the hon. member has the hardihood to say that Nova Scotia is better financially than ever before. If anybody ought to be ashamed and blush, it is he, one of the thirty-two who at one or two o'clock in the morning sealed the fate of their country.

It requires a great deal of loyalty to induce the people to maintain their temper just now. Are we not laboring under disadvantages

when a press, which was free before, is under taxation, when our notes are taxed and banks taxed, that we have internal revenue officers prowling about, poking their noses into every man's shop and stamping his goods. The party of the hon. member for Inverness said that this would not take place. Who is to be believed? They assert that the country was never better off than she is now,—we assert that she was. They asserted that the tariff would not be raised,—we said it would; and what has the result shewn? The new tariff will take at least \$400,000 from us more than we used to pay, and when we add to that the newspaper tax and stamp act, what will the amount be? Besides this, it must be remembered that we pay man for man more into the revenue of Canada than the Canadians themselves as is shewn by this extract from Mr. McLelan's speech at Ottawa:—

“The hon. Minister of Justice told us today that it was necessary, to preserve the Union, to have the same tariff operating over the whole Dominion; that it would be an act so unjust as not to be borne, to have one section of the people paying less, man for man, than the others. Now, this will be just one of the difficulties of Confederation. It has been your difficulty in Canada hitherto. Upper Canada claimed that she paid three-fourths of the revenue, and Lower Canada only one-fourth, and yet participated equally in the revenue. Now if it was a grievance not to be borne by men in Canada heretofore, and if it is, as the Minister of Justice pronounces it, gross injustice for one section of the people to pay more, man for man, into the general revenue than other sections, how do you expect the people of Nova Scotia quietly to submit to such injustice. We shall pay more, man for man, to the revenue than you. Compare our import with yours, and you find them nearly double. We imported into Nova Scotia in the year 1867 for home consumption thirty-nine dollars and fifty cents per head of the population, whilst your imports, after deducting coin and bullion, military stores, and settlers' baggage, which we never counted in our imports, only give twenty dollars per head. Hence it is inevitable that importing nearly double as much, man for man, as you, that under the same scale of duties we shall pay nearly double into the revenue, and the grievance will be transmitted to us.”

That is a specimen of the disadvantages under which Nova Scotia labours.

Mr. PINKO said:—As one of the young members I feel it my duty to make a few observations before we pass the address in answer to the speech from the throne. It is not my place to defend the acts of the late government, but I think that the clause which refers to the unsatisfactory state of the finances is at least premature. If the statement which it contains be correct the fact is deeply to be deplored,—if not it is surely wrong to proclaim the fact that we are bankrupt. The hon. member for Inverness stated yesterday boldly and emphatically that there was no foundation for such a statement, and produced figures in proof of his assertion, defying the government to contradict him.

The contradiction has not been given, and the government have admitted that they are not in a position to give it, inasmuch as they do not know the state of our affairs. I contend it is a duty which they owe to the country and the House, before passing the address, to produce on the table the papers which will sustain their position. The figures which we have just heard do not controvert, and it is not pretended that they controvert, the statements of my hon. friend. If the government do not justify their position, the country has a right to believe and will believe that that paragraph was inserted in the address to keep up the dissatisfaction which they have used every effort to stimulate for the last few months. As to education, I am glad that the government have taken the matter in hand; our present system has a great many advantages, but it appears to press severely on certain classes of the people, and I trust that such amendments will be adopted as will make it less burthensome while securing the advantage of a general education of our people. The Attorney General, a day or two ago, referred to the weakness of the opposition; if the government be strong, I trust they will be merciful. As to myself, I am here not to oppose or obstruct the public business, but to use every exertion to promote every measure tending to the advancement and improvement of Nova Scotia, whether brought forward by the government or by individual members. In discharging these duties, I will be protected in all the rights of a member of this Assembly.

The debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned until 2½ o'clock.

#### Afternoon Session.

The House resumed at 2 30.

#### DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.

The adjourned debate was resumed.

Mr. Young said:—I do not intend to go at any great length into the question of Confederation, for the country knows pretty well all that can be said on that subject. One of the best illustrations of that question is the Stamp Act. The gentlemen who were the cause of that Act being extended to us are not here now, thank Providence,—but how degrading such a law is. If we were just coming out of a war like that which they have had in the United States, I could understand it, but here we are just commencing the government of the Dominion. Such enactments caused a revolution in the adjoining country, and if they should do so here who are to blame? Who are to blame for the Pictou disturbance? Those 32 who voted here for Confederation. If the country were to rebel they would be the cause. The hon. member for Inverness says we had better not brag before we are out of the woods,—we are in the woods now, it is true, and who put us there? He and his colleagues did it, and we must get out as best we can. The hon. gentleman reminds me of a character, in one of Dickens' stories, called Tom-all-alone,—if he is not all alone he is pretty nearly so. All who proposed the scheme of Confederation have been accused of disloyalty,—what has

been the test of loyalty in this country? According to a portion of the press a man must bawl "God save the Queen" at every public meeting.—next, he must extol those thirty-two men as the saviours of their country, and then he must make sure to abuse the Americans. I respect the Queen as much as any man, but I condemn the British government for the way in which they have treated us in ignoring the petitions of 30,000 or 40,000 of our people. Our first duty is to Nova Scotia, and it will be time enough to call us traitors when we are disloyal to her. As to the subject of Education, in Falmouth great dissatisfaction exists, and many people say get us back to the old law as nearly as possible. We have no schools there now. As to the formation of the government, I would ask who recommended the Governor to send for Mr. McHefey? Perhaps it was the hon. member for Inverness himself.—I should like to hear him deny it. I see, however, no objections to the choice.—Mr. McHefey is a near neighbor of mine, and I esteem him much.

When first Confederation was brought forward we were told, as an inducement to adopt it, that we would have the protection of the British Government. What protection have we got from that Government? The country has been settled for upwards of 100 years, during 50 of which England has been at war. Did we create those wars? No, but we had to suffer by them. It has been like a man pushing me into difficulties, and then claiming my gratitude for getting me out of them as well as he could again. We have been too fond hitherto of running after Governors and persons of that description, instead of looking to the improvement of our own country. We have made the country what it is, we have built its houses and its ships, the country is our own, and we should be able to say whether we will be Confederated or not. How was the last American war brought about? By the celebrated orders in Council declaring the whole world under blockade as to trade with the ports of certain nations. Under those orders a ship bound from Lima to New York was taken,—that war half ruined Nova Scotia, but we had nothing to do with its origin. As to the Fenians we need no protection from them. In the British Parliament we were spoken of like an old shoe, and told "you may go whenever you like."

Mr. SMITH said:—If the hon. member for Inverness, in inaugurating the discussion on the address in answer to His Excellency's speech, had confined himself to the clause touching the financial condition of the country, I should not have occupied the time of the House, because the duty of sustaining that clause devolved upon the Finance Minister, and upon that question no subordinate member was called on to defend the administration. And if, at a time when the Government were in a position to give the country all the information that was required, he had charged them with wilfully misstating our position, I would have felt that he was pursuing a more frank and generous course than that which he adopted in this instance. In language strongly denunciatory, he has attacked the government knowing that they

were not in a position to place themselves in a fair and proper light; he has undertaken to tell the House that the statements made in the address are utterly untrue, and he has boxed in a quantity of figures in support of his assertion. He likewise told us that the government were our masters and betters,—with that declaration I am entirely at issue—they are the servants of the public, and the tenure by which they hold their positions depends on the confidence which they can obtain from the representatives of the people in this House. I felt when he made the remark that he did so either for the purpose of placing a stigma on the government or else to place us in a false position. I regretted much the temper and style of the hon. member's address, though I feel that he deserves some consideration at our hands, representing as he does the fragment of a party which has been swept out of political existence. He appears here as the champion of that party, for there is no other voice within these walls to reanimate their almost defunct opinions. He told us that the government had no right to insert such a clause in the answer to the speech, and what reason does he give? That our financial affairs are in such inextricable confusion that the government are not able to shew the House and the country what our state under Confederation is. He admits that the administration, of which he was the leader, left the public affairs in such a confused and tangled condition that the government are incapable of bringing down such a statement as will shew whether we are bankrupt or not, and therefore he pronounces their assertion utterly untrue. He made a statement by which he sought to make it appear that our financial state is better than it was under the old condition of the Province. I ask him if the Executive Council of to-day are not unable, from causes which he himself assigned, to come down with a full and candid explanation of affairs? If they are, how is it that he can give the information which they are unable to supply? I can only account for it on the ground that he has secret sources of information and facilities which the government are denied. Therefore I say he did not act fairly with the government in attacking them on that part of the speech which refers to our financial affairs. I feel full confidence in the gentleman occupying the post of Finance Minister and in his colleagues of the Executive, and believe that they would not have made that assertion in the address unless they were able at the proper time to show that the country is not in the state of prosperity which it occupied before the passage of the Confederation Act.

The hon. member told us that our finances are in an excellent state, and in the same breath he said that the accounts were not in a fit state to be exhibited to the House. It required nothing more to justify the conduct of the Government than that admission, and I ask who is to blame for the accounts being in such a state? On whose head rests the responsibility for that unsatisfactory condition of our affairs? Does it not lie on the late Administration, and that which preceded them? Last session the Government were

asked to bring down a statement of the public accounts, and they refused to do so, and the hon. member assumed the reins of Government without the accounts having been submitted, and without knowing the expenditure of the Government preceding his. With such a fact as that before the country can he assert that the Address contains an untruth? The clause in the Speech says:

"We regret to learn that the financial affairs of the Province are not in a satisfactory condition, and that the funds at our disposal will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of the country."

I ask if enough has not transpired in this discussion to convince every man that our financial condition is not good. Is it not a fact that a commission had to be appointed to investigate the accounts and report? The attack which has been made comes with an ill grace at a time when a report of that commission cannot be presented. I must admit, however, that the hon. gentleman has evinced in the discharge of the duty which he conceived imposed upon him, a good deal of pluck and determination. If there be anything I admire it is pluck, and I was amused at the amount of it which the hon. gentleman possessed when he threw down the gauntlet defiantly to the whole House. I almost fancied I was listening to the old farce in which *Bombastes Furioso* is represented as placing out his boots with the inscription—

"He who dare these boots displace  
Must meet *Bombastes Furioso* face to face."

He must have felt that he was leading up a forlorn hope, and must have determined that the result should be compensated for by the energy displayed in the undertaking. There is a certain class of warriors who attempt to frighten their foes by making a large amount of noise, and these were the tactics which he adopted. I could not help thinking, when he told us that the last clause of the Address was an insult to the people of Nova Scotia, that he was the safety-valve for the loyalty of Nova Scotia, and that but for him and his redoubtable efforts we would be drifting down to annexation, throwing away our loyalty to our common country—that a more gross and malignant slander on the intelligence and loyalty of Nova Scotia never was perpetrated. It is but the rehash of the statement that you had only to prick the skin of an Anti-Confederate to find annexation sentiments. Such stories have been fully circulated, and I repeat here, from my knowledge of the gentlemen representing that party on the floors of this House, that fouler slanders were never perpetrated on any body of men true to their country and their sovereign. He seems to be one of those who are so ready to proclaim their own loyalty and to give certificates of their own characters. After the very large amount of trash and bun-bun circulated in the interests of the hon. member's party, it is no wonder we hear something approaching annexationism; but it is not the sentiment of the body of the people of this country. The feeling of the people is—"The British Government, by misrepresentations coming from public men occupying the position of delegates from this country, have been deceived into believing

that the passage of the Union Act was in uniformity with the wishes of the people of this country;" and I firmly believe that had those men represented truly the views of the inhabitants of the Province, we would have had meted out to us the same fair play and consideration which was accorded to Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of our people to place themselves at the feet of the Sovereign, and to ask a consideration of their case by constitutional means. When, therefore, the hon. gentleman says that but for him we would drift into annexation, he little comprehends the views and feelings of the people on this question, and the fixed determination which they have taken at every hazard—excepting that of detachment from British institutions—to shake off the incubus which has been placed on us by means so reprehensible. After telling us that he knew our people to be loyal, the hon. member said that that clause in the speech was insulting to them. He admitted that Nova Scotians are a loyal and law-abiding people, and yet he insinuated that he was the only loyal man in this House. I trust he will explain how that can be when he next addresses us.

He next told us that although the Anti-union feeling may be strong within these walls it was not so outside. Does he yet understand the people of Nova Scotia, or is he laboring under the hallucination that because he managed to effect his return here, that is to be taken as an indication of the feeling of the country. Any man, or class of men, who make such an assertion stand on a volcano. Throughout the counties, with one or two exceptions, the side issues were hardly mentioned. I found men who could hardly read, or be influenced by a newspaper, possessing an intuitive antagonism to the scheme,—their feelings rebelled against the manner in which it was carried, and they felt it necessary to rise now if they never did so before, to express their convictions, and offer their resistance to the passage of an act which had not come before them for an expression of their opinions. We are not only a loyal but a liberty-loving people; too long have we lived under our constitution, not to appreciate its blessings, and resent the act by which our rights and privileges have been invaded, and under which he and others undertook, without our consent, and in defiance of our wishes, to change our political institutions, transfer our revenues, and place us in the humiliating position of being stripped of half our powers. All the principal materials of our prosperity have been transferred to a neighboring country with which we have no interest in common. These are views entertained throughout the country, and therefore the hon. member little understands the public sentiments when he can make the assertion to which I have referred. When he states also that the Education Act referred to in the Governor's Speech, has worked admirably, he is much mistaken. There are certain details connected with it, which have been most damaging to the educational interests; in some localities families have been unable to get their children educated because the districts were so sparsely populated, and I presume that it is to remedy evils

like these that the measure is to be dealt with. When I commenced these observations, I stated that I did not come forward to undertake the vindication of the government. The Provincial Secretary has assured us that when he brings down his estimate, he will be able to explain the true position of affairs, and to sustain the remarks made in the answer to the address. I will, therefore, not prolong my remarks further than to observe that this attack has been made upon a government peculiarly circumstanced: they are just inaugurated—they have found the financial affairs in a confused and tangled state—they are largely composed of inexperienced men desirous of doing faithfully their duties, but surrounded by duties of no ordinary character. These circumstances should have induced a postponement of the attack until they were in a position to bring down the public accounts and shew their statements to be true.

Mr. KIDSTON said:—In rising to address the House, at this time, I do not do so because I deem it at all necessary to defend the government of the day, they are perfectly able to defend themselves from any attack that may come from the hon. member for Inverness. But I am desirous of shewing to the country that, if under our altered circumstances, when we can so ill afford expenditure, we are put to an additional expense of some \$300 or \$400 in forwarding the answer to the Speech, the country may thank the hon. member for it. Knowing something of the talent and parliamentary experience of that hon. gentleman, I was led to expect something dignified and noble—coming up to the standard of an orator; but when I saw him assuming a pugilistic attitude, pulling up his coat sleeves, clenching his fist, and challenging his opponents to come on, I was reminded of the prize ring rather than of the legislature. I expected also that he would have handled his subject differently. Where was the necessity for going into so much extraneous matter at this stage of our proceedings? Why wade into the heap of rubbish that the late government heaped over our heads, but which I fully anticipate will be cleared away to the satisfaction of the country before the Session is over? When the government promised to lay on the table a clear and distinct statement of the financial condition of the Province, where was the necessity for frittering away the public time and money in discussing matters that must be discussed hereafter? When he charges us with disloyalty and Fenianism, let him remember that if there be any such growing feeling in Nova Scotia, he and his party must answer for it. For 108 years no charge of disloyalty, in act or word, could be brought against a Nova Scotian; but he and his friends, by trampling on the rights of their countrymen, have instigated the element of which he predicts so many evils.

Before the Session closes I will be called on, in deference to the wishes of those whom I represent, to lay before the House a local transaction, shewing, to a great extent, how the Government to whose acts the hon. member was a party, dealt with every matter that came under their control. It will be my

duty to ask for a committee to enter into a full investigation of the manner in which the road moneys of Victoria have been spent, or rather mis-spent. A law was passed legislating away \$4000, for which the road and bridge service of Victoria is made answerable. I ask what kind of legislation was that to sanction? I will have to ask where that borrowed money is—what has become of it? for it should not have been drawn from the treasury without the House knowing something of it. This matter reminds me of an anecdote of a schoolmaster, who, wishing to test the mathematical qualifications of his class, proposed to them this question—“Suppose I have a plate of pie; I give to Richard a third, to Thomas a third, and to John a third—how much will be left?” A little boy answered, “The plate, sir!” We may put the matter much in that way. It cannot be denied that Nova Scotia once had full control of her revenues; they have left us now full control of the chest without the revenue. When the question comes fairly before us in the resolutions which have been promised, I will venture to show the country to its heart's content, that instead of getting 80 cents a head, we do not get one solitary cent, but that, on the contrary, the idea of a revenue from Canada is a perfect deception. We do not get the 80 cents a head, but Canada has the privilege of drawing from us about \$380,000 more in revenue than we ever paid before. With our revenue increasing as it has been—for in the last ten years it has increased 250 per cent.—what would we have had to expect in the future? I will also clearly show, before the Session expires, that it would be better for us to be tributary to Great Britain, and pay taxes to her, than to remain united to a country with which we have no sympathy, commercially, socially, or in any other way; and I will defy the hon. member for Inverness, with all his powers of eloquence and gesticulation, to show that I am wrong. We cannot, by enacting or re-enacting any law, modify the scheme so as to make it acceptable to the country, for the people will submit to nothing but Repeal, and will show to the world that the men with whom that hon. member was associated have, by deception, corruption and falsehood of the meanest kind, deprived Nova Scotia of the dearest rights which a country can possess.

Mr. CHAMBERS said:—I presume that some of the greater guns are waiting for those of smaller calibre to come to the front, as that is the order adopted in military tactics, and therefore I will proceed to make a few observations. I was not sent to this Assembly for my talking powers, but because I knew the difference between ten cents per bushel on grain and grain free. I can give the hon. member for Inverness a character for politeness in some private dealings he had with me, but I am sorry that I cannot speak so highly of his conduct in this debate. It must be that he is laboring under a mental hallucination. When we see a dog coming into town and setting up for a brag, we find all the small ours barking at him, and some of them snapping at his heels. We know also

of a certain individual mentioned in heathen mythology, who was everywhere invulnerable excepting in his heel. Now if I cannot hit the hon. gentleman on the head, I may be able to tap him on the heel. I remember a story told of a certain sporting family in a remote village in this Province, their name was Wilkins, and the father and the two sons went out one day into the woods. The old man stepped ahead a few paces and presently fired his piece,—up came the boys and found that their father had killed a bear, but they were not content without having their shot, and so Lewis fired and Martin fired at the dead bear. If we all take our shot we may kill the bear too. If Martin does not shoot him dead and our Vail does not throw his cloak over him, some of the rest of us may give him a chance shot that will make him sorry for his attack.

He intimated that the country had sent up here thirty-six know-nothings who had better sit quiet until they learn something. If it be true that the House has not the talent which it should possess, we blame no others than he and his colleagues supporting Confederation. The best men of the country have gone to Ottawa, and I told my constituents that we would not have as much power as the Colchester Court of Sessions when we were done with Confederation. But if we cannot all talk we can think; there are 36 plain and honest men to look after the business of the country, caring nothing about delegations, but doing their duty promptly. In the summer canvass I talked of little matters, and left the larger subjects for my colleagues; that was a fair division of the work, and we know the world is made up of little things, I will pursue much the same course to-day. The hon. member said that the speech stated that we were bankrupt; whether the assertion is true or not I cannot say, but I know that this scheme of Confederation has so dampened the enterprise and hampered the energies of the people that money cannot be found for speculation, and they are bankrupt in mind at all events. As to the advances made by Canada, we know there is a way of boxing figures so as to support any assertion, and the hon. member has given us no proof in support of his statement, and not sufficient explanation as to how the money was spent. If the Union costs Canada so much, I wonder how it is that she holds us so tenaciously. When a man gets his hand into a bear's mouth the best thing he can do is to get it out with as few scratches as possible, and I sometimes wonder what Canada would take to let us go free. If they would take \$500,000 we would make \$100,000, and gratify our people besides. The hon. member forgot that in every case where we had before last month to pay \$100 we have now to pay \$300; he forgot that the blacksmith, the farmer and the shipbuilder had to pay 15 per cent. He forgot to tell us about the duty on cotton yarn, which enters so largely into consumption. It is always to the interest of the storekeeper that the customer should go away with a nest egg in his pocket, but the new tariff has fleeced the customer of everything.

In a late number of the *Ottawa Citizen* I

find a comparative statement of the tariff of New Brunswick, got up to support the Dominion view of the case. Even under that statement, however, New Brunswick is to pay \$33 172 more than under the old tariff,—what Nova Scotia will have to pay in that way I would not venture to say, but the New Brunswick tariff was much higher than ours,—where we paid 10 per cent they paid 18½ in many cases. On some items, such as shoes and boots, their scale is 300 per cent. more than ours. The hon. member asked “who dreams of seeking changes in any other than a constitutional manner?” He has been associating with those who told us triumphantly “you have got the law now, and you cannot help yourselves;” and he hardly knows the temper of the country, for although nine-tenths of the people are loyal they are not disposed to submit to being kicked and cuffed into Confederation. As regards Education, I did not understand the hon. member to state, as has been said, that the law was perfect, but he did say that it was popular. It is popular among some with whom anything that the late Government did is popular, but one of this class blows hot and another cold, and they are like pigs in the water—if you only let them swim far enough they will cut their own throats. It is more complained of than any measure ever introduced into this Legislature, and we have men coming to us every day and saying “you must do something with the School Bill.” How can it be popular when Dr. Tupper says that he lost the elections in consequence of it? The hon. gentleman seems to think that the people will settle down contented with the existing state of things,—the Home Secretary made that prophecy, but it turned out to be not the prophecy of Samuel but of Saul. All their prophecies on that side of the question turned out false, while ours have turned out more than true, for we never had the face to foretell such matters as have come to pass. Our predictions have been doubted while theirs have proved false as the bottomless pit. He talks about his party in the House growing; suppose they should grow fifty or even a hundred per cent in the next four years their numbers will not be very large,—but the fact is that they are decreasing every day. The best thing he can do is to take hold of the rope with us, and with a long pull and a strong pull and a pull altogether we will get rid of this detested Confederation.

Mr. PURDY said:—If it were not for some few circumstances I would have preferred giving a silent vote instead of joining in the debate. I do not intend to travel over the figures, or to review at length the arguments brought forward by the hon. member for Inverness, and which have been refuted again and again, but I will notice one or two expressions which appeared to me to come with an ill grace from him. When I heard him make use of such expressions as “betters and masters,” “newly fledged members,” and “rejected of Cumberland,” I thought he should have hesitated before using such epithets in the hearing of the gentlemen around these benches, representing the real and hearty sentiments of the people.

I thought when I heard the hon. member's speech that he had quite mistaken his position,—quite forgotten that he was on the floors of Parliament. He spoke from an Ontario point of view entirely, and it must be remembered that that Province has benefited in proportion as we have suffered by the Union. He should have remembered that the people are his betters, and that he does not reflect their opinions. When he used such phrases as he employed, and got in a towering rage, stamping and fuming, I was reminded of a regimental officer, who, after getting on his armour and strutting about in his side arms, felt so terrible that he dare not look in the glass. In talking about newly fledged members, he should have thought of his own position as the newly fledged leader of the late government; he had but few feathers to pluck, and the election stripped him pretty naked, leaving only one feather in his tail. He told us it was an insult to place in the government a gentleman who, he said, was the rejected of Cumberland, but let us see what foundation there was for that remark. Look at the influence which his government exerted to defeat Mr. Annand and myself. The unfair and unconstitutional influences brought to bear on the Cumberland election can hardly be understood by a person who was not at the scene of action. Mr. Annand went to run his election in that county, as he had a right to do, having been invited there by the people—the men who own the broad acres and pay the taxes, and he was enabled to say on the hustings at Amherst that after twenty-five years of public life he could defiantly challenge any man to put his finger on any stain in his public character. He was a stranger there, with no brothers in law and fathers in law to aid him,—he cast himself on the public opinion and good sense of the people, and if the secret history of government influence in that election were read, the taunt about the rejected of Cumberland would hardly be applicable.

The hon. gentleman should have recollected that, as leader of the late government, he himself was the representative of nobody, his government never had the sanction of the people. In Cumberland, the road commissions were peddled about until the grant of last Session was exhausted, and then the road moneys of this year were laid under contribution to the extent of \$3,500 in order to buy votes. Commissions of the Peace were issued without regard to public opinion, Dominion influences with postmasters, custom house officers and lighthouse keepers were brought to bear, and it was hardly to be wondered at after that that Mr. Annand lost his election. But let me say that Mr. Annand does represent the influence, the wealth, and the stamina of the county. Cumberland proper elected him by a majority of about 100; it was, to a very large extent, a victory, and from that hour to the present, Dr. Tupper has been unable to claim Cumberland as a union county, or the election as a victory, on his part. The meeting held in the shire town of the county, last Tuesday, proved to a demonstration all that I have said. The people came together, after an advertisement of two days, and Mr. MacFarlane was allow-

ed to be heard in the discussion. Although the opposition was drummed up all over the country for the occasion, the resolutions published prove that the constituency goes in for repeal. Nothing else will satisfy that county which, it has been said, is the strongest for Union of any in the Province. After all this, I repeat that the taunt about the rejected of Cumberland came with an ill grace from the hon. member. All constitutional usage, I repeat, was violated in the contest; sum after sum was appropriated in violation of law—\$800 was given to the mail contractor on the road from Truro to Amherst without the authority of the House—an Amherst seizing officer who had been dismissed 18 months before, made a fuss, and somebody got his hand in the public chest to the tune of eighteen months arrearages of pay. In reference to Parrsboro', I might go on enumerating matters that would put the late government to shame; sums were expended without the authority of the House, and for which the interest at least must be paid. Is not the hon. member for Inverness himself the rejected of Nova Scotia, as the leader of a government which the people rejected? The leader of the late government should not be so defiant in his tone; he gave his protection to the men who were afraid to face their constituencies, and also were appointed to office without being gazetted until after the elections were over. Another observation that came with equal ill grace, was the remark about the use of this room without leave. Whom were we to ask for leave? The leader of the rejected government? We were the members returned to the House of Assembly by the writs of the different officers, and we would have occupied the street rather than ask his leave to use our own room. Had he asked leave to occupy the post of Attorney General to which he went by stealth? As soon as he did so he was obliged to leave pretty suddenly. Persons who did not possess the public confidence should not use such offensive language. The hon. member gave some good advice to the young members, but that reminded me of the saying of Josh Billings: "to train up a child in the way he should go," you should travel that way yourself.

Mr. BLANCHARD said:—After the length of time which the debate has occupied, and the style in which my challenge has been accepted, I may be permitted again to address the House. I offered to take six or seven of my opponents, but they have piled on ten, until, I suppose, they thought I was dead, and in case I was not, they got the hon. member for Cumberland to put in a nasty little stab. But instead of being dead I am yet to the fore, and perhaps some of these gentlemen who talk about representing public opinion may be able to appreciate the moral courage which it requires in a man almost alone to face the whole array which the House presents. My remarks have been in many instances most unfairly dealt with, words have been put into my mouth which I never uttered and never dreamed of uttering, and while the government have done nothing, not answering a word of my speech, those gentlemen, the newly fledged members, as they have been termed by one of themselves, after

a night's thought and rest have come up to the attack, and have misrepresented or misunderstood a great deal that I said. Did I make a speech advocating confederation? Nothing of the kind, sir,—I made no defence of the former government for carrying out that policy, but I went into a discussion of the state of the finances, and I know I convinced some gentlemen against their will, that the statement contained in the address is untrue, and that it was put in by the government without their knowing whether it was true or not. And what is the difference between a man stating a falsehood and stating that which he does not know to be true? I have been told that I challenged all the House,—I did nothing of the kind, but in closing my speech I jocularly said: "I am almost alone, come six or seven of you and I will try my best." Mr. Smith also said that I admitted that when the late government gave up the reins of power the finances were in a state of confusion;—I never dreamed of making such an admission, I deny that the finances of the late government were in such a confused state, and assert on the contrary that a slight alteration which was required by the change of circumstances would have put them all in an easy course. I was also represented as saying that the educational system was complete,—Mr. Chambers did me the kindness to nail that assertion,—I never thought or pretended to think that our educational system was perfect, but I did assert, and I now maintain that that system was one of the most magnificent boons that the legislature ever conferred upon the country. What came next? Dr. Murray said that I endorsed all the action of the former government in reference to the Pictou railway,—let anybody look at the debates of the House in 1866 and he will see that in what my friends said was one of the best speeches I ever made. I condemned the policy of the government of the day, in reference to that work. What I did say was that the road is one of the best in British America, and the certificate of the impartial Engineers who examined it and who gave the highest testimonials of the work proves the statement. I have yet to learn that the member for Pictou can go over the line with his lancet in his pocket and pronounce whether the culverts are good or bad, and the grades too high or otherwise. One line from such Engineers as those to whom I refer is worth more than a thousand speeches from him.

One other matter which I wish to dispose of was the assertion that I had declared that the Union sentiment predominated outside. I said that that sentiment was stronger outside the House than inside, and I repeat the statement. The Union sentiment within the House is supported by but one-nineteenth of the members; but will anybody pretend to say that it is sustained by only one-nineteenth of the people? The most extreme Anti-Confederate never claimed more than nine-tenths.

The hon. member for Cumberland commented on two phases which he said I used: the first was the term "belters;" he knows what the facts connected with the expression were, and I ask him if he considers it fair thus to shelter himself behind what he knows

to be incorrect? It is not true that I was called to order and obliged to apologize. The Speaker merely gave me advice for which I thanked him, and I am glad he has thought proper to check the hasty expressions of debate. I might speak to the hon. member for Cumberland of his betters, and he had better no put words in my mouth that I did not use. Was the phrase "rejected of Cumberland" a true one? Was it true that Mr. Purdy himself narrowly escaped rejection? If I said the truth, why should it be called a taunt? I merely used the term in arguing that it was unconstitutional and irregular to take a man who had lost his seat and make him the head of the Government.

I was asked who gave me leave to act as Attorney General? The constitution gave me leave to do so; but who gave him and his friends leave to make Mr. Annand Treasurer? Before the hon. member presumes to measure swords with his betters let him learn to measure his language. In the speech which I addressed to the House on a former occasion I undertook to prove that the sum of \$329,000 of public money was at the disposal of the Government for distribution, and I understood the Provincial Secretary to admit the fact.

Hon. PROV. SEC.—No.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued—What, then, was the meaning of the calculation in which my statements are assumed to be correct? After ten gentlemen have replied to me the fact is plain that not one of them could touch my calculation to the extent of a dollar or a cent. What said the Attorney General and Provincial Secretary? They said, "Canada may be in advance while we are in the middle of a quarter, but when the money comes in at the end of the quarter it will be all right again." But I tell these gentlemen that there are no quarters in connection with the customs duties, but the moneys are paid into the Bank every Saturday night. Then how are they to dispose of the statement that the payments by the Dominion Government are \$500,000 and upwards in advance of the receipts? If they cannot disprove my statement here, let them do so through their organs, which have been scattering abuse of me all over the country. I will not mislead the House as to the calculation; \$172,000 of that sum is for interest, and why should we not be charged with that interest? But, in addition to the interest, we are nearly \$370,000 in arrears.

The Attorney General first undertook to answer me, and how did he do it? He commenced with a stale proverb from Solomon, and he wound up with a flat joke. I am not as expert at proverbs as he, because I have not Scripture so well at my finger ends, but I understood the application of the proverb to be this—a fool should hold his tongue and not talk, and therefore he did not talk. I do not apply the epithet to him, and I trust he did not mean to apply it to me. But I ask the House if that was a becoming answer for the leader of the Government to make to my attack? Why was there no explicit denial of the rumor that the militia of Pictou have been acting on his advice? I offered before the face of the country to take his denial of

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the statement, and he did not give that denial. I am therefore justified in saying that the Attorney General did advise the militia of Pictou not to obey the orders of their superiors. Were they refusing to obey the orders of the Dominion Government or the law of Canada? No, but they were the laws of their own country, and the orders of the officers appointed by their own Governor.

But the Attorney General tells us that the Union Act we are not bound to obey, that it was not worth the paper it was written on, that Nova Scotia never has been and will not be Confederated. Then what is the meaning of the statement that delegates are to be sent home for repeal? Did anybody ever hear of repealing that which is not law? When we were running our elections we found the pamphlet published by the present Attorney General in nearly every man's house,—it was a most damaging production to us, and can we wonder at the declaration of that gentleman in reference to the Union Act when over his own signature in that pamphlet he stated broadly and emphatically that previous to Confederation Canadian produce was subject to a duty. That statement was made in three places on one page, and I ask will the Attorney General now say that that assertion was true? Will any one be found with hardihood enough for that? No wonder that the farmers were alarmed at the prospect of coming into a new competition with Canada. I ask the Attorney General to endorse that statement now, and I ask him if he can get one of his newly fledged supporters, as they have been called, to do it for him.

The SPEAKER suggested that Mr. Blanchard's expression in reference to the new members was offensive.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued:—I only quoted the phrase but I will avoid its use in future. I come now to refer to the observations of members of Government: The Pro. Secretary expressed his regret that he was not a lawyer,—I did not think there was any occasion for that, for he was dove-tailed in between two lawyers, and he made a better speech than either of them. The speech of the first consisted of proverbs and a joke, the speech of the second was sound and fury. The hon. member for Annapolis made an attack on the Government that carried Confederation,—I had nothing to do with their defence. His attack on me was made in a style very unusual from a member of Government. When a man is in opposition he cares little how he attacks,—his business is to attack with all his might without being very choice as to his method or his language, for he is on his back and must fight for dear life,—but the Government are always in a different position and can afford to be generous. More especially can this Government afford to be so when their supporters number 30 against 2. That hon. member, I was going to call him the Solicitor General, for if the office had not been abolished I presume he would have held it, said that I had made an indecent attack upon the Government: We lawyers use that phrase for a particular offence,—but I did not try to seduce the virtue of the Government,—if I had done so I should in all probability have failed,—I had no desire to en-

joy their charms or to mingle among them. True it is that one hon. member to-day advised me to go over and assist them, but I am happier where I am than if I were sitting in the Government,—I have no great desire to be Attorney General, for I occupy a position quite as good as far as many matters are concerned.

The hon. member for Annapolis told me I should be more modest,—I had a good deal of modesty at one time but it is nearly gone. One would have supposed, however, that a gentleman, coming here as he does for the first time, and having leaped into a high position, when flashing his newly-sharpened weapon, would have been a little more gentle in his treatment of a poor fellow like me. When he sat down I thought that gentlemen all around were done with me, and that they would have thought it quite enough to have three men on one. If they saw three men on the street attacking one, if they had any manly spirit at all they would hardly pitch into the unfortunate fellow fighting alone, and box his ears—especially if the three were selected champions, but it was found necessary to back up these three gentlemen with seven others. When Mr. Dickie got up and begun to read from a paper in his hand in a style peculiarly his own, I thought that he said some pretty hard things in a very sweet voice, and he took the trouble to tell me that no pawnbroker would risk a groat on my political reputation. It was very modest for a sweet man thus in his maiden speech to attack one who had never done him any harm. He told me further that I and my party stank in the nostrils of Nova Scotia. What character has he ever earned to entitle him to speak thus? I can tell him that until he learns to be more modest, and control his tongue, he will never have a political character to sustain,—or rather that he will have a character that he would give 10 000 groats to be rid of. He will be like the Irishman who said that he had lost his character and would pity the man who would find it. He compared me in so many words to a drowned rat. If I were disposed to take him up, and apply to him the flogellation that it is in my power to administer, I could skin him from neck to heels, and hold him up as a warning to all evil doers in future not to come here using such language. He then went into a long calculation which nobody could understand. After that speech surely he will be made the Finance Minister of the Province—he can give day, date and figures for everything from beginning to end. But I would not have him bury his talents here; let him go to Ottawa and take Mr. Rose's place, or, if that will not satisfy his ambition, let him go over to England and become Finance Minister of that country. He founded all his calculations on the assumption that Canada imported only to the value of \$37,000,000. When he made that statement he could not have known what he was talking about. The hon. member also informed me in equivalent terms that I was a braggart and a coward. Sir, he mistakes his man if he thinks he has a coward before him, and when he next feels inclined to use such language, he had better reflect that for its use in

the legislature of a country not far away he would have had a howie knife between his ribs, or would have had to meet his antagonist next morning. I ask if there is any man in this House who in common decency has a right to come before me and call me a braggart and a coward? Somebody talked about the poison bag, but if Dr. Murray did not scatter the poison over everybody he could think of—Mr. Fleming, Dr. Tupper, General Williams and myself among the number—with a lavish hand, then I am much mistaken. I thought we had got rid forever of the poison bag, but this gentleman brings it here, rips it open, and flings its contents over everybody with whom he comes in contact.

He told us that the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty was largely due to the local duties imposed by Canada. Did he not know that while the Treaty lasted the Canadians could not and did not impose a farthing of local taxes? Then he spoke of the raids from Canadian territory. Who does not know that the people of Halifax could not contain their open expressions of hostility to the United States, and sympathy with the South? The recollection of that fact rankled deeply in the hearts of the American people. If it had not been for the moderation of some men among us, there is no knowing to what a length the feeling of hostility might have been carried. It was well known that the feeling of the people of Halifax tended more to irritate the Americans than the raid on the banks. Hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of goods went in and out of the Southern States to and from Halifax; our harbour was filled week after week with blockade-runners, and yet we are told that the Canadians created the bad feeling which prevented Reciprocity. I heard it said that if we only got rid of Confederation Nova Scotia could have a treaty with the States; well might I apply the term bosh to such statements. A treaty cannot be entered into between a foreign country and a Colony, and is it to be supposed that the British Parliament would consent to a treaty with us alone? Therefore, after we are released from Confederation, we have no better prospect of the Treaty than before. On the contrary, our present position gives us advantages which we never had before. The hon. member went on with a long speech about the railway swindle. I was one of the strongest opponents to the giving of that contract as it was given. About the time of the election, I said to one of the gentlemen who were contesting Pictou in the Anti-confederate interest: "I am sure that you will get in." He asked me why, and I replied that I had never seen any country, or any man, on whom you had heaped benefits far beyond his deserts, but would turn around and stab you afterwards. There was a time when that work was, as it were, hanging by a thread, if the government had to depend on their own supporters, it was lost, but to their joy and gratitude the members of Cape Breton, including myself, turned the balance, and gave Pictou the Railway. This is the way in which we are treated in return. I do not need to talk of Scotland and Ireland, to arouse my ardor, for Pictou is my own country; but I will say that Pictou forgot what she

owed to the men who, standing together and ignoring the opportunity for party triumphs, worked for and supported the government in giving her that magnificent road. It does not then become that hon. member, or any man from his county, to taunt us on that subject. The same gentleman also told us that in his county there were eight schools vacant in one congregation. I am sorry to hear it, and I should be sorry, indeed, to make such a statement of Inverness. Whose fault is it, pray? Is it the fault of the law, or the government, or the House, or the men who have been misled on the subject, until they do not know where they stand? Or is it because the people are too penurious to support the schools, after the government have provided half enough to educate their children? I repeat that I should be sorry to circulate such a slander about my constituency. Dr. Murray also said that I seemed to feel sorely the investigation of the public accounts. Does he mean to insinuate that I, or any of my colleagues, pocketed the public money? I do not dread the investigation, but let me ask, where should that investigation have taken place? In a hole or corner? Should it be carried on by men of no responsibility? Should not the accounts have been examined by two or three members chosen from each House who would, as is done every session, laboriously examine each voucher? There is not a single volume of the Journals which does not contain a report of the Committee of Public Accounts showing all our finances. "But," it is said, "the report would not in that case have been believed." I am sorry to hear it said that such a Report would not be so readily believed as that of any man to be obtained in the city of Halifax. When members talk about the confusion of the accounts, they forget that it was impossible, in a week, or a month, or three months, to make such a change as they say was required. Take the Railway account, for example; there are sums due the department for earnings all over the country. How then would we stop the accounts on the first of July? The Post Office accounts are in the same state, and I do not believe that even yet they can be adjusted completely. It was impossible, from the nature of things, that the books could be closed, and a new set opened immediately.

The same hon. member told us as a remarkable thing that he had seen the engine go out of sight,—I have seen it go out of sight very often, and I do not see that any great difficulty would result even if it did so at every half mile. As to the complaint about the taking of land at Fisher's Grant, the Government of which I was a member had nothing to do with it; but it is said that after the land was taken, and five times the value paid, we committed a foul crime in leasing the water lots in front. Whom did the land belong to? To the men who had sold it? Surely not. Was it used for speculation as was stated? If the hon. member had enquired he would have found that the whole property was taken for railway purposes, and those only. Not a single lease was granted without that restriction, with one exception,—that was in the case of Mr. Allan of Montreal

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who proposes to run a line of steamers soon. When an individual offers the country such a boon as that which Mr. Allan proposes to give us, the Government would be recalcitrant to its first duty if it did not place every facility at his disposal. We made the lease forfeitable in case the project is not carried out. This is the great cry that we have heard from Pictou. We have done everything to advance the county's interests, and in return we find this slander brought here and retailed when five minutes' investigation would have shown how the matter stood. What had we to expect in the way of favor from Mr. Allan after the elections were over, for the lease was given afterwards? What influence did Mr. Fishwick exert in that constituency? What influence could Mr. J. S. McLean exert for us after the elections? Were we leasing the property of the people of Pictou? Not a foot of it belonged to them,—it belonged to the Government. What more, sir? The piece of land above the railway is never to be built upon, but must be kept clear. Let me ask the hon. member what the Acadia Coal Mining Company or its agent have done for us? That company got the largest grant, and was the agent a Confederate? He is a gentleman for whom I have a high regard, but it cannot be said that Jesse Hoyt moved hand or foot to influence that county in our favor. The word "swindle" was used repeatedly in the hon. member's speech;—it was a swindle in one respect,—the people of Pictou had got a railway, and we expected some little gratitude in return, and in that respect they did swindle us completely.

It was said also that I had dragged in the name of the Lieutenant Governor. The Attorney General mentioned his name, I did not do so improperly but as I had a right to do. But did not the hon. member drag in the names of other governors? Did he not swing his poison bag over General Williams and flatter Governor MacDonnell? I will not say a word against the latter,—he has gone to Hong Kong and long may he stay there. But I can suffer no man to malign General Williams, as the hon. member has been doing to-day, without giving his statements a contradiction. A more malicious slander was never perpetrated against any man than that which Mr. Jones perpetrated against General Williams, who is as high above these men as the sun is above the earth,—when they can bring their names into the most remote comparison with his; when they can emblazon their names at the foot of the roll of fame, which his name heads, they may be proud indeed. Dr. Murray talked of the Irish Governor, whom he named Sir Samuel MacDonnell, in a lofty strain—nobody could corrupt him. I do not know whether the hon. member is an Irishman or not. I hope in my heart that he is not a Nova Scotian, for I trust that no man bearing that name would charge corruption on such a man as General Williams. After saying that our late governor's name would stink in the nostrils of his countrymen, the hon. member for Pictou asked "would these traitors be allowed to go at large in any other country?" Let him bring down his bullies from Pictou, as was threatened at one time, and try to prevent

our going at large; they will find themselves over the end of the wharf before many minutes. I will walk the streets as independently as any man, and I challenge him to attempt to revert me. The word traitor is excessively unparliamentary, but I did not call him to order for I did not wish to interrupt him.

My friend, Mr. Pineo, addressed the House in a style that did him credit; he said he was not here to give scottious opposition to the government, but that, on the contrary, he would give them his assistance to forward the public business. I never deemed it necessary to give the same assurance, I can point to my conduct during the four years when I was in opposition, as proof that whenever my best services are needed they can be obtained. If I have used strong language in this debate, it is not because I have any ill-feeling against the members who sit on these benches personally. Many of them are old comrades in arms, and if my character were in danger to-morrow I could rely on them to defend me. I know many of them to be true and honest men, and would be sorry to say that because they are Anti-confederates they are disloyal. However long a time I may be in the House, I trust that I will not have the enmity of a human being when I leave it. If, however, a member is determined to flesh his maiden sword in me and, because he finds I am down, insists on sticking pins into me, he may be sure of getting a stab back. After Mr. Pineo had spoken, the hon. member for Hants, (Mr. Young,) made a speech. He was with us before; he went away and came back. It was the accident of an accident that brought him here this time, for without a strong anti-union feeling we should not have seen his pleasant face again. "Loyalty!" said the hon. member, "was ever such nonsense talked in any country?" He said in substance that to-morrow we should cut our connection with the Empire, if we were permitted; he said that we had fought England's battles for fifty years, and he gave us a lecture from history that was told him, I suppose, from his grandfather, and that was about as true as his own loyalty. He did not believe in people abusing the American Government, but he heaped abuse upon the British Government, and spoke in favor of severing the connection. His loyalty is a beef and pork loyalty, a cornmeal loyalty. If the honorable member likes the United States so well, the sooner he and those who share his sentiments go there the better. We can do without any man who holds such opinions. This gentleman asked me to tell him who recommended Mr. McHefey to the Governor. Does he not wish he might find out? Perhaps he would like me to forget the oath I took when I entered His Excellency's Council, and which prevents me from revealing anything transpiring in the Cabinet. But as the challenge has been given, I will take steps to get myself released from that oath, and I will tell the House how these 39 gentlemen were passed over in the selection. I believe the fact is pretty well known, but when the hon. member does hear he will find how mistaken he was in his conception as to who gave the advice. He said that the Crown

had given us no protection, but had led us into England's wars for the last fifty years, that we had been too mealy-mouthed, and should speak out. He has spoken out, but not at all to his credit. If a man cannot be contented in the country under whose flag he drew his first breath, let him leave the country and go elsewhere to seek the Eldorado of his dreams. True it is, as he said, that the country is our own, but that would not justify us in selling it to an enemy. My friend Mr. Smith, who next addressed the House, with the old English feeling and love of fair play animating him said, when he saw one after another of my opponents piling on me, "let us have fair play, and hear the story out." But he was mistaken in attributing to me the admission that the accounts were left in such confusion that the government were compelled to appoint a Commission to examine them. I merely asked, as I ask again, what the government meant by telling us that the finances are so confused that they cannot understand them; and in the next breath saying that there is not money enough to carry on the affairs of the country? He was also mistaken in saying that I had intimated that but for me the country would be annexed;—what I said was that if there were no opposition to some of the people of this country, they would be found like a river running down to the sea of annexation. I did not, however, say that I was the only loyal man in the House,—I could swear to the loyalty of the gentleman whose remarks I am now reviewing. I say that there is gross disloyalty in the country when the *Eastern Chronicle* publishes to the world the statement that we will be freed from the tolls of the union, even if we have to break loose from British connection. I know that the overwhelming majority of the people are truly loyal, but among them there is a faction trying to lead them to where they little think of going to. It was an old saying that it was very easy to raise the devil, but very hard to put him down.

Mr. MORRISON—Hear, hear.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued—I know that my hon. friend who says "hear, hear," will not agree to such sentiments—he is too true to the British flag. The substance of what Mr. Smith said about Confederation was, that a great many people who cannot read are strong Antis. I do not doubt it; I think it will be hard for him to find one that is not,—but he will find few men of education, intelligence and high position who are not Confederates.

A VOICE—That is not true.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued—Let that hon. member come up here on the floor, and say that my statement is untrue; if he cannot, he had better not interrupt me thus, for I will unmask him to the public gaze. But after the exhibition we had when Mr. Smith sat down, let no one call me *Bombastes Furiosus*. I said to the hon. member for Victoria that for the honor of Cape Breton he should let me alone, but, disregarding my piteous appeal, he came on. We hear sometimes of the rafters ringing; but I was looking over while he spoke at the ornament on the Provincial Building opposite, expecting every

moment to see it fall by the concussion of the air. His language was equally strong, after gestulations that would have disgraced an Indian in the backwoods. The hon. member for Cumberland, by the way, has condemned my gestulation. I do not pretend to be a very highly finished elocutionist, but I rather think I can bear comparison with him. It does not lie in his mouth to talk to me about stamping and raving, and to use language so low and vulgar that no man should be allowed to use it without feeling that he endangered the length of his nose. The same gentleman told me that we had acted dishonorably with Cumberland. Let him not talk to me about that. Where did bribery begin and grow in this country but in Cumberland? I remember being at an election there when a Frenchwoman came up and said, "How much will you give for my husband's vote?" I winked to a friend of mine who was close by, and asked how much she wanted, adding that I unposed she would take \$2. She said, "No, I can get more than that." She went some distance to find the agent of the other party, and from him she got \$14. Votes in the morning had been as low as \$1.50, but they had gradually risen. The woman was seen to go off and unearth a Frenchman from among the bushes. I went in to the hustings behind him, and had the bribery oath put to him. He took it readily; he had not seen the money; the wife had managed it all, and merely told him whom to vote for. In another instance a candidate was seen to walk up to a voter, and while whispering in his ear he put something into the man's pocket; the latter went to the hustings and voted, and as he walked round the corner he was seen looking to ascertain how much he had got. I think, after what we have known of Cumberland, we might have been spared the remarks which were made.

I cannot close without referring to the remarks of the member for Colchester, Mr. Chambers. When he told us he knew what ten cents of duty on grain meant, I was reminded of a Scotchman, who was asked how much per cent. he put on profit; the reply was, "I know nothing about cents, or per cents, but I just doubles it." I dare say the hon. gentleman understands that mode of doing business very well. He told us about the young sportsmen firing at the dead bear; but what was he doing to me? Just what they did; nine of his friends had fired all their ammunition at me, and he too must have a shot. He hit me very gently, however, for which I thank him. Notwithstanding that all the family, down to the baby, have had their shot, strange to say the animal still lives. The vitality of these animals is wonderful. What more did he say? That nine-tenths of the people are loyal, only nine-tenths, and then that is only if they can get repeal. That reminds me of the advice of the Scotchmen who, when he was dying, said to his son, "get money; get it honestly, if you can; but, at all events, get money." These persons will get repeal loyally, if they can, but they are determined to have it all events. He intimated that all the population, from the old men to the boys, would turn out and

fight, if out, with his brigade first of all in an couple of Colchester rifled guns a troop of and British this court had the could do that would not If the Co ably the take it a fork; so am not the app all that came to

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The hon. member, in any way, has concluded I do not pretend eloquentist, but comparison with mouth to talk to bling, and to use er that no man without feeling th of his nose. me that we had umberland. Let hat. Where did this country but er being at an woman came np you give for my to a friend of asked how much I supposed she No, I can get some distance her party, and in the morn- , but they had was seen to go from among nstings behind th put to him. I did not see the ed it all, and te for. In an- as seen to walk spering in his a man's pocket; ge and voted, corner he was much he had been known of have spared the

ring to the re- Colchester, Mr. he knew what he meant, I was re- as asked how profit; the reply cents, or per I dare say the that mode of e told us about the dead bear; ? Just what had fired all id he too must gently, how- Notwithstand- to the baby, to say the ani- these animals he say? That only nine- if they can get e advice of the lying, said to onestly, if you money." These if they can, p it all events. ulation, from turn out and

fight, if need be. I can imagine him going out, with a flint-lock musket, at the head of his brigade, and marching down to Halifax; first of all they would take the Citadel, walking in and taking possession after a fight of a couple of hours. What would a regiment of Colchester boys care for Armstrong and rifled guns? Let the hon. member lead such a troop down here, with scythes for bayonets, and British rule and British institutions in this country would crumble into dust. If I had the eloquence of the Attorney General, I could describe that ragged regiment in a way that would be entertaining enough. They would not have to go far for a Falstaff either. If the Colchester boys can get repeal peacefully they will have it, but if not, they will take it at the point of the scythe and pitchfork; so I understand the hon. member. I am not exaggerating at all when I say that the appearance which I have described is, all that an armed force could accomplish, if it came to that point.

In referring to the remarks of the hon. member for Annapolis I forgot to comment upon his assertion that a boy from the backwoods of his county could controvert my speech. Well, Annapolis has sent its boy here, and has he succeeded in controverting me? He had better go back and get the other boy who, he said, could do it. I do not mean to say that I am a match for all the boys in Annapolis, but the pet boy of the county has not done much. One other subject that that gentleman referred to was the statement that our financial condition was never in a better state. That assertion I made in this view: That our financial state is better now than it would have been if we had not gone into Confederation. It is as said likewise when our government went into office the debt was six and a half millions, and that we increased it to eight millions;—that was an entire mistake; the late Government did not increase the debt by one cent,—the increase had been made by the previous Administration. But what was it that caused the debt to be increased? The extension of our railways,—and I say to the House that if we were not Confederated we would have had to take \$140,000 from our roads and bridges and educational grant to meet the interest on the increase. That element is overlooked entirely by those who talk of the increased taxation which is placed upon us. I will now explain what I understand our indebtedness to be:

In Sept., 1866, our debt was	\$6,452,692
Pictou Railway,	1,250,000
Annapolis Railway, (Debentures),	123,000
Do. do. (Cash),	50,000

\$7,875,692

This is all the permanent debt that I can lay my hands on, but the amount is probably now over eight millions. We are only beginning the Windsor and Annapolis road, and it would have been the duty of the House at this session to have made some provision for further outlay in addition to the increased interest. I ask then whether you can calculate on revenue and expenditure on the basis of 1866. Not only had we got deeply in debt for our two railroads, but our trade

began to fall off considerably. The proof of this statement is that in the payment of our interest, our road and bridge moneys, and our current expenses, the Dominion got more than \$500,000 behind the receipts. If this is true, and it cannot be doubted, I ask what would our financial condition have been had we remained unconfederated? I ask the Government when they come up with their Repeal resolutions to meet that question. If I am wrong I will acknowledge it, but I believe they would have had to provide for \$150,000 per year of additional liability.

I thought I was stating something new in shewing that the government had \$320,000 in the treasury to dispose of, and I was surprised to hear the hon. member for Yarmouth state that there was nothing new in what I had been saying. Another gentleman said that the debate would cost \$300 or \$400. I can tell him that I have known debates in this House to occupy fourteen or fifteen days; there were giants in those days, and with the men who sat here when the Speaker was last among us we cannot bear comparison. No one accused Howe, Johnston, Uniacke, William Young, George R. Young and Huntingdon, and such men, of wasting the public time and money when they took a fortnight and more to debate a question, and yet that taunt is made of me because one day has been occupied with this discussion. I have sometimes seen an attempt made to shut down on a debate, but I never saw it succeed. Whenever I wish to make a speech I will find a way of bringing myself within the rules of the House. If in this discussion I have said anything unkind, it must be remembered that I was provoked by taunts such as I never heard before in this House.

Mr. DICKIE said:—The hon. member for Inverness has put words into my mouth that I never uttered. If my language can be considered offensive I will ask pardon, but the report will shew that such is not the case.

Mr. BLANCHARD:—If the hon. member says he did not intend any offence, I am perfectly satisfied with his explanation.

Mr. DICKIE:—I will place my speech in the hon. member's hands, and if he can find no such offensive expressions as he attributed to me, I will expect something more than the statement that he is satisfied,—I will expect an explanation from him.

The debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned till Monday at 3 o'clock.

MONDAY, Feb. 3, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.

The adjourned debate was resumed.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL said—I believe that according to the ordinary practice we should consider the debate closed by the speech of the member for Inverness, but I rise to make a few remarks, which shall be brief, because I labor under the disadvantage of a severe cold. It is not my intention to resume the debate, nor would I touch it were I not called upon, in consequence of some remarks made of an entirely personal nature

outside and beyond the subject of debate, both to demand and to make explanations. Not to be tedious, the first thing I intend to do is to notice some remarks which the leader of the Opposition took the liberty of making in reference to a pamphlet of mine. I believe—for I was not present during the whole of his address, that he alluded to that part of the pamphlet in which I stated that the farmers were protected against the produce of the other Colonies, and I am told that he chose to assert with a good deal of presumption that this was contrary to the fact. The pamphlet contains these words—“At present our farmers are protected by duties on Canadian produce.” That assertion had reference to the existing state of the law; to that law I will turn attention for the purpose of seeing whether the statement is true or false, and I will take the liberty of advising the hon. member to be more careful how he attempts to fasten the charge of insincerity upon his neighbors, lest that charge be hurled back on himself. I hold in my hand the Statute of 1866 imposing duties, which is an annual statute expiring on the 1st of April in each year. That act says that “there shall be collected on all goods brought into the Province by sea or land the several duties set forth in the annexed table of duties inwards.” In that table I find that all the principal articles of agricultural produce exported by Canada are taxed. This statute, it is true, contains a clause authorizing the Governor and Council, under certain conditions, to take off the duty on these articles coming from the neighboring Colonies; so that, notwithstanding these articles are by the act all dutiable, yet if the Governor and Council think proper, on entering into negotiations with the Governments of the other Colonies, they may admit the produce of those Colonies duty free by proclamation, but in no other manner; and therefore, if these articles are admitted free of duty without proclamation it is a total violation of the law. In my pamphlet, therefore, I stated that our farmers were protected by duties, but I appended a note to that, because, finding Canadian butter selling for sevenpence per pound in Picou, I called at the office of the Collector of Customs to ascertain by what authority the article was allowed to come in free. That officer showed me a tariff, without a proclamation, in which these articles are marked free. I took the *Royal Gazette* to look from the date of the statute, and found no proclamation, and consequently I asserted then, and I repeat now, that the admission of these articles duty free is contrary to, and in daring violation of, the law of the land. But I appended this note in my pamphlet:—

“The Act imposes duties; but there is a clause which authorizes the Governor, by proclamation, to allow articles of Colonial produce to enter free. The Act is annual, and, without a proclamation, a tariff is sent to the collectors, in which certain articles are marked free. This, of course, is illegal; but what do the Executive Council care for law? They are independent of the Statutes, which they violate continually.”

I asserted, and I assert now, that the government violated the law continually. What did they do in the case of the fisheries? Have

we not a law declaring that any foreign fishing vessel coming within three marine leagues of our coast shall be forfeited? And have not our Executive had the audacity to issue fishing licenses to American fishermen? Thus they have, in many instances, daringly violated the law. Will the hon. member tell me that if a Proclamation had been issued under that Statute relating to the duties, it would not have expired with the Statute? The Collector of Customs told me that he knew nothing about the matter further than that he had received the tariff without a proclamation from the late Financial Secretary, and the fact is that for many years no proclamation was issued, and the Executive Council did, in violation of the act, allow Canadian produce to come in duty free. A proclamation would have shown the reason why the privilege was granted, the conditions on which it was allowed, and the commercial privileges granted to us in return. What right had they, excepting on some such terms, to expose our farmers to the competition of the more advanced agricultural system of Canada. By a well known principle of political economy, the greater part of our taxes fall on labour, and the farmers being the principal labourers among us, pay the largest share of taxes; it was therefore unjust and iniquitous to take away the protection to which they were entitled. So much for that matter. My next observations will be upon the most extraordinary declaration of the hon. member as to what took place on the change of ministry. He was then holding the office of Attorney General, and leader of the government. At the elections the people, in a complete and almost unanimous manner, condemned his party, and the government then *de jure* ceased to have the confidence of the country, and to be His Excellency's lawful advisers. But there is one act which an outgoing administration is always expected to perform with prudence and discretion: to recommend the Governor to send for that person in the country, no matter what his position or rank may be, who is likely to form a strong administration. The hon. gentleman asserted broadly that the wrong man had been sent for. I ask him who advised the Governor to make that selection?

Mr. BLANCHARD:—The Attorney General knows I cannot tell.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL continued:—That is a subterfuge and an evasion,—there is no seal of secrecy in such a case, for the fact is a matter of notoriety, and if he does not openly assert whether he gave that advice or not, it will be for General Doyle to treat him as he deserves, if he first recommended Mr. McHaffey, and then comes here and says that that gentleman should not have been sent for. I now come to a matter of more importance. The hon. member took the liberty of asserting in the face of the people's representatives and of the people of Nova Scotia themselves that I, the Attorney General of the Queen in Nova Scotia, had incited the militia of the Province to resist the law. There was a broad statement, and I undertake to say that very few men would have had the courage to come here and make that assertion without having the authority of truth on their side. The

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hon. member said yesterday that he had made that charge, and that it was my duty to deny it if it were untrue. I am at issue with him there. It is not [my duty to deny every foul and filthy slander that may be brought forward, but before a man comes before the House and the people to make such a charge against a public officer, he is bound at the risk of his character to make it good. He made the charge without knowing it to be true, and has perpetrated in the face of the public a bold and deliberate slander. I regret that I am under the necessity of making a statement so damaging to the character of any man, more especially to a member of this House. Having made the accusation against me without authority, and at variance with the truth, he has earned the contempt of every honorable man in Nova Scotia; he has placed himself beyond the pale of gentlemanly society by uttering a daring falsehood.

Mr. BLANCHARD called to order, asked that the words be taken down, and desired that the galleries be cleared.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that if his language was out of order he would apologise to the Chair.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that something more was required.

The galleries were cleared. On the re-admission of the public,

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL resumed. He said:—I was about observing that when a man takes the liberty of bringing a serious charge against the character of another, undertaking in the face of the public to make a declaration of a state of facts, and at the time he makes [that declaration does not know those facts to be true he exposes himself to the suspicion of invention. Although for some persons to be suspected of inventive powers, is most injurious to their reputation, and deprives them of social position, others again have compensations and consolations. There may, for instance, be men whose associates are of such a character that inventions are not looked on by them with any great degree of odium—with whom the more inventive genius is the greater character. That is the case with a certain class of politicians who have lately been busy disposing of this Province. With such men the persons whom I have described will not lose caste. It took six of them to carry the monster fabrication to England that we desired to be united with Canada,—they look on truth as a kind of human infirmity, and pity the many who can be guilty of it. There are also men who will not be injured by being detected at invention of facts, because their reputation will be as good afterwards as before,—another consolation would be if they did accidentally lose their character it would be a positive gain to them, but a terrible calamity to the man who would find it.

I had the honor of being appointed the Queen's Attorney General in Nova Scotia by the almost unanimous voice of the representatives of the people. The gentleman who held the office before me, held it on a different tenure,—he never held it under the authority of the people of Nova Scotia, but under the authority of General Williams,

who, at the time when he made the appointment, must have known that there were persons on the roll of Barristers who had higher claims than the man whom he selected. Therefore it is, I presume, that the hon. member has spoken in such glowing terms of the character of General Williams. I will say nothing in the absence of that officer that I would not say in his presence, but I will say that I hope that in the capacity of Governor, he will never be present,—and further that if General Williams earned his laurels by his military administration, Kara, he suffered them to be sadly faded in his civil administration in Nova Scotia. When I heard the hon. member for Inverness uttering a funeral oration over the departed General Williams, I could not help thinking that he was an Antony worthy of such a Caesar.

Mr. BLANCHARD replied as follows:—It is perhaps unfortunate for me, sir, that I stand in this House in a position of an extraordinary character. It is unfortunate for this House, as well as for this country, that we have not here a strong and powerful opposition. I care not what party governs the province; it is indispensable under any circumstances that there should be a vigorous opposition. When I said the other day that it would be an injury to this country if I withdrew from this House, under existing circumstances, I only stated what is actually a truism. This House and country know that any Government, even if led by the immaculate Caesar we have heard to-day, will go astray in the management of public affairs if they have no person, weak though he may be, to control them. Standing as I do in this House, I have thought it due to this country to expose the fallacies and inconsistencies of the present Government, and how have I been met? The Attorney General, who talks about the roll of barristers, had not the manliness to meet me on the spur of the moment in fair debate, but had to take two days for preparation for his reply. Standing alone as I do now, I only wish that some of those old veterans, under whom I have served, were here to meet that hon. gentleman, and place him in that position which he has more than once occupied—one of humiliation.

I shall take the observations which he has just made *seriatim*. I stated that he had announced to the public, in his pamphlet, that the agricultural products of Canada before Confederation were subject to duty, but would now come into our markets duty free, and challenged him to prove it—he now comes in and replies, by the most miserable special pleading and equivocation, that the whole thing was illegal. When he was the Solicitor General of this country, and was a member of the Government, the same law existed then as now. No proclamation then was issued more than once. One such proclamation was issued, and continued from year to year. He was the adviser of the representative of Her Majesty, and yet no proclamation was issued. Now he comes in and states that the whole proceeding was illegal, because no proclamation had been issued. Let me read what he said in this pamphlet of his:—"The Canadians can bring agricultural products into the market much cheaper than we can,

notwithstanding the duties they have to pay, let us have Confederation, and our farmers will be driven out of their own markets by Canadian products. At present our farmers are protected by duties on Canadian produce."

Had they to pay any duties? I put it to the common-sense of the House, to the Attorney General himself, and ask if it is not a *suppressio veri* to make such a statement, when since 1857 not a single cent has been levied upon Canadian products ever brought into this country. What more does he say: "Their object was to add the 600,000 consumers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to their own market by taking off the duties by which their agricultural produce was kept out of our markets." I put it fairly to this House and country whether the Attorney General was justified in making that statement over his own signature, or in coming here to justify it. He refers to a little note at the foot of the page, but he knows it does not show the real facts of the case any more than the rest of the statements he has made in that precious pamphlet. He admits that these products were marked free in the list which was sent out by the government, of which he was a member years ago. A little further on he writes:—"Confederation, as will be shown, will greatly increase the taxes of our farmers—it will take away what protection they have."

Such are the statements sent broadcast over the face of this country for the purpose of influencing the elections.

No amount of special pleading can get over the assertion made in the pamphlet—that there were duties collectable in this country on Canadian products. What had I to meet in my own county? "Look at the price of butter," said our farmers; "Confederation has brought it to its present low price. Mr. Wilkins' pamphlet says so, and surely he would not put his hand to a falsehood." If it had not been for the industry with which the pamphlet was circulated my majority would have been much greater. I give the hon. Attorney General and his friends credit for their ingenuity in circulating more statements calculated to mislead—and they succeeded in deluding the people to a large extent—than any set of men I ever knew of.

What next? That I ought to have told who sent for Mr. McHefey—that there was no veil of secrecy over the matter—and that he would assume that I recommended it. Is the Attorney General, after the oath he has taken, prepared to reveal the secrets of the Cabinet of which he is a member, for I now know that he is not the head? He does not now claim its leadership, which is held by some one beyond the walls of this House. But suppose the Attorney General is called upon to-morrow to give up his present position—either because the people who sent him or his colleagues may remove him—will he then be prepared to say that there is no bond upon his lips—that he can break through his oath of office, and state who was sent for to form an administration? There was no advice which I was called upon to give more sacred than that which I

gave to His Excellency. I cannot understand the rule of morals which would allow a man, after taking an oath to keep everything secret, to utter a single word of what occurred in that administration. If His Excellency will relieve me from the obligation that I have taken, then will I state who advised him to send for Mr. McHefey. The hon. gentleman knows whose advice His Excellency took. Let him not state that I am uttering an untruth.

The hon. Attorney General in no very measured terms, after having had a couple of days to think over the matter, has launched forth what was intended to exterminate the unfortunate man who stands almost alone in this House. He says I should not have circulated a rumor of something he had said unless I knew it to be true. Yet how often is it done? I appeal to the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Morrison), to yourself, sir, and other gentlemen who have been previously in this House, and who are acquainted with its usages, if it is not a common practice to mention rumors in connection with the sayings or doings of public men. The hon. member ought to be glad of the opportunity of meeting such statements. I say in all sincerity that I had no idea up to the present moment that the hon. member would consider it a personal insult. I had certainly no more idea of insulting him than I have of offending any of my dearest and oldest friends. I mentioned it for his good—I stated that it was a rumor, that he had advised the people of Pictou that they were not bound to serve in the militia. I never stated that he had attempted to incite them to rebellion. When I spoke on the subject I paused and gave him an opportunity of contradicting it, but he never replied a word. I care very little what the hon. gentleman may think proper to say about me in this House. I have a large and flourishing business in this city, and nothing he can say will influence my position by a feather's weight. When he occupies such a position as I do, then let him hurl his epithets at me. A gentleman like him, whose practice is comparatively limited, at all events, is not the one to come here and say that the barristers' roll contains the names of many men more competent than myself to fill the position of Attorney General. I don't claim the possession of any great talents that entitled me to the position—nor did I say that there were no men on the roll abler than I am. Whilst Mr. Ritchie and Mr. McCully—the leading men at our Bar—were put into the Senate of the Dominion Parliament, and not in a position to serve in this Legislature, Mr. Archibald and Mr. Henry were candidates for the House of Commons—I was called upon to become Attorney General. But I am far from admitting that he is better fitted than I am for the office. I tell him that I am his match at the Bar or anywhere else. When I made the statement in question I had no wish to insult him or impugn his integrity, and certainly thought he would have availed himself of the opportunity of denying it at the moment. Has he pursued the present course for the sake of showing how he could crush me? Did he wish to pick a quarrel with me when he refused to answer the charge at the

proper time. His whole pamphlet is a statement that the Union Act was not binding upon the people of this country. Will he get up here and say that the people were justified and can, without committing high treason, oppose a law of the Imperial Parliament? If he will say so I need not utter another word. He knows right well that such a statement could not be made by a man holding the position of Attorney General. I could understand the member for Hants saying so, but it would be inexcusable on the part of the Attorney General. I would ask the people of Nova Scotia, from one end to the other, to understand that their Attorney General has declared over his own hand that they are not bound by an Act passed by the British Parliament and sanctioned by Her Most Gracious Majesty.

The hon. gentleman talks to me about inconsistency, but what do we find in the Governor's speech? I ask gentlemen around these benches to say how they stand in reference to the Attorney General when they know that he has made the statement in his pamphlet that the Reciprocity Treaty is a curse to the country. Does he say so in the Governor's speech?

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL—What part of the speech are you referring to? There is nothing about it.

Mr. SPEAKER—It would be well for gentlemen to confine themselves to the clause actually under consideration.

Mr. BLANCHARD—When other gentlemen have introduced various topics I should certainly be permitted to discuss them. If the statement be in the speech or not, are gentlemen prepared to say that the Reciprocity Treaty is a curse and that its repeal is a blessing? What do we read in this pamphlet? "The Reciprocity Treaty has happily terminated, and if we escape Confederation we may refuse again to ratify such a treaty. Prosperity may then be said to attend our fishermen, in which the farmers will participate." Although nineteen-twentieths of the people of this country have been most earnestly wishing that Reciprocity would be again accomplished, down comes the Attorney General, who has so much knowledge and wisdom, and tells us that we are in an entire delusion about this question.

He is very severe about my associates. From my childhood I have been associated with the Liberal party. But what about himself? When associated with honorable men, like the present Equity Judge, he had to be dismissed from his position. I have associated with men as far his superiors as it is possible for men to be. I came here in 1859. I associated with Joseph Howe and William Young, and remained with them and their colleagues and won their confidence till they left this House. He, the hot-headed Tory, was so leaky that he could not be allowed to remain with his associates, and they wedged him out of office. I see gentlemen around these benches who would place as much confidence in me as in him. There are people in this country who have confidence in me, and no very high opinion of this hon. gentleman.

I am told that I uttered a funeral oration over General Williams. I have heard a bet-

ter man make an oration over the same gentleman. I have heard the Hon. Joseph Howe tell the House and country who General Williams was. I was here when he, and Judge Williams, presented an address and voted money to purchase General Williams a sword. I then heard language such as I rejected to hear. All the slander the hon. gentleman can now heap upon General Williams will not affect his character in the least, for he has the endorsement of his fellow-countrymen and his Queen.

The hon. gentleman came here resolved to use such language as would effectually silence me for ever. To such a length did he go that the order of the House had to be preserved. This I do say, that he will next time be careful in attempting to fasten a stigma upon me, unless he wishes to fail, as he has to-day.

Hon. SPEAKER—Do you call that communicating what occurred with closed doors?

Mr. BLANCHARD—I have not said a single word about what passed when the House was closed. The hon. gentleman withdrew his strongest assertion before the doors were closed. But previously he made the observation that I had earned the contempt of every honest man—that I had uttered a slander. When he is an honorable man then he will be at liberty to make such observations. I do not pretend to be his equal in vituperation, but I do say that the expression of contempt he hurls against me can affect me not a whit, for it is not the contempt of a man of honor.

Perhaps it may be said that I have used strong language. Was it not justified, by what he said? Could my language be more opprobrious than that he used with reference to me? I would be very sorry to speak as I did to the meanest man in this country if he had not first driven me to it. I have the good opinion of very many honorable men, and though I may differ from some of them in politics, yet there is not one of them who will not shake hands with me as freely as ever before. I might have excused him if he had said it in the height of debate, but two days after my remarks he comes here and hurls against me the most unmeasured abuse.

Hon. ATTY. GEN.—I am happy to have survived the hon. gentleman's philippic. But I would say I thought it was unusual to introduce the Lieutenant Governor so freely into debate.

Hon. SPEAKER—I do not see any difficulty about referring to the Lieutenant Governor. In the British Parliament the Queen's name shall not be used to influence any debate or any decision, but no one asserts that no reference shall be made to their beloved Sovereign.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I may at once say that His Excellency never thought fit to communicate to me anything concerning the matter referred to by the hon. member.

Mr. MORRISON said.—I have sat silent for the last two or three days for the purpose of allowing the young members of this House an opportunity of making their maiden speeches. I feel that I would not be doing my duty to myself, nor to my constituents,

nor to the people of this province, if I were to allow the speech of the learned leader of the opposition to go broadcast over the country without making a few observations in reply to it. Allow me to say, in the first place, that I was amused, not only with the matter, but with the manner in which the hon. gentleman flew from one part to another of his subject; and when he was speaking I could not help thinking of the description given by one of the sons of the Emerald Isle, of an animal which he had met in a field; he came home to his master and told him that he had seen a strange animal in the field; his master told him to describe it; he said, "it was all head, and quite no tail at all a most; and when it went to run, it went all by jerks as it were." So it was with the hon. gentleman's speech. It was all head and no details, and he jerked from one part to another. It consisted only of bold assertion. The gentleman dared not come here with details, for he knew that if he did so, he would be turned out of court. I do not intend to go into details, but I will meet his assertions with assertions equally as firm and broad; and I believe that anything I may say will go as far in this county as any observations on his part. The first thing he told us was that Nova Scotia was never in a better position than at present. It is just possible that there is as much money paid into the treasury as ever there was. I have no doubt there is since the tariff has been increased, but I may venture to say that the hon. leader of the opposition had not the means of knowing whether that was true or not. He had not the means of knowing whether the importations into the province were more extensive than they ever were, or whether there had been more duties paid than before; but suppose such were the case, who gets the benefit? Is it the people of Nova Scotia? I tell him, no; as far as we are concerned, it matters little whether it is one million or five millions of duties that are collected, for we are limited to 80 cents a head. He said that the Government had never more money to distribute for the people than they have now. I join issue with him there. He claims that we have had \$250,000 to distribute for our benefit. Suppose it were so, that will not suffice for the ordinary wants of Nova Scotia for the current year. No, sir, it will fall short \$250,000 of what we have been in the habit of getting before. When that is exhausted, how are we going to get anything more; we cannot obtain it without resort to direct taxation. He pledged himself to prove that the Province of Nova Scotia has received from the Dominion Government \$600,000 more than had come into the Dominion Treasury, since the first of July—that we had received that for the benefit of Nova Scotia. Here is another bold statement that I deny *in toto*. The Dominion of Canada was to assume the debts of Nova Scotia, if they were 8 or 9 millions, according to the bargain made. If they have paid \$600,000 to meet the liabilities of the provinces, they did not do it on the behalf of Nova Scotia, but on their own behalf. If they have paid \$600,000 over and above the \$8,000,000 they agreed to assume as the debt of the province, we have to pay them 5 per cent. on the amount in excess.

I undertake to assert that during the first five months we were in the Dominion, the people of Nova Scotia have paid into the General Treasury \$152,000 more than they have received; and let the hon. gentleman when he goes to bring details prove the contrary if he can. I have had the figures under my eyes, and I know what I state to be the fact. Did we get anything from Canada for handing over to her our revenues? Not a solitary cent. I stand here to make that assertion boldly. Our five "great statesmen" handed over the whole revenues of Nova Scotia—both customs and excise—to the Canadian Parliament, and agreed to a scheme which taxes us for Canada's benefit, \$200,000 besides; and then they taxed us farther to pay the 80 cents a head we receive back. Yet we are told that these men were great statesmen. Did the Canadians come into the Confederation in a way like that? The Canadians received a million and a half more than they ever received, and had their taxation decreased besides. Yet gentlemen would have us be satisfied with an arrangement of such a character. I venture to say that if we were to submit the Confederation Act to any seven enlightened nations, their decision would be that it is unconstitutional as far as the people of Nova Scotia are concerned. We are held under that act unconstitutionally. I contend that England conceded to Nova Scotia the right to make a law. That right has never been withdrawn; and until the Union Act was passed through the Parliament of this Province, it was never constitutionally confirmed. I contend that this Parliament has just as good a right to pass an act confederating England with Australia as the Parliament of Great Britain to unite us with Canada against our remonstrances, and in the face of the fact that the act had not passed through this House.

The hon. member said that he was ashamed—that is his own expression—that His Excellency had thought proper to request that if there were any political changes necessary they should be made constitutionally. It is no wonder that the hon. member was ashamed to see that statement in the Speech. It was, in a few expressive words, a censure upon the action of the late Government. It was as if the Governor said—Your predecessors acted *unconstitutionally*, but I wish you to act *constitutionally*. I don't wonder, then, that the hon. member winces under it; he should cover himself with a shroud, and repent in sackcloth and ashes, for having taken away the constitutional rights of the people of this country.

I was somewhat amused to see how he worked himself up into a mighty figure, and told us that he would take all the members of the Government, and Mr. Morrison besides. What a Goliath have we here! I thought that this uncrowned champion of Canada was going to swallow us all up, but it appears we have survived. We have seen the young men from the country coming here and trying him with a simple sling and stone, and behold him lying a headless trunk.

The hon. member tells us that the educational system of this country is perfectly sa-

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tisfactory. His leader at Ottawa has said that it was that system which swept away his friends at the recent election.

Mr. BLANCHARD—I never said that the system was perfectly satisfactory.

Mr. MORRISON.—I believe if there is one thing besides Confederation that wants to be revised and improved it is the educational system; but, throughout my canvas, I did not hear much of that system, but the Confederation Act was the all-absorbing topic. It was upon that Act that the elections entirely turned. The hon. member said that there were but few malcontents in Nova Scotia, but the great majority of the intelligent people were in favor of the measure. We have seen similar statements sent broadcast over the face of this country, and I did hope we had heard the last of these when the people had once expressed their opinions at the polls; it was certainly time, when the people returned 18 out of 19 members to Ottawa, and 36 out of 38 members to this House. I really think that the hon. member should look around these benches and count his supporters before he made such rash assertions. When I consider his position I am reminded of a day when I went on board a vessel commanded by one of my friends. Seeing nobody on his deck I asked, "Where is your crew?" "When I call up all hands," was the reply, "up comes Tom Green." So when the hon. member calls up his Opposition, up comes the hon. member for Cumberland. There once lived a very wise man known as Solomon, and we have heard a good many of his wise sayings. He has told us that though you bray a fool in a mortar, his folly will not depart from him. I think it is worse with our nondescripts in Nova Scotia. It would appear that Solomon but once tried the experiment, but we have been braying our nondescripts for the last three years in a mortar, and yet their simplicity will not depart from them. The hon. member took exception to the words "disadvantage under which we labor," in the Speech. When we are told that there is not enough money to meet the wants of the country, I think that is a disadvantage, certainly. He also tells us very distinctly that he cannot find in Hansard anything to justify the proceedings of the Anti Confederate party in the formation of their Government and other acts. I tell him this, that I defy him to find anything in British authorities to equal the position that this Confederation Act has placed our people in. I defy him to find a parallel for such an Act anywhere in the British Dominions. Does he expect in the situation in which we are placed that we are not going to remonstrate because there may be no parliamentary rule or precedent to guide us? In the circumstances under which we are placed do we find our constitutional law, and in them we expect to find our justification.

He next tells us that we have had an overflowing revenue from the mines and minerals. Was that a reason why our revenues should be handed over to another people? He also told us that there were a good many people in the country who are in reality annexationists. Now, I would ask the hon. member if he would refer back to a single sentiment of

the kind there was used in Nova Scotia previous to the Act having been passed upon! I know, sir, he cannot do it, and if he can now, what is the cause of it? It is because of the unconstitutional manner in which that Act was passed. I do not say there is an annexation sentiment throughout the country. He insinuated it does exist, but if it does, we know the cause. I could tell him of parts of the Dominion where there have been revolutionists, and that our revenues have to go to pay the expense of putting down rebellious spirits and annexationists in Canada. We not only defend ourselves, but 10 or 15 years afterwards they come here and take away our revenues for the purpose of paying the expenditures incurred in putting down rebellion. Yet the hon. member stands up here and justifies that act, and insinuates that we are annexationists.

He declares it a great sin that the party had put "the rejected of Cumberland" into the Legislative Council. Let me say to the hon. and learned member that those who live in glass houses should not be the first to throw stones. The rejected of Cumberland, forsooth! My old and well-tried friend, Mr. Annand, at the request of a number of people, went into the county of Cumberland, and though an entire stranger, without relatives to assist him, without having a single dollar invested in that county, he was only beaten by a small majority, a fraction of a hundred. Let me tell this House that if the funds from the revenue department had not gone into that county, and another we could name, there would not have been a city of refuge left for a single Canadian in the Province of Nova Scotia. Yet we are taunted because one seat out of 19 has been lost to the people's party. I ask him, where is the rejected of Colchester? He sits in the backwoods of Canada, on a high pinnacle, and he is drawing from the revenues of the Dominion from five thousand to eight thousand dollars per annum. That is constitutionally done of course. In the county where he and his family have always resided; where the railway runs through its length and breadth—where he had every lawyer at his back, the Judge and Registrar of Probate, the Recorder of Deeds—he was rejected by a majority of 400 of his old constituents. It is not for the Champions of Canada to talk about constitutional action. There is a man who sat in the Executive of Canada, for five or six months, who was not even named on a hustings, and when it was found that there was one polling booth deprived of its rights, the people got up a riot, crowded in and stopped the nomination. That is the way things are managed in Canada.

The hon. member next made an onslaught upon the Attorney General, but before he attempted to pull the mote out of another's eye he should first get rid of the beam in his own. Is it not a notorious fact that the minister of militia in the Dominion was once taken whilst retreating with arms in his hands? Yet the hon. gentleman knowing this, would make the charge he did against my hon. and worthy friend. Who could imagine, looking at his placid countenance, that he could have given any such advice as attributed to him?

Why he resembles a clergyman more than anybody else. (Laughter.)

He tells us that we had no facts or figures to go by. Here I admit the hon. member has the advantage of us. We have not the accounts to show how much money has gone out of the country. The Canadians will take very good care not to allow us to know how much goes out. If he were a true lover of his country he would have come down here and give both sides the real facts of the case; but he merely makes a bold assertion, and adds that we could not prove he was incorrect. Was this the fair way to deal with the people of this country. Again he tells us that the great body of the educated and intelligent people of this country were in favor of Confederation. I deny it, as far as Colchester is concerned. I grant that men holding office, that lawyers and doctors, went in favor of Confederation, and why? The lawyers' fees will be increased about fifty per cent. under the new state of things. The judges will have their salaries increased. The poor farmers and industrial classes of this country, however, will have to pay for all these increased fees and salaries. I heard the hon. Home Secretary make a similar statement in my own county during the elections, but he never repeated it in my hearing; I cured him of it. I told him where he was getting his support then. It is true he had many respectable people of Colchester at his back, but his canvass was not in the enlightened parts of Colchester. It was in the back lands of Colchester, among those people whom, a few years ago, he had styled the "gutter men." I told him if he dared to make such an assertion again that I would tell him what company he was keeping, and that effectually silenced him.

Then the learned leader of the Opposition thought proper to represent the people of Colchester on the floors of Parliament as a ragged regiment. Sir, I never heard such language applied to the yeomanry of Colchester before, and the only answer to be given is, that God forbid that ever one of the sons of Colchester will have to go through Nova Scotia or any part of the world with a coat upon his back as ragged as the hon. member's political reputation is to-day. Where could the hon. member find a city of refuge if he were sent from this House. He might be treated as I have known other people to be treated on some occasions. The rotten egg might be hurled upon him, and the door closed in his face. Therejected of Cumberland, indeed! That hon. gentleman who stood up manfully for the rights of the people would have had any seat he wished in the Province. I ask the hon. member if he or his leader at Ottawa could find one if sent to the people to-morrow. My advice to him is to go out of the land of his nativity as soon as possible, and associate himself with his political seducers in the wilds of Canada. I tell him that the Dominion is a plant of stunted growth in Nova Scotia, and however well he and his friends may water it its leaves will wither in their hands, and that the people of Nova Scotia with majesty in their demeanor, will rise in their constitutional might and sweep the obnoxious plant out of existence

with the besom of destruction, and that they will rally round that glorious old flag that has stood the battle and the breeze for a thousand years, and not crawl to it through the beaver flag of Canada; and that the people of Nova Scotia will be ready to maintain their rights as British subjects, and uphold the dignity of their colonial position, and will be ever ready when the hour of trial comes to stand forth in the front rank and vindicate the honor and dignity of the British Empire.

The House adjourned till Tuesday at 3 o'clock.

TUESDAY, Feb. 4, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

The debate on the Address was resumed.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that he did not get up for the purpose of answering any of the observations of the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Morrison), for he felt it entirely unnecessary. That hon. gentleman had taken a wide range for his remarks, and dealt with the question of Confederation and the manner in which it had been passed—a subject not now under consideration. It was quite certain that he (Mr. B.) was beaten in one thing by the hon. member, and that was, in the power of lungs.

The Address was then read and passed.

The House then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 5, 1868.

The House met at 2 o'clock and proceeded to the Government House, and presented the Address to His Excellency, who was pleased to make the following gracious reply thereto:—

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:*

I thank you for this Address, and I receive with pleasure your assurances of the unabated loyalty of the people you represent, and of their attachment to the British Crown.

The value which they have uniformly and justly set upon monarchical institutions will induce you, I am persuaded, to enter upon the discussion of any political changes and of any disadvantages under which you may consider the people at present to labor, in a spirit of calmness and moderation.

I am happy also to observe that you approve of the steps I have taken since my accession to the Government, and are prepared to give your best attention to the several important matters I have recommended to your care.

(Signed)

HASTINGS DOYLE,  
Major-General and Lieutenant-Governor.

On resuming, the following committee was appointed to select the Standing Committees of the House:—Provincial Secretary, Mr. Blanchard, Dr. Brown, Hon. Mr. Robertson, W. H. Townsend, Dr. Murray and J. MacDonald.

On motion of Hon. Prov. Sec., Mr. Morrison was appointed Chairman of Committee of Supply, and Dr. Murray Chairman of Committee on Bills.

Hon. Mr. WILKINS then moved the following resolutions on the subject of Confederation:—

"That the members of the Legislative Assembly of this Province, elected in 1864 simply to legislate under the Colonial Constitution, had no authority to

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"That the resolution of the 10th April, which pre-  
ceded the enactment of the British North America  
Act, is as follows:

"Whereas in the opinion of this House it is desi-  
rable that a Confederation of the British North Ameri-  
can Provinces should take place:

"Resolved therefore, That His Excellency the  
Lieutenant Governor be authorized to appoint Dele-  
gates to arrange with the Imperial Government a  
scheme of Union which will effectually ensure just  
provision for the rights and interests of this Province,  
each Province to have an equal voice in such delega-  
tion, Upper and Lower Canada being for this purpose  
considered as separate Provinces."

"This was the only authority possessed by the Dele-  
gates who procured the enactment of the Act for the  
Unions of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick."

"That even if the House of Assembly had the con-  
stitutional power to authorize such delegation, which  
is by no means admitted, the foregoing resolution did  
not empower the Delegates to arrange a Federal Union  
of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with ut  
including in such Confederation the Colonies of New-  
foundland and Prince Edward Island.

"That no delegates from the two last named Colo-  
nies having attended, and an unequal number from  
each of the others being present, the delegation was  
not legally constituted, and had no authority to act  
under the said Resolution, which expressly required  
each of the Colonies to be represented by an equal  
number of delegates.

"That the delegates did not ensure just provision  
for the rights and interests of this Province, as they  
were by the express terms of such Resolution bound  
to do in arranging a scheme of Union, but on the  
contrary they entirely disregarded those rights and  
interests, and the scheme by them consented to would  
if finally confirmed, deprive the people of this Pro-  
vince of their rights, liberty, and independence, rob  
them of their revenues, take from them the regulation  
of their trade, commerce and taxes, the management  
of their railroads and other public property, expose  
them to arbitrary and excessive taxation by a Legis-  
lature over which they can have no adequate control,  
and reduce this free, happy and self-governed Pro-  
vince to the degraded condition of a dependency of  
Canada.

"That no fundamental or material change of the  
Constitution of the Province can be made in any other  
constitutional manner than by a statute of the Legis-  
lature, sanctioned by the people, after the subject  
matter of the same has been referred to them at the  
polls, the Legislature of a colonial dependency having  
no power or authority implied from their relation to  
the people as their legislative representatives to over-  
throw the Constitution under which they were elected  
and appointed.

"That the scheme of confederating Canada, New  
Brunswick and Nova Scotia was never submitted to the  
people of this Province at the polls before the 18th day  
of September last, upwards of two and a half months  
after the British North America Act was, by the  
Queen's Proclamation, declared to be in force, when  
the people were thereby informed that they had been  
subjected without their consent to the absolute do-  
minion of more populous and more powerful colonies,  
and had lost their liberty."

"That there being no statute of the Provincial  
Legislature confirming or ratifying the British North  
America Act, and the same never having been consent-  
ed to, or authorized by the people at the Polls, nor the  
consent of this Province in any other manner testifi-  
ed, the preamble of the act reciting that this Province  
had expressed a desire to be confederated with Canada  
and New Brunswick is untrue, and when the Queen  
and the Imperial Legislature were led to believe that  
this Province had expressed such a desire a fraud and  
imposition were practised upon them.

"That the truth of the Preamble of the British  
North America Act, reciting the desire of Nova Scotia  
to be confederated is essential to the constitutionality  
of the Statute, and if the same is false the Statute is  
defective, because a Statute cannot be rendered con-  
stitutional by assuming as true the condition which is  
indispensable to its constitutionality.

"That from the time the scheme of Confederation  
was first devised in Canada until it was consummated  
by the Imperial Act in London, it was systematically  
kept from the consideration of the people of Nova  
Scotia at the polls, and the Executive Council and  
Legislature, in defiance of petitions signed by many  
thousands of the electors of this Province persistently  
and perseveringly prevented the same from being  
presented to the people.

"That at the recent election the question of Con-  
federation exclusively occupied the attention of the  
people who were then for the first time enabled to ex-  
press their will on a subject of the most vital im-  
portance to their happiness, and the result has proved  
that this Province does not desire to be annexed to  
Canada, and that the people of Nova Scotia repudiate  
the enforced provisions of the British North America  
Act, which, for the reasons set forth in the foregoing  
Resolutions, they believe to be unconstitutional and  
in no manner binding upon the people of Nova Scotia.

"That the Quebec scheme which is embodied in the  
British North America act, imprudently attempted to  
be forced on the people of Nova Scotia, not only with-  
out their consent but against their will, has already  
created wide-spread irritation and discontent, and  
unless the same be withdrawn, will, we fear, be at-  
tended with the most disastrous consequences, as the  
loyal people of this Province are fully conscious of  
their rights as British subjects, set an insupportable  
vauc upon their free institutions, and will not willing-  
ly consent to the invasion of those rights, or to be sub-  
jected to the dominion of any other power than that  
of their lawful and beloved Queen.

"That the colonies were politically allied to each  
other by their common relationship to the Queen, and  
her Empire, in a more peaceable and less dangerous  
connection, than under any scheme of Colonial Con-  
federation that could be devised, even on the fairest,  
wisest and most judicious principles.

"That the people of Nova Scotia do not impute to  
Her Majesty the Queen and her Government any in-  
tentional injustice, as they are well aware that fraud  
and deception were practised upon them by those who  
misrepresented the public sentiment of this country,  
and who, for reasons we will not venture to describe,  
desired that Confederation might be forced upon this  
Province without the consent and against the will of  
the people.

"That an humble address be presented to the Queen,  
embodying the substance of the foregoing Resolutions,  
informing Her Majesty that her loyal people of Nova  
Scotia do not desire to be in any manner confederated  
with Canada, and praying Her Majesty to revoke her  
Proclamation, and to cause the British North America  
act to be repealed, as far as it regards the Province of  
Nova Scotia."

After a few remarks it was decided that the  
resolutions be made the order of the day for  
Saturday next, Mr. NORTHUP and other gen-  
tlemen strongly urging the propriety of deal-  
ing with the question with as little delay as  
possible.

The House then adjourned.

THURSDAY, 6th February, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

The list of Standing Committees was reported up by the Provincial Secretary. It is as follows:

*Privileges and Rules.*—Hon Atty General, Mr Blanchard, Hon Mr Troop, Mr Townsend, Mr DesBrisay.

*Education.*—Hon Provincial Secretary, Hon Mr Fergusson, Mr Blanchard, Mr Brown, Mr Cochran, Mr Murray, Mr Smith.

*Accounts.*—Mr Northup, Mr Pineo, Mr Brown, Mr Dickie, Mr Ryerson.

*Law Amendments.*—Hon Mr Troop, Mr Morrison, Mr D McDonald, Mr DesBrisay, Mr White.

*Agriculture.*—Mr Young, Mr Campbell, Mr Landers, Mr Copeland, Mr Doucette.

*Private and Local Bills.*—Mr Blanchard, Hon Commr of Works and Mines, Mr Hooper, Mr Joseph McDonald, Mr Purdy.

*Mines and Minerals.*—Hon Mr Fergusson, Mr Chambers, Mr Kirk, Mr Northup, Mr Townsend, Mr White, Mr Freeman.

*Navigation.*—Mr Johnson, Mr Eisenbauer, Mr Ross, Mr Morrison, Mr Lawrence, Hon Prov Secy, Mr Copeland.

*Crown Lands.*—Hon Mr Troop, Mr Kidston, Mr Blanchard, Mr Ryerson, Mr Murray.

*Trade and Manufactures.*—Mr Cochran, Mr Chambers, Mr Townsend, Mr Dickie, Mr Pineo.

*Land Damages.*—Hon Mr Flynn, Mr Copeland, Mr Doucette, Mr Hooper.

*Reporting and Printing.*—Hon Provincial Secretary, Hon Commr Works and Mines, Hon Mr Troop, Mr Pineo, Mr Balcom.

*Humane Institutions.*—Mr Blanchard, Mr Brown, Mr Murray, Mr Townsend, Mr DesBrisay, Mr D McDonald, Mr Landers.

*Contingencies.*—Hon Prov Secretary, Mr Blanchard, Mr Townsend.

Mr. PINEO asked what course would be pursued with reference to petitions asking for money grants.

Hon. SPEAKER explained that they must go to the Government to be dealt with.

Dr. BROWN approved of the old method of having such petitions considered by the House.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that if the member for Kings desired a change it would be necessary for him to move a resolution on the subject; but he (Mr. B.) certainly approved of the present system.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY explained the propriety of entrusting the power to the Government under existing circumstances.

Mr. BROWN considered that a great deal of money had been wasted since the introduction of the present system.

Mr. MORRISON expressed the opinion that the present system entailed a great deal of responsibility upon the Government.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON explained the manner in which the old system had worked, and supported the present method of dealing with such petitions.

Mr. RYERSON was in favor of presenting the petitions to the House and allowing it to deal with them.

It was finally settled that gentlemen could present all such petitions to the Financial Secretary in the House, if they thought proper.

Hon. J. FERGUSSON presented a petition from Cow Bay, C. B., in reference to a poor district.

Mr. DESBRISAY, a petition from George Mader, in reference to a grant of land.

Mr. RYERSON, a petition in reference to a ferry across Tusket River.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked the Government to lay on the table petitions and papers in regard to a grant of land in Hawkesbury, C. B.

He also made an enquiry of the Government in respect to the prevalent distress among the fishermen of the province. In the Ontario Parliament, he explained, the subject has been taken up, and a large grant of \$5,000 made for the relief of the class in question.

Hon. J. S. MacDONALD, it appeared, had telegraphed to His Excellency General Doyle on the subject, who had replied that much distress prevailed. He (Mr. B.) stated that he knew that something like 100 families were on the point of starvation. It would be advisable, under such circumstances, that the Government should give the House all the information they could on the subject without any delay.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL replied that the Government were considering the matter, and would, on the next day, state the grant they would make for the pressing necessities. The members of the respective counties, where the distress prevailed, would probably be called upon to distribute the money according to the requirements of the different localities.

Hon. PROV. SECY. said that, some short time since, the Government had agreed to furnish the counties with a certain amount of assistance, on the condition that it would be a first charge on the road and bridge service.

Mr. MORRISON asked if the Government were to take charge of the subscription from Canada.

Hon. PROV. SECY. said that it had been placed in the hands of the Government for distribution.

Mr. BLANCHARD was in favour of having a Commission to deal with the whole matter.

Hon. Mr. TROOP considered the preferable way was to allow the members to distribute the money.

Mr. MORRISON was opposed to the Government receiving moneys from Canada, and distributing it themselves.

Mr. COCHRAN explained that the distress during the next month would be even worse than it is now. The Association in Halifax had met that day, and agreed to take charge of their share of the money in question for the county, and to leave the distribution of the rest to the Government. It would be bad management to refuse any assistance that might be granted to us.

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Mr. RYERSON was surprised to learn that the money raised in Ontario went to the government; they had no right, in his opinion, to meddle with it. It was simply a subterfuge to make Confederation more palatable.

Mr. BLANCHARD expressed his surprise at such sentiments. The grant from Canada was a pure act of kindness on the part of that country, and should be generously regarded. The government were the recognized exponents of the wishes of the people, and the money was necessarily sent to them. We had, in previous times, assisted Canada, and she now, in return, came to our aid.

Mr. DESBRISAY said that charity should lead them to conclude that the money was sent through the best of motives.

Mr. YOUNG presented a petition from Hants and Lunenburg in reference to a road.

In reference to the former subject, Mr. RYERSON explained that he was quite willing to receive moneys from Canada or anywhere else, but he did not think that they should have been sent to the government.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that the money came to His Excellency, and it was merely deposited to the credit of the relief fund.

Mr. PINEO presented a petition from D. Ross and others for aid for a road.

Dr. MURRAY presented a petition from Wilson Smith, asking for aid to erect a mill, which had been burned down; also one from Angus McKay, a disabled schoolmaster, asking for aid.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL presented several petitions from Pictou in respect to lands taken for railway purposes, which were referred to a special committee composed of Messrs. Desbrisay, Troop and White.

Mr. DICKIE presented a petition from McKenzie and others, of Kings, in reference to a road; also 3 petitions in relation to a school district.

Hon. PRO. SEC. laid on the table the Railway Report for 1867; also three petitions from Digby in reference to a road.

The House then adjourned.

FRIDAY, Feb. 7th.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL reported from Committee on Privileges the rules for the guidance of the House.

Also a petition praying for an alteration in a polling district.

Mr. PINEO apologized for the absence of Mr. Blanchard on account of indisposition.

Mr. KIRK presented two petitions from Guysboro, praying for a grant for a certain road.

Mr. KIDSTON, petition from Boularderie in reference to a poor district.

Mr. CAMPBELL, petition from Inverness, for a new line of road.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON, a petition from Hector McLeod in reference to a grant of land. Referred to Crown Lands Committee.

Mr. MORRISON asked the government to lay on the table a return of cost of delegations from this Province for the last four years, describing the countries visited, with the names of the delegates, the amounts paid to each of them, and the date of payment.

Mr. WHITE presented a petition from the inhabitants of Cow Bay and adjacent places, in reference to a special grant for a bridge across Mira Gut; the subscribers have subscribed a certain number of days' work.

Mr. KIDSTON introduced a bill entitled an act to amend Chap. 45 R. S., so far as relates to the County of Victoria.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table the Financial returns of expenditures and revenues up to 30th June last.

Mr. RYERSON presented a petition from Argyle, asking for money for a road.

Mr. LAWRENCE, two petitions from Shubenacadie, asking for an alteration in the School Act.

Mr. COCHRAN, a petition from the Indians of Shubenacadie against the Game Laws; referred to a special committee, consisting of Hon. Attorney General, Messrs. Cochran and Kidston.

A message was received from the Legislative Council that they had appointed a Committee in connection with the Public Accounts.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table a despatch from the Secretary of the Colonies, on the subject of dry earth sewerage for Prisons.

Mr. KIDSTON presented a petition, asking for the appointment of a person to a half-way house between Ingonish and Cape North. Referred to Committee on Humane Institutions.

Hon. Mr. TROOP presented the petition of William Cox, for a free grant of land.

Mr. NORTHUP presented petitions from Ketch harbour, from Preston, from Windsor Junction and Fletcher's Station, and from Musquodoboit, all asking for aid for certain roads.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table a statement from His Excellency of the sums generously contributed by Ontario and Quebec, for the relief of the distressed fishermen of the province.

Mr. JOHNSON presented a petition from Shelburne.

On motion of Mr. Kidston, a special Committee, consisting of Messrs. Kidston, Kirk, McDonald, and White, was appointed to consider certain over-expenditures on the road services for the county of Victoria.

The House then adjourned.

SATURDAY, Feby. 8, 1868.

The House met at three o'clock.

Mr. LANDERS presented a petition in reference to a bridge.

Mr. NORTHUP, a petition for aid for a road from Sambro to Terence Bay.

Mr. DOUGETTE, two petitions in reference to breakwaters.

Hon. PRO. SECY. laid on the table the paper asked for by Mr. Morrison in respect to the cost of delegations for the past four years.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented a very lengthy petition in favour of the Repeal of the Union. It is signed, he said, by 2200 electors of Yarmouth, whose signatures are attested by affidavits of the persons who took the document around. The petition contains the names of representatives of the Tory and Liberal parties, of lawyers, doctors, merchants, ship owners, mechanics, farmers, in fact of men representing every class and interest.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL moved that the resolutions, in respect to Confederation, be deferred until Monday, as Mr. Blanchard was unwell and unable to attend.

Mr. CAMPBELL presented a petition from N. McKinnon and others respecting a bridge across the Margaree.

Mr. DESBRISAY, a petition from Geo. Misener and others in respect to a road.

Mr. PURDY asked the Government for information concerning the assessment on real and personal property throughout the country, with a view of dealing with the question at a future time, and removing certain inequalities which he believed now exist. He also asked for a return in connection with the settlement of estates and issue of letters probate.

Mr. CHAMBERS presented petitions for money grants for roads in Colchester.

Dr. MURRAY asked the Government if they had any papers in reference to the appointments made to the Legislative Council by the Tupper Government previous to retirement, but only gazetted subsequently.

Hon. PROV. SEC. replied that the papers in question were now in the hands of the printer.

Mr. CAMPBELL presented a petition from Dr. R. W. McKeagney asking for compensation for attendance on a prisoner confined in jail.

Mr. KIDSTON, a petition from Middle River in respect to a bridge.

Mr. NORTHUP, a petition from the booksellers and stationers of Halifax complaining that they suffer injustice in connection with the publication of educational works for the use of the Provincial schools.

Hon. PROV. SEC., petitions from Tiverton and Bear River for money grants.

The House then adjourned.

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MONDAY, Feb. 10.

**DEBATE ON THE REPEAL RESOLUTIONS.**

SPEECH OF HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL then addressed the House as follows:—I regret proceeding to the debate on these resolutions in the absence of the hon. member for Inverness, but having been informed that he is not likely to be in his place for some days, I find it necessary to go on with the discussion. I do so with the less regret because I know that this debate will be reported with accuracy, and that consequently that learned and hon. gentleman will be put in possession of the arguments which I and my friends on this side of the House intend to use. I regret that my vocal organs are not just now in very good order, and that I feel some difficulty in addressing the House; but I shall endeavour to discharge the duty devolving upon me as well as I can under existing circumstances. I am about to lay before the members of the House, before the people of this country, and probably before the people of England, the facts of one of the most important political cases that ever arose in the Colonies, and in order to do so satisfactorily I shall endeavor to show the true condition in which this country was placed before certain political changes took place in its constitution. I shall endeavour in the first place to show that Nova Scotia was a well governed and law respecting, a contented and a happy country. She was well governed because her institutions were moulded in miniature on the model of the British constitution, which is the finest political system by which any nation was ever governed—a system calculated to maintain order and harmony among all orders of people—a system under which obedience to law and the necessary result of obedience to law, liberty, have been better maintained than in any other country; for, sir, however paradoxical it may seem, it is a literal truth that the highest degree of freedom consists in obedience to law. It is obedience to law which preserves to me my rights and liberties, my property and my life; and therefore, however inconsistent it may seem, it is actually true that the highest degree of liberty consists in obedience to law; and that country which possesses institutions calculated to produce that result, must be the happiest nation on earth. Now the constitution of Nova Scotia was based upon the principles of the British Constitution—those principles which best suit the genius of the people. Its whole condition was different from those of any other country on the Continent of America, and the constitution which was granted to the people of this province by King George II., and which had been enlarged and greatly improved by his successors on the throne of England, was a well working constitution. It was as much like the British constitution as it was possible to make things which are different in their nature. There were some defects in it, among which the greatest certainly was the want of a court for the impeachment and punishment of political offenders. That was a deficiency in our system,—without it no system of Responsible

Government can be perfect, and it is certainly curious, but by no means very remarkable, that the great statesmen who have originated this splendid constitution for the confederation of Canada have taken precious good care in its manufacture,—whilst they have established courts for the administration of ordinary justice, as well as courts of appeal—to leave out the court of impeachment, which, considering the nature of the men who formed that constitution, and who are likely to be instrumental in carrying it out, would be the most important court of all.

When we compare our constitution in Nova Scotia with that of the Great Republic, the contrast must be favorable to this province. We admire the people of that country, we have sincerely sympathized with them in their recent distress and troubles. We feel towards them all the emotions of fraternal affection, but we do not approve of their constitution. We consider that their institutions are possessed of two fatal defects—the one is democracy, the second Confederation. We consider that having our little constitution moulded upon the monarchical institutions of England, makes it infinitely superior to that of the United States, although the latter is a master work of human hands, and the finest piece of composition ever prepared by men for political purposes. It was manufactured by men who were really statesmen—by men who loved their country—by men who had been educated in an English school—by men who had sense enough to perceive the beauties of the British constitution—by men who endeavoured with the utmost imaginable pains and skill to apply the principles of the British constitution to a democratic system and form of government; but the people of the United States were unfortunate, after having separated from England in 1783, in the political system which they instituted. Had they combined in a legislative union—had they incorporated all the States into one Legislature, having one set of laws and revenues, they would undoubtedly, at this time, be the greatest nation upon the earth. They certainly would not be second to any other nation; but, unfortunately, they chose Confederation, and that Confederation has resulted, as every Confederation must result, for it is impossible so to adjust the rival and discordant interests of different countries under a Confederation as to maintain permanent harmony. It is not in the nature of things that they should continue as separate and individual countries, having separate legislatures and individualities, without clashing with one another at some time or other. We have seen, notwithstanding the skill with which that famous constitution of the United States was made—notwithstanding the intelligence of that people that great evils have made their appearance already. The Confederation was broken, an internecine civil war deluged their land with blood, and they expended in three years more than probably three times the amount of the national debt of England, in money, and the destruction of their property; and, sir, at this moment there is no man on earth who is able to say what is to be the result of the po-

litical affairs of that great country. An earthquake is growing under their feet, and no man can tell when and where the volcano is to burst, bringing with it destruction and ruin. I make these observations with the greatest possible regret, for I believe that every man in Nova Scotia wishes well to the people of the United States, although the people of this province have no desire to be connected with them. They are too wise, too sensible to desire for a moment to part with their own well-working public institutions, and enter into Union with the States.

I shall now turn your attention to another Confederation—the Confederation of Canada—and contrast it with the United States, and show you that if it be not desirable to enter into the Union with the United States, Confederation with Canada is absolutely hateful and detestable to the people of this country. We object to a union with the American States, because we disapprove of *Democracy* and *Confederation*, but there is a worse political combination, that is *Oligarchy* and *Confederation*. If we dislike the constitution of the United States we are bound to hate and detest the constitution which the Confederation Act has prepared for the people of those fine colonies. If we were to join the United States, Nova Scotia would possess all the freedom that every State of the Union possesses. We would have the choice of our own Governors, of our Senators, of our Legislators; we would have the power of self-taxation and self-government in the highest degree; but what would be our position if we suffered ourselves to be dragged into this hateful union with Canada, where would Nova Scotia's freedom be? Before the British America Act was imposed upon us Nova Scotia was as free as the air. How could the people of this country be taxed? There was no power to tax them except this House, their own servants, whom they commissioned to tax them. Is that the state of things now? Have we any power over the taxation of this country? Does not the Act in question confer upon Canada the fullest power of taxing all the property of Nova Scotia at their arbitrary will? What is our control over that Legislature? We have but a paltry voice of 19 members in the popular branch, but a single one in the other. We have, therefore, to protect the rights of this country from spoliation only 19 members out of 253. If we should continue in Confederation we should not be governed by the people, as is the case in the United States, but by a little knot of Executive Councillors in Canada. Therefore we have no disposition to unite with the one or the other—neither with the United States nor with Canada; and, sir, if we were driven to the necessity of making a choice between the two calamities we would be bound to choose the least, and that would be, to join the United States of America, and participate in their liberty and prosperity rather than submit to the tyranny of Canada. We would have to prefer the democratic tyranny of the one country to the oligarchical tyranny of the other, and there would be no difficulty in making a choice; but thank Heaven we are not called upon to choose between them. We have a

constitution of our own, and that belongs to the people of Nova Scotia; and I am going to show you that the constitution they enjoy is their own property—that the Parliament of England had no power to take it away from them—that the British America Act is entirely unconstitutional—that Nova Scotia has never been legally confederated with Canada—and it rests with her to say whether she will ever be so or not.

Before I come to look to the constitution of this country, I must make a few remarks with regard to England. We intend to send to the mother country certain gentlemen authorized to present to the Queen our humble address, praying Her Majesty to relieve us from this Confederation with Canada. We go in the most perfect confidence that our prayer will be heard. We know to whom we are going to appeal. We are not placed in the condition that the old thirteen colonies were in under old King George III. We have a very different person to deal with in Queen Victoria. We have to approach ministers very different from those of the last century. We have no stubborn King like George III.; we have no prejudices of the royal mind to counteract; we have not the infatuation of his ministers to meet. We have the greatest princess that ever adorned a human throne—a most virtuous Queen, who, when she accepted the sceptre, took the oath that she would rule the country according to the laws, customs and statutes of the realm. She has most nobly fulfilled her obligations, and, in answer to the prayers of her own church, "she has been endued most plentifully with heavenly gifts." In her person she is an example of every virtue; her obedience to the laws exalts her above all monarchs. Her personal virtues are brighter than all the gems which adorn her Imperial diadem. It is to a Queen like this that the people appeal. Have the people no right to present themselves before their Sovereign Queen? Has not this ever been the most loyal portion of her dominions. Did not our forefathers flee from their country because they would not participate in rebellion? Did they not leave their property for their king's sake? I have seen a resolution passed by the Legislature of Nova Scotia at the time the thirteen colonies rebelled actually petitioning the King to impose taxes upon the Province to assist the Empire in its extremity. From that time to this the people of Nova Scotia have been the most loyal that ever dwelt in any part of Her Majesty's dominions. They will have confidence in presenting themselves before the Queen, and asking to be restored—to what? To anything that they have no right to demand? Simply to get their own. Can any man suppose for a moment that they will be rejected by a Sovereign like ours? We need be under no apprehension. We are pursuing the proper course to obtain a legitimate end, and there is no power on earth that can prevent the people from being restored to their rights but downright tyranny, and that we cannot expect from the hands of the Queen and her Government. Do not let the loyalty of Nova Scotia be suspected. Has any one a right to suspect it? Look at the injuries

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done to this Province within the last six months. See their liberties taken away; see them taxed by a foreign and alien Legislature; see their property taken from them;—all their customs handed over to others, collected by strangers before their very eyes. See stamp duties, and tea duties imposed upon them. Those very acts which forced the old thirteen colonies to rebellion have been imposed upon Nova Scotia with the same extraordinary fatuity. And yet have the people rebelled? I have heard of no movement of agitation on the part of the people beyond the simple burning in effigy of one of the delegates. If that delegate had belonged to the United States, instead of being burned in effigy, he would have been burned in reality. If men commissioned by any State in the American Union to negotiate any arrangement affecting the constitution returned with such a bargain as these men returned with, they would not have been permitted to live. The slow process of justice would not have been extended to them, but that has not been the case in Nova Scotia. This law-respecting people have made no movement, but they are going to submit to it no longer. The time for forbearance is at an end. They had no means of constitutionally speaking until now, and they intend to make use of it. If it should be unsuccessful, I may be asked what will be the consequence? I am hardly going to anticipate that the appeal of the people can be unsuccessful. I deny the possibility of failure, but then I assert on the behalf of the people as long as the Queen of England extends to the people of Nova Scotia her protection so long will the people refuse to withdraw their allegiance. So long as they are protected they will be loyal and faithful; and, sir, let it happen that the Queen of England and her ministers in Parliament, regardless of the past, regardless of the loss of the old colonies, shall determine to trample on the rights and liberties of this country; if they should do so, then it will indeed be a dark and gloomy hour. Sir, when by the decrees of inexorable fate the flag of England and the name of Englishmen shall be taken away from the people of Nova Scotia, and the flag and name of any other country substituted, then I prophesy that this Province will be turned into a house of mourning, and every eye will shed hot burning tears of bitter regret and inexpressible woe.

Now, having made these preliminary remarks, I shall turn your attention to the history of our Constitution. I have heard men assert that we have no valid constitution—that it is made up of despatches. I have been at the pains of examining into this question, and can show you that Nova Scotia has had a chartered constitution, an irrevocable constitution—one that no power on earth can take away except by force or violence. Neither the Queen nor Parliament of England has any right to touch or abrogate that constitution. This country was originally known by the name of Acadia and was in the possession of the French at one time, and in that of the English at another—was long, in fact, debateable ground. The French at last made the settlement of Port Royal, at present called Annapolis.

They fortified it in the early part of the 18th century; but an expedition was fitted out by a person of the name of Nicholson, from Boston, who came over and forced the French garrison to capitulate. Consequently the Province was at this time conquered by the British. In 1713, soon after the conquest, by the treaty of Utrecht Louis XIV. assigned Acadia to Queen Anne of England, to herself and her heirs forever. I have before me the language of this treaty—it is striking and plain:—"Yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain and to her heirs forever." From that time to this Nova Scotia has continued to belong to the British Crown, and the first inquiry we meet is this—what was the effect of that conquest and subsequent cession by Louis XIV. to Queen Anne? What was her title? Her title was absolute, in fee simple—higher than the title any man in England or America possesses to his estate—higher than the title possessed by the Prince of Wales when he purchased, the other day, a hunting ground in England. The Prince of Wales holds his estate from the Queen, who is the lady paramount of all the lands in the country, and he may forfeit it to Her Majesty; but that was not the case with the gift to Queen Anne. She became the absolute owner of Nova Scotia. It did not belong to the people or Parliament of England, who had no more to do with it than the people of Turkey. It was properly transferred, and belonged absolutely to Anne, the Queen of England, and her heirs forever. For 34 years after this cession it remained the property of the Queen and her heirs, and she could do with it just as she pleased—just as any man in this House might sell an estate belonging to him. She might put a tenant on it, and regulate the covenant under which the tenant would hold it. In 1747 it came into the hands of George II., and he, being desirous of having it settled by English subjects, promised the people of England who would undertake the settlement of the country that he would give them the British Constitution in miniature. Accordingly he ordered a patent to be drawn up, with the Great Seal—a Seal larger than the crown of a hat—for Lord Cornwallis, by which he granted to the people of Nova Scotia the constitution they were to possess. I shall call your attention briefly to the words of that part of the patent which refers to the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in the Province. He established by this patent a Governor in the place of King, a Council in the place of Lords, and a House of Assembly in the place of Commons, and made the constitution of the colony as nearly like that of Great Britain as he could. "And we do hereby (this patent is dated 6th May, 1747,) give and grant unto you (Edward Cornwallis) full power and authority, with the advice and consent of our said Council, from time to time, as need shall require, to summon and call general assemblies of the freeholders and planters within your jurisdiction according to the usage of the rest of our plantations in America, and that you, the said Edward Cornwallis, with the advice and consent of our House of Assembly or the major part of it, shall have

full power and authority to make and ordain (here is power given to the Legislature) laws, statutes and ordinances for the public peace, and welfare, and good government of our said Province and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such measures as shall tend to the benefit of us and our successors, which said laws and ordinances are not to be repugnant, but as nearly agreeable as possible to the statutes of this our said Kingdom of England."

This solemn deed and covenant cannot be repudiated. After Cornwallis obtained this patent in 1747, he and the other Governors who succeeded him were very slow in calling together the freeholders in order to give the people the benefit of this Assembly, and accordingly in 1757, or ten years after the granting of the patent, a correspondence took place between the Ministers of George II. and Governor Lawrence, in which the Ministers called upon the latter to execute that deed, and to give to the people their Legislative Assembly. Mr. Lawrence thought he could make as good laws as any Assembly, and he and his Council persisted in passing laws. From the time the constitution was given, instead of calling the Legislature together, he summoned the Council, and with them made laws for the government of the Province. In 1755 the subject was brought to the notice of the Crown Officers of England, for the people of Nova Scotia complained that their charter had not been carried into effect, and some of them refused obedience to the orders in Council, on the ground that no rules and regulations could be made for the government of the people except through the House of Assembly, after that charter had been given. The matter was referred to William Murray and Richard Lloyd—the Attorney and Solicitor Generals of England—the former of whom subsequently became Lord Mansfield, one of the most eminent of English jurists. And here is their opinion—"We have taken the said observations into our consideration, and we are humbly of opinion that the Governor and Council alone are not authorized by His Majesty to make laws."

Here is the opinion of these distinguished jurists that the King could not make laws for the colony. The King having given the charter in question, had no power to make laws. Wherever a country is conquered, the conqueror to whom it is ceded has the power to do as he or she pleases in its management. He may, if he chooses, allow the inhabitants of that country to make their own laws, or put them all to death, or he may send them a code of laws made by himself, and allow his Governors to execute them within the country. But if he confers upon the country any privileges, the deed is obligatory upon himself and heirs, and he cannot annul it, he is bound to submit to it. It is just the same with an individual: as soon as he signs a deed for a piece of land to his neighbor, neither he nor his heirs, can afterwards dispute that seal. The day the King signed that deed and appended the seal to the commission of the Governor, he conceded the power to make laws. Both his Attorney and Solicitor Generals tell him, we have looked at Lord

Cornwallis' patent, and you have not the power to make such laws. No law can be binding upon the people of Nova Scotia except such as are passed in accordance with that charter. To show how completely irrevocable these charters are, I will briefly call your attention to a case which arose many years after, in 1774. Lord Mansfield then delivered his opinion, in the Court of Queen's Bench, upon a case which had been a number of times solemnly argued. After the conquest of Grenada, the King of England gave a Commission to a gentleman of the name of Melville, almost identically the same as that he gave to Cornwallis. This deed was signed in the month of April, 1764, but Governor Melville did not proceed to take charge until the following December. In the meantime the King issued letters patent under the great seal, on the 20th July, 1764, laying a tax upon the people of Grenada—performing, in fact, an act of legislation. The case was brought up for argument; the merchant who had paid the tax having come over to England, and having been allowed to try it by the Attorney General. The judgment of the Court was that the tax was illegal because the King, when he signed that Commission to Melville, ceased to have any power over Grenada. Here are some of the observations made by Lord Mansfield: "After full consideration, we are of opinion that before the letters patent of the 20th July, 1764, the King had precluded himself from the exercise of legislative authority over the island of Grenada." Again he said: "We therefore think after the \* \* \* \* \* and the Commission of Governor of Melville, the King had immediately and irrevocably granted to all who are or shall become inhabitants of Grenada, the right of having their legislation exercised by an Assembly and a Governor in Council."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall endeavor to bring this argument to a close by inviting the attention of the House, and of the people of England to whom I am speaking at this moment, to the great importance of Nova Scotia to the British Empire. This is a subject which has never been well considered. The old colonies are the most valuable portions of the earth—by the stubbornness of a British King and the stupidity of his Ministers they were lost to the Empire; and that dismemberment was the most serious that ever befell the British nation. Lord Chatham actually died protesting against it. Nova Scotia stands on the front of the American continent just as England does in that of Europe. She possesses great mineral wealth, the source of England's greatness. Her coal and iron, with the energy of her people, have brought the mother country to her present high condition. We possess the same advantages—we too are almost an island. If Nova Scotia were lost to England she might bid adieu to New Brunswick, to Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. These four Maritime Provinces together have a territory similarly situated to the British Isles, and are capable of sustaining a population equal to theirs. Now Great Britain has been to Nova Scotia a very affectionate parent. She has been most kind to us, but we sometimes hear the states-

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men of England grumbling a little about the expense incurred in defending these colonies. I must confess I cannot see what that expense is. Great Britain is a maritime nation and a military power. She must have the best navies on the ocean and one of the strongest armies in the field. Where could she maintain her troops and navy more economically than in these Colonies. The climate is a very healthy one; the statistics show that mortality here is less than in any other part of the world. The people of England would never consent to a standing army remaining in their own country. Therefore the scattering of the troops through the colonies has been a kind of necessity. Therefore, so far from those colonies costing England anything they are little or no expense to her. She was always a kind mother although not a wise one at times. When she adopted her trade policy in 1848 she left these colonies entirely unprotected; she left the trade of Nova Scotia to be managed by people who knew nothing about it. She had up to that time managed our trade herself; she withdrew her fostering care and left us to walk alone. We have managed to live very happy and contentedly, but she did not act wisely towards these colonies. Since 1848 no less than six millions of people have left England, Ireland and Scotland; where have they gone to? They have gone directly past us into the United States. If England had been a judicious foster mother she would have diverted the emigration into these colonies. If she had encouraged the commercial advantages of Nova Scotia and the agricultural capabilities of Canada we would now be a strong nation instead of having only four millions of souls in our midst. We would have a population of nine or ten millions, and instead of being afraid of invasion the people of the United States would be pleased to think during their internecine war that such was the peaceful character and orderly disposition of Her Majesty's Colonies in America that there was no danger to be apprehended from them.

I believe there is no time that a parent knows the value of the child he loves until he hears the cold earth falling upon the coffin, and the sad words, "earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust." Let England transfer this little province to the United States, and she will, after a few years' time, wake up to the loss she has sustained. If the people of the United States succeed in restoring the union, in healing the differences between the North and the South, and in concentrating their tremendous energies, she must become one of the greatest powers of the world. She is now a great naval power, but give her the harbour of Halifax,—which in her hands could be made just as impregnable as Gibraltar. Give her the coal, iron, and fisheries of Nova Scotia, and her power will be largely increased, and millions of people will pour into this country. The fisheries alone of these provinces would be to the United States a nursery for a million or a million and a half of seamen. How long would England then boast of her maritime supremacy? When the Americans had only a few miserable ships they brought more disgrace upon the British flag than any

other nation ever succeeded in doing. What would they be if, when challenged to the test by Great Britain, they had possession of the Colonies in addition to their ordinary strength? Suppose in the order of things France, another great naval power, should combine her energies with those of the United States, against England, in what position would the mother country be? How could she contend with such maritime nations as these? Therefore the loss of these Colonies might lead to the degradation of England, and instead of standing at the head of nations she might be lowered to the condition of a secondary state, if indeed she were not converted into a province of France.

I shall now very briefly call the attention of the House to the resolutions before it. They develop the arguments on which we ask for a repeal of the Union. The first clause contends that the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia had no power to change the constitution; they had none except what was given them in the charter. Parliament had no power over this country—it never had any. This country belonged to the Queen of England, and our Assembly had no constitutional right to consent to or make the slightest alteration in the constitution under which they were elected to make laws. That is the position which we take, and I would like to see the British constitutional authorities examine this subject, for I am convinced they will acknowledge that I am correct. The second resolution is to the effect that the only authority which the Delegates had was derived from the Assembly, who had no power to give any such authority at all. Even this authority, however, they disregarded. Their authority simply extended to the negotiation of the terms of a Federal union between all the British North American Colonies. They had no power to select three provinces and confederate them, and therefore in that respect they did not act up to their authority. Then, sir, their delegation was not legally constituted. If I gave a power of Attorney to A. B. and C. to transact business for me, A. and B. cannot do it without C., unless I make it optional for them to do it jointly or severally; but if I authorize three men jointly to execute a deed for me, or do any other act, any two of them cannot legally perform the duty. If the House of Assembly authorized a delegation to be constituted, consisting of an equal number of men from Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, the delegates had no power to act unless this stipulation was carried out. No constituent assembly was constituted—it could make no constitution, or do any act until all the delegates were present. If there were 5 from one province and 6 from another, the whole proceeding was a nullity, because the delegation was not constituted according to their instructions. Then again they were told that they were to make just provision for the rights and interests of Nova Scotia. How did they do that? They gave the whole province away. We had a well-working constitution; we made our own laws, raised our own revenues, and taxed ourselves. We owned railways, fisheries, and

other public property, but they gave them all away for nothing. We can at any moment be taxed to any extent arbitrarily by an oligarchy in Canada.

The sixth resolution states that no change can be made without an appeal to the people. Here is a self-evident proposition. The constitution belongs to whom? To the House of Assembly? No. To the Legislative Council? No. It is the property of the people of Nova Scotia—every man, woman and child are the owners, and it cannot be taken away from them without their consent. Even the arbitrary monarchies of Europe admit that principle. When Napoleon seized upon the Empire what did he do? At all events he went through the ceremony of sending around the ballot box, and asking the people whether they were willing to change their constitution. The other day two States—Italy, Nice and Savoy, were transferred after the Austrian campaign, and what was done? Did one king sit down and cede the country to the other? No; the people were called upon to decide whether they were prepared to accept the change of constitution or not. No constitution can be lawfully and constitutionally taken away without consulting the people who own the constitution. This is a self-evident proposition—just as evident as the fact that no man can have his farm taken away from him without his consent.

These resolutions go on to argue that the people of Nova Scotia were never consulted until the 18th September, 1867, after the British North America Act had passed the Parliament, and the Queen had given it force by her proclamation. They were then for the first time asked whether they were willing to accept the change of constitution. Then did the people answer emphatically that they would have nothing to do with it. These resolutions state that the preamble of the Imperial Statute is false, and I believe that when the Quebec scheme went home no such words were in it. But no sooner did the crown officers cast their eyes over it than they, knowing the constitutional course in all such matters, perceived that it was impossible for the Imperial Government to legislate upon the question without the consent or request of the people of these colonies. Accordingly they added the preamble declaring that "whereas the people of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick desire to be federally united, &c." That statute could not have been placed before the Imperial Parliament unless it had these words in it, for it would be unconstitutional unless the people of these colonies had testified their assent to it. Therefore the preamble being false, the statute is unconstitutional and falls to the ground.

The resolutions go on to say that the people were not only not consulted, but that they were purposely and designedly prevented from being consulted. Is not that a true statement? What did the House of Assembly who recently sat upon these benches, with no great credit to them, do in the month of March last? When it was moved that the people of Nova Scotia had a right to be consulted at the polls, whether they would consent to be confederated or not, that resolution

was negatived by 32 against 16 representatives of the people. Whose servants were these 32 persons? The servants of the Executive Council; they ignored the authority of the people, and said that the constitution of Nova Scotia belonged to Dr. Tupper and a few others. Then I think we have asserted strictly in accordance with the fact that the people of Nova Scotia were systematically and perseveringly kept from passing upon the subject of confederation. We have also stated with truth that the last election turned entirely upon confederation. I have heard men venture to assert that other issues entered into that election, but men who say this will state anything. No man living, before or during the election, can venture to deny the fact that confederation was the great question which excited the people from one end of the province to the other. Now there is another clause which tells us that these colonies were, in the opinion of the people of Nova Scotia, united to each other by a connection better and superior to that of any confederation that could be derived even upon the fairest and wisest terms. I believe that to be literally true. It is a matter of political opinion. I have always thought that the system of confederation was the worst by which we could be united. It is impossible so to regulate the conflicting interests of the different countries in a manner that will prevent conflicts and difficulties arising. If you leave to the several countries their individuality and allow them to retain their local legislatures whilst you attempt to combine them at the same time under one general head, the experiment will be fatal—in time it must and will end in civil war and the shedding of blood. I believe that has been the experience of the world with respect to Confederation. The provinces have now four governments instead of three. If they were really united they would be stronger, inasmuch as the whole is stronger than the parts, they would have one head, one legislature, one revenue, one set of laws, one tariff. On the other hand, for the reasons I have previously given, the system of Confederation is, in reality, the worst that could be devised for these Colonies, if the wish is to promote harmony and prosperity among them.

We shall pass these resolutions and we may, if necessary, add one or two more; and when we have done so, it is the design of the Government and House to send Delegates to England as soon as we can, to submit to the Queen a humble Address, embracing the substance of these resolutions; and I have much pleasure in announcing, so far as I am able to judge, my belief and conviction that the Delegation cannot possibly fail of success.

#### SPEECH OF HON. MR. TROOP.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said:—In rising this afternoon to second the resolutions laid on the table by the Attorney General I feel, Mr. Speaker, that I would like to have the Parliamentary experience of yourself or of the hon. gentleman who so ably and eloquently laid the case of Nova Scotia before the House. Before taking up the thread of the argument

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let me for a little while turn the attention of the House to the position which Nova Scotia occupies to-day as compared with that which she occupied a few years ago, before our Legislature undertook to deal with the question of Confederation. The Province was then peaceful, prosperous and happy—lying along the seaboard our people had lived free and contented,—their sailors went down to the sea in ships,—their shipbuilders sent out those merchantmen for which Nova Scotia is famed, bearing the flag of England over the wide world,—capitalists were developing the mines of the country, and throughout the length and breadth of the land there were evidences that Nova Scotia was rising to be a free, rich, happy and prosperous country. If there had been anything occurring among us to change that state,—had there been a voice in Nova Scotia raised against the position we were occupying or any of our surrounding circumstances,—anything leading our people to seek political and constitutional changes,—we might have less cause for complaint, and the members of this Legislature would not be in the position which they occupy to-day called upon to take a bold stand for the rights and liberties of their countrymen. I suppose that our country is yet a British colony,—that we have the British flag above our heads and the British constitution at our back, and that in this discussion we can rise superior to the little knot of servile tools, who, in defiance of public opinion, have had the audacity to slander and insult the people to their teeth. In the argument which I am going to use on this occasion I will show that the people of Nova Scotia asked for no constitutional changes and desired none, and that the public records are replete with proofs of the assertion. When I look across the water at Old England, and learn from her history what struggles were required to make her what she is to-day, I rejoice that in this country we can trace back our ancestry to some of the men who had fought their nation up to her present high standard. And looking there for precedent instead of public discussion and free debate being confined, instead of her public men taking a leap in the dark, and the opponents of any great measure being taunted with disloyalty, we find in the Parliament, in the press, and on the platform equal free, open, manly argument and debate,—we find none of the loyalty which is dressed out in buccram and court trappings, we find the people understanding their rights and liberties, and bringing to the front the highest statesman in the land who dares to override a single right which the people possess.

In entering on this discussion I do so feeling that I am a British subject, that I have the same rights which a man has who is born on the soil of England. And I feel likewise that if this discussion could have been transferred across the Atlantic, the delegates and the contemptible press that supported them would have had to debate this question on its merits, and not in such a way as to outrage the feelings of all who were not subservient to their views. I will not travel far back over the records touching this vexed

question, for the main arguments lie in so narrow a compass that in a short time I think I can bring forward the whole case fully and fairly as it stands between Nova Scotia and Canada. I think it is our duty in this debate to throw all the light that is available on the question, and to produce all the information from public despatches and otherwise, that may strengthen our case when it comes to be laid before the Parliament of Great Britain. In the first place then I ask the attention of the House to a despatch dated in 1859, signed by Messrs. Cartier, Rose and Galt, three of the leading statesmen of Canada, and by this I will bring Canada to bear witness against Canada. It is not the people of the Maritime Provinces who originated the charges against the Canadians, of which we have so often heard, for these three gentlemen admitted that in 1858 to such an extent had party strife and faction gone, that the politicians of that country were like so many Kilkenny cats tearing at each other's throats, and we find that those able minds of British America had brought their country to a state of degradation and confusion, so deplorable that they were obliged to go to the parent country and ask the British government to relieve them of their difficulties by dragging in the Maritime Provinces. That despatch elicited a reply from Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and what was that reply? "Nova Scotia has a constitution of her own,—her people have done nothing to forfeit their constitutional rights, they are loyal to the Crown, and while they maintain their allegiance and perform their duties as good citizens and free born subjects of the Empire, we will not interfere with them,—go and do your own work,—show that you are fit to govern yourselves, and then get the people of the other Colonies to join you if you can!" That was the substance of the advice which Sir Bulwer Lytton gave to those statesmen. Did they take it? Not they—but immediately commenced plotting to obtain by artful wiles what they could not obtain fairly and constitutionally. Here is the record of Canadian faction, as drawn by three of her oldest statesmen:

"It is our duty to state that very grave difficulties now present themselves in conducting the Government of Canada in such a manner as to shew due regard to the wishes of its numerous population. The Union of Lower with Upper Canada was based upon perfect equality being preserved between these Provinces, a condition the more necessary from the differences in their respective language, law and religion—and although there is now a large English population in Lower Canada, still their differences exist to an extent which prevents any perfect and complete assimilation of the views of the two sections.

"At the time of the Union Act, Lower Canada possessed a much larger population than Upper Canada, but this produced no difficulty in the Government of the united Province under that Act; since that period, however, the progress of population has been more rapid in the western section, and

claims are now made on behalf of its inhabitants for giving them representation in the Legislature in proportion to their numbers, which claims investing, it is believed, a most serious interference with the principles upon which the Union was based, have been, and are, strenuously resisted by Lower Canada.

"The result is shewn by an agitation fraught with great danger to the peaceful and harmonious working of our constitutional system, and consequently detrimental to the progress of the Province.

"The necessity of providing a remedy for a state of things that is yearly becoming worse, and of allaying feelings that are daily aggravated by the contention of political parties, has impressed the advisers of Her Majesty's representatives in Canada with the importance of seeking for such a mode of dealing with these difficulties as may forever remove them. In this view, it has appeared advisable to them to consider how far the union of Lower with Upper Canada could be rendered essentially federative in combination with the Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, together with such other territories as it may be hereafter desirable to incorporate with such confederation from the possessions of the crown in British North America.

"The undersigned are convinced that Her Majesty's Government will be fully alive to the grave nature of the circumstances referred to, which are stated by them under the full responsibility of their position as advisers of the crown in Canada. They are satisfied that the time has arrived for a constitutional discussion of all means whereby the evils of internal dissension may be avoided in such an important dependency of the empire of Canada."

I think that this language shows what the views of the people and government of Canada were at that time in seeking a Union with the Maritime Provinces. We hear now a good deal about loyalty—about the necessity of binding together these Colonies by an Intercolonial Railroad; but did the people of Canada say anything about such small matters then? Were they filled with loyalty and prompted by a desire to build up a second England on this continent? We hear not a word about that; but they tell the British people and government, "we are fighting tooth and nail; we cannot get along harmoniously; and because we are in that condition we pray your Majesty's government to bring about a Union which will give us the control of the Maritime Provinces." This is the first piece of evidence that I produce against Canada, and I produce it to show that in asking for a Union the Canadians, instead of being animated with feelings so noble as those which have been ascribed to them—instead of desiring to lay the corner stone of a great nation, all they desired was to get representation by population, in order that Western Canada might govern British America as it pleased. Had we returned up to the present hour the men of calibre and intellect who labored to found our institutions and who filled our councils in 1760, instead of the men who have ruled Nova Scotia for the last four years, our history would have

told a different tale. If we had been governed by the men who helped to build our constitution, we would not now be engaged in a fearful struggle to regain what perfidy has taken from us. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, in his reply, says:—

"The question, however, is one which involves not merely the interests of the important Province of Canada and its relations towards the Empire, but also the position and welfare of the other North American Provinces." \* \* \* \* "We think that we should be wanting in proper consideration for those governments if we were to authorize, without any previous knowledge of their views, a meeting of delegates from the Executive Councils, and thus to commit them to a preliminary step towards the settlement of a momentous question, of which they have not yet signified their assent to the principle."

The next piece of evidence in connection with this subject we find in the Journals of 1861, when a resolution was passed on the construction of which the Canadian delegates based their constitutional right to legislate away this country. I have heard, as the discussion progressed, that the legislature had a right to do as it did, and that the delegates had a right to do as they did, because of this resolution of 1861, which merely expresses that "whereas the question of a Union of the Colonies had been before the country for a long time, and for the purpose of setting the public mind at rest, the government should be authorised to send delegates to confer with the Canadians on that and other subjects. Can the stream rise higher than its source? When the delegates went to Canada, and nothing came of their mission the resolution became a dead letter; very many thought that the question was set at rest, and so did these delegates and this legislature of Nova Scotia, because when they came to discuss a union of the Maritime Provinces, we find the Provincial Secretary introducing a fresh resolution to effect that Maritime union. Where was the question of British policy then? Why were we not then told: "you are doing wrong; Great Britain desires you to confederate with Canada—to build up a great nationality, with one foot on the Atlantic, and the other on the Pacific?" Not a word was said about that. These resolutions were acted upon by the Nova Scotia Government; but no sooner did the delegate go down to Charlottetown, than Lord Monck, with a strange assumption of power, attempted to lead them from their legitimate mission. He says in this despatch, dated 30th June, 1864, to Major-General Doyle, who then administered the Government of Nova Scotia:

"I have the honor to inform you that it is the wish of the Canadian Government to send a Delegation to attend the Conference which it is proposed to hold this year, of gentlemen representing respectively, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, with a view to the Union of those Provinces. The object of the Canadian Government is to ascertain whether the proposed Union may not be made to embrace the whole of the British North American Provinces. I shall feel much obliged if you will inform me of the time and place which have been fixed on for the meet-

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ing; and I trust the presence of a Canadian Delegation will be agreeable to their brethren of the Maritime Provinces."

I am dealing with this question from a constitutional point of view, and bringing to the bar of public opinion Lord Monck, and the delegates who attempted to override the constitution. The doctrine that they had the right to do as they did, seems to have dawned on their minds at a very late date, for Dr. Tupper's government, through Sir Richard Melbourn, replied to Lord Monck in the following language:

"In the meantime I can assure your Lordship of the extreme pleasure which it will afford this Government, to confer unofficially with any Delegates sent from Canada. It is, however, necessary to remind your Lordship that no Resolution has yet been passed by any of the Legislatures of the Maritime Provinces, authorising the appointment of Delegates for any purpose but that of considering some plan for the Union of the three Provinces. Therefore, neither I nor my Ministry have the power to go beyond the exact powers conferred by that Resolution."

This is constitutional law as laid down by Dr. Tupper and his Government,—there is a statement deliberately made by the Government, but which they saw fit to repudiate in twenty days after date. And what did Mr. Cardwell say on the subject? Did he say "you have not carried out the policy of this Government—the British Government desire Confederation with Canada to take place?" Not a word or a syllable to that effect came across the water, but in plain and explicit terms the people were told that the official mission was to consider a union of the Maritime Provinces. Twenty days afterwards we find these delegates going to Quebec. I will not follow them there among the champagne revelries and drunken routs,—we have heard sufficient of that. Instead of acting as if they were laying the foundation of a great nation, it appeared as if they had gone off to a midnight rout or a shindy in the backwoods. But the fact is that the Canadians having got the delegates into the leading strings entrapped them into the Quebec resolutions. Then we all know that when the Legislature attempted to deal with the question it excited one universal storm of disapprobation throughout the country. When public opinion is formed in this country upon any grave subject, it is by neighbor meeting neighbor around the fireside, in social gatherings, and by friendly, mutual conversation,—then comes into play the intelligence of the country. I have heard ignorance imputed to our people,—and it was said that the ignorant class of the population are Anti-Unionists,—that a great many able and intellectual men, all the judges, all the ministers and all the high functionaries are in favor of the Union. I take here a bold stand and say: Suppose the judges and ministers and nabobs and high officials are in favor of it, what is that if the people are against it? The people are the greatest, for if you destroy the people's rights you impair the whole fabric of the constitution. Destroy those rights and you make the people feel degraded, and what then is the value of courts of justice and schools

and pulpits? Give the minds of the people free room and play—do not put a padlock or a gag upon them. It is that intelligence running like lightning through the land that has shattered the ranks of the Confederate party to atoms. When the Legislature came to deal with the question at its first session the delegates failed to carry out the arrangements they had made with their colleagues in Canada. They were to have asked the House to agree by resolution to the Quebec resolutions. Why did they not do it? Because, there were no corrupting influences at work,—the majority of the Legislature were opposed to the scheme,—they told the Premier they would not consent to a union with Canada on such terms, and (moreover) that they would agree to no scheme which had not been ratified by the people. The result was that the Premier declared the measure impracticable, and led the people to suppose that the whole question was at an end,—that there was no necessity for agitation. Coming down a little later we find that the Premier succeeded in successfully bringing the matter before the Legislature, and having his policy ratified against the wishes of the people. Here he is met by a protest signed by members of the Opposition in which they solemnly declared the rights of the people. How was that protest treated? What did the Executive Council say to it, and to the vast majority of the people of this country?

"In conclusion, the Council may state that more than a year since they submitted the proceedings of the Quebec Conference to the Legislature, that the subject of a union of the British North American Colonies has been constantly discussed in this Province since that time. Yet the opponents of union were only able to obtain the signatures of 8,085 people out of a population of not less than 350,000 for presentation to the House during the present session, praying that it might be referred to the people at the polls. The foregoing resolution, after full deliberation and discussion, was carried in the Legislative Council by a vote of 13 to 5, and in the House of Assembly by 31 to 19. All the members of the present Government and four members of the late Government, of which Mr. Howe was the leader, united in sustaining the resolution, while but two voted against it."

That Minute of Council, prepared in the secrecy of the Council Board, under the direction of Sir Fenwick Williams, the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, was sent to England, and it stands on our Journals stamping the men who framed it with the crime of gross misrepresentation. They knew they were deceiving the British Government—that under cover of that despatch they were perpetrating an act of gross injustice and doing a cruel wrong to the people of Nova Scotia. Determined to trick the country and to perpetrate a fraud, they had left out of the Governor's speech at the opening of the session all mention of Confederation, and at a late period of the session, when no petitions had been presented in consequence of the assurance that nothing would be done, that country was taken by surprise. The Minute of Council, framed by the Govern-

ment, who had a full knowledge of the wishes of the people, assuring the Government that only 8000 persons had petitioned against the measure, was calculated to lead that Government to suppose that the great majority of the people were in favor of the union. I ask, then, in view of the state of public opinion at that period if the government of the day did not know that the statement contained in such Minutes was a deliberate untruth? I ask if it was not made to mislead and deceive the British Government? Its authors doubtless supposed that it would be shut out from the public eye until it had done its work, and after that they thought it would be too late for anything to be said about it. They sent it to the Imperial Parliament with no honest intention. Following rapidly down the record, let me ask why it was that about this time there were such breaks in the ranks of those in this Legislature who were known to be determined opponents of Confederation when every day intensified the feeling of the country against the resolutions which had been adopted by the House? Can we not see in the subsequent results: in members giving up their opposition for valuable consideration—for high and influential positions elsewhere a great deal of significance. Those gentlemen may have been as pure, as innocent and as conscientious as they claim to be—they may never have had a single stain upon their political integrity—their palms may never have felt a single piece of gold; but I cannot help thinking that if the Attorney General had a fellow in the dock, charged with a criminal offence, with evidence so presumptive against him, he would make a pretty strong case of it, and the jury would not have much hesitation in pronouncing him guilty. There is sufficient evidence, taking all the manoeuvring of the gentleman who had the matter in hand, to shew a deep design to keep the people from expressing their opinions. They kept us from the polls up to the latest hour well knowing what the result of an election would be. When the elections did come off, the men who had been engaged in bartering their country away—the men who had thrown their influence against their own people, and in favor of Canada, hardly dared to ask for the confidence and support of the people. The day of reckoning has come with overwhelming power, and the feeling of the people against this enforced union has ever since been increasing in strength. It is like the rushing wind from the mountain carrying everything before it. When we find the men who on that day were rejected by the people whom they had betrayed leaving their country for Ottawa, I say if they can there find consolation around the palatial halls of that city—or a panacea for their wounded consciences, there is no reason that I can see why Nova Scotia should not be very glad to get rid of them. I next wish to direct the attention of the House to the action of the delegates when they went on their mission across the water, and carried their measure to the House of Commons and the House of Lords. We then find Mr. Watkin making a speech that has attained great notoriety, and has become matter of history.

But for his declaration who believes that the British House of Commons would have legislated against our interests? But for his assurance that Confederation had been before the people of Nova Scotia at the polls; who can imagine that we would have been forced into this hateful and detested union? For who could doubt in the House of Commons the assertion made by Mr. Watkin that Dr. Tupper had preached Confederation at every polling booth previous to the election, coming, as it did, from the Premier himself? How could it be supposed that the accredited minister of the Province of Nova Scotia would resort to evasion and deception? Sir, in view of these facts, I may say that I would like no better case to present, on behalf of a free people, in any court of law or equity than that which can be presented by the people of Nova Scotia.

Then, again, let me turn attention to the one-sided, partial and unjustifiable action of Lord Monck. I speak of him with all the respect due to his high position, but I cannot pass over a declaration made in his speech in the House of Lords without comment. We find his lordship leaving his post on this continent, going home with the delegates, taking his place in the House of Lords, where it was supposed he fully understood the feeling both of the Maritime Provinces and Canada, and that he would be possessed of full information, there stating that the agitation in Nova Scotia was the work of half a dozen men. I can excuse His Excellency for anything but that; and when we find that speech on the public records of the country, without note or comment from him, after the 18th of September has passed and left such evidence behind of the real feeling of the people of Nova Scotia, I say that the Governor-General was in no position to open the Dominion Parliament with the speech which he made. Instead of congratulating the people of Nova Scotia on their being engaged in inaugurating the new Dominion, he should have told our people that they had been degraded. He should have explained away the speech which he made when, to carry Confederation and help his Canadian friends and their party, he went to the House of Lords and used the following language:—

“Lord Monck expressed a hope that their lordships would permit him to say a few words upon the Bill, considering the share which he had had in its origination. He would at the outset refer to one thing, which appeared to him of great importance in a constitutional point of view. It had been, he thought, most unwarrantably assumed that the Province of Nova Scotia was opposed to the union. Now, he believed the expression of opinion which had come from Nova Scotia to this country had been entirely got up by a few energetic individuals. The Legislature of Nova Scotia had, like the Legislatures of the other provinces, adopted by large majorities the resolutions proposed to them, and had sent their delegates to this country to take part in the framing of the measure which had been laid on the table. The demands of those gentlemen in Nova Scotia, if they amounted to anything, meant that the question should be subjected to the

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decision of the people, instead of its being determined by the people's representatives. Such a demand, to his mind, betrayed a great ignorance, not only of the principles of the British Constitution, but of the principles on which all Parliamentary Government was founded."

His lordship had read the history of his own country to little purpose when he could make that declaration. What is that history composed of for the last two hundred years but the history of men oftentimes struggling through bloodshed to the enjoyment of their rights—the record of men of great intellect—men whose names have been emblazoned on the roll of fame, fighting for the great principles which have made England the mistress of the world, the country to which every distressed nationality resorts as a city of refuge, under whose flag the exile is safe. Once upon the soil of Britain the fugitive is no longer likely to be stricken down; but in leaving the foundation stone of the new nationality I say let us not begin the work by striking down what has cost England centuries to build up—what has been so long established in the hearts and affections of the people. Get the sympathies of the people with you, and then go on building the superstructure. Let it come to be understood that the rights of the people are one matter, and the rights of the governing oligarchy another, or that any oligarchy can control the country, striking down the independence of the people and reducing them to a condition of serfdom, and the freedom and glory of the parent country no longer belong to us. After delivering that speech in the House of Lords I wonder how his lordship could come down to Parliament and use this language:—

"I congratulate you on the Legislative sanction which has been given by the Imperial Parliament to the Act of Union, under the provisions of which we are now assembled, and which has laid the foundation of a new nationality that I trust and believe will ere long extend its bounds from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean."

He congratulates the people of the Dominion on building up this confederation; but did he not remember the damaging record that stood against him on the other side of the ocean, when he made that declaration in the House of Lords to influence that august assemblage in supporting the legislature that undertook to give away the country, and to break down every barrier that had been placed in their way? Did he forget that he had gone across the ocean in the train of the delegates, to take his place as a peer of the realm, to assist in carrying Confederation, and there to state that the agitation in Nova Scotia was the work of a half dozen individuals? If he was so instructed by his friends, the Delegates at that time, then since the 18th of September he has been undecieved, and he should since have acknowledged that up to that time he had not known the true state of the case.

We have heard a great deal, as I have said, about disloyalty, and without wishing to detain the House, I will merely turn attention to the mode in which this measure was carried. The country

believes that the Confederation act was passed through the legislature by corruption and fraud—that His Excellency General Williams, when he was sent out here, came for the sole purpose of carrying the measure—prepared to resort to any means—and lent himself, through his government, to that design. I believe that if certain festivities at Government House had never taken place, we would not be engaged in this discussion to-day. It reminds me of a dark day in old Ireland's history, when her free legislature was sold for English gold, when bribery laid the country waste, and inflicted upon it the terrible woes that succeeding generations have inherited. In May's Constitutional history, I find this passage on that subject:

"Lord Castlereagh estimated the cost of these expedients at a million and a half, and the price was forthcoming. The purchase of boroughs was no new scheme, having been proposed by Mr. Pitt himself, on the basis of his measure of Parliamentary reform in 1785, and now it was systemically carried out in Ireland. The patrons of boroughs received £7,500 for each seat, and eighty-four boroughs were disfranchised. Lord Devonshire was paid £52,500 for seven seats, Lord Ely £45,000 for six. The total compensation amounted to £1,250,000. Peers were further compensated for the loss of their privileges in the national council by profuse promises of English peerages, or promotion in the peerage of Ireland; commoners were conciliated by new honors, and by the largesses of the British government. Places were given or promised, pensions multiplied, secret service money exhausted. In vain Lord Cornwallis complained of the "political jobbing" and "dirty business" in which he was "involved beyond all bearing," and "longed to kick those whom his public duty obliged him to court." In vain he "despised and hated himself, while negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven." British gold was sent for and distributed, and, at length, in defiance of threats of armed resistance, in spite of insidious promises of relief to Catholics, and corrupt defection among the supporters of the government, the cause was won."

The luckless viceroy applied to himself the appropriate lines of Swift:

So to effect his monarch's ends  
From hell a viceroy devil ascends;  
This budget with corruption crammed  
The constitutions of the damned.  
Which with unsparing hand he stroves  
Through courts and senates as he goes;  
And then at Beetzleb's black hall  
Complains his budget is too small.

How aptly this language can be applied to the gentlemen who carried on the work of corruption in this country;—they must, like Alexander, have wept because they had no more worlds to conquer when they got weak-kneed politicians to Government House under the influence of the appliances which eventually induced them to hand over the political rights of this country to the Canadian government. The people, I say, took this ground; and in battling for their rights and privileges, and asking for free discussion and debate, they have been charged by

a portion of the press and the supporters of a certain faction with being Fenian sympathizers and annexationists. All I can say is that the first article having such a tendency was from a Confederate journal of this city. If such sentiments are advocated in the press we can charge home upon the Confederate party for having such a paper among them. It seems that a few years ago the public mind of the United States was set on the *qui vive* to see whether that country could get hold of the Provinces, and had it not been for Nova Scotia I believe that these Colonies would have gone long ago. Where were we when annexation clubs were formed throughout Canada, and when annexation flags were thrown to the breeze by their prominent men? We were true to our allegiance, warning the people of Canada that their course would bring them into disgrace. Let it not, then, be charged upon us that, because we believe the tendency of Confederation to be the handing over of the Province to the United States, and because we have no desire to become a part of that country, the Anti-Confederate party, or the Government, or the gentlemen who sit on these benches have disloyal tendencies. That slander has gone far enough; the men who originated it do not dare to repeat it in open day, where they can be confronted; but in the back slums of Halifax a portion of the press that is justly held beneath contempt has been busy in the circulation of the slander. When they pour out the vials of their wrath let them remember that their shafts do not touch us, because we will carry forward the struggle in which we are engaged in strict obedience to the British Constitution, and with no disloyal sentiment escaping our lips. With them "the wish is father to the thought;" it is because they desire annexation that they love Confederation and the principles which it embodies rather than monarchical principles. When they charge disloyal sentiments on our people they had better see where their own principles are leading them. Mr. Darby, in his report on the fisheries, says:—

"The Provinces have long desired expansion. Their territory contracts as it runs easterly, and presents in a northern latitude a narrow front on the Atlantic. New England lies between Canada and the sea. A few years since, the *Halifax Morning Journal*, an influential paper of Nova Scotia, presented a plan for annexation, from which we make the following extracts, viz.: 'In the much wished-for event of a consolidation of the Colonies, the possession of Maine is of vast importance; more, perhaps, than we have been wont to imagine. A glance at the map will show, that at present she destroys the symmetry of the proposed confederation.—She stands like a wedge driven up to the butt in a foreign country, and it gives rise to the idea that but a few more blows are needed to effect a complete separation of Canada and New Brunswick. Nor is it symmetry alone which demands the annexation of Maine; there are other reasons of far greater importance why this should, if possible, be effected, and which we propose to set plainly forth in this article.'

"The Nova Scotia plan did not take—it was

premature. It is cited here merely to show the aspirations of the Colonies, and as a precedent for this discussion, for it makes annexation a Provincial measure. We can afford to be more generous and give to the Provincial plan a shape more comprehensive, more statesmanlike, more consistent with the rights of all."

Here then we have a Confederate Journal, which now brags of its loyalty, foreshadowing the ground-work of a Scheme by which the Colonies were to be handed over to the United States, and yet we are the disloyal men. Our accusers are very loyal men, but Washington gold might possibly overcome their loyalty. What are we to think when we have annexation sentiments proclaimed by the press of Halifax, and when a portion of the people with whom it was the intention to confederate us have petitioned for admission to the American Union? Is that the people with whom we are to join in order to build up a new nationality. Is a union formed with such a country likely to be a solid and permanent one under the British Crown? Another idea thrown out was that unless we went into the union the British government would cast us off. Why should they do so? Nova Scotia came forward and put her Militia into a sound state of organization, when Canada was quarrelling about her Militia bills, and when her government was attacked for proposing a Militia grant. Great Britain, I take it, desires that we should do our duty, and let us be once out of Confederation and the people will meet their wishes by providing for their defence in every reasonable way,—but in so providing let it be understood that we have no wars, no national States,—we are in the position of the son to the father; the father ruling, the son enjoying security and peace. We have nothing to defend ourselves against;—if a war should break out to-morrow between Great Britain and another power, we would not be consulted, but we might be obliged to assist in bearing the brunt of it. We would do so willingly in subordination to the Crown and Imperial government, because we desire to uphold the glory of the British flag, but while doing so we deny the right of a legislature, elected for no such purpose, to sweep away our constitution and to place us under the domination of a government removed beyond our control. If time permitted I might refer to the geographical position of these Provinces. We have territory enough for thirty states, we have vast tracts of wilderness country, stretching to the Pacific and back to the Rocky Mountains, in which there is not a man to build a fort or man a gun. We have four millions of people scattered over half a continent, and with such a country—with scarcely an inhabitant to a square mile—we are asked to believe that we are in a position to found a new nationality. The idea is truly absurd, and can lead to but one result. Nova Scotia will be no party to so monstrous a proposition. Nova Scotia asks, loyally, constitutionally asks for a repeal of this most obnoxious act upon the following, among other grounds:

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try by the British Government, giving the people the right of self-government—the right of regulating their own trade and commerce—the unrestricted right of disposing of their own revenues, and the power of general legislation under such constitution—cannot be materially altered or changed without the sanction of the people.

2nd. Because the people of Nova Scotia have been no parties to the alteration of the constitution, but on the contrary have used every available means to prevent the passing of the "British North America Act," and by petition to the Legislature, and by loyal addresses to the Queen, and by petitions to the Imperial Parliament of England, have protested against the Confederation of this Province with Canada.

3rd. Because a majority of the Legislature of Nova Scotia who usurped the power of legislating upon Confederation were elected and held their seats under the constitution they attempted to destroy, and by fraud and deception misled the Government of England by declaring that they represented the views and wishes of the people of Nova Scotia.

4th. Because the "British North America Act" deprives us of constitutional rights and privileges enjoyed by Nova Scotia for a century—which Act was formed in contemptuous defiance of such rights and privileges.

5th. Because a willing submission to the provisions of that enactment will stamp the people of Nova Scotia as servile dependants upon Canadian charity.

6th. Because it has despoiled us of our revenues—deprived us of the right of regulating our tariff, and placed the power of taxing the industry and resources of this country in a Canadian Government, over which we can exercise no control.

7th. Because the Journal of this Legislature show that Canada has sought this Confederation not because she desired to perpetuate British institutions upon this continent—not by reason of her love for the old flag and her loyal devotion to the British crown, but because of the shameful and disgraceful feuds and faction fights between Upper and Lower Canada, which had rendered constitutional government in that country a sham and delusion—which had made her public men contemptible in the eyes of the world,—and having brought their country to this humiliating and degraded position, they sought to drag in the free, prosperous and happy Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under Confederation as "make-weights," in order, if possible, to relieve themselves of the disadvantages under which they labored.

8th. Because the Union of the Maritime Provinces with Canada, under such circumstances, will lead to the most deplorable results; and, if not repealed will, sooner or later, eventuate in disaster to the whole.

9th. Because the Government of the so-called Dominion has already entered upon a most extravagant system of expenditure, not warranted by the revenues of the Dominion, and will result in taxing still further the ratepayers of this country.

10th. Because the acquisition of new territory by the Dominion of Canada is a source

of weakness to the so-called Confederation, and may result in involving this Province in bankruptcy and ruin.

11th. Because this country cannot adopt the absurd idea embodied in the British North America Act, by which British America, embracing half a continent with a sparse population, is to be governed and controlled by a government at Ottawa—the provinces of Ontario and Quebec being the controlling powers.

12th. Because the people of Nova Scotia cannot recognize the necessity of assuming liabilities for the defence of British Columbia, or of placing themselves in a position to be called upon at any time to defend a country thousands of miles away.

13th. Because the alleged fact that the Legislature of British Columbia has petitioned to be received into the United States of America is calculated to weaken any union of the whole of British America, and taken in connection with the fact that a portion of the people of Canada have heretofore exhibited by disloyal and reasonable manifestations their repugnance to British monarchical institutions, and their preference for those of the United States, leads the people of Nova Scotia to repudiate any connection with Provinces disaffected towards the British Crown.

14th. Because the imposition of a stamp act and the increase in the tariff are most tyrannical and oppressive, calculated to cramp the expansion of trade, to retard the prosperity of the country, and to exact money from our people for the benefit of Canada, and without in any way benefiting the people of Nova Scotia.

15th. Because the allowance of 80 cents per head, and the annual subsidy granted from the Dominion Government, is no compensation for the large sums taken from us by Canada, and will be wholly inadequate to meet the increasing wants of this country.

16th. Because above all Nova Scotia repudiates this Dominion, and asks for repeal because her people were not consulted upon the measure—while the people of New Brunswick and the other Maritime Provinces have been allowed to determine for themselves whether or not they would be confederated with Canada.

For these reasons this Legislature and this Government ask the British Government for a Repeal of the British North America Act so far as it relates to Nova Scotia. I hope that when our loyal address is presented to Her Majesty it will have the desired effect, and that our delegates will bring back to us the restoration of our rights and privileges. When we look at the United States, and consider the internecine war, the effects of which are still preying on the vitality of the country—when we see the disaffection prevailing in Canada, and find the public records charged with that which shakes our confidence in her statesmen, is it any wonder that we turn from Washington to London—to London, the metropolis of the world—London, with its abbeys containing the dust of men whose fame is handed down to posterity? There is the Empire to which we wish to belong; we do not desire a union with the back

country of Canada, but a union with the Empire of Britain. That Empire is large enough for our ideas; the aspirations of our people lead them to seek nothing that would alienate us from the old flag, or break off the connection with the parent institutions,—but they seek rather to be drawn closer, so that an Englishman or Scotchman may feel, when he comes to British America, that he has not left one half his manhood behind him. Our delegates will go to England, and lay the sentiments coming from the people at the foot of the Throne. When they have presented the case they have in hand, I rely on it that the Queen, who can do no wrong, will give back to us what has been wrongfully and fraudulently taken away. In the meantime let us possess our souls in patience. I rejoice to see the bold stand which the people are taking throughout the country at the meetings which are being held, and I did not wonder yesterday at the flush of pride that mantled the face of the hon. member for Yarmouth as he presented the petition from his noble county on this subject. The sentiments which are coming up to us every day do credit to the feelings of the people—they show that the rights of Britons are well understood and appreciated among us. Had our people bowed down in servile submission to their rulers, they would have become the mere lickespittles of the people of Canada; but showing, as they have done, the determination that God being their helper, they will fight this battle to the bitter end, we may defy any power to coerce us into compliance. Nova Scotians are terribly in earnest in this matter, and while remaining loyal to the constitution, will take care not to be led away by will-o'-wispers or any loud blusterings of the enemies of our people.

Our enemies may ply all the arts of falsehood and fraud, but we are determined to stand upon the sentiment that to Nova Scotians belongs Nova Scotia. Our rights are as dear to us as those of the people of England, and while doing battle for those rights, and while carrying the petitions of our people to England, I believe that ten thousand prayers will be offered up for our cause. Our clergy, instead of praying against us, will yet come to the rescue of their country, and the God of battles will defend the right. Such men as D'Arcy McGee may talk and threaten about the Militia, and the course that will be pursued to coerce us, but we say to them that it does not lie in their mouths to teach us loyalty to the Crown, until they take back the threats and libels which they have hurled at our Queen and Constitution. In confiding, then, sir, in the justice of our cause, in the wisdom of the Parliament of England, and upon the sympathies of the Queen, we have met this great question calmly and constitutionally. We have no desire to treat it in any other manner. We have no wish for the storm or tempest, but we are asking for our rights, out of which we have been wronged, and the people of Canada may as well understand that the people of this country do not intend willingly to submit to the provisions of the British North America Act.

With these observations, sir, I beg leave to

second the resolutions now upon the table of the House.

Mr. PINZO, in the absence of Mr. Blanchard, laid on the table, by way of notice, several amendments to the resolutions, intimating that Mr. Blanchard would move them regularly when he was able to be in his place. (The amendments will be given at the conclusion of Mr. Blanchard's speech.)

The debate was adjourned.  
The House then adjourned.

TUESDAY, Feb. 11th.

The House met at three o'clock.

Mr. KIDSTON presented a petition from N. McInnes, of Inverness, against the return of Hiram Blanchard, Esq., which was laid on the table until Saturday next.

#### DEBATE ON THE REPEAL RESOLUTIONS.

HON. MR. FLYNN'S SPEECH.

Hon. E. P. FLYNN then said:—In rising to address the House on the resolutions which have been introduced so ably by the Hon. Attorney General, I feel that I can add nothing new to a subject which has already occupied so much public attention in this country, and one that has been so thoroughly debated in all its aspects on the floors of the House, in the press, and at every hustings in the Province. I have not the vanity to suppose for an instant that I can invest the question with any novelty, or deal with it with that eloquence exhibited by those patriotic men who have so nobly advocated the interests of the people. The numerous evils resulting to this Province from a union with Canada under the terms of the British North America Act, and the great injustice done to the people by forcing them into a political connection, never sought for or desired by them, have been so clearly illustrated during the recent session of the Dominion Parliament, that I think I would be hardly justified in occupying the time of this House by any lengthy remarks with reference to that part of the subject. But I would be unfaithful to the trust reposed in me, and fail to discharge the obligations I owe to those who have honored me with their confidence by electing me to a seat in this House, nor would I be true to the convictions of my own mind, and the feelings which animate me, if I did not avail myself of this opportunity of recording my most solemn and emphatic protest against the unfairness of the Act of Union, as well as against the oppressive and unconstitutional method by which it was adopted. Notwithstanding what may be said by its advocates to the contrary, I hold that a question of such vital moment, and effecting so complete and radical changes in the institutions of this country, should never have been sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament, without its having had the most conclusive evidence that an unmistakably authentic expression of the popular will in its favor had taken place, when upon former occasions the scheme of Union was discussed in this Legislature. It has been declared that the opponents of Union have failed to adduce precedent or

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authority in proof of the incompetency of Parliament to carry the measure, without submitting it to the people at the polls. But it has always appeared to my mind that it was the advocates of Union who failed to show in the whole history of British and colonial legislation a precedent or authority justifying such a summary destruction of our constitution, not only without our consent, but against our expressed wishes. We are all aware that Parliament possesses unlimited powers whilst acting under the constitution, but whilst admitting that, will any one venture to assert that the Parliament of England has the constitutional right to annex that country to France without the consent of the people? Certainly not.

Therefore, how much stronger is the argument when applied to the late Legislature restricted as it was by express statutory regulations, and with powers clearly defined and strictly guarded? Whilst admitting the supremacy of Parliament in all things under the constitution, I deny the right assumed by the members of the last House in bartering away our constitution, and handing to Canada our rights and revenue without our consent. The constitutionality of this question has been handled with much ability by gentlemen on a previous occasion, that I would not feel at liberty to trouble the House at any length on that part of the subject; but there are a few extracts which have come under my observation, which, with the permission of hon. members, I will read to the House. I shall first read from a Speech of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan:—

“Parliament is not the proprietor, but the trustee; and the people the proprietor, and not the property. Parliament is called to make laws, not to elect law-makers; it is a body in one branch of delegates, in no one branch of electors, assembled to exercise the functions of parliament, not to choose or substitute another parliament for the discharge of its own duty; it is a trustee, and like every trustee, without a power to transfer or hand over the trust. A miserable quibble it is to suppose, because delegated to make law, it has, therefore, a right to make a law to destroy its own law-making, or supersede its own delegation, precluded as it is by the essential nature of its trust from annulling its own authority, and transferring the power of its creator, the society, to another country; it is appointed for a limited time to exercise the legislative power for the use and benefit of the people, and therefore precluded from transferring, and transferring forever, that legislative power to the people of another country; it is appointed, entrusted, created, and ordained, not only to exercise the legislative powers of the society, but also to preserve her rights, and instead of abolishing them by surrendering them to another country, to return them at stated periods, unimpaired, undiminished, to the people from whom it received them.”

“The power of the legislative,” says Mr. Locke, “being derived from the people by a positive voluntary grant and institution, can be no other than what that positive grant conveyed, which being only to make laws and

not legislators, the legislative can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, and placing it in other hands, the legislative neither must, nor can, transfer the power of making laws to anybody else, or place it anywhere, but where the people have.”

“The legislature,” says Mr. Locke, “is not only supreme, but sacred and unalterable in the hands in which the community have placed it: though it be a supreme power in every commonwealth, yet it is not and cannot be arbitrary over the lives and fortunes of the people.”

Mr. Bushel says: “Indeed it is difficult to give limits to the mere abstract competence of the supreme power, but the limits of a moral competence, subjecting occasional will to permanent reason, and to the steady maxims of faith, justice, and fixed fundamental policy, are perfectly intelligible, and perfectly binding on those who exercise any authority under any name or under any title in the state. The House of Lords is not morally competent to dissolve itself, nor to abdicate, if it would, its portion of the legislature of the kingdom. By as strong, or a stronger reason, the House of Commons cannot renounce its share of authority. The engagement and pact of society which generally goes by the name of constitution, forbids such innovation and such surrender. The constituent parts of a state must hold their public faith with each other, and with all those who derive a serious interest under their engagement, as much as the whole state is bound to keep its faith with separate communities. Otherwise competence and power would be entirely confounded, and no law left but the will of a prevailing force.”

“The collective body of the people,” says Bellingbroke, “delegate but do not give up; trust, but do not alienate their right and power. There is something which a parliament cannot do; a parliament cannot annul the constitution. The legislature is a supreme, but not an arbitrary power.”

“The power of Kings, Lords, and Commons,” says Junius, “is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee simple is in us; they cannot alienate, they cannot waste. When we say the legislature is supreme, we mean that it is the highest power known to the constitution, that it is the highest in comparison with the other subordinate powers established by the laws. In this sense the word supreme is relative, not absolute. The power of the legislature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural justice and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular constitution.”

The principles laid down in these extracts seem to be so perfectly in accordance with the British constitution and the dictates of common sense, that I unhesitatingly adopt them as conclusive. Even if the Union were calculated to confer on Nova Scotia all the benefits so flippantly predicted by its advocates and promoters in the last House, they were nevertheless bound to submit the measure to the people for their approval. Had they done so at the proper time, as they

should have done, like honest men and faithful guardians of the trust reposed in them, all the present excitement in connection with the question would have been avoided. The men who were chiefly instrumental in passing this Union, have attempted to justify their position and conduct by stating that the people were actually in favor of it. In the discussion of this question, previous to its consideration by the Imperial Parliament, it was asserted by a leading member of this House that the intelligent public sentiment of Nova Scotia was in favor of Union. A more unfounded and deliberately untrue statement was never before uttered in this House. In proof of the untruthfulness of that statement, I need only refer to the elections held last autumn, when we saw the people of every section of the country voting against the Union scheme with an unanimity unparalleled in the history of any country. Such was the hostility manifested by the measure, that out of fifty-seven representatives, only three were returned to sustain it, and those by exceedingly small majorities. So far from the country showing an intelligent public sentiment in favor of Union, it is decidedly opposed to it. Even here in the metropolitan county, where intelligence and wealth are supposed to predominate, and where, it was alleged, the greatest benefits would accrue from the measure, by making Halifax the terminus of the Intercolonial Railway, and as a consequence the Liverpool of British America—five members were returned to oppose the scheme. It has also been stated that the people of this province, in voting as they did, were actuated by a desire to punish the men who denied them the constitutional right to pass upon the measure, rather than by any serious objection to Union itself. The fallacy of this statement is so apparent that it needs no refutation from me. Will not the Nova Scotia party in this House bear testimony to the contrary? It is true they punished the men who ignored their rights, and considered them wanting in intelligence to pronounce upon the merits or demerits of one of the most momentous questions ever offered for public consideration. It is true, they punished the men who, by an arbitrary exercise of power, deprived them of their constitutional right of self-government, who handed them over to extravagant and profligate Canadian politicians, and gave them the power of exacting from us the necessary funds to carry on their projects or their profligancy; but the political prerogative which gave them the power to punish the barterers of their country's independence, invested them at the same time with the privilege of condemning a union forced upon them by fraud and intrigue—a union that, so long as they remained in it, must leave their commerce, their constitution, and their liberties dependent upon the will and caprice of every Dominion Ministry; and they now demand of us, as their representatives, that we use every constitutional means in our power to release them from the injustice and oppression of an act which in their opinion has neither a legal nor a moral force. It has now been most conclusively shown that from the inception of this measure up to the present moment the

overwhelming majority of the people have always unmistakably manifested an unconquerable repugnance to it. They clearly saw that in a House of 181 members, their 19 would be powerless to affect anything in their interests; that by this Union they would give up their dearest rights and privileges—their constitution and their liberty—for a wretched modicum in a Canadian partnership, and become dependent upon majorities composed of men who cared nothing about the welfare, sympathized less with the feelings, and knew nothing of the wants, of Nova Scotia. Whilst such are the feelings of the people of this Province, it is impossible that a real and solid union, not depending on an act of Parliament, but upon the mutual interests and the mutual affections of the people, could be permanently established. For upwards of a century, both Provinces have advanced from infancy to manhood, under the aegis of the British Crown. We were always willing to entertain and act upon every reasonable proposition for free and unrestricted commercial intercourse, but ever jealous and watchful of our political rights and privileges. By a free intercourse of trade, or commercial union, both Provinces might have prospered, without rivalry or jealousy, in separate persons, but having united interests, under the protection of our common parent—the Crown and Government of England. Instead of the people of this Province desiring political connection with Canada, they instinctively shrink from it. They naturally dreaded a political connection with a country in which they beheld a wasteful extravagance on the part of her public men, and, under a high tariff, annual deficits in her revenue; while they saw their own country, with a low tariff, making rapid strides in commercial and political activity, and having an annually increasing surplus in our revenue, after making the most liberal allowances for our various wants and requirements, and enjoying a degree of prosperity not surpassed by any of the sister Colonies. It was stated by the late Financial Secretary in this House, last session, that in ten years we had trebled our revenue without increased taxation—that at the end of every year since 1862, there was a large increase over the income of the preceding year; and this statement we find correct when we compare the Customs revenue of 1856 with that of 1866. In 1856 we had a revenue of \$571,588, and in 1866, \$1,326,193; from these figures it will be perceived that in ten years we had almost trebled our revenue without adding to our tariff. Had this state of commercial activity continued increasing for the next decade, and we have every reason to believe that it would, this Province would have presented a degree of prosperity truly gratifying to every Nova Scotian. But, sir, this forced and unfair Union, while it lasts, forbids us to hope for prosperity and happiness. We behold in the future nothing but misery, subjection, and degradation; and because the people seek by constitutional means to free themselves from this vile bondage, they are branded as traitors and rebels—repeatedly has the charge of disloyalty been made against the men who have had the firm-

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ness and patriotism to oppose a measure which they clearly saw would be destructive of the liberties of their country. This slander—this calumny, has not been made against the small minority, but against the overwhelming majority of the people of this Province. But, sir, it is untrue that the people who oppose this measure are disloyal—for in no part of the British Dominions can be found loyalty and attachment to the Parent Country of so pure and genuine a character as that for which the people of this Province have ever been distinguished. Our loyalty is of that nature which flows from the heart without effort. It is to preserve that loyalty in all its purity untainted and unsullied, that they now seek to be freed from a degrading vassalage, which daily tends to alienate us from allegiance to the British Crown.

The British Parliament, press, and people, were deceived by the false representations made to them, as appears by the preamble to the Imperial Act; and without giving the measure that careful and deliberate consideration its magnitude demanded, it was hurried through the Legislature, assuming, as we are led to believe, from reading the preamble, that the people of this Province desired to be confederated to Canada. But, sir, never was falsehood more glaring and unqualified than that which the preamble contains. Am I not fully borne out in this assertion when I look around these benches, and out of thirty-eight gentlemen, see thirty-six who have been sent here by men of every shade and hue of political opinion to declare to the British Parliament that the preamble to this Act of Union is false; and that so far from the people desiring to be confederated, they loathe and detest the measure, and now eagerly long to be released from the grievances to which it subjects them. The advocates of this wrong and spoliation perpetrated on their country, (who fortunately are few), endeavor to make the people believe that their efforts for a repeal of the Act will be unsuccessful. That we shall be told by the British Parliament they can do nothing for us—that we must remain in this Union; or, as they term it, accept the situation.

But, sir, I entertain a strong opinion to the contrary; let us address the British Parliament in language conveying the sentiments embodied in the resolutions submitted—"Deceived by fraud and misrepresentation, and from a reckless disregard of our repeated and emphatic protests, you have done us, the most loyal dependency of the British Crown, a great and serious injury. We have, by the result of the recent elections, convinced you of the great injustice done us, against which we warned you by our press, our delegates, and our petitions, we now most respectfully but firmly demand redress at your hands. We do not approach you in the attitude of crouching slaves, begging some trifling instalment of liberty, but as British Freemen, citizens of a hitherto free and happy country, acknowledging no authority but the Crown and Government of England. We desire you to relieve us from the baneful operations of the recent Act of Union, and restore us to the full enjoyment of our former constitutional rights and privileges, as a free sove-

reign and independent people, saving our allegiance to the British Crown."

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that when we thus address them in language at once firm and differential, and when the merits of our case are clearly placed before the British Government, Legislature, and people, we shall not fail to secure that measure of redress which it is the traditional policy of Britain to concede when a proper case is made out.

#### MR. BLANCHARD'S SPEECH.

Mr. BLANCHARD said:—Labouring as I do under physical pressure of no ordinary character, I cannot be expected to make any very lengthy remarks, but I feel compelled to ask your attention for a short time, whilst I endeavour to lay before this House and country the facts and circumstances connected with this question, and defend as far as lie in my power the resolutions which I understand was laid yesterday on the table by my hon. friend (Mr. Pineo). Before proceeding, however, to this question, I owe it to the position which I occupy in this House, to make some explanations connected with some remarks that were made here a few days ago. It will be remembered that some discussion took place between the Attorney General and myself respecting the formation of the present government. I stated that I would apply to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor for leave to declare to this House and country the circumstances under which the present government were formed, and who it was had advised sending for Mr. McHaffey. I did this in consequence of a statement made by the hon. member for Hants and the hon. Attorney General, that it was to be presumed and that this country was bound to presume, that, in the absence of a denial from myself, I advised the step in question. Although I regret very much that I am not at this moment at liberty to declare under what circumstances and by what advice the hon. Mr. McHaffey was sent for, yet I feel free to read the following correspondence between His Excellency and myself:

A few days ago I addressed the following letter to His Excellency on the subject:—

HALIFAX, Feb. 6, 1868.

To His Excellency Major General Doyle,  
Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia, &c., &c.

The Attorney General and one of the members for Hants have asserted in their places in Parliament that it was probable that Mr. McHaffey had been sent for to form the present Government by my advice,—

Knowing that there is no foundation for the statement, I yet feel that I am restrained by my oath of office from disclosing the real facts of the case:—

I beg leave therefore most respectfully to request that your Excellency would so far release me from this obligation as to enable me publicly to state such circumstances as came to my knowledge on the subject referred to while I held the office of Attorney General and leader of the late Government.

I have the honor to be,  
Your Excellency's most obdt. servt.,  
HIRAM BLANCHARD.

To the foregoing letter I received the following reply:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
Halifax, 7th February, 1868.

SIR,—

I am directed by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, and to state to you in reply that His Excellency regrets that he does not feel at liberty to comply with the request you therein made to comply with the considerations that by so doing he should establish an inconvenient and improper precedent.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,

Your obedient servant,

HARRY MOODY.

Hiram Blanchard, Esq., M. P. P.

Now I shall say nothing on the subject of the precedent referred to, although I believe it has been done before, and very recently in Canada; but His Excellency, in declaring that I was not at liberty to make any disclosures as to what occurred, shows that the Attorney General was entirely wrong in the statements he made on the occasion referred to. To have declared, as the Attorney General said I was at liberty to declare, the circumstances and facts of the advice which I had given to His Excellency—supposing I gave any at all—would not have been proper for me, for His Excellency regrets that he is obliged to refuse me the required permission.

Now, before I come to the subject of the resolutions, let me ask the attention of the House for a few moments to one or two statements that have been made by the hon. member for Richmond. I must say, in all justice to that hon. member, that he has acquitted himself as I expected he would—with credit and respectability. He has not indulged in any personal allusion or hard hits at myself. He has brought forward his arguments, and with his manner and temper I am entirely satisfied. He spoke of the county and city of Halifax in connection with the result of the recent elections. He said that the city of Halifax, notwithstanding it was expected to become the Liverpool of the New Dominion, had returned five members against the Union. Now, as I am instructed, the city of Halifax proper gave a considerable vote in favor of Union. If that be so, then let it never be said again that there is not a majority of the respectability, weight and influence of the city of Halifax in favor of Confederation. If the centre of influence, intelligence and wealth has given such a response, then let not the assertion be repeated that all the merchants and bankers of Halifax are opposed to the Union of British America.

Before going any further I will ask the government to allow me to add a clause to the amendment which has been laid on the table. Now, it is not too much to say, and I would be very sorry to state, that the Attorney General does not possess a large amount of legal ability, and considerable knowledge of the constitutional law of this country. I am sorry that I am obliged to attach to him the paternity of a string of resolutions such

as I do not hesitate to say were never before put upon the table of any Colonial Legislature. They contain statements of constitutional law utterly at variance with the history of Great Britain during the last two hundred years, and if, before I am done, I do not convict him and the government which he leads in this House by the authority of statesmen as much superior to him as it is possible to be, of having brought forward a set of resolutions opposed *to* *to* *to* *to* *to* the whole constitutional law of Great Britain, then I say that I shall egregiously fail in what I have undertaken. These resolutions, I have said, do not contain what, in my opinion, is the constitutional law of this country. Speaking, as I do, for the Confederation party in this Province, I would be very sorry to see one word or line of these resolutions altered. I hope they will be laid at the foot of the Throne just as they are now. I hope, when they are so laid, they will be accompanied by the resolutions which I have been obliged to prepare hastily in the condition in which I have been for some days past, as the expression of the opinion of the minority of this House, small though it may be.

In the first resolution we are told "that the members of the Legislative Assembly of this Province, elected in 1863, simply to legislate under the Colonial Constitution, had no authority to make, or consent to, any material change of such constitution, without having first submitted the same to the people at the polls." I undertake to say that this is the first time outside of Nova Scotia in the history of any legislative or deliberative assembly under the British constitution, that such a doctrine of constitutional law has ever been laid down. That question was discussed at the last session of this legislature. Authority, able authority, was brought down by Mr. Archibald, controverting the statement in the most conclusive manner, and not a single gentleman belonging to the late opposition was able to support the position he took by a single precedent, or even by a dictum of any man who is looked upon as a great authority. Even at the risk of repeating what I said last winter, I will remark on what is the meaning of an appeal to the people. In the adjoining Republic there is a machinery by which an appeal to the people can be carried out. If a question is submitted to any legislature, whether State or General, and it be thought necessary to obtain the assent of the people—and remember the country alongside us is an unmixed democracy—what is the course pursued? They send to the people to hold a convention on the subject before the legislature meets, and they are expected to vote aye or no. The convention meets—it is not called upon to express an opinion upon any other subject except the one submitted to it. Suppose the convention decide that this change in the constitution should be carried out, what then. Does the legislature take that as the opinion of the people? No, they send it again to the polls, and have the popular voice upon it. Every man is given a ballot ticket, on which he records his vote. Finally this vote is counted, and the popular feeling is thereby ascertained. Have we any such machinery as that? Did

anybody under the hon. Attorney General's government that the only mode of constituting any alterations.

But what thing as under since the the Attorney and should he can pollia to tory, and ample w Britain, thought ture wh the bneic will be s the great has he to Bill his after it he say, must rep to the ele of the wh which he having venture to a ques liament, accepted the only was thro

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anybody ever hear of such an arrangement under the British Constitution? When the hon. Attorney General can convince the Government and Parliament of Great Britain that the Republic of the United States is the only model upon which we must form our constitution, then he can expect them to pay any attention to these extraordinary resolutions.

But we are British subjects, and such a thing as an appeal to the people at the polls, under such circumstances, was never heard of since the time of the Magna Charta. I ask the Attorney General to rise, in his place, and show us a precedent in British history, if he can. I ask the hon. member for Annopolis to rub up his knowledge of English history, and then come here and give us an example where any great statesman of Great Britain, since the time of Magna Charta thought it wise to dissolve the Legislature whilst the government could carry on the business of the country. Sir Robert Peel will be acknowledged as having been one of the greatest statesmen of his times, and what has he told us? He had given the Reform Bill his most unremitting opposition, but after it was carried, what did he say? Did he say, "The people are against, and we must repeal it." Speaking after his election, to the electors of Tamworth—in the presence of the whole nation—he said that the measure which he had fought against, inch by inch, having been carried, the man who would venture to appeal to the people in reference to a question which had been settled by Parliament, was an enemy to his country. He accepted the situation—he acknowledged that the only constitutional mode of proceeding was through the Parliament of the country.

Sir Robert Peel, on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, has said, and I am now reading from his speeches:

"He had no notion of the prejudices of the people overruling the deliberations of the Legislature. The Parliament was better able to form a just opinion upon questions of this nature than the uninformed, and whatever might be the opposition which Parliament might experience, it was still bound to set an example of justice and wisdom; that being done, he was sure the people would soon coincide in their decision."

Further on he says:

"With respect to the general question, he had on so many occasions stated his deliberate opinion upon it, that he felt it scarcely necessary to do more than refer to what he had repeatedly stated, and to declare his firm adherence thereto. He considered it an important question in point of policy (dismissing the questions of justice and good faith) as it affected the general constitution of the country, and with reference to its bearing on the prosperity of the Empire. With respect to the first, he must say he thought the removal of all civil disabilities, and the laying down of the principle that there should be no distinction in respect to religious opinions, and no barrier between a Professor of the Roman Catholic faith and that of the Protestant Established Church, was a material change in the constitution of the country."

If the constitution were so to be considered the

King, Lords and Commons, it would be subverting that constitution to admit Catholics to the privileges they sought; it would be an important change in the state of the constitution as established at the Revolution."

I give this to show that Sir Robert Peel looked upon Catholic Emancipation as a most important and material change in the constitution of Great Britain. He goes on to say:

"I know that it has been said that in 1826 there had not been sufficient warning. No, forsooth, we ought to have aroused the country by the cry of 'No Popery.' Never, sir, never, under any circumstances. *The Parliament, and the Parliament alone, will I ever acknowledge to be the fit judge of this important question.* The people at large may express their feelings and opinions, and they should always be received with deference; but, sir, we are not bound to conform to those opinions, or to refer to their decision questions affecting the general interests of the country, or which it is the peculiar province of the Parliament to decide."

Catholic Emancipation was carried to the glory of the British people, and has ever since remained one of the principles of the British constitution. What did Sir Robert Peel say when it was passed? The Legislature has fixed it upon this country, it has become part of the constitution under which I and every gentleman who is seated here lives, and we are bound to submit. Are we then to be told by the Attorney General and Government of Nova Scotia that our Parliament has no power to affect any change in the constitution. Further on Sir Robert Peel says:—

"As to the appeal to the country, let him ask hon. members to consider whether it would be wise to set such a precedent as to declare their own incompetency to legislate upon any question which the Crown may think proper to submit to their consideration? Would they so far stultify themselves as to begin to consider what questions they were competent to debate? Supposing they were to make such an appeal to the country, how many questions do they think would arise thereafter, in which it would be said to them:—

"There is a precedent set you by the Parliament of 1829 which dissolved itself, because it felt itself incompetent to act, and you follow its example?" I deny, sir, the necessity for making such a precedent. No; we will not stultify ourselves so much as to say that we are not supreme as to every measure of legislation which may come before us."

The gentlemen opposite should go and sit at the feet of British statesmen and learn the true principles of English constitutional law, before they come here and make the declaration which they do. I do not mean to say that the Attorney General is not as capable as myself of explaining constitutional law, but I ask them in all seriousness before they ask this House to forget that they are British subjects—to swallow what I feel confident they will be only too glad to disgorge at some future time—before they make themselves the laughing stock of British America, I ask them to pause. I now come to the speech of the same great statesman on another important question. I will ask the House to recall

the history of the Corn Laws of Great Britain. I shall not go into a lengthy history of this question, but everybody knows that Sir Robert Peel had opposed the abolition of the Corn Laws for a very considerable period. He did so while he was leader and premier of the British Ministry; and after a long discussion on the subject he thought it necessary to change his opinion. Who does not know that when the measure was passed he was attacked in a style which is not often heard in any legislative body. He was exposed to a merciless storm of vituperation, and when nothing seemed to avail his enemies called upon him to dissolve the House and appeal to the people. Then Sir Robert Peel laid down the doctrine that whilst he could carry on the affairs of the country nobody had a right to dissolve the House. He said:

But my honorable friend says he did not object to it as impeding the formation of a protection government, but as preventing a dissolution; and my honorable friend and others have blamed me for not advising a dissolution of Parliament. In my opinion, it would have been utterly inconsistent with the duty of a Minister to advise a dissolution of Parliament under the particular circumstances in which this question of the Corn Law was placed. Why should it be so utterly impossible for this Parliament to deal with the present proposition? After the election in 1841, this Parliament passed the existing Corn Law, which diminished protection; this Parliament passed the tariff destroying altogether the system of prohibition with respect to food; this Parliament passed the Canada Corn Bill; why should it exceed the functions of this Parliament to entertain the present proposition? But upon much higher ground I would not consent to a dissolution. That indeed, I think, would have been a "dangerous precedent", for a Minister to admit that the existing Legislature was incompetent to the entertainment of any question; that is a precedent which I would not establish. Whatever may have been the circumstances that may have taken place at an election, I never would sanction the view that any House of Commons is incompetent to entertain a measure that is necessary for the well being of the community. If you were to admit that doctrine, you would shake the foundations on which many of the best laws are placed. Why that doctrine was propounded at the time of the union between England and Ireland, as it had been previously at the time of the union between England and Scotland. It was maintained in Ireland very vehemently, but it was not maintained in this country by Mr. Fox. It was slightly adverted to by Mr. Sheridan at the time when the message with regard to the union was delivered. Parliament had been elected without the slightest reason to believe it would resolve that its functions were to be fused and mixed with those of another Legislature, namely, the Irish Parliament; and Mr. Sheridan slightly hinted it as an objection to the competency of Parliament. Mr. Pitt met that objection at the outset in the following manner. Mr. Pitt said:—"The first objection is what I heard alluded to by the honorable gentleman opposite to me, when His Majesty's message was brought down, namely, that the Parliament of Ireland is incompetent to entertain and discuss the question, or rather, to act upon the measure proposed without having previously obtained the consent of the people of Ireland, their constituents. This point, sir, is of so much importance that I think I ought not to suffer the opportunity to pass without illustrating more fully what I mean. If this principal of the incompetency of Parliament to the decision of the measure be admitted, or if it be contended that Parliament has no legitimate authority to discuss and decide upon it, you will be driven to the necessity of recognizing a principle the most dangerous that ever was adopted in any civilized state, I mean the principle that Parliament cannot adopt any measure, new in its nature and of great importance, without appealing to the constituent and delegating authority for direction. If that doctrine be true, look to what an extent it will

carry you. If such an argument could be set up and maintained, you acted without any legitimate authority when you created the representation of the Principality of Wales or of either of the counties palatine of England. Every law that Parliament ever made, without that appeal, either as to its own frame and constitution, as to the qualification of the electors or the elected, as to the great and fundamental point of the succession to the Crown, was a breach of treaty and an act of usurpation." Then, Mr. Pitt asked, if they turned to Ireland herself, what would they say to the Protestant Parliament that destroyed the exclusive Protestant franchise, and admitted the Roman Catholics to vote without any fresh appeal? Mr. Pitt went on:—

What must be said by those who have at any time been friends to any plan of parliamentary reform, and particularly such as have been most recently brought forward, either in Great Britain or Ireland? Whatever may have been thought of the propriety of the measure, I never heard any doubt of the competency of Parliament to consider and discuss it. Yet I defy any man to maintain the principle of those plans without contending that, as a member of Parliament, he possesses a right to concur in disfranchising those who sent him to Parliament, and to select others, by whom he was not elected, in their stead. I am sure that no sufficient distinction, in point of principle, can be successfully maintained for a single moment; nor should I deem it necessary to dwell on this point in the manner that I do, were I not convinced that it is connected in part with all those false and dangerous notions on the subject of Government which have lately become too prevalent in the world." Mr. Pitt contended therefore, that Parliament had a right to sitar the succession to the Throne, to incorporate with itself another Legislature, to disfranchise its constituents, or associate others with them. Why, is it possible for a Minister now to advise the Crown to dissolve Parliament on the ground that it is incompetent to entertain the question what this country shall do with the Corn Law? There could not be a more dangerous example, a more purely democratic precedent, if I may so say, than that this Parliament should be dissolved, on ground of its incompetency to decide any question of this nature. I am open to the charge, therefore, if it be one, that I did advise Her Majesty to permit this measure to be brought forward in the present Parliament.

I ask gentlemen now to pause and consider the doctrines laid down by these great constitutional authorities, which are to be found in the Legislative Library—that Parliament is paramount in these matters, and has the power of carrying them out. Let us not hear gentlemen endeavoring to introduce the American democratic system into this British dependency, whose glory it should be that its constitution is based on that of free England. I have shown you that at a time when the principles of the American and French revolutions were instilled into men's minds, Sir Robert Peel came forward and said: never shall we go contrary to the principles of our constitution, and adopt the democratic idea; we believe now, as we have always believed, that Parliament itself is supreme.

Under those circumstances I appeal to this House, and ask them whether they will reconsider the position in which they stand. It is possible that after proper consideration they may see the absurdity and folly of placing on record such resolutions as those that have been introduced. Now I ask the honorable Attorney General whether the House of Commons was elected for the consideration of the question of Catholic emancipation. We all know that it was not. Sir Robert Peel admitted as much, but he and his friends in a statesmanlike manner opposed any attempt

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to tell the people of England that the Parliament should go back and ask their advice in reference to a great constitutional change. The Corn Laws of Great Britain prevented any corn being imported into the kingdom except it was subject to a large duty. The duty was intended to protect the agricultural interest of Great Britain, which has always been so very powerful in that country, that it would not have been surprising if the Corn Laws had remained many years longer a motive of continual agitation.

Sir Robert Peel, acknowledging the force of the opinions in favour of the abolition of these corn laws, came forward and moved in the matter. Who has ever been found in the British House of Commons to get up and declare that Sir Robert Peel did not strictly adhere to the principles of the British constitution in the course he pursued. He carried triumphantly through the House of Commons this important measure, which has ever since remained untouched. If Sir Robert Peel could do that, was not this Legislature in a position to carry the measure submitted to it. Sir Robert Peel has emphatically told us that Catholic Emancipation was an alteration in the constitution. Before the passage of that measure, no man could occupy any position in the Government of Great Britain unless he was a Protestant and took the oath of supremacy; that was as much a part of the British constitution as the House of Lords itself. To the honor of Nova Scotia be it said, that some time before Great Britain broke down that principle, this Parliament came forward and allowed Catholics to sit in the Legislature.

What more, sir? What did the British Government do in 1820? The Island of Cape Breton possessed a separate constitution; it had a Governor and a Government of its own independent of the Province of Nova Scotia. The House of Commons came in and by a single Act, containing perhaps not a dozen lines amalgamated the island with Nova Scotia. The island was given only two members in a Legislature of 40 men. Who, then, ever heard of the people of Cape Breton being granted an appeal? Who ever heard that this law was not binding upon the people of the Island. They resorted to every constitutional means to repeal it. It may be added that Cape Breton had no Parliament of its own, and without being consulted in any measure it was annexed to the adjoining Province. Representing as I do one of the most flourishing counties of the Island, I undertake to say that you will not find a man from one end of Cape Breton to the other, who would now ask for a repeal of the Union. There were some Repealers for a few years, but now they are as scarce as I think Repealers of the larger Union will be in this Province, twenty years hence.

I feel that I am speaking here not simply in the name of Cumberland and Inverness, but in that of the great Confederate party of Nova Scotia, and I regret it that they are so inadequately represented here. What was the original constitution of this country? There were forty gentlemen sitting here then. One of the fundamental principles was a re-

presentation of forty men, and those selected for the most part from particular localities. A few townships, such as Falmouth, absorbed a large portion of the representation in the Assembly. The Legislature stepped in and handed a portion of that representation to Cape Breton. Was it then urged that the township of Falmouth, and other places affected, should be consulted—that there should be an appeal to the people before the representation was interfered with? The constitution of the country was then invaded in a high-handed manner, if we are to believe the doctrines of the hon. gentleman, by the Legislature of that day. But what more? At the close of the Parliament in 1858, a bill was brought in altering the representation of this country. That measure was passed through this Legislature, although it was a material change in the constitution, without a word being said about an appeal to the people. This measure was strongly opposed, but did its opponents say that the measure was unconstitutional when they came back here? No one was ever heard to declare that law was unconstitutional, and attempt to repeal it. We sat here from 1859 to 1863, and at the close of our legislative career what did we do? I had then the honour of following the leadership of Mr. Howe, and assisting him in forwarding measures which I believed were for the best interests of this country. A bill was passed in 1863 again, to touch the representation of the country—to cut Inverness into two parts, and make other changes; but who then heard the argument that it was unconstitutional because the people had not passed on it at the polls? I may be told by-and-bye that the measure did not touch the constitution of the country. Did not the opposition of that day feel that it was a deliberate attempt to alter our constitution? They succeeded in defeating it, it will be remembered, in the other branch of the Legislature. What more? Did we go further than that? We passed a measure—one which I hope will continue to be the law of this country for a long time to come. We came in elected on universal suffrage; I came in myself by a vote of 5 or 6000 people. By one swoop we swept out of existence what was then considered to be one-third, but which is now known to be one-fourth of the constituency that sat us here. No member of the Legislature has ever had the hardihood to come in and ask that it be repealed. Did any man get up and say that the Legislature was exceeding its power? Will any one say that that Act was not binding upon the people of this country. It is true we were prevented from having that Act carried into effect at that general election, but that does not affect my present argument.

I have given you what I consider to be a very high authority on the power of Parliament in connection with the passage of the Reform Bill and the Catholic Emancipation Act in Great Britain. What more? Who does not know that Great Britain, for many years, has been divided into two parties—that the Whig and Tory, or Liberal and Conservative parties, have been the two great contending parties? From time to time one of these parties has managed public affairs.

It is within the memory of everybody that very recently a Reform Bill was brought into the English Parliament. That was certainly "a material change" in the constitution. How many tens of thousands did the measure add to the electors of Great Britain? That measure was brought into the Commons, but who, reading the records of that body, will find the argument used that an appeal should be made to the people? That bill was defeated by whom? By the Conservative party, Mr. Disraeli at its head. They opposed it on the ground that it was too democratic and republican a measure. The Ministry changed hands, and what then? Did the Ministry who came into power then dissolve the Parliament? No sir. They said they would go on with the public affairs, and they did so. What more? A few months ago we saw introduced into the House of Commons a Reform Bill, the democratic character of which was infinitely beyond that previously defeated. Not a single word about a dissolution was said. I ask the House and country, then, if I have not submitted authorities which fairly answer the resolutions which have been submitted? The Government may have made up their mind to pass these resolutions, but I trust there are gentlemen here prepared to deal with the question on its merits, and not willing to be led away by claptrap.

I was unfortunately unable to attend yesterday, and therefore I hope if I misquote anything said by the Attorney General that you will allow me to be corrected through you, sir. But having obtained notes of certain remarks that were made from the most reliable information, I shall endeavor to deal with the question as well as I can. I understand that the Attorney General yesterday told the House that his remarks were made after the fullest deliberation. Under these circumstances we must expect that the hon. gentleman would not make any statement that he was not able to defend. One of his statements was, I am informed—one which went through the whole substratum of his speech—that this Colony is in a different position from any other in regard to its constitution.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I did not say that.

Hon. SPEAKER—It would be better if the hon. gentleman would confine himself to what he has heard himself.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I may mention to the hon. gentleman that my speech is now in press.

Mr. BLANCHARD—I cannot, however, resist the temptation of noticing one or two points in the hon. gentleman's observations. I think that I know something about the chartered constitutions of these countries—that I am aware of the differences between a conquered country and one settled originally by Englishmen. When Englishmen settled in any country they carried with them the law and constitution of the parent State—they continued to possess the rights and privileges of Englishmen. The Attorney General said that this Province was given to Queen Anne and her heirs forever. What does that mean? Was it given for her own use? No;

all her rights were subject to the authority of the British Parliament and constitution. This Province belongs to Her Majesty, but no more than any county in England. The Queen alone, it is true, can give any authority over the lands of the country. By her royal authority and letters patent she confers upon any person whom she may choose any portion of the territory, subject to certain conditions. I unhesitatingly affirm, however, that this country is no more the property of Queen Anne than any part of England, Ireland or Scotland.

But I admit this, and I would be sorry to deny it, that if the Sovereign chooses to grant a particular authority to any part of the dominions to establish Courts of Justice or Courts of Parliament, that authority is irrevocable. We have been told that with regard to a certain Island it was said that the King having given to a nobleman authority to govern by an Assembly, and the authority being altered, the Lords of the Privy Council decided the alteration to be void. Admitting for a moment, for I have been unable to find the case, that there has been a decision that some act of the King of England, in reference to the constitution of a colony was invalid, I ask the Attorney General to find me a case in which the Lords of the Privy Council ever dared to say that an Act of Parliament was void. I challenge any lawyer in the country to find a case in British records from Magna Charter to the present hour, in which any Judge or any body of Judges ever dared to say that an Act of the British Parliament was void. No such case can be found, for such a decision would strike at the root of the authority under which Parliament exists. When we go to the neighboring republic we see that in view of the democratic leanings, and a desire to avoid the extreme measures to which the legislature might be led, there is given to the Judges of the Supreme Court, when an Act is passed in direct contravention of the constitution, authority to say that that Act is void. But not a line can be quoted from any British Judge or Court to show that an Act of Parliament is not binding on all the people in the country. I undertake, therefore, to say that the Attorney General put upon his resolutions a statement which all the Judges of Great Britain combined would not venture to make, for I repeat that no authority in the realm ever declared that any Act, no matter how tyrannical and insulting to the feelings of the country was void. In every such case the people must submit until, by constitutional means, they obtain the repeal of the enactment. It was said that Nova Scotia was ceded to Queen Anne and her heirs forever. I recollect when I was a boy hearing that some gentleman, calling themselves Baronets of Nova Scotia, had come to the British Parliament and said that Nova Scotia belonged to them because some Queen or King had given them a grant of this Province. They were only laughed at for their pains, but there was about as much sense in those gentlemen saying that the country belonged to them, as to say that it belonged to the Queen or King in her or his personal right. This country is not the private property of the Sovereign. The Atty.

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General told us it was Queen Anne's and her heirs' forever.—I would like to see him with all his acumen and industry, work out the family tree which would make Nova Scotia, even in that case, the property of Queen Victoria.

(The usual hour for adjournment having come Mr. Blanchard intimated that he would resume his address in the morning.)

The debate was adjourned.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Hon. Prov. SECY. announced the receipt of a draft for \$520 from the Council of the County of Ontario in aid of the fund for the relief of distressed fishermen.

Hon. Prov. SECY. laid on the table Minutes of Council in reference to the appointment of Legislative Councillors.

Also a statement of the Trade and Commerce for the nine months ending 30th June.

Mr. KINSTON asked the Government to lay on the table a statement shewing the amount provided to pay the first instalment and interest on \$4000 borrowed on the credit of the County of Victoria, also shewing how the road grant for 1857 was expended for that County, how it was drawn, and what number of Commissions was issued.

Mr. CAMPBELL presented a petition praying that the privileges extended to certain ports by chap. 798 Revised Statutes, be extended to Port Hood.

Mr. PINO presented a petition from D. McPhee, a ferryman, asking remuneration for boats which were lost in a heavy storm.

Mr. NORTHUP introduced a bill to enable the Commissioners of Schools, of Halifax, to erect a school house on land demised to them by the City. He also presented a petition against the bill. Both were referred to the Committee on Education. He also presented a petition from James Tucker and others, for a special grant for the road from Turns' Bay to Sambro.

Mr. MORRISON presented a petition from Charles Turner, asking to be remunerated for twine and rope lost in its transport by the Railway Department. The petition was referred to the Committee on Manufactures.

Mr. COCHRAN introduced a bill to amend the Act incorporating the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Halifax. Also a bill relative to the storing of oil and Petroleum in the city of Halifax.

Mr. CHAMBERS presented a petition from the overseers of the poor of Truro, asking a further allowance for the support of transient poor.

Mr. McDONALD asked the Government to lay on the table a statement of the number of patients admitted to the Hospital for the Insane since its establishment, and of other statistics of the institution.

Mr. PINO asked the Government to lay on the table all papers relating to a complaint made by — Fraser against Mr. Bigelow, a Justice of the Peace for the County of Cumberland.

Mr. PURDY said that on the 25th June last was a memorable day in relation to our public affairs, he would ask the Government to lay on the table an abstract of the Minutes of Council for that day, shewing the other

appointments then made, and, in addition, a statement shewing all the appointments made by the Hill-Blanchard Government since 1st July. He said he would also request the Government to state their policy in reference to these appointments.

Mr. COPELAND presented a petition from a mill owner of Picton asking for the opening of a road.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON presented a petition from Messrs. McLellan and Currie asking an increase of pay. Also a petition from inhabitants of Low Point asking for a road to Lingan.

Hon. Mr. TROOP presented a petition from Andrew Henderson for the opening of a road. Also a petition from J. G. Baleam et al trustees of a school section, for aid in erecting a school house instead of one burnt down.

Mr. DESBRISAY presented a petition from the inhabitants of Mill Cove asking for a road.

The House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 12.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL introduced a number of acts to incorporate the Eureka Gold Mining Co., the Ontario Gold Mining Co., the Kingston and Sherbrooke Gold Mining Co., the Wentworth and Sherbrooke Gold Mining Co., the Alpha Gold Mining Co. Also an act to enable the firewards of the town of Picton to borrow certain money.

Mr. CAMPBELL presented a petition from Margaree in reference to money.

Mr. HOOPER, two petitions from Richmond.

Mr. WHITE, a petition from D. McDonald and James McNeil, of Little Glace Bay, with reference to a coal claim granted to others; they ask compensation. The petition was referred to the Committee on Mines and Minerals.

Hon. J. FERGUSSON introduced a bill to incorporate the Glace Bay and Cape Breton Railway Company. A bill to incorporate the Gardiner Coal Mining Company in C. B. Also a petition from the trustees of Schools in Sydney, praying that no material change be made in the School Law.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL introduced a bill to incorporate the Montreal Coal Mining Association; a bill to incorporate the Hayden and Derby Mining Co.; a bill to incorporate the Mount Uniacke Mining Co.

#### DEBATE ON THE REPEAL RESOLUTIONS.

The adjourned debate was then resumed.

Mr. BLANCHARD rose and said:—Last evening, by the kindness of the Government and the House, I was permitted the privilege of concluding my speech to-day, on the very important question under consideration. Having now before me the full report of the hon. Attorney General's remarks, I shall proceed to notice it as fully as possible. But, in the first place, I would ask leave to move the resolutions in amendment to those introduced by the government, which my hon. friend (Mr. Pineo) laid on the table on Monday, for the information of the House. The following are the resolutions:—

To strike out all the words after the word "that," in the first line and substitute the following:—

1st.—The Law making power ever since the Province of Nova Scotia possessed a Legislature,—subject always to the royal prerogative and constitutional enactments of the Imperial Parliament, whether exercised in reference to the existing constitution or to any other subject of a Provincial character,—is, and ever has been vested, and of right ought to vest in the Lieutenant Governor, the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly for the time being.

2nd.—The right of the Imperial Parliament to provide, to change or to alter the Constitution of a British Province or Colony is undoubted, has been repeatedly exercised and cannot and ought not to be called in question.

3rd.—The Resolution of the 10th of April 1826, which passed both branches of the Nova Scotia Legislature, did not necessarily contemplate a Confederation of all the British North American Provinces, nor were the delegates to be appointed thereunder in any way limited or fast acted as to how many or which of the British North American Provinces should be included within such Confederation. Nor whether Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland should or should not be of the number. Nor did the terms of that Resolution require that each of the Colonies should be represented by an equal number of Delegates.

4th.—That, before the Committee of Public Accounts have reported upon the financial condition of the Province, and in the absence of any reliable data to show the effect of the working of the new constitution, the British North America Act, 1867, and Her Majesty's Proclamation thereunder, have not been in operation sufficiently long to warrant any authoritative expression of opinion on the part of this Legislature, as to the effect to be produced upon Canada, or any Province of Canada, much less to justify an assertion that it will reduce the Province of Nova Scotia to the degraded condition of a dependency of Canada—Nova Scotia being by the Act in question a constituent part of Canada, with a fair representation in both branches of the Canadian Legislature.

5th.—That the Railway debt of Nova Scotia in the year 1863 amounted to \$4,000,000 upon which interest was chargeable and paid at the rate of six per centum per annum, amounting to \$240,000. That the policy of the Government and Legislature has been since then largely to increase the public debt and expend the amount borrowed in the construction of Railways and other public works. That the funded debt of the Province is now \$3,000,000 and upwards: the interest upon which amounts now to \$180,000 and upwards; which, if the British North America Act, 1867, had never passed, would have necessitated a very considerable rise in the tariff of Nova Scotia, even if there had been no falling off in imports, or a greatly diminished vote for the public service.

6th.—That fundamental and material changes of the Constitutions of British Provinces both in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres have from time to time, as occasion required, been made, as well by the Imperial Parliament, as by Despatches emanating from Downing Street—and the Constitution of Nova Scotia guaranteeing Responsible Government as it has existed, and at present exists, and in many other of its most important features rests upon the authority of Despatches of successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies.

7.—That the Legislature of Nova Scotia, in the Session of 1847, recognized the British North American Act of 1867, and Chapter 1, after providing for a reconstruction of departmental offices and the salary of incumbents in Section 9, specially refers to said Act as about to be brought into full operation by Her Majesty's Proclamation, chap 2, passed during the same Session, reducing the number of representatives in any future House of Assembly, adapted the Local Constable Senators and Members of the House of Commons of Canada to hold seats in the Legislature of Nova Scotia and Chapter 17 provides where the election of members to serve in the House of Commons of Canada and the Legislative Assembly, is to be held.

8.—That the expression of opinion on the part of the Nova Scotia Legislature of the date of the 10th April, 1836, "that it was desirable that a Confederation of the British North American Provinces should take

place" was as much a constitutional declaration of the then existing Legislature, and entitled to as much credit as any subsequent contradictory declaration of the present or any future Legislature can be.

9.—That, however desirable it may seem to be, it has never been held essential to the validity or constitutionality of an Act of Parliament, either in a British Province or in England, that it should first be submitted to and obtain the assent of the people at the polls.

10.—That the people of Nova Scotia have ever been conspicuous for their loyalty and attachment to the British Crown and their obedience to the laws of the Empire. They have ever had the protecting arm of the mightiest nation in the world thrown around them. Their seacoasts have been jealously guarded by a British navy, and their principalities garrisoned, fortified and protected by British troops, all at Imperial expense. They have no fears, therefore, that Great Britain will invade their rights or inflict injustice upon them or suffer it to be done by others.

11.—In view of the defenceless condition of the Province of Nova Scotia unsupported by Imperial aid in case of hostile attack from without, this Legislature gratefully appreciates the interest displayed on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and cheerfully recognizes the right and the "just authority" referred to in the despatch of the Right Hon. Mr. Cardwell, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, under date of June 24, 1865, in which, among other things, it is declared—"Looking to the determination which this country has ever exhibited to regard the defence of the Colonies as a matter of Imperial concern, the Colonies must recognize a right and even acknowledge an obligation incumbent upon the Home Government to urge with earnestness and just authority the measures which they consider most expedient on the part of the Colonies with a view to their own defence. Nor can it be doubtful that the Provinces of British North America are incapable, when separate and divided from each other, of making those just and efficient preparations for national defence which would be easily undertaken by a Province uniting in itself all the population and all the resources of the whole."

12.—That if it be the opinion of Her Majesty's Government and those whose previous military training qualifies them to speak with authority upon the subject, that a Confederation of the British North American Provinces was prudent and desirable and requisite for their defence against any aggressive force from without that might be aimed at them or any one of them, then it is the duty of every loyal subject to report that expression of opinion to the Government of Her Majesty's Government, to make all reasonable sacrifices in order to preserve the existing connection with the fatherland, and cheerfully to aid in mounting the fortifications of the country in the manner best adapted to secure so desirable an object.

13.—That as regards the course adopted by the Government and Legislature of Nova Scotia to bring about a Union of the British North American Provinces, it was under the instructions and as nearly as possible in accordance with the recommendation of Her Majesty's Government, as set forth in a despatch dated the 3rd day of December, 1864, written after the sitting of the Quebec Conference, and addressed to Lord Monck as Governor-General, &c., &c., in which, among other things, occurs the following:—

"It appears to them (Her Majesty's Government) therefore that you should now take immediate measures to 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 to these Legislatures a sanction and accept 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 most convenient course that, in concert with the Lieutenant Governors, you should select a deputative of the persons best qualified to proceed to this country, that they may be present during the preparation of the Bill and to give to Her Majesty's Government the benefit of their counsel upon any measure through which may arise during the passage of the Bill through the two Houses of Parliament."

And this recommendation was but the embodiment and celebration of the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government as delivered by the late Duke of Newcastle expressed in relation to the same subject, and

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to be found in a despatch, to the Earl of Mulgrave, dated the 6th day of July, 1862. After referring to some such conference or consultation as that held at Quebec, that great statesman and friend of the colonies remarked: "But whatever the result of such consultation might be, the most satisfactory mode of testing the opinion of the people of British North America would probably be by means of resolution, or address proposed to the Legislature of each Province by its own Government."

I regret that in the discharge of what I consider to be my duty, I have made these resolutions more voluminous than I ever made any before. My excuse is that the party I represent feel it necessary and proper to state their case as fully as possible, and show the country the grounds upon which they oppose the resolutions introduced by the Government. We shall not have the advantage possessed by the Government of having delegates to explain our case fully in England, and therefore find it necessary to make this amendment somewhat longer than they would have been under different circumstances.

The Attorney General stated, I perceive by his speech, that he would probably add one or two other resolutions to his speech. Now, I feel we will be at some disadvantage if we are unable to give these new resolutions that full consideration which they may demand.

(HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL here read the resolutions in question.)

Mr. BLANCHARD continued—I am glad that the Attorney General has given me an opportunity of learning the nature of the new resolutions which he intends adding to those previously introduced. I now pass on to review the lengthy speech of the Hon. Atty. General in opening the debate. I need not say anything as to the introduction of that speech, for there is not a sentence in it with which I cannot agree. I concur most emphatically in the declaration that the happiest and freest people in the world are those who are most obedient to the law. Then he went on to speak of the want of a Court of Impeachment for political offenders. This is the first time in my life that I ever heard of any man living under a British constitution advocating any other Court for the trial of such offenders than the High Court of Parliament itself to which every member is responsible. If I transgress the rules of this House, or do anything contrary to its dignity,—if I offend against the laws in connection with any public duty, here is the tribunal to try me. Upon you, Sir, and the gentlemen around, will devolve the duty of punishing me consistently with its power. We have next from the Attorney General a panegyric upon our own constitution as well as upon the framers of the American constitution. The faults of the latter were pointed out to a certain extent, and the beauties of the constitution under which we have lived was beautifully eulogized, and with these sentiments I can find no fault. The Hon. Attorney General declared that the great fault of the American system was, that it was a democracy and a confederacy—that it was democratic instead of monarchical—that it was a federal instead of a legislative union. I agree with him on the first point. Democratic institutions are the last to which I would wish to resort, but I differ in toto

from him when he says a confederation is not stable—that a federal democracy cannot succeed. In my judgment there is no tyranny on earth so absolute as that which can be exercised under a pure democracy. Under this system liberty may be crushed, and no remedy or appeal allowed to the citizen. This has been exemplified within the past four years in the United States; the *Habeas Corpus* Act has been arbitrarily suspended; and we have seen 13 or 14 States kept out of Congress, and unable to legislate except in accordance with the wishes of the dominant party.

I am not going into any lengthy argument on this subject, but I will ask the House to consider whether he has not himself shown that a Confederation is calculated to make a country great and powerful. What does he say in the subsequent part of his speech? He says if the United States only settle their internal difficulties they will become one of the greatest, if not the greatest, nation on the face of the earth. He bases that assertion on the enormous progress of that country within the last forty or fifty years. A short time since the whole world looked on with contempt whilst a nation of shopkeepers entered into a civil war; no one believed that the contest would last for any length of time. But the world saw armies such as it never saw before, not even in Napoleon's days. What enabled that country to send into the field its troops by hundreds and thousands, nay by millions? What was it that enabled them to raise the money required to meet their enormous expenditures? The fact is that under a Confederated Democracy they had been growing with a rapidity such as the world had never seen before. I am told by the organ of the Government that I am orrammed for this occasion. I will undertake to say that no member of the Government will dare, in this House, to repeat what their organ has tauntingly said. But to continue, the Attorney General has said that it was the difficulties in connection with State Rights that gave rise to the war. I differ from him in a good many respects. In the United States the President appoints his own Cabinet, which holds office as long as he chooses, and though a majority of both Houses entertain opinions different from these gentlemen, yet they may continue in power. Look at the position of the present Congress—engaged in a heated conflict with the President. A great difficulty has always been the irrepressible conflict between the North and South, on the question of slavery. But let me tell the Attorney General that we are not confederated as the United States. There were originally 13 independent States. Is our condition analogous to that of those States? The hon. gentleman complains that we are not as independent as an American State. Mine for instance. Now I have no desire to see this country annexed to the United States, neither do I wish to see it placed in the position of any State of the Union. When we go into the United States, we find the States possessing different Heavy Laws. Each State again has different regulations with respect to the franchise. Nothing of that kind exists in our system. We

have one Usury Law, one on Marriage and Divorce, one on the subject of Crime, and so on. "If we have to join the U. S.," says the hon. gentleman, "Nova Scotia would possess all the freedom that every State of the Union possesses. We would have the choice of our Governors, of our Senators, of our Legislators, and we would have the power of self-taxation in the highest degree." Surely he, the very champion of Conservatism, is the last man that would promulgate such a doctrine as that the people should appoint their own Governors and Senators, instead of the Queen. But do the people govern the United States more than the people here? No, sir, I undertake to say, not as much. In the United States, the Cabinet, when once appointed, is no longer under the control of the people and their representatives. But "we are governed by a little knot of Executive Councillors." It is a knot of councillors, at all events, who possess the confidence of the people. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that tomorrow this sweeping measure was granted, and we were placed where we were before. Who would impose the taxation upon this country? Would it be this House? It would be this House theoretically. Would it be the people? It would be theoretically. It would be the Legislature representing the people, and the Government representing the House. Generally, if not invariably, the tariff is brought down by the Government and is slightly, if at all altered, by the House. We were, therefore, as much taxed by a knot of Executive Councillors as we are now.

I thank Heaven as well as the Attorney General for the beneficent rule of Her Majesty and the government which surround her throne. The hon. gentleman then goes on to say that we have to approach Ministers very different from those that were in power in the time of George III, and I admit this also. "Her Majesty," we are told, "took the oath that she would rule the country according to the laws, customs and statutes of the realm." Now one of the statutes of this realm is this very Confederation Act, and certainly we are bound to respect it as well as Her Majesty. Then we are told—"Look at the injuries done to the province within the last six months." See their liberties taken away; see them taxed by a foreign and alien Legislature; see their property taken away from them, &c." Are we taxed by a foreign and alien legislature? Are we taxed more unfairly than the State of Maine which has in a manner been brought into invidious comparison with us? I hope the day will never come when we will be taxed in the manner stated. We have a General Legislature meeting on British soil and composed of British subjects; we have a representation in that body, though it may be small. Now I take such language as that used by the hon. gentleman, as simply a flow of idle words. But then some of the delegates ought to be hanged, according to the hon. gentleman; they would certainly not be permitted to live in some countries. What country is meant? The very country that the hon. gentleman has been bringing into invidious comparison with us.

The hon. gentleman goes on to tell us that

he does not believe that the high-minded British Government and Parliament will refuse repeal at the instance of this Legislative body. If it should be the case *what then?* That is an expression which we have heard all over the face of this country for the last few months. I believe more strongly than the Attorney General believes the very reverse, that Repeal will not be listened to for a single moment. And what then? Have the government or any of those who are agitating this question considered the position that they will occupy. In a part of his speech the Attorney General says something about the British flag being taken away from this country, and another substituted—that such an occurrence would be a dire calamity. I ask the House to consider whether or not there is being spread abroad in this country, from one end to the other, a feeling that may, in case Repeal is refused, lead to consequences which I do not like to contemplate. I feel it my duty as a member of this House, to ask my fellow citizens to pause and consider if their request should be repealed. "What then?"

The Attorney General said that he had taken great pains to ascertain the grounds on which we hold the present constitution of this country, and he went back to the "old times" of this colony. In the time of George II. a colony called Grenada had a charter granted to it by the king, but three months afterwards an act was passed imposing certain taxes on the country, which act was declared by Lord Mansfield to be illegal. No greater man ever adorned the British bench, no man ever made more mistakes than Lord Mansfield. I ask the hon. Attorney General whether the principles in respect to libel which that eminent man fought from court to court, and in the House of Lords, would be tolerated now. Under that doctrine more tyranny was committed than had ever before been committed in the annals of British jurisprudence. But suppose the Parliament of England had imposed a tax on the colony, would Lord Mansfield have dared to oppose it? There is no such case on record. We have only this instance of a king, after he had once delegated his authority coming forward and imposing this tax. Formerly, it is true, ship money and taxes were levied by the king; but they were shewn to be unconstitutional and irregular. I know the love of the hon. Attorney General for old times. How many persons would now like to submit to the charter referred to by him? I will come to times after the charter had been improved, and what happened then? We had 40 men sitting in this Legislature and 12 sitting in the other,—who were characterized as twelve old women. They sat with cloed doors, and allowed no person to know what was going on. These twelve men controlled this country—imposed and collected every penny of taxation. Yet the old charter must be irrevocable. Cannot a constitution that has once been granted by the king be altered? Many of these charters were formerly granted to men to manufacture certain articles, to have an exclusive right to them in certain localities. It was contended that these charters were irrevocable. When it was found

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necessary that there should be some power to alter these charters, by William and Mary, chap. 8, the whole control of all such matters was given to Parliament. Yet will the Attorney General or any other lawyer versed in constitutional law tell me that the High Court of Parliament had not the right to alter the charter given to Lord Cornwallis. Then let him go to Jamaica, if he denies it, and what do we find? The whole charter of that colony was swept away and changed by the Parliament of Great Britain. Nor is that all. Did not the Parliament interfere with the constitution of New Zealand? Did not they go to South Africa and unite the two countries into one? Ten or fifteen years ago the separate Legislatures of Canada were swept away, and the two Provinces united as one.

The Attorney General says that "Queen Anne became the absolute owner of Nova Scotia, and it does not belong to the people or Parliament of England, who had no more to do with it than the people of Turkey." If that were true we would certainly be in a nice position—subject to the caprice of the governing powers of England, with nothing but a flimsy charter between us and the monarch of the realm. We have a noble status—we live under the shadow of the British Crown—under the shadow of the British constitution and British Parliament—we are not subject to the mere caprice or whim of any single person. To tell me that the Parliament of Great Britain has nothing to do with the Province of Nova Scotia is to tell me what no sensible man can believe. The Parliament has the power which it has continued to exercise for the last century whenever the Imperial interests are affected. I speak now within my own recollection. I had the honor, when a young man, of being one of Her Majesty's Collectors of Customs under the British Government—commissioned to collect certain duties imposed by Imperial statute, and with which this Legislature had nothing to do. Yet the Hon. Attorney General wishes to go back to the original charter. The money came back, it is true, but for what purpose? To pay the Judges and other public officers whose salaries were paid by the British Government. They never gave up the right, until at last the duties became too small to pay these salaries. Then came the great fight on the Civil List between this Province and the British Government. At last we had to agree to fix the salaries of the public officers at certain sums before the matter was settled. Not until last year were we allowed to touch the matter again, and deal with it as we might think proper. Yet, says the Attorney General, the British Parliament has nothing to do with the Province.

The hon. gentleman asserts that the day the King signed that charter, and appended his Great Seal, he gave up the authority to make laws to the Legislature. Unquestionably he did. To make laws, how? Subject to his own approval—to his own veto. That is the power which the Queen still possesses. Did he give them the exclusive power to make laws? He retained the right for the Imperial Government of making laws whenever the

Imperial interests required it. It is not a dozen years since a large proportion of the shipping were taxed by an Imperial statute for the erection of a light house at Cape Race. There is not a ship that comes into this harbour, or goes into a foreign port, but is controlled by an Imperial statute. Our statutes in connection with that matter are not regarded; our shipping act is not of any value beyond the borders of Nova Scotia.

I am sorry that I cannot follow the Attorney General through his valuable discourse upon political economy. He says that the free trade policy of 1848 was an injury to this country—that it fettered trade, and led to a great deal of difficulty. I differ from him on this point also. Never was there a greater boon conferred on the British Empire. England said to the Colonies: impose what duties you think are necessary, but you must not make any difference between duties on American goods, and those from England, or anywhere else. That policy, for a time, led to some hardship; it prevented our goods, for a time, going into the West India market. It was nevertheless an evidence of the genius of England. She showed the world what the enterprise and energy of her capitalists enabled her to do; but the Attorney General is a protectionist of the old school, and cannot appreciate this wise and judicious policy of the mother country. But had England nothing with us when she passed the Act in question? What right had she to say that you shall impose certain duties? What right had she to violate that musty old parchment found somewhere in the archives of this building? The Imperial Government then told these Colonies, if you pass an Act contrary to our policy, we shall veto it, and the Colonial Governors were instructed to reserve their assent on all such measures.

The hon. Attorney General goes on to say that if the time should ever come when the flag of Great Britain shall be lowered on Citadel Hill, and the flag of another nation raised in its place, it would be a time of dire humiliation. If that time should ever come, he went on to say, and the United States put in possession of Halifax, it would become a second Gibraltar. Why are we now a Gibraltar as far as the strength of the fortifications go—our harbour is more impregnable than any in the United States. Let any of these gentlemen take a walk to the Point or go across to McNab's Island and see the additions that have been made to our fortifications within the last few years. Halifax would now be a far more difficult place to take than the City of New York. The hon. gentleman says that it would be a sad day when the Americans obtained possession of Nova Scotia. So it would be; but let me tell the hon. gentleman that though Great Britain may often—perhaps too often for her prestige—present a peaceful attitude; yet let the flag of Annexation be once raised in Nova Scotia, and every acre of the soil would be deluged with blood, before she would allow this province to be yielded to any foreign nation. I am not afraid that the flag of any other nation will ever float over this country except the flag of England; but what I fear

is this: if a serious cry of annexation should ever be raised, and the United States should ever interfere in this matter, Nova Scotia will be ruined, since her soil will be the arena of conflict. I agree with every word that the hon. member has said about the great loss that Great Britain would sustain if she lost Nova Scotia—for it would be a heavy blow to her maritime supremacy. Knowing that Great Britain would look on it in that aspect, I feel she would spend millions of treasure before she would suffer this province to pass away from her.

The hon. gentleman says that the House of Assembly passed a resolution authorizing a delegation of an equal number from each Province, and that all the proceedings were illegal unless this principle was carried out. Now the fact is that the resolution only says that each Province shall have an *equal voice*. It made no difference whether there were six from one Province and ten from another,—whenever any question came to be discussed each of the Provinces had but an equal voice and equal vote.

The hon. gentleman has suddenly fallen in love with a Legislative Union. I don't differ from him very much, but I am sure his friends will not agree with him. What have they been saying over this country for the last two years? We will be swamped in the General Parliament, because our representation is only 19 in a House of 181 members. But remember we have now a separate Legislature, to which is entrusted the management of many very important public questions. You have now charge of our mines and minerals, education, crown lands, and other matters affecting the people; but let the principle of the Hon. Attorney General be carried out, and what then? All these important matters will be taken away from us and entrusted to the General Parliament. Do the gentlemen who support the Hon. Attorney General agree with him on this point?

I have been taunted with being in a miserable and mean minority—with being the representative of only a fraction of the county which sent me here. But my hon. friend from Cumberland, as well as myself, feel that we have a greater responsibility thrown upon us. I am the representative of 13,500 voters in the Province of Nova Scotia. It is true that the vote cast on the other side was much greater; the people, in the exercise of their constitutional right, swept out of sight the members of the Government which had promoted Confederation; but I am not ashamed that I stand here the representative of a fraction of the people under those circumstances. I feel strongly my inability to do justice to the great body of men whose representative I happen to be; but all I can say is that I have done my best to promote their interests and discharge the duty devolving upon me.

#### Afternoon Session.

##### PETITIONS.

Mr. KIDSTON presented a petition from B. and M. Morrison and others for a money grant; also, one from McMillan and others; also, one from Alex. McDonald and others; also, two from Big Interval.

Mr. DICKIE presented a petition from the Fruit Growers' Association.

#### DEBATE ON THE REPEAL RESOLUTIONS.

The adjourned debate was resumed. Mr. PINGO said—I beg permission to second the amendment which has been moved by the hon. member for Inverness. As another gentleman had the floor on the adjournment of the House I will not now occupy the time, but will reserve my observations for another occasion.

#### MR. MORRISON'S SPEECH.

Mr. MORRISON said—In rising to address the House on the question now before it, I may say that I am laboring under the same physical disadvantages of which the hon. member for Inverness complained; but the duty which I owe to the people demands that I should meet some of the arguments used by that gentleman on the spur of the moment. The hon. member told us that he was unwell, but he did not tell us the cause of his illness; I feel confident it has been an abscess, filled with illogical matter, judging from what escaped his lips, and I trust that having got rid of such a quantity of terrible matter, he will, as he certainly should, regain his wonted health. I will be under the necessity of reading his speech backwards in the comments which I shall make upon it. The first thing, therefore, I shall refer to will be about the last sentence he uttered, when he told us, in bold language, that we would not get a repeal of the obnoxious Union Act. He was ten thousand times more confident that we would not get repeal than the Attorney General was that we would get it; but was that all? No, sir. The learned member was not only positive in his assertions, but he was defiant and threatening in his tone, and he told us that before England would consent to Repeal or to our separation from the Empire she would drench the soil of the whole Dominion in blood. That language reminds me of the bullying which is heard in other Parliaments than this. What are we about to do? We are about to approach Her Majesty the Queen in a simple and constitutional way, asking her to see that the Commons of England repeal the act which confederated us to Canada. Because we make that plain and honest request it is insinuated that we are annexationists, for that is about the purport of the language that was used. I assert with as much confidence as he displayed that this Confederation Act will be the very means of accomplishing a separation from the Empire and our annexation to the United States,—if that event should ever happen—for I believe that a love of annexation principles underlies the whole of the proceedings on which that act is based. It is because that is my belief that I oppose the measure as strenuously as I do. If the act be not repealed it is my conviction that circumstances which we cannot control will carry us into the neighboring Republic.

The hon. member has told us that the Imperial Parliament has a right at any time to step in and alter our constitution;—this much I will grant him; that when the necessities of the nation require it, the Parliament

may have a right to say to us, we cannot keep you any longer in your present connection, we must cast you off. But I deny the right of the Imperial Parliament to follow us after that connection has been broken, and force us into an obnoxious position against our will. I say to this House, and to the people of this country, that if she does so it will be an unconstitutional act on her part, and a perfect breach of faith with the people of this country. We are told in the first clause of the amendment laid on the table by the hon. member, that Nova Scotia has the right to make laws by her Parliament for her own people,—I go with the hon. member there;—it says further that she ought to have that right,—I go with him there also,—but I ask has the Parliament of Nova Scotia made this Confederation Act? I deny that it did, it never passed through our House, therefore it is no law of our making. The legislators who are elected are the men who have the right to make laws for the country in which they are elected, and no one else has that right. The men elected must make the laws, they cannot delegate the power to another body. I deny that two Parliaments can hold the same power,—we have no authority for such a proposition, either in the moral law, statute law, or common law, or in the divine law, or the law of nature;—a man cannot serve two masters,—if the power has been given to the Parliament of Nova Scotia to make a law, that Parliament may make it subject of course to the assent or dissent of the authorities in England, that is the constitutional check placed on our legislation, but no other Parliament can have the same power at the same moment. Something has been said in reply to the remark of the Attorney General about our having no court for the trial of political offenders, and the hon. member for Inverness says that this legislature is the court,—but I differ from him there. There is such a court, and the people of Nova Scotia constitute it. They have given our late political offenders a trial, and have consigned them to oblivion as politicians forever, and in that they exercised a most righteous judgment.

When the hon. leader of the Opposition came to refer to the Republic on our western border, he grew highly eloquent,—he swelled himself almost as big as the frog in the fable, and talked about the tremendous democracy that had suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act. It is true that in the United States that Act is suspended, and why? Because over a million of men were in arms, and no one knew from what quarter the next bayonet thrust would be made on unoffending citizens; but is there no other part of the world in which that Act is suspended? Will it be believed that the *Habeas Corpus* Act is suspended in this mighty Dominion? And what is its Government afraid of? Not of the bayonet, but of the free expression of the opinions of the people of Nova Scotia. The Government of the Dominion are smoothing the way to throw us into prison and keep us there without a trial, if we should raise a murmur against their acts of tyranny. A great deal has been said from time to time about the United States having confederated, and that

matter was referred to by the leader of the Opposition to-day. It is true that those States did confederate, and why did they do so? They had no nationality—they had to confederate in order that they might become a nation. There was no such necessity in our case, for we were part and parcel of the mightiest Empire in the world. Our new constitution makes us, not as was the case with the old colonies, a new and independent nation, but a mere sub-confederacy, taking us away from the bosom of the Empire instead of drawing us more closely to it. But the hon. member said that somebody outside this House asked: "If we cannot get repeal, what then?" The hon. gentleman spoke as if it were really wrong to ask so simple a question;—he assisted in taking away our constitution, and now he wishes to silence enquiry;—he would not only manacle our hands but seal our lips. Surely a Nova Scotian can ask "what then" as well as a man in any other part of the world. But there is another question I would like to ask, and it is: If we get repeal what then? That is a question which the hon. member for Inverness will be more deeply interested in. When he goes down to face his indignant constituents they will show him "what then." In speaking of the change in our constitution the hon. member told us that no such question was ever submitted to the people at the polls. He must have a very short memory, and I could not help thinking, as he made the remark, of what old Doctor Henderson said, when his neighbor's pigs got into the field,—“I turned them out,” said he, “and told them not to come back again, but I find they have very bad memories; they all came back again, and now I'll take a gun and, faith, I'll help their memories.” No such question submitted to the people at the polls! Was it not done twice in New Brunswick in relation to this very question? Were not the people of Prince Edward Island allowed to pass upon it? Was not Newfoundland allowed to say whether she wished to come in or not? Yet that right was denied to Nova Scotia, and without casting any reflections on the other Provinces, I may say that our people possessed as much, if not more, intelligence than those of any other of the group of colonies. Aye, sir, it was because they had more intelligence that the right was withheld from them.

Was not the question of annexing Ireland to England submitted to the people? Yes; and when the people of Ireland refused to accept the measure at the polls, English gold was sent in to accomplish the work, and the rights and interests of Ireland were sacrificed by her legislators. And yet the hon. gentleman stands up and asks if ever such a question was submitted to the polls. In the course of his speech he said that Sir Robert Peel had declared that Parliament was bound to set an example of wisdom, justice and good faith. I thank him for that reference, and I say well would it have been for this country if the late government and legislature had followed the advice of Sir Robert Peel. Before I conclude my remarks I will show that that government and legislature acted most foolishly, with the greatest injustice, and in violation of every particle of

faith which they should have held good. I think I can shew that that government violated the pledges which they had given in their despatches, and acted in such a treacherous manner that if the most simple basket-maker, the most fallen fishmonger or the most humble hod-carrier in the land had broken pledges, and deserted the interests of his master so fully as they did, there is not a society of chimney sweeps in the British Empire but would kick him from their company. The hon. member for Inverness told us that the constitution of England had been changed by the emancipation of the Catholics. Was that a great change of the constitution such as the present one? Not at all; it was only simply taking away a religious disability.

But the hon. gentleman said that the Parliament of England took no step in this matter until our own Legislature had dealt with it. That brings us back to the assertion that our people had a right to make any law affecting their own interests, the check being the withholding of Her Majesty's assent. The theory is, that Nova Scotia, having the power, moved first for such an act, and that Great Britain followed in the wake. We will examine that theory presently, but in the meantime let us look at another illustration that was brought forward—that of the English Reform Bill. Parliament, it is true, passed that measure; but what other power could have done it? But that was not a change in the constitution; it did not deprive any class of people of their rights—it merely added to the rights of the subject. That is a distinction which I wish kept clearly in view. Not one of these acts denuded the people of England of any rights or privileges. Then, again, as to the repeal of the Corn Laws—did that measure transfer the revenues of the country to another Government? True, it might for a time cripple the revenue, but the people were willing and able to bear the loss. And there is another point here which I wish to press on your attention: were any of these measures carried against the wishes of the people of England? No, but in obedience to their commands; while the Act of Confederation has been forced upon us despite the strong remonstrances of the people. Catholic Emancipation, the Reform measure, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, had been debated for years; election after election had turned on these questions, and the men elected to support the legislation which was accomplished. We, on the contrary, had no opportunity of choosing our representatives with the view to any such change in the constitution. That, I think, is a full answer to the argument deduced from parallel cases. Circumstances alter cases. The Ministry of England could not, on any one of those measures, have stood a week if they had not bowed to the will of the people; but here we had a Ministry standing in defiance of the people, and insisting that the people had no voice in the matter.

I assert here that our rights were handed over against our will.—We were made dependants of Canada, and I ask if any such example can be found in English history? No

sir, no such act was ever done before by the British Parliament, and I defy the hon. member to point me to an instance of it. We know that the despotic autocrat of Russia has within the last four years liberated twenty-six millions of serfs, giving them a certain measure of political freedom and other privileges. Brazil, another despotic empire, has, within the last four years, liberated three millions of her slaves;—the Great Republic lying on our western border, has just come through the most terrible internece war that was ever raged in the world, a war in which she drenched her hills and valleys with human blood to liberate four millions of her slaves,—but oh, sir, tell it not in Russia,—proclaim it not in the streets of Brazil, or on the housetops of America, that in England, the boasted asylum of liberty, an Act was passed in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century that makes 350,000 British freemen British serfs. We are determined to relieve ourselves from that position of serfdom, and because we do so we hear all manner of insinuations brought against us. Having now, as briefly as I could, reviewed the speech of the hon. member for Inverness, I will turn my attention to the subject more immediately under discussion. I must here express my deep regret that the Imperial Parliament thought proper to pass an act that has brought the people of this country to the verge of a crisis which is unparalleled in the history of British North America.

Single-handed and alone, Nova Scotians, by industry and economy, had elevated their country to a position that was enviable in the eyes of their fellow-colonists; they could point with pride to the rapid advances which they had made in material prosperity as well as to their loyalty and attachment to the throne of Great Britain while cherishing their own free institutions. They could point to noble public works which had been laid down in the country, while they had been ever ready to meet in the most prompt manner all the local demands of all their industrial classes. With a tariff lower than that of any of the other Provinces of British America, they had provided abundantly for the education of the youth, the maintenance of the roads and bridges, and of all the other public services. The moral character and law-abiding disposition of our people, together with the soundness of the mercantile and banking institutions, had made Nova Scotians respected abroad, while the geographical position of the country, jutting out into the bosom of the Atlantic, with magnificent harbors, spread over the seaboard, and open to the shipping at all seasons of the year. The richness of our mines, abounding in almost every county of the Province, together with the vast amount of our commercial tonnage, all combine to make Nova Scotia an object of pride to her people, and the brightest gem in the colonial possessions of the British Empire. With this state of things the great body of the people were perfectly content, but in an unguarded hour an unnatural hand was laid on this prosperity, and our institutions were swept away in defiance of our constitution. The wrangling politicians of Canada, not content with their

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own condition, and by mismanagement having brought themselves to a dead lock, conceived that the only way of relieving themselves was to come down on the Maritime Provinces and drag our people into their broils. Accordingly they came here, and some of our own politicians, full of ambition and lust of power, aided by the indifference and hot-haste of the British House of Commons, obtained the enactment of a law which took from us almost all our rights and privileges. We have been subjected to the domination of Canada, as I will shew by an extract from the speech of one of the members of the Ottawa House of Commons. Mr. Harrison said:—

"Canada before Confederation had not more than 684,876 men between the ages of 20 and 60, but since Confederation we have not less than 653,567 fighting men. We have added not less than 1,000,000 of consumers to our whole population, and not less than 100,000 fighting men to our military strength. Besides we have acquired great strength on the sea, where we were in most need of strength. Before the Union we had only 5,953 sailors, and most of these on our inland waters: Now we can boast of 28,890 sailors, and when we shall have Newfoundland as a member of our national partnership we shall have no less than 68,938 sailors, and so become one of the great maritime powers of the world. Before the Union our shipping was represented by a tonnage of 287,187 tons, but now we can boast of 708,421 tons, nearly as much as that of France with a population of 35,000,000. (Minister of Justice.—Our tonnage is as large as that of France. Mr. Harrison—If we could now count Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island as parts of our Dominion, I believe it would be as large, but without those Provinces—I think our tonnage is a little less than that of France.)"

Thus we see the almighty "we" sticking out of every part of the speeches at Ottawa. The tone of the Canadians is "oh, be quiet, and we may modify the tariff for you." Is not this the language of the captor to the captive? It certainly is, and the Canadians did not spare their pains to let our people see that they regarded us as captives. And yet, sir, I regret exceedingly to find that there is a man of Nova Scotia birth who is willing to stand up on the floors of Parliament and vindicate an Act which brings such degradation on our people.

I will now, sir, put before the House and the country several extracts from despatches which, I believe, will put the question in a clearer light than anything that I could say upon the subject. The task will be, no doubt, to my hearers dry and tedious, but I hope I may be indulged with attention. The first proposal in reference to Confederation we find came from the Canadian Government in a despatch asking Major General Doye whether that Government would be permitted to appoint delegates to confer with those appointed by us on the subject of a Maritime Union. Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell having assumed the reins of Government here very shortly after the receipt of that despatch, returned this answer to Lord Monck with the advice of his Council:—

"I can assure your Lordship of the extreme pleasure which it will afford this Government to confer unofficially with any Delegates sent from Canada. It is, however, necessary to remind your Lordship that no Resolution has yet been passed by any of the Legislatures of the Maritime Provinces,

authorizing the appointment of Delegates for any purpose but that of considering some plan for the Union of the three Provinces. Therefore, neither I nor my Ministry have the power to go beyond the exact powers conferred by that Resolution."

There we find a distinct admission that the Government and the Delegates had no power even to discuss the subject of the larger union without the authority of the representatives of the people. On the 18th July, 1865, Governor MacDonnell sent a despatch to Mr. Cardwell, some extracts from which I will also read:—

"I have consulted my Executive Council on the question, and the Members concur with me in thinking that the Resolution of the Legislature, which authorizes the appointment of Delegates to discuss the Union of the Maritime Eastern Provinces, confers no power to discuss officially, the larger question embraced in Lord Monck's enquiry."

"Having signified to my Ministry my willingness to appoint Delegates to meet those of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, it seems proper that I should call your attention to a Despatch of the 27th of January, 1860, marked confidential, and addressed to my predecessor by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle. In that Despatch his Grace, whilst apparently expressing no disapproval of the discussion of such a question as that which is now imminent, concludes with the following instruction: 'Previous to sending Delegates to Quebec or elsewhere, such a proposal should not be authorised by yourself without previous communication with the Secretary of State, in order that the question of the Delegates, and the instruction to be given them may be known beforehand to H. M. Government.'"

There we had again a recognition of the people to be heard through their representatives before the appointment of a delegation, and an admission that such an appointment could not be made without the sanction of the Colonial Secretary. Further on I find the following clause:

"In the meantime I venture to add, in reference to the suggestion of Lord Monck, that it seems premature to discuss the larger question of a Union of the five Provinces before it can be ascertained whether the three smaller, whose interests are more immediately and more evidently connected, can be induced to combine in closer connection. I apprehend that the more limited project, if practicable at all, as I hope it is, is all that can be managed for some time to come, whilst if the larger proposal be attainable, and be desirable, its adoption will eventually be in this way much facilitated. I think so, because a Union between two communities, which would be all that would then remain to be accomplished, will assuredly be a simpler question to arrange than a Union between five as at present."

That was the language which the Lieutenant Governor, by the advice of his Council, held in 1864. Again, on the 18th August of the same year Governor MacDonnell sent a despatch to the Secretary of State, in which he says:

"I explained that the Legislatures of the Maritime Provinces had not authorized discussion by their delegates of any question except the Union of those Provinces, and that although it would afford this Government much pleasure to receive and confer unofficially with any parties authorized by Canada to discuss a larger question, I could not extend authority than that already conferred by the Legislature."

Here, again, was an acknowledgment of the right of the people to deal with the question through the Legislature. Again, he says:

"I always spoke hopefully of greater united action, on the part of these colonies, in many important matters; but I never intended, and it would be premature as well as inconsistent with the duties of my position to have appeared as an advocate of any general union in the sense intended by other speakers."

On 29th September Sir R. G. MacDonnell transmitted another despatch. It would appear that by that time, from whatever influences were brought to bear, the minds of the Executive Council were changed, and its members had become clamorous for appointment to go to Canada. In informing the Secretary of State of this fact, the Lieutenant-Governor said:

"I have the honor to inform you that my Ministry are very anxious for the appointment of Delegates from this Province to confer at Quebec with Delegates from the other Maritime Provinces and Canada. The subject of the Conference is intended to be the feasibility of a Union, whether Federal or Legislative, of all British North America. Even Newfoundland is sending a Representative; and as the Conference is intended to commence on the 10th October, it would be impossible for the Representatives of Nova Scotia to reach Quebec at that date, if I wait your sanction to their appointment by the mail due at Halifax on the 12th October."

It would appear from this that the 12th October was the earliest hour at which authority for the appointment of Delegates to Quebec could be given, and he says further down:

"I agreed yesterday in Executive Council, to nominate as Delegates to the Quebec Conference the same gentlemen who had already represented Nova Scotia at the Conference in Charlottetown and Halifax."

I find, however, on further inquiry, that no official invitation, such as I could recognize, has been yet received from Lord Monck, adequate to justify my nominating Representatives of this Province to a Conference, where, strictly speaking, they should not proceed at all without your previous sanction. In fact no proof of any invitation having been sent to Nova Scotian Delegates has yet reached me. I have, therefore, telegraphed to Lord Monck to that effect, and as possibly I may find myself unable for the above reasons to name any Delegates to the Quebec Conference, I think it best to put you in possession of the above explanation."

Here the government of Nova Scotia had to admit that they had no right to make the

appointment even after they had induced His Excellency to nominate the delegates who had been at Charlottetown. But there is something a little more surprising to come. Under the date of the 3rd October we find His Excellency saying in a despatch to the Governor General:

"I have the honor to state, for your Lordship's information, that I have laid your Despatch and its enclosure before my Ministry, and I have appointed the Hon. Provincial Secretary, the Hon. Attorney General, the Hon. R. B. Dickey, the Hon. J. McCully and A. G. Archibald, the Hon. J. McCully and A. G. Archibald, to form a Deputation to meet the Delegates from the other British Provinces in Conference at Quebec, on the 10th inst., as proposed in your Lordship's Despatch."

Thus, although no authority for the appointment of the delegates could reach Nova Scotia before the 12th Oct., we find that, nine days before that date, they were appointed, and I think it will further be found that each one of those five gentlemen had, on the 30th Sept., drawn from the treasury and pocketed \$400. We also find in a despatch of 3rd Dec., from Mr. Cardwell to Lord Monck, in which, being aware of the conference at Quebec, and understanding that the delegates wanted to submit their resolutions to the Parliaments of the several Provinces, he says:—

"It appears to Her Majesty's Government 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."

Here then we find Mr. Cardwell embodying in his instructions to Lord Monck the very principle for which we are contending, directing that the measure be first passed through our Legislatures, and afterwards promising the assistance of the Imperial Parliament. And yet the Government of that day undertook to deal with the whole subject without submitting it for our consideration. But we have further light thrown on the subject, by a despatch from Lord Monck to Sir R. G. MacDonnell, dated 23rd December, in which the former says, referring to the instructions from which I last quoted:

"In pursuance of these instructions I have the honor to inform you that I have summoned the Canadian Parliament to meet on Thursday, the 19th January, 1865, when I propose to bring before both Houses of the Legislature the important subject referred to in Mr. Cardwell's Despatch, in order that, if the Legislature should think fit, an Address may be adopted to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to direct that steps be taken for passing an Act of the Imperial Parliament to unite the Provinces of British North America on the basis laid down in the resolutions adopted by the Quebec Conference."

The reply of Sir R. G. MacDonnell, on 9th January, was as follows:—

"In reference to the course which your Lordship suggests for the purpose of giving

effect to Government Legislation in a will take be taken

Here a question of 1865. In the language of Mr. Cardwell, says, sp. Monck, the Can.

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effect to the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, viz., to submit to the respective Legislatures the project of the Conference, I am in a position to state that this Government will take similar steps to those proposed to be taken in Canada."

Here was a further pledge that the whole question would be presented for the consideration of our Legislature in the Session of 1865. But I will go a step further, and quote the language used by the Lieut. Governor to Mr. Cardwell on the 13th January, 1865. He says, speaking of the course stated by Lord Monck, to have been the policy adopted by the Canadian Government:—

"I have had much pleasure in intimating the entire willingness of this Government to adhere to the same policy. It is indeed precisely the course which I had myself recommended as soon as I was in possession of your views on the Quebec Resolutions."

This is the last extract which I shall make from the Journals touching the action of the delegates and of the government of British America down to 13th January, 1865. I repeat that it was the Canadians that forced themselves on the people of the Lower Provinces; the Union was not our seeking, nor that of the people of England. The Canadians had got into a difficulty from which they could only extricate themselves by dragging us in with them. I think I have shewn from the despatches that our government acknowledged that they had no power to appoint delegates until the authority came from Her Majesty's government; yet they did appoint these delegates, and paid them, and those delegates had been sitting in the Conference at Quebec preparing to legislate away our independence several days before the authority for their appointment reached Nova Scotia. I ask, then, sir, if that is constitutional? Certainly not. I think I have shown to the House that Governor MacDonnell was opposed to the scheme, for that appears by his despatch of 18th August. I think I have also shown that the Secretary of State forbade the appointment of delegates without his instructions, and yet those appointments were made in the absence of those instructions. I think I have shown also that the British Government, as well as the Governments of the Colonies, were of the opinion that the results of the deliberations at the Conference shall be submitted to the Parliaments of the Provinces at the first Session afterwards. There was no denial of the rights of the Legislature or people then—and why? Because it was believed that the scheme would be popular; but when the delegates returned they found their mistake. Hence it was that Mr. Tilley went to the people of New Brunswick; but our "Premier" knew that he was doomed if he went to the country—he knew that he never could carry an election in Nova Scotia again. He had carried one election on a famous retrenchment scheme, and his party had been returned to carry that measure into effect. Did they do it? Not at all; but Dr. Tupper turned his attention to a scheme that the people were determined he should not carry and said he had no right to deal with. He found that by gross misrepresentation he had

got himself into such a position that he had nothing more to expect from the people of Nova Scotia, and hence it was that in hot haste he hied off to Canada, and there, with a brow of brass and a tongue of venom, tried to better his circumstances at the expense of the people whom he had betrayed and deceived.

That was the true cause of the determination on the part of the Government of Nova Scotia to get us into Confederation. It is true that they have tried to shield themselves under the authority of Lord Monck in the appointment of the delegates, but I deny that Lord Monck had any more power in the matter than Governor MacDonnell. The whole thing was taken up without proper authority, but that was not all: we have to complain not only that they acted without due authority, but that they acted deceitfully; the whole scheme was to have been kept perfectly secret until it could be submitted to the Parliaments, for they expected to rush it through before the people could instruct their representatives what to do. If it had not been that Mr. Palmer, of Prince Edward Island, was more honest than the rest, and exposed the scheme, and that our people, becoming alarmed, summoned their delegates to meet them in a public hall in Halifax to explain their resolutions, the plot might have been carried out. Our delegation did come down and explain their conduct, and they pretended to say that they had authority by virtue of the resolution of 1861. That ground was struck from under their feet, and here let me say that when that resolution was passed, I opposed it might and main; I was the cause of its not being discussed here, and I can therefore claim to be the first Anti-Confederate in Nova Scotia, for I said to the Government of that day: "I do not expect that you will do anything wrong under this resolution, but you know not what devil may follow you." The delegates, as I have said, came down before the public in Halifax, and got Mr. Archibald to box the figures for them. According to his statements it was the most beautiful scheme that ever was submitted; we were going to have all the fortifications that were necessary, all the canals were to be deepened, the Intercolonial railroad was to be built, the Northwest Territory opened up, and all for forty cents per head. I never believed that Mr. Archibald was sincere in those statements—they were got up to deceive the people. But the people soon began to gather in different parts of the Province, petitions came in to the Legislature, and, after the Government had consulted their friends, they found that in a house of 55 members they had but 22 in favor of their scheme—one of that number being in the chair. They dare not therefore submit the measure to Parliament as they had pledged themselves to do.

But what more sir? They had pledged themselves in the Governor's speech to submit the scheme to the Legislature,—in ten paragraphs of that speech Confederation sticks out as plainly as anything can, and notwithstanding that, the government dare not bring down their scheme. But what did they do? They tabled a resolution and car-

ried it through the House, I do not know by what majority, declaring the whole scheme impracticable. What was this done for but to deceive the people who were rising against the measure. Eight or nine thousand persons however had already petitioned Parliament, and I believe that some little respect was paid to those petitions, for I think that it was in consequence of them that the resolution which I have cited was brought down. Everything then became calm and smooth in the Province,—no man expected that the question would come up again before a general election would take place. When, in the following year, 1866, the legislature was about to meet, a speech was prepared for the Governor, in which no mention was made of the scheme. The people then said "there will be no confederation now, the government have abandoned it until after the general election. But, whatever means had been used in the recess, the government soon began evidently to feel that they would be stronger on the subject in 1866 than in 1865. In the former year the Bills and Bourinots were in deadly hostility to confederation, but when the resolution to appoint delegates to England was brought in during the session of 1866, we find them recording their vote in favor of it. I do not wish to impute motives, I merely wish to state facts and let the people draw their own conclusions. But it is evident that when they found that a great number of that class of men were to be made Legislative Councillors and Senators, they voted for it.

But were there no other improper means used? I well recollect the sensation which prevailed throughout the country when the leader of the Government came down and declared that he had received despatches of too startling a nature to be announced on the floors of Parliament, but that he could say this much: that the Province of New Brunswick was about to be invaded. That announcement, it is said, took over two men to the Government ranks,—it was made with the design of taking over men. But let us see what other means were made use of. By the Quebec resolutions the twelve Senators were to be taken out of the Legislative Council,—here was a beautiful chance of holding out to twenty four gentlemen the prospect of promotion. The twelve Senators, by the Quebec resolutions, as I have said, were to be taken from the Upper House, if gentlemen holding seats there were willing to go, and not only so, but half of the number were to be taken from the Opposition, and that was another reason for gentlemen voting for the resolution. But in the Act these provisions were strunk out, and the Government then said: "Oh, we are not bound to do that." The resolution giving the Government power to appoint delegates to go to England for the purpose of arranging a scheme in connection with the British Ministry, was carried through this House at the dead hour of night, and the "previous question" was moved to shut out debate. The wily Archibald, knowing that such a proceeding would damn their case, asked the Government to withdraw the motion, which was accordingly done;—gentlemen rose out of their beds on that night

and came here to defend their country from the men who were determined to sweep away their rights. Then there was another piece of hypocrisy practised on the Legislature. Instead of the resolution, which I referred to, about the appointment of Senators being carried out, and the selections being made from both sides in the Legislative Council, only six or seven were taken from that body, and not a man was appointed from the ranks of the Opposition. That is a fact which I challenge any gentleman to deny. There was not one man in the whole country appointed to the Senate from the ranks of the Opposition, and that was Mr. Locke, a member of this House. That resolution of the House in 1866 was carried by the basest deception and misrepresentation.

I have remarked that the interests of Nova Scotia were swept away by that Confederation Act, and I ask now how the people of Canada would have borne such treatment from the British Government? If an attempt had been made to attach Canada to a greater country, what would have been the consequence? There would have been an instantaneous rebellion. This last fall, when they denied the right to a few individuals to express their opinions at the polls on the election of a member of Parliament, a riot was raised, the Sheriff was seized, and his papers taken from him, and not a man was allowed to be nominated in the district. That is the way they do things in Canada, and yet the Canadian champions in Nova Scotia, because we ask simply to have an Act of Parliament repealed, tell us that we are rebels. I have already said, that the Legislature had no right to transfer their authority to the Parliament of England to pass a law for Nova Scotia. The Crown having granted us the power to make laws for ourselves, had no right to interfere with that power; the British Government should have called on us to pass the Act, and if it did not afterwards suit their views, they could have rejected it. They had a right, if the necessities of the nation required it, to say that we should continue no longer in our present connection, but they had no right to force us into an unnatural connection with another country. You may turn a man into the street, but you have no right to dictate to him whether he shall go east or west, north or south; after you have driven him away, you must let him choose for himself. Yes, sir, I undertake to say that the whole Act is unconstitutional,—that it is a breach of faith on the part of England with our people.

They tell us that Parliament had the undoubted right to pass this law. What will that proposition lead to? Some men a little more ambitious than the late Government, may induce the Commons of England to pass an Act to transport us to the plains of Siberia, or consign us to the Black Hole of Calcutta. If you admit their power to deal with us against our will, where will be the limit to that power? We had the authority in Nova Scotia to make our own laws, and we did make them; we made such as we thought best suited to the people of this country, and under them the Province flourished as no other part of the British possessions did. We

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kept ourselves out of debt, for, if we happened to fall a little short one year, we arranged the Tariff the next accordingly, and kept ourselves square. How was it with Canada? She did not manage her affairs in that way; instead of acting prudently and safely as Nova Scotia did, she went into rebellion on several occasions, and the cost of these rebellions hangs over her head at this moment, and we, the faithful and loyal subjects of our beloved Sovereign, are now called on to assist in paying it off. Because we do not submit with a good grace it is said, "O! you are rebels and annexationists." The resolution of 1866 told the delegates that they must get a scheme that would do equal justice to all the Provinces. Now, I ask, if the scheme they dig out gives us equal justice with Canada? I deny that it does. It has swept away all the old revenues which we had under the 10 per cent Tariff, and has imposed a tax of 15 per cent. The additional 5 per cent will realize \$524,000, of which \$200,000 will be taken away to Canada, leaving \$324,000 to pay us our 80 cents per head. Let me ask if that is just. The scheme started even the Finance Minister of Canada, for he told his people that while the delegates from Nova Scotia had consented to reduce the amount distributed for their local wants to the extent of \$200,000 or \$300,000, the scheme would give to Canada a million dollars more for local purposes than ever they had before. How, then, can any man stand up and say that the measure does justice to Nova Scotia? More than that, it gives the General Parliament power to tax the people of Nova Scotia by every method and to any extent that may be required.

But it may be said that our representation at Ottawa can protect us from injustice,—we have had a fair trial of that, and what power have they had to protect us? Though they stood shoulder to shoulder, how could we expect them to accomplish anything against 160 members? Ontario and Quebec have got the power in their hands, and will combine to use it whenever the interests of Canada require that they should do so. Nor is that our only ground of complaint. The Act takes away from our people the power of appointing a single way office keeper or tide waiter,—this patronage is all vested in a Government 800 miles away. We have been told that there is not a great deal of feeling in opposition to the scheme throughout the country—that that feeling will all die out in a short time, and that the great majority of the intelligent people are in favor of Union, while against it there are but a few political demagogues. I say that such is not the case as regards the County of Colchester at least, and, without saying much in her favor, I think I may say that she may be considered as intelligent as any other county in the Province. And how did matters stand there? I will take it for granted that the feeling in most of the other counties is similar to that which was exhibited there, but in Colchester we had a fairer test of the opinions of the people on this question. We had the only Dominion official who came before the people of Nova Scotia at the polls, we had a man bold within the county, with all the influences

of a large family connection, with the influences of the late lamented S. G. W. Archibald, with a professional practice of twenty-five years, with his own long political experience; and against these influences the friends of Confederation thought it impossible that the people of Colchester could win the election. But I am proud to say that the people of Colchester in their majesty rose superior to the difficulties of the hour, and notwithstanding that the Home Secretary could stand up and tell us that Queen Victoria was in favor of Confederation, that the Imperial Parliament was in favor of Confederation, that every intelligent man in England was in favor of it, that the Governor General was in favor of it, and that the Ministry of Canada were in favor of it,—although he could point to New Brunswick, and say that her people when they became well informed on the subject accepted the situation, yet he found he had lost the battle when election day came round. And were these all the influences that he had to assist him? No, sir; let me tell you that he had the Government of Nova Scotia at his back—he had in his county one of the ministry of the day and one of the legislative councillors of the day; he had all the influence of the educational institutions at his back; he had the Judge and Registrar of Probate and the Registrar of Deeds to assist him; he had the railroad laid through his county, with the influence of the department in his favor, and he had also a railroad in prospect, the expenses of which I always asserted, and my assertion has been verified to our sorrow, would have to be borne by us. With all these influences at Mr. Archibald's back, we overthrew him by a majority of four hundred. It was a noble and a mighty victory. We felt that the eyes, not only of all Nova Scotia, but of British America as well, were upon us, for there was the Home Secretary of the Dominion coming to the polls. But he has had to gather up the mutilated shreds of his former political reputation, and has betaken himself to the wilds of Canada, bidding farewell to his native country. I believe if occasion required, every county in the Province would do the same, for while Nova Scotians can boast of their loyalty to England, and will be ready to fight her battles, if necessary, while she gives them the rights of free men, they will never be loyal to Canada under a Confederation Act forced upon them as this has been. No sir; never! NEVER!! NEVER!!! We come now to a notable speech made in the Ottawa Parliament by one D'Arcy McGee who, I think, took a great deal of liberty with our people when, in the absence of their champion, in a speech pondered over for days, slept over for nights, he insinuated that the influences brought to bear in this country were not very creditable to our loyalty. Had he forgotten the time when he was an ex-patriated rebel, with a reward of \$1000 set upon his head? How dare he stand up there and preach about sedition? I wonder the men whom he addressed allowed him to sit among them; there could not have been any Tom Morrison there. Let him step boldly off with the laurels which he won in the cabbage garden; but let him not talk to Nova

Scotians about loyalty. He told the representatives of this Province that they sat there on a three-legged lie; ah, sir, I thank him for that expression; they do sit on a three-legged lie, but who put them there? They sat there by virtue of the Act uniting us to Canada. I point to the preamble of that Union Act, in which it is said that the people of Nova Scotia desired a Union with Canada. There is the first leg of the lie. Then I point to the assertion made across the water, that Adams G. Archibald was the leader of the opposition of this country, the fact being that he had been discarded from that position long before. That is the second; and if you want the third leg of the stool, I point to the lie which our late Premier put into the mouth of Mr. Watkin, about this matter having been submitted at the polls in 1863. There is his three-legged lie for him. It appears that notwithstanding all that has been said on the subject, the Confederates think we are to have no repeal. Well, sir, I confidently believe that we will obtain repeal, because it was said in the House of Commons, only last year, that if the people were dissatisfied, they must not be forced; and when they find that our people never had an opportunity of expressing their opinions, I think they will willingly repeal the Act. Let them look at the difficulties prevailing to-day in Ireland, and which have arisen from the country being forced into a union. Do they want to establish another Ireland in British America? And let me ask this question of the people of England: If Ireland were where Nova Scotia is, how long could she be held? Not an hour. The people of Ireland, I believe, are struggling not so much to get rid of British authority as to obtain a repeal of the Union, and to have their own Parliament restored.

We may look at Poland partitioned off against her will, and then turning to Hungary overrun by Austria, I would ask you to allow Kossuth to plead his country's wrongs. We may look at Mexico, overrun by a foreign power which placed Maximilian in a high position, and we will see that man carried out of the land which he ruled, a corpse. The people of England must not expect that the Anglo-Saxon race of Nova Scotia will be less tenacious of their rights and privileges than are the Celts of Ireland, or the people of any of the other countries which I have named. What we want is to have our institutions placed in the position in which they have been, and then we will be truly loyal.—I do not say that we will not be truly loyal if we do not get them restored, but there is not the shadow of a shade of doubt that we will be so if our request is heard. It is an entirely mistaken policy to annex a small country like Nova Scotia to a large country like Canada for the purpose of giving the latter relief from her political difficulties. If the position were reversed the smaller colony might be relieved by the annexation, but under other circumstances the smaller colony is sure to have its influence swamped. If a coach and six be fastened in the mud, and a light carriage be attached for the purpose of assisting it, the whole will become fixed, although the coach and six could get the light vehicle out of the difficulty with ease. So surely as they hold

us in the Act of Confederation the whole will be overthrown, and that is a strong reason why we should get repeal. I would ask what right have the people of England to sacrifice us who have always been loyal for the benefit of a people who have not been so? I deny the justice of such a proceeding. Our people, as I have said, have always been loyal, and they will remain so if their institutions are left to them, but we think it a hardship that our interests should be sacrificed in order that these fellows in Canada may be kept in order.

The Act was passed against our remonstrances—I ask if that was British? Is it constitutional that our rights and liberties should be taken away without a hearing? The most contemptible sheep thief within the realm obtains a hearing before he is deprived of his liberty, and are we to be treated worse than a sheep thief would be? I believe not; it is one of the beauties of British law that no man can be condemned unheard. Among the reasons given for the great change that has been forced upon us, was the assertion that it was necessary for us to confederate for defensive purposes. But will this paper confederation shorten the line which separates us from the American republic? Can it produce a dollar more for defence than we would have had otherwise, without increased taxation? Will it bring a man more into the field than we would have had otherwise? The argument in favor of uniting for defence fails to the ground as soon as it is touched. Then we were told we must confederate in order to regulate our Currency, and upon that point I heard one of the delegates expatiate: he told us who the delegates to Charlottetown were, and what great qualifications they possessed, and then said that when they got to Prince Edward Island the whole five of them were unable to count their passage money! O mockery of mockeries! Five men who could not count their passage money to Prince Edward Island, chosen to frame a new Constitution for British North America! And that was one of reasons advanced by one of our "leading minds" in support of Union. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, we are asking the Commons of England to repeal this Act because it has created a feeling of distrust in the breast of every Nova Scotian, and by repealing it they will show to the world that they are willing to do justice to the meanest subject who can show a cause of just complaint. If our request be granted our people will be peaceable and contented. It is because they wish to remain peaceable and contented within the British Dominions that we ask for Repeal, and we will continue to ask until it is granted. I want to see every man on these benches voting for these resolutions—helping to restore the Constitution of this country. I want every man in this Assembly, and every man throughout the length and breadth of Nova Scotia to feel as warmly and earnestly on the subject as I feel, for I tell you that if I had a thousand voices, yea ten thousand voices, and could raise them all at once, I would shout *Repeal! REPEAL!! REPEAL!!!* now and forever.

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## SPEECH OF MR. SMITH.

Mr. SMITH said:—I feel it to be a duty which I owe to my constituents to state frankly my opinions on the question which is now agitating the minds of the people of this Province. In doing so I shall endeavor to adopt that temperate and dispassionate style of address, which I believe is the best adapted on the floors of any Legislature to attract the attention of the gentlemen who are addressed, and to recommend itself to the judgment of every one sitting on these benches. I regret very much, that in the discussion of this question, every gentleman who addresses the House is necessarily constrained to attack the leader of the Opposition, who has advanced the only arguments on his side of the question, and if in the remarks which I am about to make, I am obliged to animadvert strongly upon some of the observations which have fallen from him, I trust that he will believe that I do so with the most earnest desire to avoid anything like personal reprimand. But sir, every gentleman on these benches has a solemn duty to perform in the interests of the people who have elected him to represent them. This is a most important crisis in the history of Nova Scotia. Whether for weal or for woe the people of this country are now called upon to offer a remonstrance against a union which, in defiance of their wishes, has confederated them with Canada, and has jeopardized, as they believe, the prosperity and happiness of their country. When the scheme was first brought before the public in a substantial shape, I gave it the calmest and most dispassionate consideration that it was in my power to bestow upon it, and came to the conclusion that if the people of the country consented to allow their interests to be bartered away by that measure, then they had much less intelligence and spirit than I imagined they possessed. Under these circumstances I deemed it to be my duty, casting aside my own feelings and severing many associations, to come forward and assume an independent stand, and advocate the interests of the people of this country. I felt that the scheme in itself did not ensure "a just provision" for the interests of Nova Scotia; and I intend addressing the House and country, and giving to them, in as concise a form as is possible, the reasons why I conceive the measure to be most disastrous to the dearest interests of the people. First of all, there was no exigency in the position of this country that required it to be confederated in the manner in which it has been. It must be apparent to every one that the representation which that scheme gives to the people of this country places them in a painfully humiliating position, and casts them, perfectly impotent and helpless, at the feet of an alien majority. I felt, however true this might be, that it was impossible to apply any other principle than that of population in the construction of the popular branch, yet some provision should at least be made to guard the interests of this country in the upper branch—in the Senate of the General Parliament.

We have heard a good deal about the Constitution of the United States in this debate.

The hon. member for Inverness has cast many aspersions upon democratic and republican institutions, and however ready I am to admit that the constitution of Great Britain is far superior to that of the American Republic, yet I very much regret that the gentlemen who favored the British North America Act did not look more closely than they did into the system of the United States, which preserves at all events one admirable principle, and that is, the one which gives the smallest State an equal representation in the Senate Chamber with the greatest State. It may not be known to every gentleman around me that although in the Lower House the principle of population regulates the representation, yet in the Upper House the most insignificant State has an equal voice with the largest and most populous. Why, sir, the wise and sagacious men who framed that constitution did not act in the trifling manner which appears to have been the case with those public men who framed the constitution which we are now asked to live under. Not one of the smallest of the thirteen States would have gone into the Union unless such a provision for their rights had been assured them. We are not only in a powerless minority in the lower branch, but also in the Upper House—nothing has been done to protect the interests of the smaller member of the Confederacy. I entertain likewise very strong convictions that when any body of men attempt to change the constitution of a country like this, or undertake to sweep away the independence of our Legislature, to uride as they have done with the feelings of our people,—that they should at least have had the modesty to say to the people: "Are you willing to have these changes brought about?" They should at least have had the consideration to have asked the people of this country, will you permit us thus to deal with your dearest interests, and sweep you away into the hands of a Canadian majority? Not only did they not do this, but they coolly and unhesitatingly set at defiance and scoffed contemptuously at the wishes of the people of this country. Is it not a matter of history with respect to this Confederation that the people of Nova Scotia were not only opposed to the scheme itself, but to the passage of any such measure without its having been first submitted to them at the polls.

When the hon. member for Inverness broached the idea of leaving a question of such a character to the people, he endeavored to bring forward some arguments in support of his position. He boasted of the absurdity of leaving questions of this kind to the people at the polls as manifest from the whole of British authority. He asked the House whether Sir Robert Peel, a man whom he eulogized in the most expressive terms, and the potency of whose colossal genius has left its mark upon the history of the world, was not a good authority on constitutional questions, and proceeded to assert that that statesman passed the Catholic Emancipation Bill without leaving it to the people. But his case was no similitude here. I am free to admit that Catholic emancipation was an alteration of the constitution, but I tell the hon.

gentleman it was not an *overthrow* of the constitution. It was the passage of an act which the very Parliament who passed it might have afterwards repealed. It was not an infringement of the rights and the privileges of the British public—it was done with their consent, in obedience to the spread of more expansive and generous ideas, which taught them that the time had come to strike down bigotry and intolerance, and open the door to Her Majesty's Catholic subjects to come in and enjoy the same political privileges which were extended to their Protestant brethren. In the case of ourselves, the rights and privileges which we had so long enjoyed were swept away at one "fell swoop."

The hon. gentleman next referred to the abolition of the Corn Laws. There is no more similitude here than in the previous case. That question was before the people for years, and we know that British statesmen occupy a very different position from the public men of this country. Invariably the leading public men of England, after a session of Parliament, go down to their constituents and address them upon any question which may be agitating the public mind; they take every pains to ascertain the views of their constituents, and communicate their own. The repeal of the Corn Laws was a question with which the British people were perfectly familiar. But is it to be said that because Sir Robert Peel refused to submit a question of this kind to the people—because he held such a course to be unconstitutional, therefore it is a precedent for the passage of the Confederation Act? Is it to be a precedent for making, not merely a material change in, but actually *destroying*, a constitution? I hold that responsible government has been *destroyed*, as far as the people are concerned, by the character of our representation at Ottawa. Suppose every member from the Maritime Provinces was to oppose any measure which the government of Canada might think proper to introduce affecting the interests of Nova Scotia, and that that measure was nevertheless passed; the people of Nova Scotia might feel that an act had been carried outraging their feelings and injurious to their peculiar institutions,—but at no election in the Province could the men who carried that obnoxious measure be responsible to anybody. They would be responsible only to the Canadian people, and not to the electors of Nova Scotia whose interests would be peculiarly affected. Therefore I say that under the circumstances Nova Scotia, standing as she does numerically inferior in both branches of the General Parliament, occupies a position not only humiliating, but positively dangerous.

We have been told time and again by the press in the interest of the Confederate party that Nova Scotia would exercise a controlling influence in the House of Commons in consequence of the antagonism existing between the Upper and Lower Canadians; but what has been the result? I laughed at the idea when I heard it for the first time, because it was so palpable to any one that had a mind to think that the moment Canadian interests

were affected Upper and Lower Canada would unite as one. Has not that actually happened? Take the tariff question, for instance. We find all the representatives from the Maritime Provinces except three voting against that tariff, and what was the result? You find Sir John A. MacDonal'd leading up the Upper Canadians, and Mr. Cartier the Lower Canadians, to pass the tariff despite the opposition of the Maritime Provinces. The toxin of alarm has only to be sounded, and resistance is in vain! We have, however, our Local Legislature, and it is only here that we can speak effectively; and I hope and trust when our voices have been heard that the Canadians will see that there is spirit enough left in the people of Nova Scotia to nerve them to every effort to shake themselves free forever from this hated thralldom.

It has been urged by the hon. member for Inverness that it is absurd for any one acquainted with constitutional law to declare that the people should be consulted at the polls. I contend it to be constitutional, and I intend to argue it from speeches and letters written by two gentlemen, one of whom assisted in transferring this country over to the Canadians. I will now first call your attention to what occurred in the House of Commons, when this bill was introduced. You will recollect that Mr. Bright, in the interest of the people of this country, stood forth for their rights, and asked the House not to press the measure; he wished action to be suspended until the next general election, when the people would pass upon the scheme. When he told that august body of men that the people of this country had never had an opportunity of passing upon this measure, what was said by Mr. Watkin—the gentleman who had been in constant communication with the Delegates? Did he treat that remark of Mr. Bright as trifling? Did he say that it was not necessary that the people of this country should not be consulted? No, he felt the force and efficacy of this argument; and what did he do? I take it from the speech of the late leader of the Government (Dr. Tupper) previous to the general election, in which he describes the scene between himself and Mr. Watkin. "Mr. Watkin," he said, "came to me and asked me, what is your answer to Mr. Bright?" If Mr. Watkin thought there was no force in the argument of Mr. Bright he would not have referred to the hon. member for Cumberland. The answer has been sent broadcast over the province of Nova Scotia; it was untrue; but on whose shoulders the falsehood rests I will not undertake to declare. That a gentleman occupying the proud position of Mr. Watkin would perpetrate a statement which everybody knows to be as false as the fabric of a vision, seems almost incredible. We find that very Parliament refusing to coerce Newfoundland and P. E. Island into that Union; and why? Because the people of those Colonies were opposed to the measure, and therefore in common justice, and in accordance with constitutional usage they refused to draw them into the operation of this Act. We find the same principle observed with reference to this province. The preamble of

the Act of the people favour of the states egregiously placed on taking away free people.

I find the entertainment and I believe feelings of you would manner in the way we find the amendment where he has been people," but does, it was made any gentleman's national qu or three present E upon Ear lature be the gover brought i solution, majority Cumberland constitution ment to b tant mea were in a 1861 Dr. Mulgrave House, i and influ ed the pr your Exc the Repr empower mandated, tul princ lony, whi shall be well und

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the Act shows that the Parliament believed the people of Nova Scotia were actually in favour of the Union. Therefore I believe if the statesmen of Great Britain had not been egregiously deceived, they would not have placed on the records of the country an Act taking away the rights and privileges of the free people of Nova Scotia.

I find the hon. member for Cumberland entertaining the same opinion that I hold, and I believe if we could understand the real feelings of the hon. member for Inverness, you would find him dissatisfied with the manner in which the scheme was passed. We find this feeling cropping out in one of the amendments moved by the hon. member, where he says "however desirable it may have been to leave the question to the people," but occupying the position which he does, it would not have done for him to have made any greater admission. Are there not gentlemen here who remember the constitutional questions that arose in 1861? Two or three certainly will recollect when the present Equity Judge and Dr. Tupper urged upon Earl of Mulgrave to dissolve the Legislature because the people were opposed to the government. Petition after petition was brought in to the House in favour of a dissolution, although the government had a majority in this body. The hon. member for Cumberland expressly stated that it was unconstitutional and wrong for any government to bring down to this House an important measure when it was evident that they were in a minority in the country. In Jan. 1861 Dr. Tupper wrote a letter to the Earl of Mulgrave, pressing him to dissolve the House, in which he says:—"Several large and influential constituencies have condemned the present government, and have prayed your Excellency for that redress which, as the Representative of Her Majesty, you are empowered to afford when imperatively demanded, in order to preserve that *fundamental principle of the constitution* of this Colony, which requires that the government shall be conducted in accordance with the *well understood wishes of the people.*"

That is not all. Writing to the Duke of Newcastle, the then Colonial Secretary, the hon. gentleman said:—

"Having proved to His Excellency that he has a Ministry around him, acting in defiance of the well-understood wishes of the people, I consider that there is but one course that can justly be pursued. And, sir, if the people of this country are treated with contempt, if they are deprived of the true constitutional mode of expressing their opinion, *there is but one resort left to them.* Then the constitutional opposition in this House would be driven to assume a duty which they have never yet been called upon to assume—a course shewn by Earl Grey to be open to us. Sir, the moment so flagrant a violation of our rights was permitted as the continuance in power of a Government after it had been shewn by the clearest evidence that it had been shorn of its strength, not only the people of Nova Scotia, but of British North America, and wherever free institutions and the principles of liberty are upheld, would rise and vindicate their rights by that

determined struggle for freedom, which must ever ensue when an attempt is made to put down the liberties of freemen."

Again he says:—

"Destitute of representation in the Parliament of Britain, with our most eminent men systematically excluded from the highest position in their own country, and for which their colonial experience and training eminently fits them, it is impossible that the free spirit of the inhabitants of British North America can fail soon to be *aroused to the necessity of asserting their undoubted right to have their country governed in accordance with the well understood wishes of the people.*"

Now I ask the hon. member for Inverness to explain why it should be constitutional to appeal to the people under the circumstances in question, and unconstitutional to do so in reference to a measure far transcending in importance any question ever before submitted in this country.

The hon. member for Inverness said he laughed at the idea of referring to American institutions as a guide for the country. Now we find the hon. member for Cumberland making use of expressions like these in the same letter which he addressed to the Duke of Newcastle:—

"The people of this Province have been content, my Lord, to pay a salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year to a Governor sent from England, besides a large additional sum to keep up his establishment, while the State of Maine, with twice our population, has the *privilege of electing* that officer from among her people, and pay him fifteen thousand dollars."

The hon. gentleman has endeavored to ridicule the legal knowledge evidenced by the Attorney General. He has treated the observations made with reference to the right of the British Parliament to pass any Act touching the constitution of this country as perfectly futile. He declares that the British Parliament, whenever they thought proper, have changed the constitution of these colonies. He has referred to Australia and Jamaica, but I ask him if the constitution in those colonies ~~was~~ not changed in accordance with the wishes of the people? Was it not done in Jamaica when it became necessary for Imperial interests to destroy the constitution after a rebellion and bloodshed? Was it not done in accordance with the wishes of the people? and therefore, there is no parallel in the cases whatever. We find that this country occupies a very different position from Great Britain—the constitution of the latter has grown to maturity by degrees—it has reached its present position by precedent and custom with unlimited power; but a constitution like ours is of a very different character, and therefore the analogy which he has drawn from the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Catholic Emancipation is without application to the case we are now considering. Our constitution is based upon that charter which the Hon. Attorney General referred to, and although it may have been materially changed by despatches from the Colonial Secretary—although it may be altered by the action of this Parliament—yet having a

charter from the Crown, limiting our authority, our rights and privileges cannot be taken away from us without the consent of the people.

The hon. member has also referred to the question of mines and minerals, which have for a long time occupied the attention of the people of this country. He has told you that before that question was settled, the people of Nova Scotia had to resort to the Imperial Parliament, and there obtain a surrender of their rights. I have under my hand the decision of learned English Counsel, taken at the instance of this House, where the principle laid down by the Attorney General is fairly established, that this country belonged to the Crown—that it was not held in trust for the people of Nova Scotia, but purely in Sovereignty. The hon. member for Inverness knows the decision to which I refer.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I never said a word about the question of Mines and Minerals; I only referred to the Civil List.

Mr. SMITH.—The principle, however, is the same in both cases. The decision in question reads thus:—

“In the sense in which we understand the first question, we are of opinion that the Crown does not hold the mines and minerals of the Province of Nova Scotia for the benefit of its subjects there settled, for we think that the mines and minerals in question, were so absolutely vested in the Sovereign, as that he might dispose of them in such manner as he should think fit, without any limit to his discretion. We therefore are of opinion, that the grant of all the mines and minerals to an individual for sixty years, was not an undue exercise of the prerogative.”

They state thirdly: “We see no reason for thinking that such warrant, or any grant, or lease made, or to be made under its authority, would be subject to be revoked *quia improvide emanavit*, or any other cause.”

In conclusion they state: “Our opinion on the whole case rests upon the principle that the mines and minerals in question belonged to the Crown in absolute and uncontrollable dominion and property, and that they were therefore disposable at the pleasure of the Crown. It would be vain to attempt to cite cases upon the several questions put to us, but upon the general principle on which our opinion is founded, the observations of Lord Mansfield, in *Campbell vs. Hall*, 1st Cowper, 204, may be referred to.”

Now it will be seen that these legal gentlemen deliberately came to the conclusion that this country is held as the exclusive property of the Crown. They say the Crown has passed a charter, granting to this country certain rights, and it is unconstitutional, under that charter, for the Parliament of England to overthrow our constitution without the consent of the people.

The hon. member made another reference to shew the power of Parliament, turning our attention to the case of Cape Breton. Every one knows that that case bears not the slightest resemblance to the position which we occupy. That country had no independent Parliament; the views of its people were not represented in a legislature of their own. Consequently, when the hon. member produ-

ces such a case, he must be perfectly aware that his ground is untenable. He also made several references to the United States, and one would suppose that he had, all of a sudden, become perfectly horrified at democratic institutions. He told the Attorney General that he had always known him as “the Tory of Tories.” I have always heard the hon. leader of the opposition spoken of as being associated with the democratic party of this country. I have always understood that he owes the position which he occupies, and the “flourishing practice” to which he referred, to the influence of that element, which he was seeking to advance, and which professed to regard most highly the rights and interests of the people.

The hon. gentleman told us with what admiration he views “the wealth and intelligence” of the metropolis. We have heard *ad nauseam* about the wealth and intelligence of Halifax. Is all the wealth and intelligence of Nova Scotia concentrated in the metropolis? I can look around the streets of Halifax and point to men of both wealth and intelligence who are arrayed with us in the ranks of the anti-confederate party;—therefore it is idle for the hon. member to boast that he has the wealth and intelligence of the country on his side. However much we may acknowledge the influence of the metropolis, yet throughout Nova Scotia there are men of as good character and as high intelligence to be found even among the laboring classes as many who roll in their carriages through the streets of Halifax. The men even of that class, who bring to the subject sound intelligence and practical common sense are as capable as he is of knowing when their rights are trampled on, or the prosperity of the country jeopardized, and is it to be said that these men, because the wealth and intelligence of the city are arrayed against them, are not to be consulted on a change of the constitution? No sir, when I look around these benches I see a good indication of where the intelligence of the country is, and when I know the gentlemen who reflect here the opinions of the people of Nova Scotia, I wonder to hear the hon. member for Inverness, occupying the position which he does, as the solitary voice to be raised in the advocacy of the principles of the confederate party, undertaking to say that that is a *great* party. I know not in what it is great, unless it is because it represents the wealth and intelligence of Halifax? There are men in this community whom I respect, but when the interests of the people come into contact with the influence of Halifax, I feel it is time that their representatives should stand up and advocate the interests and propound the principles which we do to-day: that before the constitution is changed or overturned, the incumbent and necessary to consult the feelings of the people. Does not everybody know that the question never was laid before the people in a tangible shape, until the last election, although it may have been discussed as a purely theoretical question through the press? I undertake to say that previous to the passage of the Quebec Scheme, there were not a hundred men in Nova Scotia who could tell

you what comes to the interest of my heart, has confidence in the England to be able men, the position of our representative they have a matter how union in the British Parliament wrong has been met out to you and fair play Edward Island.

On what point ment keeping? If she es, why should we represent land, that simply calculates towards the m fair in me briefly before time that the member who ble to say, ments which will not th which ever would say, Inverness, ment, the intend to de taken; if h are misrep tuents, he is in the Hou taken place federation. covered a cent period were possi people at th on us, th intensified. the passage sion, that the hands the discha resist succo trample on ments says enough in sults. The door after late to see come irrev people to a Nobly will and loyally solemn an fected the They are d fice but th wondered the schem silence of blood boile ner in w been treat

you what confederation meant; in reference to the interests of the Province. I believe in my heart, having an abiding faith and confidence in the British public, and believing England to be governed by able and honorable men, that when they come to know the position of our country, and the views of its representatives, and when they are told that they have acted on false information, no matter how valuable they may regard the union in the light of Imperial interests, the British Parliament will acknowledge that a wrong has been done, and will resolve to meet out to us the same measure of justice and fair play which has been shown to Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

On what principle can the British Government keep Nova Scotia in this Confederation? If she is to be united against her wishes, why should not Newfoundland be dragged in? It would be doubly insulting, when we represent our views respectfully to England, that she should coerce us into a Union simply calculated to alienate our feelings towards the mother country. It would be unfair in me to do more than lay my views briefly before the House after the length of time that this debate has occupied. The hon. member who preceded me has left me but little to say, having met many of the arguments which I was prepared to answer. I will not therefore travel over matters with which every member must be familiar. I would say, however, to the hon. member for Iverness, that if he propounds, for a moment, the idea that the people of this country intend to depart from the position they have taken; if he believes for an instant that we are misrepresenting the views of our constituents, he is greatly mistaken. It was said in the House of Commons that a reaction had taken place in this country in favor of Confederation. That is not the case. I have conversed with my constituents up to a recent period, and I can assure you that if it were possible to intensify the disgust of the people at this Union which has been forced on us, that disgust has been increased and intensified. The people have seen, sir, since the passage of the Act, during the late Session, that the interests of Nova Scotia are in the hands of men who, however faithful in the discharge of their duties, are unable to resist successfully the majority that would trample on their rights. One of the amendments says that the Act has not been long enough in operation to judge fairly of its results. That reminds me of locking the stable door after the steed has been stolen; it is too late to seek for relief when the Act has become irrevocable. Now is the time for the people to act, and nobly are they doing so. Nobly will they continue to act—faithfully and loyally—to the Crown, but with the most solemn and serious earnestness that ever affected the minds of a high-spirited people. They are determined to resist at every sacrifice but that of their allegiance. Is it to be wondered at that such is the opposition to the scheme? Is there a man here who, in the silence of his own chamber, has not had his blood boiled by the remembrance of the manner in which he and his countrymen has been treated?

True it is that one boon has been extended to Nova Scotia by this Confederation Act—the power to tax ourselves. Precious blessing! Ungrateful Nova Scotians! Why do you not go down on your marrow bones, and give thanks for this beneficence? Ah, by the way there is another boon: we get 80 cents a head to console us for our position. When I contrast this pittance with the revenues which have been taken from us, I am reminded of the man who, after stealing a pig, gave away the tail in charity to satisfy his conscience. It was said that the delegates were going to England to ask the British Government to adopt republican institutions, but I think that it would be hard for the hon. member to shew the act constitutional and right by either British or republican authorities. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I have to say that I sincerely desire a repeal of the union, and I trust that the gentlemen, whoever they may be, who are entrusted with the delicate and responsible duty of going to the authorities of England, and of placing the case of our people before them, asking them under all the circumstances to restore us to our original position, and to repeal so much of the act as affects Nova Scotia, will do their duty faithfully and with a due sense of the responsibility resting upon them. I well know that the eyes of Nova Scotia will be upon them, the heart of the country is with them, the prayers of thousands will ascend to Heaven for the accomplishment of their object. I ask the delegates to go firmly and independently, and to tell our Sovereign that the people of this country are true and faithful to her person and her throne,—that we still cherish and revere the mother country around which so many historic recollections cluster,—that there is not a Christian mother within the land who does not teach her child to lip the name of our Gracious Sovereign with admiration and respect; but that nothing will satisfy the people of this country until they are placed in the position which their honor and interests require by the repeal of an Act passed in defiance of their wishes, and in derogation of their rights.

The debate was adjourned.

Mr. BLANCHARD called attention of the Government to the necessity of giving immediate relief to the distressed fishermen in Iverness County.

The House adjourned.

THURSDAY, Feb. 13, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY laid on the table a memorial on the subject of the Horticultural Society; also a money petition.

Mr. CAMPBELL presented a money petition from Rev. J. Chisholm and others, for aid for certain distressed fishermen.

Dr. MURRAY presented a petition from Dr. R. Munro and overseers of the poor in New Glasgow asking for the return of certain moneys expended; also from the overseers of the poor of Section No. 12 of the Eastern District of Pictou, asking for the return of moneys expended on transient paupers; also, from trustees of New Glasgow School Section with regard to the school tax.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON presented a petition from Low Point, C. B., in reference to a grant of land.

Dr. BROWN introduced a bill to compel the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company to pay certain dyke rates.

Mr. PINEO introduced a bill to incorporate the Scotia Coal Company.

Mr. KIDSTON presented a petition asking aid for a bridge; also, one from persons at the head of Bedeque River for the same purpose.

Mr. BLANCHARD introduced Acts to amend the Act relating to the Blue Lead Mining Co., the Dominion Gold Mining Co., and the Provincial Gold Mining Co.

Mr. SMITH presented a petition praying that no substantial change be made in the School Act.

Mr. BLANCHARD presented a petition in reference to a ferry at Malagash.

Mr. WHITE called attention to the distress that prevailed among the fishermen, and proposed a resolution in connection with the distribution of moneys for their relief. He was desirous that no time should be lost in moving in this matter, and that the moneys now lying idle in the hands of the Government and the City Committee should be distributed without delay.

Mr. NORTHUP explained that it would be better to wait before passing the resolution, as a committee was now engaged on the part of the city in preparing a report on the subject.

After some remarks on the subject, Mr. White agreed to withdraw his resolution, and the following, moved by Mr. Blanchard, was substituted:—"Resolved that a Committee be appointed to take charge of the subject of the distressed fishermen for the Province of Nova Scotia, and to confer with the government and the Committee appointed on the same subject in the City of Halifax, with reference to the distribution of the moneys received by the Mayor, for the relief of distressed fishermen."

Mr. NORTHUP mentioned that the report current in some Canadian papers that the Mayor had telegraphed that no more assistance was wanted, was incorrect.

The following Committee was appointed:—Ryerson, Blanchard, Kirk, Freeman, Ross, White, Doucette, Hooper, DesBrisay.

Mr. KIDSTON presented a petition of J. McInnes and others, praying aid for a road; also, one from Murdoch McLellan and others for aid for a road to St. Anne's harbour; also from Ingonishe and St. Anne's in reference to a breakwater at McNeil's harbour, on which a considerable sum of money has already been expended.

Mr. TROOP presented a petition in reference to a bridge.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked the government whether the rumour that was current, that it was the intention to adjourn the House during the next week until the summer, was correct. It was but right that the House and country should know whether it was proposed to go on with the public business, after the resolutions now before them had been disposed of.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL replied that the hon.

gentlemen had been correctly informed; it was the intention of the government to propose an adjournment after the resolutions had been passed. The term of the adjournment was not yet determined.

#### DEBATE ON THE REPEAL RESOLUTIONS.

MR. NORTHUP'S SPEECH.

Mr. NORTHUP then addressed the House as follows:—I rise for the first time to address this House (with a good deal of embarrassment, and I trust if I shall say anything which is not strictly within parliamentary rule that I may be pardoned. I feel that the question now before this Legislature is one of rare importance to the people of this country; every other question heretofore under consideration in comparison with it sinks into insignificance. Wherever I look I see nothing but doubt and uncertainty as to the future. I know men who have spent many years in accumulating property who are now anxious to learn what the future condition of this country will be before engaging largely in enterprise as they have been accustomed to do. Under these circumstances, I feel that every gentleman in this House occupies a position of great responsibility—a responsibility which he must not and cannot avoid. As far as I am myself concerned I shall endeavor to discharge my duty to my constituents and to my country as faithfully as I can. The hon. and learned leader of the Opposition has referred to the case of Jamaica as analogous to our own, but he must beware that when the bill in connection with that Island for the purpose of doing away with its constitution was introduced into the House of Commons it was stated that if any one member had got up in the Legislature of the colony, and objected to the change in the constitution, it would not be passed. Compare now the condition of the two countries. In Jamaica government had become almost impossible, the people were cutting each other's throats. On the other hand Nova Scotia is a wealthy and prosperous Province, occupied by a peaceable and contented people, capable of exercising all the rights and privileges of freemen. Can the hon. gentleman then draw a parallel between Nova Scotia and Jamaica? I think not. The hon. gentleman then went on to tell us that we should learn something about constitutional law. I do not pretend to be conversant with that subject, and I trust if ever I do I shall never use my knowledge as he and friends have used theirs, to sweep away the constitutional rights of the people. There is such a thing as constitutional usage, and, if these gentlemen had regarded it, Nova Scotia would not be in the position she occupies today. A thousand years ago, in the days of the Heptarchy, the king took his seat, and the barons sat on the platform, with the people all around them. There the barons discussed the questions of the day, and then the herald put it to the people whether they would have a change or not. What was done six years ago, when the king was driven out of Naples? The people had been striving for a long time for liberty, and when they had driven this tyrant out, what was done? The question of

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connection with the kingdom of Sardinia was submitted to the people at the polls. Then, when Venice was handed over to Italy, what was done? The question was decided by the people at the polls. The United States has often been referred to by the hon. Judge in Equity for precedents,—what happened in Roxbury, in Massachusetts, a year or so ago? Roxbury had for some time enjoyed a corporation of its own; a bill was, however, passed annexing the city to Boston, and it came before the Governor. He asked if the people of Roxbury had expressed an opinion on the subject. The reply was in the negative, and he accordingly refused to assent to the measure. Again, in Germany, we saw that the States which were conquered by Prussia were consulted in the formation of their constitution, and were allowed to vote themselves into the North German Confederation. Take again the case of St. Thomas. The Danish Government have sold the Island to the United States, and the other day the question was submitted to the inhabitants at the polls, and the whole people, with a few exceptions, voted in favor of the transfer. Is it fair, then, that the people of Nova Scotia should be treated with less consideration than Englishmen were a thousand years ago—than Venetians or Neapolitans were more recently, or the people of St. Thomas are to-day? Can the hon. gentleman justify the course pursued by himself and friends in view of these precedents? Actions speak louder than words, and these gentlemen told us by their actions that Nova Scotians were not equal in intelligence to the people I referred to. I consider that a more tyrannical act was never committed on any people than the transfer of the rights and revenues of Nova Scotia to the control of Canada.

Now what has been Dr. Tupper's public career from its commencement? He went to the country first on the cry of Railways—that the country would be ruined by their construction. But when he came to this House he ran perfectly mad in building Railways. Next he got up the Retrenchment scheme, by which he pledged himself most solemnly to save \$79,000 in the expenses of the Government; but the moment he got in power, he indulged in every species of extravagance, and ran the country fearfully into debt, increasing the public expenditure by \$141,000. His course throughout cannot be characterized otherwise than as a political swindle. As respects Mr. Archibald, I confess I am sorry to be obliged to feel towards him as I do. I supported him for many years, and I remember when you, Mr. Speaker, opposed him in Colchester. I fought against you; but where is he to-day? He has fled to Canada amid the execrations of his people, and there holds a high position in violation of all constitutional usage, and wielding the patronage of this country in a most unconstitutional manner. You, sir, on the other hand, fought for your country's rights with a fidelity that is honourable to you, and I am proud to see you occupying the Chair of this House with so much dignity and ability. If Mr. Archibald had adhered to his friends, he would never have been driven out of Colchester; but when he turned traitor to the people, he was

beaten by the Colchester boy despite all the influence and patronage in his hands. I do not wish to say anything harsh about gentlemen who sat in the last House, but it is impossible not to feel indignant when one thinks of their unfaithfulness to their country. Dr. Tupper, it is reported, is to be made Railway Commissioner, at a large salary. Mr. Archibald has been provided for, and if we look to New Brunswick, we find Mr. Tilley provided for. These gentlemen have salaries of \$5000 a year. Mr. Gray has a snug place of \$4000, in connection with revising the laws. Mr. McMillan, the only New Brunswicker who voted with Mr. Tilley on the Tariff, has been made Post Office Inspector. Therefore, you see that these gentlemen take very good care of their friends, and I think the same remarks apply to the gentlemen who lately administered the government of this country. I remember talking to one of the members of the late House, and asking him "what about Confederation?" "I am the father of the House," was the reply. "I will keep them all right." But when the vote was taken on the question, that gentleman was found voting against his country, and now he sits in the other end of the building. Another gentleman told me, "I am going to England, and Tupper has promised not to bring up the question in my absence;" but he too voted for the measure, and sits in the other branch of the Legislature. I do not believe that one of those gentlemen who thus changed their sides could get a constituency to-morrow in Nova Scotia. I remember reading somewhere of an English politician whom the Government wanted to buy, and what was his answer? "I can earn sixpence a day, and I can live on it." If we had more men of that stamp in the last House, this country would not have been sold. We now find, as I have said, the Home Secretary administering the patronage of this Province, although in his present position he is without a constituency and without the confidence of his country. That is a flagrant insult to the people of Nova Scotia. I have been told of a gentleman who had been doing the duties of the Post Master at Tatamagouche, but instead of appointing him permanently, Mr. Archibald had a Confederate appointed in his place. A great deal has been said about New Brunswick, but what is the feeling there now? I have been told by a person who understands the feeling of that province that four out of five would be returned against Confederation if an election were held there to-morrow.

Much has been said about persons holding annexation proclivities, and in this connection let me read an extract from the speech of the Marquis of Normanby when the Union Act was under consideration in the House of Lords. He said:—

"If the North American Colonies felt themselves able to stand alone, and showed their anxiety to form themselves into an independent country, or even to amalgamate with the United States, he did not think it would be wise to resist their desire."

I ask this House and Country if, after a declaration of that kind from the noble Mar-

quis of Normanby, annexation did not become an open question in this country. He is a nobleman who was formerly Lieutenant Governor of this Province, and no one knows the loyalty of the people better than he does. He was in this Province when the Prince of Wales visited it. Never was the loyalty of a people exhibited more clearly than then; there was not an old woman who had a sixpence but invested it in a union jack and hung it out of the window. Notwithstanding this, the Marquis said in substance—We will annex you to the Canadas, and if you don't like it you can go to the United States. I beg to state, whilst speaking of this question, that I have no ill feeling against the people of Canada; I recognize them as fellow British subjects,—but I feel that we should be allowed to govern ourselves without the interference of others, collecting and disbursing our own revenues.

Before passing from the speech of the Marquis of Normanby let me say that such expressions as he used might not have caused surprise if they had been promulgated by Goldwin Smith or any of his school, and it is certainly noteworthy that no contradiction was given to these statements in either House, and therefore we may accept them as the recognized opinions of the British Parliament. Now, the hon. member for Inverness spoke of Falmouth. My great grandfather, the person for whom I was named, left the old American States on account of his loyalist principles, bringing with him his slaves and household goods, and settled in that township, which he represented in this House, being elected to the first representative Parliament, and sat with some of your ancestors, Mr. Speaker, in the Legislature for the rest of his life, which was twenty-five years. Yet I am to be told that if I don't like Confederation I can go to the United States.

I ask permission to read to the House an extract from a paper expressing the opinion of Mr. McDougall, who is now Commissioner of Public Works in the Dominion Government:—

“In the Canadian Parliament of 1861 Mr. McDougall stated that if the evils consequent upon the union of Upper and Lower Canada are not remedied, an alliance will be made between Upper Canada and the Northern States.”

I call particular attention to this speech, and ask what would be said if similar expressions were used here? Now Mr. McDougall has O. B. attached to his name, and occupies an important position in the Government of Canada as one of the Ministry. We know, too, something about Mr. Howland and Monsieur Cartier. The latter found it very convenient to lay his gun down when he was surrounded by British troops. Now, because we are desirous of getting rid of a tyrannical act, we are to be called secessionists. Mr. McGeo has a great deal to say on this point, but I think it would better become him to hold his tongue. But many persons say, if we get Repeal we shall drift into the United States; but I have no fear of any such event, for Nova Scotia is able to stand alone if she gets rid of this detested

Confederation. All we want is to live and die under the British flag; but if we do not succeed in accomplishing Repeal, we shall see where this skeleton of a nation, as Mr. McGeo calls it, will carry us. My belief is that this whole Confederation, if it continues to exist, will drift into the United States. Under Confederation they can call our people anywhere—to any part of the Dominion, on the Militia service—it may be to fight for the Great North West Territory. Now I wish to speak of a gentleman who has been placed in charge of our fisheries, light-houses, breakwaters, &c. I mean the Hon. Peter Mitchell. Mark you, that gentleman holds that position perfectly independent of the people of this Province. I do not know much about Mr. Mitchell; I dresay he is an honorable man, but I remember seeing the report of a trial that took place in Liverpool in which he was interested.

Mr. BLANCHARD—If gentlemen are to be allowed to introduce private affairs into this debate I would like to know it; I warn the hon. member, however, of the consequence.

Mr. NORMAN—Well, I do not wish to be unparliamentary in the least degree, and therefore I shall say nothing on the subject which I intended to refer to. It is well known, however, that Mr. Mitchell was very much interested in passing Confederation in New Brunswick, and very recently he paid a visit to his constituents. I believe they mustered not in very strong force, notwithstanding they got out every spavined horse and old waggon they could find to give him a reception, and what did he tell them? It will be remembered that the friends of Union said that capital was to flow in profusely, new markets were to be opened up, and the most glorious results follow; but what does Mr. Mitchell say? “Liberal ideas are marching on, and when the American markets are thrown open to our ships, and fair Reciprocity established, embracing a participation in the coasting trade, new life will be infused through our native country.” The mountains had labored and brought forth this mouse. A small crumb of comfort indeed to the people of New Brunswick. What does he call liberal ideas? New Brunswick had, like Nova Scotia, a Government of its own, and could make such changes as would suit its exigencies, but now we have a written constitution controlled entirely by the people of Canada. I do not call this liberal. We were told by these gentlemen that we did not require Reciprocity—that we would have markets of our own—but Mr. Mitchell does not say so now. As respects Reciprocity, I believe I could show to the satisfaction of this House and of the country, that we would have had it before now but for Canada. I do not mean to say that we would have had a renewal of the old treaty, but the United States would be satisfied with putting on a small duty to meet their local taxes, and more than that we could not have expected. We now find New Brunswick grumbling exceedingly about this tariff, and yet the imposition of 25 per cent. tariff does not bear so heavily upon that Province as is the case with us, for the fact was that their ad valorem duties being twelve and a half per cent, and their

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railway tax three per cent additional, the new tariff is a reduction of one half per cent of the former impositions.

Now, here I may say a word about taxation. I find, referring to 1866, that we imported from Canada 14,898 barrels flour. From the United States, flour and meal, 360,718 barrels, and 174,078 bushels of corn, which at the present rate of duty, would amount to \$107,587.30. The increase under the present tariff over the ten per cents of 1866 would be \$246,412. I take this year's importation as a fair index to our trade, because that trade was in that year—the last of Reciprocity—running in its natural channels. The duty collected that year on flour was \$28,685.75. I believe that this country will never be prosperous until we get Reciprocity back. Upon wine, under the Dominion tariff, ten cents a gallon is charged—just the same amount as on corn. One of the papers told us that we could warehouse corn free. An importer of corn can put it into a warehouse, and then he can grind into meal,—he pays a duty on the meal and all he gets is the bran free. That is an illustration of the results of this Confederation Act, which gives to the Canadians the meal and leaves us the bran. The list of free goods contains 274 articles, on any one of which the people of Nova Scotia would prefer paying a duty than on bread. Such as cabinets of antiquities, coins, gems, drawings, paintings, busts, &c. Then they were asked to protect our coal and to give our fishermen a bounty, but they refused, although it was well known that our coal trade was perfectly stagnant from the want of a market.

Is it surprising, in view of this state of things, that trade should stand still? Many persons have come to me, and said, we cannot pay you all we owe you, for bread is so high, and we must have it for our families. They ask, "what is the meaning of all this?" We had always plenty of bread before this. "Loyalty," they say, "is a very good thing, but it will not feed our children, and we cannot send them hungry to bed." That is the feeling throughout the country; the people are ready to do anything to get back their own institutions, but it will test their loyalty when starvation is staring them in the face. Then there is the increase in the rate of interest. The people who have money like to get the most they can for it, and I have heard of gentlemen who are preparing to call in mortgages in order to get a higher rate of interest, as soon as the usury laws are so far amended as to allow them to charge it. We have heard something said about giving bounties to fishermen, but how is the tariff affecting our West Indian business which is one of our principal branches of trade. The sugar duties must very materially interfere with that trade. Mr. Jones showed most elaborately, and in a manner that was creditable to himself and the constituency that elected him, at Ottawa, how it will operate against our fishermen, and interfere with commerce generally; but all he said was of no avail in the Canadian Parliament, for Mr. Redpath, and other Canadian refiners, wanted the tariff framed to suit their interests. It will be perceived, by the Canadian tariff, that sugars pay specific duties, which are graduated ac-

ording to quality, and it is well known that, in ascertaining the quality, frauds of every kind may be perpetrated. The proposal of Mr. Jones was to levy a specific duty of a cent per pound, and an ad valorem duty on the original cost. Let it be remembered, too, that notwithstanding this high tariff, the Finance Minister estimates a deficit for this year of from two to three millions.

The people of Canada are whiskey drinkers, while rum is the principal article in the nature of spirituous liquors consumed here. They want to introduce their article into this Province, and that is the reason why the tariff is arranged as it is. The tariff has raised the duty on rum to eighty cents, while that on whiskey is 60 cents, thus aiming another direct blow at the West India trade. A great deal has been said about the wealth of Canada; but there can be no doubt that \$20,000,000 of the debt which she takes into the Confederation was made up of the deficiencies of ten years when the revenues were inadequate to meet their expenditures. I remember hearing some years ago of one of the townships of Canada being advertised for sale to pay its debts, and I am afraid if we do not soon get out of this Confederation we shall be in the same position. A few words about county taxation. Take the county of Middlesex, Canada, for instance, where the rate was in 1866 \$2 31 on every \$100. In Halifax, in the same year, it was 28 cents on the \$100,—this rate being, I believe, a fair criterion for the whole Province. How is this? There are many charges laid on the Canadian towns and villages which here are paid out of the general revenue. We were told that the farmers would find a better market for their produce under Confederation, whereas the fact is the Canadians are running in their pork, butter and other produce and underselling them. It may be said that this is all to the advantage of other classes, but the fact is that the consuming classes are now unable to buy even at low prices, and thus the markets are injured for our farmers without any corresponding benefit being realized by others. Again, look at the extravagance prevailing in the public service in Canada. Reading the records of the old Canadian Parliament before Confederation, what do we find? They had 9 clerks and messengers to every 8 members of the House, whilst we have only seven in all. The sessional allowance of these clerks and messengers actually amounted to more than the pay of all the members.

We have been told that this Dominion is a great country, and that we may expect it to be populated with immigrants. I saw by a paper that 1678 immigrants had arrived, in one week, at a Canadian city; but how many of them do you suppose remained? Just thirty; the others went over to that ill-governed and ill-taxed country that people are so much afraid of. It is my most earnest desire that we may get repeal. We see in Great Britain the results of a forced Union, and of an attempt to govern a people against their will. Sorry I am to see such a state of things prevailing in the mother country; but the time has arrived when it is admitted on all sides that something must be done. I pray that such a state of things as prevails in Ire-

land may never occur in this country. The hon. member for Inverness told us that the men of weight and influence were in favor of Confederation. I beg to differ from him there; the merchants and bankers of this community should count for something and among the mercantile classes of Halifax you will find Unionists very scarce indeed; while among the other classes a very considerable proportion are Anti-confederates. I admit that many of the young men were in favour of Union, because young men are inclined to look hopefully to changes, but I think that by this time they also must have been undeceived. I may here observe that I have been much pleased at some of the speeches made by our representatives at Ottawa. Mr. Kilham elucidated the policy of this country as to its shipping, and the condition of our mercantile marine, most creditably. But what did all these efforts amount to? Nothing at all. That is just the result which might be expected from a scheme prepared as this one was. It was framed entirely by professional men; no merchant was asked to take part in the deliberations. Who are the men, sir, who have tended to make England what she is? The merchants of that country. Who are the men who have also tended to make Nova Scotia what she is? Are they not the men whose sails whiten every sea? I ask the men of Yarmouth, who have been foremost in mercantile enterprise, with what confidence they can look forward to a career within this Confederation? Even the carrying trade of breadstuffs is taken out of our hands. We have been stripped of almost every advantage. I trust that our delegates, when they go to England, will represent that Nova Scotia is prepared to build her share of the railroad, and if necessary, to pay a regular quota to defence, provided we are let out of this Confederation. I observe by the papers that the Unionists of Nova Scotia are being called upon to get up meetings, and send home their loyal sentiments to counteract this agitation for repeal, but I believe that they would have hard work to drum up a corporal's guard in many of the counties. The stand-up fight of the 18th September proved the strength of the two parties, and since then, from causes well known to this House and the country, the Confederates have been growing small by degrees and beautifully less.

DR. MURRAY'S SPEECH.

Dr. MURRAY said:—In rising to address the House on this important question—the most important that was ever before a legislature or people,—after so much has been said on the subject in the legislature, in the press, and on the platform, I may say that were I to consult my own feelings, I would remain silent, knowing as I do that it is almost impossible to throw new light upon the subject. But I would be recreant to my duty to myself, recreant to my duty to the noble county which I represent, and faithless to the people of Nova Scotia, did I fail on this occasion to express my open and determined hostility to this detested Confederation, and to stamp with my disapprobation the men who, with the late Lieutenant Governor at their head, by means the most base, and

treachery the most foul, combined not only to trick the people of Nova Scotia out of their legislature, but also to deceive the people and press of England, its Parliament and Queen. Before going into the question of Confederation, I must address myself to the hon. member for Inverness, and I shall do so the more readily because he appeared displeased that the Attorney General paid no attention to him a few days ago. After the uncalled for and unprovoked attack that he made upon the young members of the House, he could hardly expect that we would sit silent. That attack was made in language seldom heard excepting in police courts, fish markets and back slums of cities, and seldom used excepting by persons who frequent those places. Let me review some of the hon. member's remarks: he spoke of skinning a member from neck to heels, of a gentleman getting a bowie knife between his ribs, of stabbing back with a knife when he was pricked with a pin, of the poison bag, the bullies from Pictou, and so on. When I sat and heard the hon. member using these and similar expressions, it brought to my remembrance the saying of Shakespeare:

"Adon he smiles; and smiles in such a sort  
As if he mocked himself and scorned his spirit  
That could be moved to smile at anything."

The hon. member challenged us to combat, I am not afraid to meet him here face to face, or in any other arena, but, as it is said "out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh," I may add that I would certainly be afraid to be in his company in a dark lane, more especially if he were behind me. He said he was a native of Pictou and was proud of it;—all I can say is, that the people of Pictou, or the large majority of them, are not proud of him or of the position which he now occupies. If he has no respect for himself or his position, he should have some respect for the memory of some who bore his name. Many years ago who was it but one named Jotham Blanchard who distinguished himself so much by his labors in the press and in the Legislature to bring our institutions into the state in which they were a year or two ago? Who was one of the fathers of Responsible Government? Could that man rise from his grave and behold that at the dead hour of night, with thirty-one other political traitors, his brother joined in bartering away those institutions, how would he blush for his kindred? The hon. member spoke also about a ragged regiment coming up from Colchester headed by their representatives;—I wondered at the assurance of the man making such a remark,—does he mean to say that a man who wears homespun, with perhaps a patch on his coat, may not be the equal of the man who wears his broadcloth and beaver hat and rides in a carriage?

"The rank is but the gunner's stamp,  
A man's a man for a' that."

I say I wondered at his using such an expression in reference to Colchester, whose inhabitants are equal not only in intelligence but in wealth and prosperity to those of any other part of the Province. I will now take the liberty of referring to one or two remarks

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which the hon. member made in reference to me. He said:

"The same hon. member told a remarkable thing, that he had seen the engine go out of sight.—I have seen it go out of sight very often, and I do not see that any great difficulty would result even if it did so every half-mile."

It is said that the *suppressio veri* is as criminal as the *suggestio falsi*. Now what I said was that I had seen the engine go out of sight in a distance of half a mile on a straight line. The hon. member also told us that the Pictou Railroad was the best in British America, but I find the Commissioner of Railways says in his report: "If the gradients and curvatures, owing to the rugged features of the country, are not so favorable a character as those of some other lines." Who does not know that the very qualities which render a railroad a superior one are straightness of line and lightness of grades. As regards the frontage of Pictou harbor, I stated to the House that a larger amount of land had been taken at Fisher's Grant than was necessary for the Provincial Railroad; but that what was worse they had taken the land between the terminus and the light-house. I shewed also that it was impossible that the water lots which had been taken could have been intended for railway purposes. The hon. member for Inverness said that the leases contained a reservation, but I am strongly inclined to believe that this is only for the purpose of deceiving the public. The hon. member, however, told us first that he knew nothing of the matter, but he afterwards admitted that the leases had been given by his own government, so that one of these statements must be wrong. Another assertion I made was that it was customary for the offer of the water lot to be made to the owner of the adjacent land, but that that usage had been violated recently in reference to Pictou. I stated that a number of individuals had bought land at Fisher's Grant to build a marine slip, and had made application for the water lot in front. The reply they received was that no water lots could be granted without consulting the owners of the soil, and I have Mr. Fairbanks' letter to that effect; and adding those individuals would be heard before any grant was made. Will it be believed that after that, the very lot in question was granted without notification to the owner of the soil. I wish to read another extract from the hon. member's speech, and to put the House and the country right upon another most material point: I made reference to the Reciprocity Treaty, and shewed that had it not been for the action of Canada we would probably have had the treaty yet, and what is said in reply to that? "He told us that the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty was largely due to the local duties imposed by Canada. Did he not know that while that Treaty lasted the Canadians could not and did not impose a farthing of local taxes?" I will now show from the best authority that can be laid before Parliament that my remarks in that particular were correct and just, and for that purpose I will quote from Mr. Derby's Report on the Treaty. Here are some of the articles pass-

ing free between the two countries: grain, flour and breadstuffs, timber, cotton wool, vegetables, and indeed almost all unmanufactured goods. On page 25, Mr. Derby says:—

While the treaty was pending, Lord Elgin, the British minister at Washington, alleged that Canada had always adopted the most liberal commercial policy with respect to the United States, as well in regard to the commerce through its canals as in regard to the admission of manufactured goods coming from this country, and if the natural products of that country (Canada) should be admitted duty free, that Government would be willing to carry out still further the same liberal policy already pursued towards the manufactures of the United States." The treaty itself recited that the parties "were desirous to regulate the commerce and navigation between their respective territories and people, and more especially between Her Majesty's possessions in North America and the United States, in such manner as to render the same reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory."

With these intentions, thus expressed, the treaty was executed and commerce commenced.

When the treaty took effect by the President's proclamation, March 17, 1855 the duties in Canada were very moderate, but 5 per cent. on some commodities, and 10 per cent. on others, but 12½ per cent. on our boots, shoes, leather, harnesses, and many of our other products; but within a year after the treaty Canada began to advance these duties, and by 1859 had raised them 62½ per cent. on one class, and 100 per cent. on another, embracing our chief manufactures, and most of them were thus excluded and the sale of others reduced.

The Committee of Congress on Commerce in 1862 complained in their report that the duties levied on our manufactures and other products had checked their exportation from the United States to Canada, that our commerce with that country reached its height in 1856 and then began to decline with the advance of duties, that our exports which paid duties to Canada declined from \$7,981,284 in 1858, the year after the treaty was adopted, to \$4,187,316 in 1860, a decline of 47 per cent. in four years only, while the whole amount of our Canadian commerce declined 25 per cent. from 1856, when the duties were low, to 1862 when they were high. The committee suggest that if Canada required more revenue, her attempt to raise it by new duties on our manufactures was a failure.—It effected nothing but their exclusion. The committee in this connection draw attention to the fact that while Canada urges that she was obliged to raise duties for revenue, she has established two great free ports—the port of Gaspe on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with a frontage of 1,200 miles on shores frequented by our fishermen, and another extending for 1,000 miles from the Sault St. Mary, at the outlet of Lake Superior, along the shores of Huron and Superior, where our settlers and seamen engaged in the growing transportation of the lakes may be tempted to buy goods and evade our duties. If legitimate trade be the object of Canada, she should reduce her duties, when they diminish her revenue, and if fair reciprocal trade is desired she should tempt our mariners, miners and settlers to evade our duties, and compel us to establish ports and custom houses at great expense upon a long frontier?

If Great Britain maintains Gibraltar to extend her trade on the coast of Spain, must we have a Gibraltar on our frontiers also?

Our committee complain of the change from specific to *ad valorem* duties on foreign goods, which are based on prime cost in gold, if they come by the St. Lawrence or by the Grand Trunk, a British Railway, but are assessed on cost, freight, and charges if not prices in currency if they come via Boston or New York. This the committee deem an evasion of the treaty. They complain also of discriminating tolls on the Welland Canal, by which goods destined via Oswego and Ogdensburg for New York or Boston pay tenfold the tolls required on goods diverted from our ports to Quebec or Montreal. They cite the reports of Messrs. Hatch & Taylor to our Treasury Department, in which they favor the extension of free trade. They refer to the trade with the maritime Provinces under

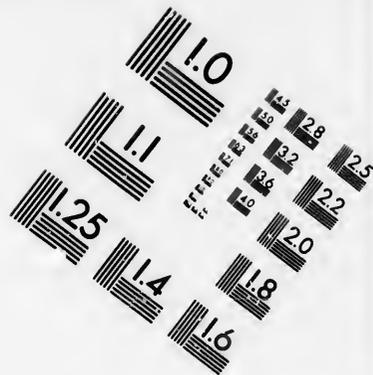
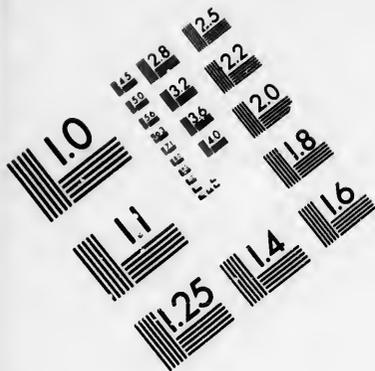
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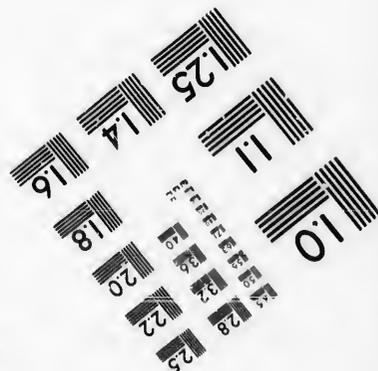
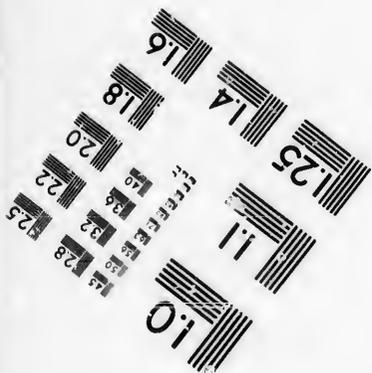
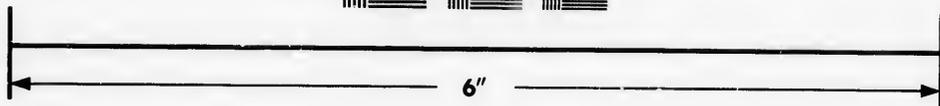
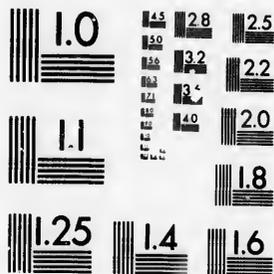
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their system of low duties as more satisfactory than that of Canada, and come to the conclusion, at which the legislature of New York had previously arrived and set forth in their Resolves now on file at Washington, that "the legislation of Canada subsequent to the treaty, was subversive of its true intent and meaning, and that an isolating and exclusive policy had been adopted, intended to destroy the natural effect of the treaty by heavy duties on the products the United States have to sell, and by discriminating duties and tolls imposed to exclude the United States from Canadian markets."

It is fresh in my memory that when invited to favor the treaty I declined to do so, because the programme stipulated did not expressly authorize us to buy the staples of Canada with the products of New England, but it is now apparent that this was a dangerous omission and that Canada has not redeemed her pledges. The minister of finance urges that Canadian duties are not as high as our own, but a duty of 20 or 25 per cent. is too high if it excludes our manufactures. The duty on our cloths at Liverpool and on our drifits at Calcutta were not higher, but they were just high enough to effect the purpose of Great Britain, the exclusion of the fabrics of the United States. The minister urges that the free ports of Gaspe and Sault St. Mary are to encourage the settlers; but the few settlers on these desert oases require no such stimulus, and Canada in establishing them pays no respect to the great maxim of the law—*sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas*—while benefiting by a treaty whose express object was to make the trade beneficial to both parties. He admits that the discriminating tolls and duties have been imposed and claims the right to impose them.

We have thus examined the progress, commerce, and policy of Canada, and find that she has grown rapidly in trade, wealth and population, that her annual commerce with us is fourfold its amount before the treaty; that she has not thus far redeemed the pledges given for her by Lord Elgin, the British minister, to favor our productions, but has checked their importation without benefit to her own, for she still devotes herself chiefly to her forests and agriculture, canals and railways.

These observations and extracts I contend are material to the subject of this debate, as showing that while Confederation lasts we will have little chance of Reciprocity. The hon. member also tried to make us believe that the feeling in Halifax had more to do with the repeal of the Treaty than the St. Alban's raid, and he threw blame on the citizens of Halifax for their conduct; but is it not well known that the chief trade with the Southern States during the war, was carried on by citizens of the Northern States. The principal trader with those States, in Halifax, happens to be a Unionist. I am well aware that Nova Scotia cannot of herself form a treaty with the States, but we could have reciprocal legislation which would serve the same purpose exactly. In his speech of Feby. 11th, the hon. member for Inverness again asked, who sent for Mr. Molleffey? All I can say about the matter is, if he advised the Lieut. Governor to send for some other person, and still Mr. Molleffey was sent for, it shows that the Governor did not think much of the advice. He told us also that a majority of the people of Halifax were in favor of Union. I doubt the assertion, but will leave it for others to answer more fully. He then referred to the repeal of the Corn Laws and Catholic Emancipation, and other acts which were advocated by Sir Robert Peel, and asked "were not these material changes in the constitution?" I say no; they were merely alterations of laws and statutes within the bounds of the constitution. He went on to

refer then to the annexation of Cape Breton, and to the alterations of the franchise in this country; but all these were mere alterations in the law, and not parallel cases. If the people had been displeased with the changes, they could be repealed. Not so as to Confederation because we find ourselves unable to alter the scheme of Union in any particular. We were referred to the Washington Cabinet as an example of a ministry holding office irresponsible to the people. That system is in accordance with the constitution of the United States, and if the people desire a change there is a means by which it can be effected. But look at the Cabinet at Ottawa. Mr. Archibald, a man who was rejected by his constituency, holds a high departmental office in defiance of the opinions of the people, and dispensing the patronage of this country. The hon. leader of the opposition quoted authorities to shew that material alterations had taken place without appeals to the people, and when he came to reply to the reference to Lord Mansfield's decision, although admitting his ability, he said that no man ever committed so many errors. Did not Pitt commit errors too? Some think he went needlessly into wars with Continental powers, and thereby loaded England with an enormous debt and heavy taxes. Did not other statesmen commit errors? Lord Chatham said at one time that the Colonies should not be allowed to make even a horse-shoe nail; but are we going to adopt all the doctrines enunciated by these men so many years ago, and long since exploded. The Union of Upper Canada and Lower Canada was also referred to, but the case is not parallel at all. No person deems, I take it, that at the request of the people of a Colony, its constitution may be taken away, but where privileges have been granted, and a constitution is given, and that charter has not been forfeited by rebellion, Parliament cannot take it away. The hon. member told us that before England would allow Nova Scotia to go she would deluge the land with blood. It would appear that he has a wonderful penchant for talking about blood and bowie knives; but in reference to his assertion, I would say that the people have no desire to rebel; we desire to remain loyal, and I have yet to learn that Great Britain will employ her troops to force us into a Confederation with Canada. If she obliged her soldiers to shed the blood of Nova Scotians for that object, the glory of the British name would be sullied, and the lustre of the British bayonet tarnished. Let us contrast our position under Confederation with that of a year ago. We then had our Governor's appointment coming from the Sovereign herself; the House of Assembly owing allegiance to the Queen, controlling the customs duties, lighthouses, post offices, railroads, public works, banking institutions, &c. We alone had the power to tax ourselves; and I would here say, that in my judgment, if there is one thing more than another which a free people should resist it is the handing over to an alien country of the right to tax us. What caused the old thirteen Colonies to rebel? Was it not the attempt made by the Legislature of Great

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Britain to tax them? They did not object so much to the amount of the tax as to the principle on which it was imposed. Our condition is much the same as theirs—the Act of Confederation gives to the Canadians the power to tax us as they please. A little more than a year ago the people of Nova Scotia were living happy and contented; every four years they had their elections, in which the party contests ran rather high,—but it mattered comparatively little whether the Conservative or Liberal party ruled, so long as they administered our affairs fairly, and distributed our moneys among ourselves. Then our trade was flourishing, and our resources were being developed as quickly as could be expected in a new country. What has caused the difference? Are our people contented now? Have we the control of our legislation and taxes, and the appointment of our public officers? All these privileges are gone, and the result is that Nova Scotia is to-day, from end to end, like a boiling cauldron. It is said that we should not excite the feelings of the people, but it is the people who are impelling their representatives forward, and it requires a great deal of prudence and caution to prevent an unwise exhibition of feeling. It has been said that the country 'as been agitated by a few interested persons,—but such is not the case. Look over the face of the country, and you see the people rising spontaneously and holding meetings to call for Repeal. The universal cry is, "Repeal this hated Confederation."

In looking at the history of the question we find that although the idea of a Union of the Colonies had been spoken of, and although Mr. Johnston in 1854, introduced a resolution which was seconded by Mr. Howe, both these gentlemen and others made able speeches, yet nothing tangible was done. The first practical step was taken in 1854, when a resolution was passed authorizing the appointment of five delegates to go to Charlottetown to arrange a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces. Those delegates went down to Charlottetown, but did they even look at their work? Mr. McCully said, in a speech delivered at Toronto. "I suppose you will hardly believe me when I tell you that the representatives of the Maritime Provinces, who had been convened for the purpose of securing a particular constitution for themselves, having heard your delegates, actually adjourned with their work unfinished, if I perhaps may coin a word, *unbegun*."

The very work which they were appointed to perform they left unconsidered. I refer to the fact because I believe that if these delegates had carried out the object of their appointment the result would have been beneficial to these Provinces. Lying contiguous to each other they are inhabited by the same race of people, their interests are identical, and surely there was material enough to form a considerable power. The area of the Provinces is as follows:—

Nova Scotia has square miles,	18,000
New Brunswick,	27,000
P. E. Island,	12,500

Making a total of	57,000
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The population is over 700,000, the shipping about 500,000, the exports \$11,318,456, the imports \$17,715,718. But instead of attending to their task, the delegates were spirited away, and the next place where we find them is in Quebec, where, after the lapse of twenty days, these men accepted a scheme secretly concocted and signed it on Sunday morning. It is somewhat strange that the hours of darkness were generally chosen by these men for their deeds in connection with the Union. In 1865 the scheme was submitted to the House of Assembly, but the opposition was so strong and the petitions so numerous, that the leader of the Government withdrew the measure and confessed he had found it impracticable. In 1866 no mention of the matter was in the Governor's Speech, although it is usual for the Ministry there to indicate the important questions which will be laid before Parliament. The omission, I believe, was intentionally made to deceive the people, and they were deceived. They were confident that no measure for that object would be brought forward, and thus they were lulled asleep. Now let me refer to the question of Union in its different aspects, and without going just now into the constitutional argument I think I can show that even under the most favorable circumstances the scheme of Confederation will be most injurious to Nova Scotia. Look at our geographical position, we are nearer Europe by 500 miles than any other part of America is—and surrounded as we are by the sea, being almost an island, and having access to the water at all seasons of the year, it is our interest to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. The people of the United States are our natural customers, and although by laws you may endeavor to divert trade, yet trade and commerce, like the waters of the ocean, will find its level and flow into their natural channels,—such legislation may succeed for a time, but business will soon return to its former courses. Let us before going further, examine this statement which I have made with respect to the people of the Republic being our natural customers, and I do not make these remarks because I would much prefer our people dealing with that country rather than Canada, for other things being equal I would have no such preference,—taking things, however, as we find them, we see that nine-tenths of our flour up to a recent period came from the States. In the year 1864 our total imports were \$12,600,000, the amount which we got from Canada being only the three hundredth part of the whole, \$403,000. We exported to Canada \$330,000 worth. From the United States we got \$4,000,000, being a hundred times as much as our Canadian importations, and we sent there eighty times the amount of our exports to Canada, being \$2,245,770. Our chief articles of export, as is well known, are coal, plaster, lime, grindstones, potatoes, oats, &c., and for these articles I repeat that the people of the American Union are our natural customers. Coal is almost the only article which Canada wants from us, and that only to a very limited extent.

In addition to the arguments derived from our geographical position and the nature of

our trade, we must consider the unfair legislation which forms one of the objections to Union. At the last session of the Ottawa Parliament, in spite of all that the members from the Lower Provinces could do or say, they put a tax on our breadstuffs,—this was done to benefit the Canadian producer, and to shut out from our markets the American breadstuffs. If there was any necessity for this step, other than Canadian necessities I would not utter a word of complaint, but we found that when the coal mining agents petitioned for American coal to be taxed the request was treated with contempt—thus exhibiting an utter disregard for fair legislation. One of the arguments used in favor of Union was that our manufactures were to be increased; to show you that that could not be the case let us look at the position of England,—what enables a country to manufacture largely and cheaply? It is an abundance of population and the cheapness of labor. There is no other country in which wages are so low as in Great Britain, and any one can see that the manufacturer who obtains workmen for half a dollar can undersell the one who has to pay a dollar. The English manufacturer can import all his raw material—cotton from the States, hemp from Russia, and silk from India, and can manufacture at a rate which enables him to undersell every other country on the globe. Now to apply the illustration: wages are lower in Canada than in Nova Scotia, and besides that in Canada they have a very large amount of water power. It would require the lapse of years before we could even under the most favorable circumstances compete with the Canadian manufactures. But it was said throughout the country, and very strongly urged in the Pictou canvass, "Oh, after Confederation manufacturing will start up, Nova Scotians who have gone to the States will come back in shiploads, and every stream in the country will have a mill upon it." I need not ask how far these predictions have been realized. Again, when we look at the matter in a financial point of view we will see that Confederation must operate most materially against the interests of Nova Scotia. We formerly had a tariff of ten per cent—that tariff was sufficient to meet all the wants of the country, and during the last ten years our revenue not only increased but had trebled, and has reached the sum of \$1,226,000. In the natural increase of trade and population the revenue would doubtless have been still found sufficient to meet all the demands of the country, and to extend our railroads east and west without a change of tariff. Now we have not only a tariff raised by fifty per cent., but new taxes of several other descriptions. The amount of money which we are to get in return is 30 cents per head and a bonus of \$60,000. The fifteen per cent. tariff will, as every one can see, produce just a half more than the ten per cent., and that increase, calculated in the revenue of 1866, amounts to about \$700,000. What is to become of that money? It goes to Canada.

We were told that we had got more money back than we had sent up so far, but there is the plain fact that the large sum which I

have mentioned goes into the treasury of the General Government. There would be no need for an increase if, as was said, the money was to be expended among ourselves. To have the tariff thus raised without any corresponding benefit being realized by the country, is what the people cannot see the point of. Although I was aware, when we were confederated, that, at any rate, in the lapse of a few years, our taxation would be largely increased, I had no idea that the leading men of Canada would be so bold and so dead to all sense of shame that, at the first meeting of their Parliament, regardless of what our representatives could say, these tyrannical and oppressive acts would be passed. It was said repeatedly that the balance of power would be in our hands, and there was no danger of our interests being disregarded with fifteen members from New Brunswick to join our thirteen; but when the interests of the Maritime Provinces came to clash with those of Canada, we saw the Canadians banding together, imposing taxation on us, and such I fear will always be the case while the Union lasts. To show you how oppressive the new taxation which they have imposed is, I will read from a speech delivered by Mr. McLellan at Ottawa:

"The Minister of Customs admits, that according to a statement prepared for him by some other person, the increase of taxation on tea, tobacco, sugar, and the fifteen per cent. articles, will be \$273,145. I have made the calculation myself of the effect of this change of rates on some of the leading articles in use in Nova Scotia. Taking the quantities imported in 1866, the last year in which we have returns, I find the increase on sugars will be \$45,185, and on tobacco \$22,645. The member for Cumberland told us last night that the increase on tea is only half a cent a pound; the Minister of Customs says it is a cent; both gentlemen, I am sorry to say, is below the mark. There need be no uncertainty; the quantity and the cost value are given in the returns, and show the increase on our importations to amount to \$30,472. On meal there will be \$15,367; printing paper \$6000; petroleum oil \$20,500. Of cottons, woollens, hardware, cordage, canvas, &c., we imported, in 1866, the value of \$6,287,857, paying as duties \$556,386. Deducting \$1,122,493 for ship's uses, and some other goods to be entered free under this tariff, the balance would pay \$744,700, making an increase of \$313,404. Without occupying the time of the House by going over the whole of our importations, it will be seen that on these staple goods alone there will be an increased taxation in Nova Scotia to the extent of \$359,073."

Dr. Tupper, in 1864, said that owing to the large deficits in the revenue of Canada, it would not be desirable for Nova Scotia to be confederated with that country. His language was:

"But I am satisfied that whilst the condition of affairs has been such as it has been for years in Canada—the deficit now between the expenditure and revenue being more than a million of dollars—these Maritime Provinces would look very doubtfully upon a proposal which was to unite them with a country that

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 barment." "That deficit, we know, had been accumu-  
 lating for ten years with the exception of  
 one. After a six months' trial of Confedera-  
 tion we are in a position fairly to ask if the  
 promises held out to us have been realised,—  
 if our manufactories have been built up, our  
 remaining interests improved, and the young  
 men and women who left the country brought  
 back by the inducements afforded? No, sir,  
 the benefits which we have obtained, are in-  
 creased taxation, the stamp act, the newspa-  
 per tax, and a number of other such imposi-  
 tions. To show that I have not exaggerated  
 the inducements which were held out to us as  
 arguments in favor of Confederation, I will  
 read from a speech of Mr. John Tobin, made  
 in 1867. He said: "If there in one section  
 of this Province more likely than another to  
 be benefited by this Confederation, it is the  
 city of Halifax. This must be the emporium,  
 whence will be distributed over the Confed-  
 eracy all the merchandise brought to our  
 shores. Trade must be developed to an indefi-  
 nite degree, labor will be developed, in fact  
 all classes and interests will receive a valu-  
 able impulse. Our port will be filled with  
 shipping, and our wharves and warehouses  
 groan with the merchandise that will be re-  
 quired for the Confederation." That is a  
 sample of the style of argumentation which  
 was made use of to deceive the country.  
 I think I have shown, Mr. Speaker, that  
 the working of the scheme, in whatsoever  
 light you regard it—commercially, financial-  
 ly, or otherwise—is adverse to the interests  
 of Nova Scotia. But the scheme is bad in it-  
 self, as I will presently shew. And I will  
 dwell but little upon this point, because it is  
 not material to us; because, even if the mea-  
 sure were good, as Mr. Tompkins said: if it  
 had brought as many blessings as it has  
 courses, no person with a particle of British  
 feeling, should submit to it." We were told  
 that the scheme contains all the beauties of  
 both monarchical and republican systems.  
 The admiration which some had expressed  
 for this constitution reminds me of the Pil-  
 grim who exclaimed in reference to the colli-  
 seum at Rome.  
 "While stands the coliseum, Rome shall stand;  
 When falls the coliseum, Rome shall fall;  
 And when Rome falls, the world."

One would think that the world would fall  
 if this Confederation were broken up. In my  
 view, it does not contain the checks of either  
 the monarchical or republican system. The  
 very genius of the British constitution is  
 against Federal union. The history of federa-  
 tion, from the earliest times, is condemna-  
 tory of the principle, and a legislative union  
 is that which we have seen taken place in  
 Great Britain. If a necessity existed, which  
 I deny for a union of these Colonies, a legis-  
 lative union is certainly the one which  
 should have been formed. Let me read an  
 extract from Mr. Johnston's speech, in 1854,  
 upon that point. He says:  
 "I have never favored a Union of the Pro-  
 vinces, by way of federation, for it did not  
 appear to tend to the great object we had in  
 view. What we want is to produce a real

community—make the parts that are now separate  
 a homogenous whole—give them a common  
 existence and purpose." This opinion, coming from Mr. Johnston,  
 ought to have had some weight with union-  
 ists at all events. But if the delegates, hav-  
 ing decided in forming a Federal union, had  
 only turned their eyes on the American Rep-  
 ublic, and copied some of its most valuable  
 features, we would have had some better  
 checks supplied. They gave us representa-  
 tion by population in the lower House, and I  
 will not here stay to argue whether that basis  
 is correct or not; but having done that, they  
 should have given us some safeguard in the  
 upper House. New York, being a large  
 State, has 30 representatives in the House of  
 Representatives; and Rhode Island, being  
 small, has only three or four; but in the  
 Senate the latter has as many members as  
 the former, so that the smaller States are pro-  
 tected from any combination in the lower  
 House. But even if the appointments to our  
 Senate had been what they should have been,  
 the complaint would not have been so great;  
 but some of these appointments are a disgrace  
 to Nova Scotia. I will not refer to the indi-  
 vidual characters of the men; for they are  
 pretty well known; some of them were men  
 of respectability; but among them were men  
 like Miller, who went over the country den-  
 ouncing Confederation. There was Mr.  
 Bourinot, whose feelings in the matter were  
 so strong, at one time that he refused to par-  
 ticipate in social gatherings in Canada lest  
 his attendance might be taken as an indica-  
 tion of a favorable leaning towards Confed-  
 eration. Mr. Jones shews what made a Union-  
 ist of him, and how he received his appoint-  
 ment, and there were others in the same po-  
 sition. Only one of the number of Senators  
 can be said to represent Nova Scotia, and  
 that is John Locke.  
 We come now to the question whether this  
 matter should have been referred to the peo-  
 ple at the polls, and authorities have been  
 cited to show that it should not. I will not  
 waste time to cite many proofs, because the  
 right of the people to decide is perfectly ob-  
 vious. Is it not a common popular saying  
 "Vox populi, Vox dei"? And there is an-  
 other one, "Vox populi, suprema lex;" that  
 is, "the voice of the people is the supreme  
 law." Parliament has no power to destroy  
 itself, or to vote itself out of existence. Lord  
 Plunket said in reference to the incompeten-  
 cy of Parliament to put an end to its own  
 existence: "yourselves you may extinguish,  
 but Parliament you cannot extinguish. It is  
 enthroned in the hearts of the people—it is  
 enshrined in the sanctuary of the constitu-  
 tion—it is as immortal as the island that  
 protects it." As well might the frantic sui-  
 cide imagine that the act which destroys his  
 miserable body should also extinguish his  
 eternal soul. Again, therefore, I warn you.  
 Do not dare to lay your hands on the Con-  
 stitution—it is above your powers!" Never  
 I think have I read anything more truly elo-  
 quent and true than the foregoing extract.  
 Even common sense should suffice to teach  
 any person in a Legislative Assembly that  
 the people from whom the authority is de-  
 rived should not be precluded from saying

whether that power should be transferred. But I can shew from the lips of the abettors of Union themselves that this matter should have been referred to the people. In 1864 Mr. Miller said:—

“When we were told, as we had been told today, that it was the intention, if possible, to consummate this Union without a special appeal to the people—to yield up our separate government without the ratification of the popular voice, he thought it behoved us to act with forthright and discretion.”

It is a pity he did not continue to act with the same forthright and discretion. In 1865 Dr. Tupper said:—

“Although the attempt has been made to induce the people to oppose it (the Quebec Scheme), by petitions largely circulated, the majority of the petitioners who are here state that they are not prepared to say whether it would be for good or for evil—that we should have Confederation, and ask the House to pause before irrevocably committing itself to what would be, I believe, for the advantage of the country. I believe that at an early day these parties, having been fully informed on the subject, will be prepared to come here by tens of thousands, and ask the Legislature to consummate this scheme of Union.”

There he admits the principle for which we contend. He says that the people will come in by thousands to ask for the enactment; but how many petitions in favor of Union were presented? Again, Dr. Tupper said at Kentville in 1866:—

“If the people’s representatives are satisfied that the country is opposed to this Union they can yet reject it, or they can obtain a dissolution by asking for it. *No Government could prevent it.* What we wish is, to submit the broad question on broad grounds, and leave its decision to the independent action of the Legislature. *No more groundless statement could be made than that there would be an attempt made to force this scheme upon the people.* In the discharge of my public duty I have felt bound to go wherever I would, and submit myself to the criticism of every man—to give all the information in my power, ready to submit as a member of the Government and as a public man of Nova Scotia to what I believe to be the great fountain of authority, that is, the clearly understood wishes of the people. I am quite certain that under the present Government and Parliament no measure will be ever passed that will be contrary to the public sentiment of the country.”

Do you suppose that Dr. Tupper was not well aware at that time that the people were opposed to the scheme? The mode of passing it shows their knowledge that the public sentiment was against the deed. Even Mr. Arohibald acknowledged the right of the people, for he used these words in his speech delivered at Temperance Hall, in 1864:—“It is for the people of Nova Scotia to ratify or reject what we have done. If it will not promote their interests—if they believe the result will be injurious, and not beneficial, let them reject it.”

THE SPEAKER suggested that it was out of

order, strictly speaking, to read from book or papers in debate.

Dr. MURRAY continued:—I would not have referred to extracts if it had not been done so largely on the other side,—but I was proceeding to shew that the man who now loudly tells us that Parliament had a right to pass the measure without submitting it to the people by their speeches and acts—some time ago proved the contrary. Mr. Tilley, in addressing an audience at St. John, said: 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.* Mr. Tilley acted in accordance with this opinion, and, like an honest man, submitted it to the people. Had our people consented to union their position would have been very different. A great deal has also been said about the inconsistency of certain persons, especially Mr. Howe. It matters little to the people whether Mr. Howe was inconsistent or not,—if he had advocated Confederation without an appeal to the people he was wrong. Apertions have been freely cast on Mr. Howe’s name, but that name is “*cast on the few, the immortal names; that are not born to die;*” and will live in the minds and hearts of Nova Scotians when the men who passed this measure will have gone down.

“To the vile dust from whence they sprang, Unwept, unhonored, and unung.”

The only parallel case that can be adduced is the Union of Ireland and England. It is well known that the Irish people were opposed to that union, and, when it could not be carried by fair means, Mr. Pitt, through the instrumentality of Castlereagh, by distributing large sums of money and titles among the members of Parliament, secured the passage of the measure. But what has been the result? The Irish people feeling that they were swindled out of their Parliament by improper means have ever since been discontented; one rebellion after another, Fenian organizations, &c., and tens of thousands of her people have exiled themselves from their beloved land, carrying with them wherever they go the most deadly hostility to Britain. And similar results are likely to follow similar courses in Nova Scotia. We who oppose Confederation have been called Fenians and Annexationists, and in a letter, written by Mr. Arohibald, he told us about two parties going up to the village ohnroh, one respectable people, and the other associating with Fenians, rebels, and so forth, adding that people should be careful what company they kept. When I read that production, I was inclined to exclaim

“I thank thee, Roderick, for that word, It nerves my arm, it steels my heart.”

When that man slandered nineteen-twenties of his countrymen by telling them that they were the sympathizers of Fenians, cutthroats and rebels, he should have considered the company he himself was in. He was sitting the very time he wrote that letter in company with a man (Dr. Tupper) who had called him a briber and perjurer; with Mr. McGee, who, in 1848, went into rebellion against his Sovereign; with Cartier, who, in

1837, at threw a were at has been country Galt, at been ter country of them but Mr try, and tion.

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1837, stood in the same position, and only threw away his musket when the red-coats were at his heels; with J. A. MacDonald, who has been branded by the press of his own country as a common drunkard; and with Galt, an Annexationist. The Fenians have been termed "misguided men, who love their country not wisely but too well," and some of them were found to die for their country, but Mr. Archibald delighted to sell his country, and to bring her under foreign domination.

Let me here read a short extract from Putnam's Cyclopaedia of Chronology. "A memorial for the annexation of Canada to the United States, received in five hours the signatures of 300 merchants, landowners and professional men in Montreal, Oct. 10, 1850." Who ever heard of anything like that occurring in Nova Scotia. Who ever heard of our people being disloyal until they were forced into subjection to another country. Some time ago, it will be remembered, the Government of the day dismissed a hundred magistrates. Mr. Johnson, our present Judge in Equity, moved the following resolution in the House, with regard to those dismissals:

"And this House is of opinion, that if such an exercise of Executive administration should be vindicated, the most sacred interests of society, would be placed in the power of every corrupt and unscrupulous Government that could command a subservient majority in the Legislature; and the people of Nova Scotia being driven to desire some constitution better balanced and protected, the connection between the Colony and the Parent State would be weakened and endangered."

If that deed was to weaken the connection with the Mother Country, how much greater is the danger when the rights of the whole people are sacrificed? The men who accomplished it may think they did a very honorable thing, and may enjoy for a time the honors which have been bestowed upon them, but I do not envy them. We remember that Montiech betrayed Wallace, and for that act of treachery was loaded with honors while Wallace was put to death; but what Scotchman hears the name of Wallace, and reads that stirring song "Scots wha hae," but lifts his head higher, and plants his foot more firmly, without his heart beating stronger, and his blood circulating more rapidly, though centuries have rolled by since the death of the warrior? Who now thinks of Montiech but with execration? In the neighboring Republic there was a man named Arnold who was honored for his treason, but how is he regarded now? In Mexico how was Lopez looked on after he had betrayed his benefactor? His wife met him and said, "Lopez, here in your son, we cannot divide him, but never more do I wish to behold his father's face." That is the way in which the men who betrayed this country will be regarded. When a hundred of years have passed, their names will stink in the nostrils of Nova Scotians. It has been often asked "will we get repeal?" I reply:

"Freedom's battle once begun,  
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,  
Though baffled off is ever won."

When I look at the character of the Parliament to which we are applying for redress, a Parliament presided over by the best sovereign in existence, and guided by great, wise, and honorable men, I feel there is no reason to expect that when we go there and show that they were deceived—that we never favored the Scheme, but were designedly kept from passing on it, these authorities will at once say "we have done you a grievous wrong, but we will undo what has been done." I might refer at some length to the falsehood contained in the preamble to the Union Act, and to the influence which Mr. Waskin's statement must have had when he said that the question had been discussed at every polling booth in the Province. As to the Act itself, I concur with those who think it is not binding on Nova Scotia, because it has never been confirmed by statute of the Local Legislature. When the Reciprocity Treaty was entered into it was sent to us for ratification, and why not this measure? It has been said we should accept the situation. Shall we do so? No, Mr. Speaker, we will not, nor will we accept the advice of those who ask us to wait a little longer. "A day, an hour of virtuous liberty is worth a whole eternity in bondage."

We may be asked "but is our country worth contending for?" Look at her resources, her forests, her fisheries, her mines. Is it not the coal and iron that make a country great? We have them in abundance. This land is ours; it has come to us free from our forefathers, who felled the forests, and tilled the fields, and made "the wilderness to rejoice and blossom as the rose." Have we not among us the feelings of Britons? Whom do I see around me but the descendants of Englishmen, who are noted for their love of freedom; of Scotchmen—those men of iron, with lightning in them—the sons of the land which has been called "the home of the brave and the free"; and of Irishmen, whose country is the "first flower of the field, first gem of the sea," and has given birth to so many illustrious men, who, like Grattan, could exclaim in reference to their country's constitution, "I've sat by her cradle, and followed her hearse." And is there anything in the atmosphere of Nova Scotia to deteriorate the race? Have we not the same aspirations? I believe that Nova Scotia will not tamely submit and accept their present position. They must and will be free.

The debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned.

FRIDAY, Feb. 14th.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Mr. RYANSON presented the report of the Committee appointed in reference to the distribution of the moneys for the relief of distressed fishermen.

Mr. DICKIE presented a petition with respect to a wharf in King's County.

Mr. KIRK, a petition from Fishermen's Harbour for a bridge.

Mr. COCHRAN, a petition of Mr. Archibald and others, of Musquodoboit Harbour, in reference to a road.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table corre-

pendence with reference to the Gilchrist Educational Trust Fund.

Mr. CRAWFORD, the petition of Laurillard and others in reference to a bridge at Upper Stewiacke.

Mr. FREEMAN asked the government for certain information respecting a bridge in Queen's Co.

Mr. PINO presented a petition from the Custos and Clerk of the Peace of Cumberland asking for an amendment in the License Law.

Mr. BRENNEAU presented petitions with reference to the gathering of sea manure. Mr. NORTON, a petition from Garrett O'Connor, straggled schoolmaster, asking for a grant of land; also a petition from H. Dunlap and others, in reference to a road.

Mr. BALDAM, a petition from Ship Harbor. Hon. Mr. FERGUSON, a petition of certain rate payers and inhabitants of New Boston and Castagne, in C. B., asking for a certain quantity of potatoes and oats for seed; also a petition from the ferryman at Little Bras D'Or, asking for additional remuneration.

Dr. BROWN introduced a bill to incorporate the King's Co. Medical Society.

The adjourned debate was then resumed.

#### MR. PINO'S SPEECH

Mr. PINO rose and said:—In rising to address the House with respect to the resolutions before the House, it is but natural that I should feel some embarrassment. But I feel in endorsing the sentiments expressed in the resolutions introduced by the hon. member for Inverness, that my views will be pretty clearly understood by the House and country, and that, therefore, it will be entirely unnecessary for me to occupy your attention for any great length of time. Like the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Smith) who addressed the House on Wednesday in such an agreeable manner and style, I feel it is a duty that I owe to the country, as well as to myself, to explain the position which I occupy with reference to Confederation and Repeal. I was not instrumental, let me say at the outset, in bringing about this Act of Union; and I do not, therefore, feel myself responsible for the Act itself or its results. It was proclaimed the law of the land—I believe it to have been constitutional; but whilst I entertain that view I still feel that it was hastened on the part of the Government to have passed the measure into law without having first submitted it to the people at the polls. But when it was proclaimed the law of the land I felt it to be my duty to accept the situation; as I consider it to be the duty of every loyal British subject to-day. Now the county I have the honor to represent, abounds in coal fields, grind stone, lime stone, and other stone quarries. It adjoins the County of Colchester, where there is abundance of copper and iron. We have the facilities for all kinds of manufacturing. We have as industrious men and women as are to be found in any part of the world, but we have not the capital to encourage and stimulate the energy and enterprise of our people, and develop our resources. Now, the Act of Confederation accords to us the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, which will pass through the two counties I have mentioned, and necessa-

rially involve the expenditure of a large sum of money. Here then will be employment for our people. The construction of this work will open up a market for everything that our country produces. The circulation of money will stimulate our people and assist them in establishing those manufactures which are so very essential to it, and will be the means of bringing back to Nova Scotia thousands of our people who have left us to seek employment elsewhere. To repeal the Act of Confederation will destroy all this. We may be differently situated in Cumberland from any other county in the Province, but situated as we are we look forward hopefully to the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, which our public men have attempted in vain for so many years to accomplish, but have never succeeded until the Act of Confederation was passed.

But can we have repeal by passing the resolutions laid on the table by the Attorney General? I believe not. I believe as firmly as I believe that the Act of Confederation is constitutional that we will never have the Union repealed until it has had a fair trial, and proved to be what its enemies declare it will be. I believe that these resolutions are based on a fallacy, which will be easily seen by British statesmen. It may be expected that I should come forward to assist the hon. member for Inverness in resisting the attacks made on the late government, but I do not consider he required any assistance at my hands. He is ready and able to defend himself here and elsewhere, and actuated as I am under existing circumstances to assume a responsibility which does not naturally devolve upon me would be very rash and imprudent. I stated on a former occasion that I do not intend to indulge in any factious opposition, but no matter what minority I might be in, I would assist the Government in passing all measures that are necessary for the country. Entertaining the opinions I do of the resolutions moved by the hon. Attorney General, and believing as I do that time and circumstances will prove me to be right, I feel it to be my duty to support the amendments of the hon. member for Inverness.

#### MR. DICKIE'S SPEECH

Mr. DICKIE followed and said:—Mr. Speaker, in attempting to address this House on the resolutions on the table, I shall not say anything in regard to the constitutionality of this question, for that part of the subject has been so ably handled by the gentlemen who have preceded me, that anything I might say would only be taking up the time of this House unnecessarily. I propose, sir, to look at this question in the light of a commercial transaction. In taking this view of it, I am aware it may be said that I am assuming very low ground—that I am taking a narrow and contracted view of the question, unworthy of so great a Confederation, so vast a Dominion. This may, to some extent, be the case, but you must be aware that a wise man once said, "money answereth all things," and without money what can any country be? It is necessary to the life, the prosperity, and the happiness of a country, that

its financial condition should be sound, as it is necessary that the sun should shine and the rain should fall so that the face of mother earth may be clothed with verdure. And, sir, when laying the foundations of so great a Dominion, the utmost care should be taken that no interest should suffer in the slightest degree. The slightest variation of the compass may wreck the noble ship, and send her crew and passengers to a watery grave; so the smallest deviation from the path of justice in laying the foundations of an Empire, might ultimately cause its destruction. The Legislature of this Province, when (constitutionally or not) appointing delegates to arrange a scheme of Confederation, stipulated that such a scheme should be equitable and just to all the provinces, and I propose to show that they did not carry out that stipulation. In July last, I made a calculation based on the revenue and expenditure of 1868, and estimated that the Dominion Government would receive from Nova Scotia, under our tariff, \$370,000 more than she would have to pay.

I showed this House the other day that, according to Mr. Ross's statement, the Dominion has received at the rate of \$366,000 per year, or \$152,400 for five months, and no gentleman undertook to gainsay the statement; it cannot be done—it stands as a record of the past and a foretaste of the future. I also showed that the difference between the tariff of Nova Scotia and the tariff of the Dominion would take from Nova Scotia in addition \$732,000. None disputed it; nor can they do so. These two amounts make \$1,097,000; add to this the Stamp Act, the Postage Act, and the Bank tax, and you have not less than 23,000 more, or £1,120,000 for the year 1868, had we then been confederated. Is this fair, is this just? Is this such a scheme as they were charged to arrange? No—nothing of the kind. Were they ignorant of what they were doing? I would fain believe so if I could; but, sir, even the mantle of charity which covereth a multitude of sins, is not ample enough to cover so grave an error. It is utterly impossible that they should not have known that the bargain was a ruinous one for Nova Scotia; and, sir, we are compelled to look further for some cause that operated on their minds with greater force than the welfare of their country.

We have an inkling of this cropping out at the convention held in Quebec, where, it is said, they were at sixes and sevens until it was understood that the Dominion would elect three Governors for the different Provinces, and there would be a number of heads of departments and vacant senatorships to be filled. Then, as if by magic, this pipe of peace allayed all strife and differences of opinion, and each was enabled to see in this great scheme everything to admire and nothing to condemn. It could be compared in their estimation to but one thing under heaven—that to which nothing is to be added, neither anything to be taken away.

Sir, let me turn the attention of this House to what this Province has been enabled to do in the past, and from that judge what she might do in the future if left as we were. It

has been one of the great arguments of our opponents that had we remained as we were I would have had to raise our tariff. I deny it, sir, and I ask for the proof. The customs revenues of Nova Scotia were—

1861	\$608,939
1862	835,057
1863	861,869
1864	998,109
1865	1,047,891
1866	1,230,398

This is an average annual increase in the past 4 years of 12 1/2 per cent, and at the same average rates we might expect—

1867	\$1,379,697
1868	1,552,159
1869	1,745,178
1870	1,963,200

This is a calculation based upon the records of the past; and there is no reason why these amounts may not be realized in the future, except it be that the unsettled state of the country has been thrown into by those who have attempted to dispose of our revenues, and deprive us of our dearest rights, the rights of free men. But this is only our revenue from customs; our total revenue was—

1861	\$ 892,324
1862	1,270,817
1863	1,249,103
1864	1,174,918
1865	1,731,855
1866	1,837,146

Under an average increase, we would have—

1867	\$2,000,291
1868	2,380,452
1869	2,644,258
1870	2,974,790

And this, too, under our own tariff. So with our finances in this condition, we would be enabled to meet all our liabilities; and build our proposition of the Intercolonial Railroad, if required.

But, sir, if we were to collect duties under a Canadian tariff, we would have collected, in addition to what we have collected under our tariff—

1864	\$ 603,531
1865	688,522
1866	732,000
1867	823,500
1868	926,544
1869	1,042,247
1870	1,179,253

a sum of itself sufficient to build the Intercolonial road, and pay for it too; in less than 30 years, by placing the surplus in a sinking fund. And this, I hesitate not to say, the sum paid by Nova Scotia to the Dominion Government, increasing every year as our imports increase, and for which Ontario and Quebec pay to the general fund no equivalent. But when I put the two amounts together and add to them the other taxes we have already enumerated, you would have—

1864	\$ 884,960
1865	995,556
1866	1,120,000
1867	1,260,000
1868	1,417,500
1869	1,594,867
1870	1,764,023

I may be told we will not continue to prosper in the future as we have in the past. If that is the argument then the whole fabric falls to the ground, for has not their whole argument been that under Confederation every interest would prosper, our trade would be enlarged, and the hum of our busy workshops would be heard from one end of the Province to the other—and to quote the words of a reverend and learned lecturer, the present generation would see Halifax expanded to such an extent that Bedford Basin would be a mere frog pond in the centre of the town. If these anticipations are to be realized my estimates are a long way inside of the mark, for the greater our trade the more money Canada takes from us.

If my anticipations are not realized, it will be because this Confederation has crippled our trade, destroyed our manufactures, and reduced our people, and forced them to live more cheaply and consume less durable goods. You may take either horn of the dilemma you please, there can be but one result.

Now let me turn your attention to our local requirements, and ask how we can meet them under Confederation. We expended for Agriculture; Board of Works; Crown Lands; Education; Legislative Expenses; Mines and Minerals; Navigation Securities; Printing; Roads and Bridges:

In 1862,	\$318,340
1863,	398,849
1864,	555,973
1865,	629,302
1866,	831,699

And at the same rate we would require:

In 1867,	\$ 985,014
1868,	1,149,183
1869,	1,313,352
1870,	1,477,521

On the other hand we would only have under Confederation:

In 1866,	\$442,000
1867,	465,000
1868,	489,000
1869,	517,000
1870,	550,000

Sums totally inadequate to meet the wants of these services as we have met them formerly; and the consequence would be that after we had contributed millions of dollars to Canada for the support of the Dominion Government, we would either have to allow our local wants to suffer, or tax ourselves directly for large amounts to meet their increasing wants.

But, sir, I have only been arguing hitherto on the supposition that the Dominion would only require from Nova Scotia the amount raised by the present Tariff, Stamp Act, Postage Bill, and Bank tax. A vain delusion, as I will presently show. People unite and form partnerships in order to accomplish together what they could not alone. On this principle we have, for large enterprises, joint stock companies. On the same principle this Confederation was formed, and the enterprises she has undertaken are, first, the Intercolonial Railroad, at a cost, it is said, of twenty millions of dollars; the purchase and opera-

ing up of the North West Territory, variously estimated at from thirty to fifty millions more; then a Welland canal is in contemplation at from twenty to thirty millions more. And where is even the interest of the money to come from? For it seems to be a settled principle with our politicians that only the interest of money is to be provided for; the principal is left to future generations,—who it is expected will be able to do what the present cannot;—but how we are not told. Why, sir, when we turn to the estimates laid before the Dominion Parliament by the Hon. Mr. Rose, what do we find? Why, we find an estimated expenditure of \$14,301,301

Estimated Income 14,457,400

Leaving a surplus of only \$156,099

and this does not include \$1,925,500 expended on capital account. More than this, to my surprise there is nothing in these estimates providing for the Intercolonial railroad, North West Territory, or a Welland canal, the interest of which will amount to from five to seven millions, and of which Nova Scotia will have to pay her share in addition to all the sums I have enumerated. Yet all this is considered by the delegates and their friends fair and equitable; this is the scheme that was to do justice to all parties. If the foundation was laid thus let me ask what the superstructure is to be like.

Sir, did you ever hear of any number of persons going into partnership without taking into account the goods and chattels placed in the firm? What would you think if several gentlemen here should enter a partnership, and should place in one common fund their cash, their lands, their houses, their ships and their stocks, without putting any appraised value upon them, or without taking them into account at a certain valuation? And still you see the founders of this Dominion placing at the disposal of the Dominion the railroads of Nova Scotia without equivalent or compensation, to say nothing of our lighthouses, breakwaters, canals, and public buildings. Sir, I should have thought that one of the first things to be done would have been to have appointed a commission to appraise all the public property, and to arrange the same in a fair and equitable manner; and when they failed to do this they failed to carry out the very letter and spirit of their instructions. Had an enemy by force of arms conquered the country, he could not have done more than take all the public buildings and works as they have done, except to levy contributions on the inhabitants, and even this they have not failed in, for we see our revenues not only taken by our conquerors, but also raised 55 per cent.—and all this, in my estimation, is only a foretaste of what is to come.

When they talk of "accepting the situation"—of working the thing out, do they understand their position?—do they think where they are leading the country to? They cannot, surely! They have never carefully and honestly looked the situation in the face, or made any calculations as to the result, or they would not give such advice as that.

Allow me now to turn the attention of this House to another phase of this remarkable Confederation. The history of the Grand Trunk Railroad is to some extent familiar to most in this House. That it sways and largely influences the political affairs of Canada few will venture to deny; and, sir, I have reason to believe that the influence of that Company have had much, very much to do in bringing about this Confederation. Its influence on the politicians of Canada none can well define. When we turn our attention to England, we find the stockholders in that country throwing all the weight of their influence and position to further this scheme, and Mr. Watkin, the chairman, in his place in Parliament, standing up and declaring that Parliament, and making them believe that the people of Nova Scotia had, at the polls, declared themselves in favour of this scheme. This closed the mouths of our friends in Parliament; they were unprepared to give him a flat denial, and under this misrepresentation they were led to pass this Act and do a cruel wrong to this country. It would be a libel on the love of justice and fair play, inherent in the breast of every Englishman to suppose for a moment that when they were shown, as I trust they will be, the wrong they have done, that they will not take immediate steps to repair that wrong in the only way possible by a repeal of so much of it as applies to Nova Scotia. You may say what object had the Grand Trunk Directors in all this. 'Tis plain to be seen and judged of by their past history. They evidently, by their great power, will control the building of the Inter-colonial, and make fortunes out of it, as Hincks did out of the Grand Trunk, and when finished will, in all probability, wind up the affair by saddling the two roads on the Dominion Government at such a price as will enable them to secure the services of members who in the past have, by their sudden commissions, laid themselves open in the public estimation to have been convinced by the strong arguments of gold and position rather than by the love of country and its welfare.

Sir, I will now turn the attention of this House to a statement made by the member for Iverness, and which he complains has not yet been answered; namely, that the Dominion Government have actually paid for Nova Scotia up to the present more than they received. Admit, for the sake of argument, that it is strictly true. If you will, what does it prove taken in connection with what I proved to the gentleman, and which it is not worth while to repeat? It proves but this, if they did so it was on account of our debt, for which they were bound to provide, and for which we pay them interest, and if they had paid in the first six months the whole eight millions, and cancelled all our bonds by bonds of the Dominion, or by cash, could any one be so bold as to declare that we had been the gainers by the sum of eight millions in the first six months? And yet this is the whole of his argument.

There is one other point I would turn your attention to, namely: In all those calculations I have, for the sake of argument, assumed that the Dominion Government will provide for all the services turned over to them in as

efficient a manner as we have done hitherto. Take for illustration the light house service; almost every man in this House and in this country is interested directly or indirectly in having the light houses of our coasts and bays properly cared for, and in the past scarcely a year has gone by that we have not added several new ones. But have we any guarantee that the Dominion Government, sitting in the backwoods of Ottawa, will take the same interest and care of those services that we have. I might apply the same remarks to other services, but I will not occupy the time of the House.

Allow me now to direct attention to a statement published by J. Johnson, Assistant Commissioner at Ottawa, attempting to show the amount that will be collected under the Dominion tariff and that collected under our late tariff, and showing an increase of only \$59,339. This statement is sent broadcast over the face of the country, and shows either the ignorance and utter incompetency of the officer, or that he is attempting wilfully to deceive the people of this country. Let me turn the attention of the House to a few of the statements, and compare them with the revenue actually received according to the Journals of this House:—

	Johnson.	Journals.
Beef and Pork,	\$6,207	\$3,409
Navy Bread,	1,650	1,450
Butter & Lard,	1,749	670
Cheese,	732	332
Flour,	70,321	28,685
Apples,	2,459	447
Brandy,	71,107	56,598
Gin & Whiskey,	101,588	83,662
Rum,	263,869	151,091
Tobacco,	29,787	17,921

And, sir, all the mistakes are on one side of the account, and these make a difference of some \$190,000. When we turn to the amount of exports he lowers those to suit what authority or right I cannot be to deceive the people of this heads his statement as based on facts. He makes some singular instances; for instance, he estimates a \$48,321, and yet the duty the same under both tariffs, and makes a saving of nearly \$20,000. It is a saving that would be saved if flour had been free. Sir, I will not tire this House by wading through any more of his errors. Suffice it to say that the errors in this column foot up some \$265,000.

The average duty of Canada and Nova Scotia was as follows:—

	Canada.	Nova Scotia
1863,	11.2	8.4
1864,	12.6	7.4
1865,	12.	7.2
1866,	13.6	8.5

The average Canadian tariff of last year is 55 per cent higher than the average of Nova Scotia—and the Dominion tariff of today only differs from the Canadian tariff in some half a dozen articles, as I showed on a former day, and which it is not worth while to repeat, and the difference to Nova Scotia is not

more than \$10,000 either way per year. And yet Mr. Johnston tells us that it will only take us \$59,339 more than our late tariff. Nova Scotia imported in the year ending 30th Sept., 1866, \$14,361,000, and collected duty on it \$1,246,368, and the addition of \$59,339 would only be about 4.100 of 1 per cent— which would make the Dominion tariff according to Mr. Johnston only 8.94,100 per cent; call it 9 per cent. for the sake of simplifying it. Apply this to the amount of Canada's imports, and you have \$2,488,516 less than was actually collected; and if Mr. Johnston is right Canada will be relieved by this tariff \$2,488,516 per year, and we will have added to our taxes by it \$59,339. Sir, the statement is unworthy of consideration, and I beg the pardon of this House for occupying so much of their time with a statement so manifestly erroneous; and my excuse is, that it would appear to have been issued by authority, and the press of this city are copying, commenting on and endorsing its errors.

In conclusion I will only add in reference to the remarks that fell from the hon. member on a previous day that he may call me what he pleases—may threaten to skin me from head to foot; but I tell him I did not come here to bandy words with any one, but to do the business of the country. I can tell him one thing, and that is, he will never make his seat down as he acknowledged he sat under the tongue lashings of a gentleman some years ago. He confessed that he did not dare defend himself, and that it hurt him so much that he could not sleep all night. When I cannot defend myself I will retire from the House, and go back to my constituents, and tell them I am not fit to fight their battles or contend for their rights.

MR. CHAMBERS' SPEECH.

Mr. CHAMBERS said—I do not like to occupy the time of the House when any member is desirous of speaking, but as no one appears about to rise, I shall endeavor to express my opinions on this important subject as concisely as I can. I do not pretend to be a public speaker. There are many gentlemen in this House of whom it may be said that they did not seek these seats, but these benches sought them. They have come here for a patriotic purpose—of freeing their country from a Union into which the people have been unfairly forced, without their consent having been even asked. Many gentlemen would gladly retire from the House, and attend to their own private affairs, if they did not feel impelled by a high sense of duty to remain here.

The hon. member for Inverness and myself started out in life about the same time, and whilst he has pursued one course, I have taken a different one. He has been before the public for twenty years at the bar, and I have no doubt he has been successful; but I have kept steadily at my business, and have no reason to be dissatisfied with the result. If I were inclined to act the egotist, as he did the other day, I could tell him what I have done in Cumberland and Colchester to revolutionize trade. If I had not kept to trade I might be in a bad Government, or looking to

politics for my livelihood. Happy am I that I am not like others we know of, who have been driven out of this country by the indignation of their fellow-countrymen, and forced to seek refuge in the backwoods of Canada, instead of being able to return to their old friends, and received with open arms by their fellow citizens. I am not averse, I confess at once, to make the best, but the words of Confederation. I am here to express the feelings and opinions of those who have been deeply wronged in connection with this momentous question. We have already had considerable experience of this hated scheme, and can judge of the deep injury we must sustain if we remain much longer in our present humiliating position of subjection to Canada. But I acknowledge that I am open to conviction, and if the hon. member can show us the advantages of Confederation I shall gladly listen to him. My constituents never asked Capt. Morrison or myself what we would do, but they elected us because they believed we were honest men, and therefore we are able to pursue that course which will be most beneficial to the people.

The hon. gentleman has told us that we should pause before proceeding any farther, but allow me to advise him and his friends to reconsider their own policy and the consequences that must result from their efforts to thwart the wishes of the people. If he and his party had paused long ere this what an amount of irritation and agitation we would have been spared. Now we see brother against brother, and father against father, and actually in our part of the country we find the wife opposed to the husband. Nobody has done all this but the hon. member and his friends.

The hon. gentleman has asked us to strike out all the words after "that," in the Attorney General's resolutions—certainly a very cool proposition. Why did he not strike out the word "that," also, whilst he was about it? Now, a few words as to the nature of this new political connection. Suppose the hon. member goes up to Ottawa, and after a while engages his daughter to one of the magnates of that capital. Then he returns to Nova Scotia, and after some days he calls his daughter to him and says, "By the bye, my dear, you have to be married to Lord B.; I have no doubt you will be happy; and I will then no longer be at any expense for you." Suppose the daughter would reply that she was unwilling to marry Lord B., but preferred some tradesman in Halifax; or suppose she was a dutiful child, and, despite her feelings, married the individual to whom her father had engaged her without her knowledge or consent—would she ever be happy? In all probability she would drag out a miserable existence, and seek rest at last in an early grave. That is about the way we have been dragged into this Confederation. The hon. member says that it is an institution; but though I am no lawyer, I know the difference between right and wrong. The hon. member understands the law of books, but I understand the law of common sense.

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men who have preceded me that I find some difficulty in dealing with it. I consider that this tariff has imposed upon us burthens most grievous to be borne. It is true we have been told that the tariff was not complete, but surely they had time enough to consult business men, and arrange it so as to be fair to the interests concerned. This tariff cannot satisfy Nova Scotia, because it is a Canadian tariff. What suits Canada does not suit Nova Scotia, for the interests of the two countries are very different. Each has what the other has not. Take a few items in this tariff in order to see how the interests of this country are affected. First of all we read: "No deduction of charges for packing, straw, twine, cord, paper, cording, wiring, cutting, or any other expenses." These gentlemen are not satisfied to charge duty on the goods only, but actually on musty straw in which they may be packed. (The hon. member I see is taking a note, but I know what he will say, that this refers to bottled wine or port, and so he may cross out his note.) Again we are told, "No commission charged in any invoice, for the purchase of goods or claimed to have been paid for such purchase, shall be allowed in abatement of the value of the goods for duty." On some low price goods the expenses and commission add full 25 per cent. to their value, which are compelled by these unfeeling gentlemen at Ottawa to pay the duty on the same. Probably if Mr. Blanchard was a trader, as I am, he would not be long on the side where he is now. If he was selling tea, sugar, cotton warp, &c., he would be with us; but he is now in that position that he does not understand the warts of the people, and therefore he did not care how much duty we have to pay. Again, to come to something worse, "No discount for cash shall in any case be allowed, nor shall goods be allowed to entry at cash values, except where it is satisfactorily shown to the Collector that such goods can be purchased only for cash, and then it shall form a part of the affidavit of the importer that the value of such goods was paid at the time of purchase." Whoever heard of a thing like that? I did not think they were smart enough in Canada to do a thing of that kind. I know of a gentleman who has sent an order to England for some goods, and if he pays cash, he will get 10 per cent. discount. If he goes to the Custom House and presents his invoice of an item which cost 9s. cash, instead of 10s. on time, they will ask him, could you not buy it on time? Then they will reply to him, "no discount allowed for cash; neither will a cash bill be allowed unless it be shown that such goods can only be purchased for cash." It appears to me that such a thing is preposterous in the extreme. Now look at refined sugar, and you will find it is fifty per cent. more than it was last year; yellow sugar is one-half more; the latter is an article that enters largely into the consumption of the people of this country, and they are now actually obliged to pay one-third of the value in the shape of duty. Of course this is done to fill the pockets of the Canadians. Then again there is starch, which they wish us to buy from Canada, and hence they impose a higher duty on the im-

ported article; but our ladies prefer the London starch, and will not purchase the inferior article from the Canadians. Well all I can say is, that they may determine as much as they like to make us buy their starch, but I think before we are done with them we will have taken the starch out of them.

I shall say nothing about flour, because a duty on it previously, but take corn meal and rye, which certainly should not be taxed, entering as they do, especially the former, into the consumption of the poorer classes. Cinnamon, nutmegs, ginger, mace, &c., are charged 25 per cent., but I do not care what duty is imposed on these things, for they are chiefly used by the rich. Tea is charged 33 cents a lb. and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. It is urged by some that we do not pay more than a half cent a lb. additional, but I have calculated that it will amount to 27 cents on tea, which costs 1s. 4d. sterling a lb. Now there there is white lead. In Canada dry white lead is used, and therefore it comes in duty free, but if there is a little oil in it, it is taxed 15 per cent. The Canadians have their own oil wells and prepare the paint themselves. The Halifaxians, on the other hand, prefer to buy the prepared article, because it saves a vast amount of trouble. We have to import the mills and the oil to prepare it, and it would therefore give us a great deal of expense and trouble. As respects molasses we cannot complain. Mr. Archibald told us on one occasion, whilst they used sugar in Canada, very many of our people used molasses. So we must give him credit for this change which is intended, doubtless, as a fly trap. Rigging, and all kinds of iron for vessels are duty free, but under our own tariff such things only paid 5 per cent. Why the ship owners can better afford to pay a small duty on his vessel's materials than any other class of persons in business. Give us our liberties, and I will guarantee that the hon. members from Yarmouth, Mr. Townsend and Mr. Ryerson, will gladly pay 5 per cent. again. The price of cotton warp has been raised, although it enters so largely into the consumption of our poorer classes, from 5 to 15 per cent. This is certainly a hard case for those people who manufacture cloth, which they sell to buy flour and other necessaries of life. Just one more item for example, the duty on low price soap from England will be increased 1000 per cent. If the hon. member for Inverness will (as he said) have the Colchester boys in rags, he surely, surely, should not use his influence to deprive them of cheap soap to keep them clean. It will be remembered that the *ad valorem* duties in Canada was 20 per cent for a number of years, but last year they lowered it to 15 per cent. for the purpose, no doubt, of making Confederation acceptable to the Maritime Provinces. It is well known, however, that Canada went largely behind even with a 20 per cent tariff, and that being the case how is 15 per cent to meet her necessities? What does Mr. Rose say? The *Canadian Journal of Commerce* tells us that according to Mr. Rose's figures of the finances of last year, under a 15 per cent tariff, Canada went behind at the rate of five or six millions of dollars. Suppose they do not purchase the North West

Territory or build the Intercolonial Railway, yet they cannot meet the expenditures with the present 15 per cent duty.

The Attorney General told us the other day that we had now four governments, but we have actually six, and I will show you how that is. We have one in New Brunswick, one in Nova Scotia, one in Ontario and Quebec respectively, and two at Ottawa. They have at the capital two sets of officials, they have one class of people speaking English and the other French. I believe though they may be theoretically one government, there are two practically—two certainly in a pecuniary point of view. I think then if they could not live under a 20 per cent. tariff, they are not likely to meet all their expenditures with their system of government largely increased. Suppose we take in the North west Territory, what an immense tract of country will have to be opened up by roads and bridges; suppose the aborigines become troublesome on our hands; suppose we build the Intercolonial Railway, and increase the fortifications of Canada, where is all the money to come from? Must not the tariff go up? I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion that it must steadily rise as long as we remain in this Confederation. In the course of time we must see it as high as 30 per cent., or 25 per cent. at the very least. Only let the Canadians get a firm grasp of us, and the tariff will go up fast enough. The hon. member for Inverness asked us the other day, "will you give up your mines and minerals to Canada?" He admits that we have given up nearly everything, and consoles us with mentioning what we have left. What did Mr. Archibald tell us at one of our meetings when he was told of the evils and burthens of Confederation? Why he actually told us that he would try and temper the wind to the shorn lamb, thereby confessing what we had to put up with. The hon. member for Inverness has gone into the constitutional part of this question; he has spoken of Catholic Emancipation, of the abolition of the Corn Laws, and has eulogized Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Pitt, and gives them as authority for this act of despotism.

Refreshing my memory from some old books in my valise, put there by my little boys, I find that it is true that the emancipation of the Catholics in 1829 was carried against the wish of the Protestants, and in five days they sent 957 petitions against the Act, while only 357 were presented in its favor, but while they gave freedom to Ireland, the Canadian Act has placed us in bondage.

In regard to the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, it was by and with the consent of the people, it gave them their bread free of the 10s. on the quarter of wheat, while the British North America Act taxes ours 1s. 3d. per barrel, advances our ad valorem duties 50 per cent., and places other taxes on us, grievous to be borne, as well as depriving us of the liberty we have so long enjoyed.

In regard to Mr. Pitt as authority for changing a constitution independent of the people, I may be safe in saying that he was not infallible. At this time he had the horrors of the French revolution on his mind, and with the care of the state and the extra

quantity of stimulating drinks he thought he required to stay his great mind, we may put against him Mr. Gray and Mr. Erskine; they say that a "man ought not to be governed by laws, in the framing of which he had not a voice, or pay taxes to which he had not consented in the same way."

As to Sir Robert Peel, the political text book of Great Britain says, "He was not a man of original genius or inventive thought; there is not a singular *idie mere* can be traced to him through his whole career." Register, Register, Register was not his own; he borrowed it from a celebrated political journal, generally in opposition to himself, where it is to be found years before he ever gave utterance to the counsel. His mind was adoptive, not creative; he was the mirror of the age, not its director; his leading ideas and principles were taken from others. In monetary affairs he only elaborated the ideas of Mr. Homer and Mr. Ricardo, first enunciated in the Bullion Report. In supporting the Corn Laws, he adopted the arguments of Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh; in assailing them those of Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden. It was the same in the Catholic Emancipation; his arguments admirable on both sides, were alternately adopted from Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval, of Mr. Canning and Mr. Plunkett. It was this which suggested to Mr. Disraeli the felicitous expression that his mind was a "huge appropriation clause."

So if the hon. member quotes constitutional authorities, I can also show you their value, and enable you to estimate them at their proper standard. But he has told us about Cape Breton, and asks whether that island is not content under Confederation. How could Cape Breton be otherwise than satisfied with Union with Nova Scotia? Compare the position of Cape Breton now with what it was a few years ago. The ladies then did not wear their silks and satins, or the men dress in broadcloth; they did not even put their hay under shelter. Now they are connected with Nova Scotia, and participate in its large revenues and sources of prosperity. Where we paid 5s. a head into the treasury for many years, the people of Cape Breton probably did not pay more than 1s., while they received an equal amount per head with us, and probably more. But that is not the case with respect to the Union between Nova Scotia and Canada. We being consumers of dutiable goods will pay 30s. a head, while they will pay about half that amount, and get an equal share per head with us from the revenue. It is said we will have one law—one militia system—one currency. But suppose we have one currency, how will it benefit us? In New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Canada they have had one currency, but what does it amount to? The par of exchange in Canada and New Brunswick is 9½ per cent.; ours is 12½ per cent. The latter is equal to the adding a fourth, having no fractional parts, the British shilling being 1s. 3d., and the sovereign 25s. If we are forced to adopt the Canada and New Brunswick currency, it will be equal to adding one-fifth; therefore, if you are required to pay 1s. 3d., 5s., or 25s., you will be at the trouble of adding some copper coin to each amount. We have now

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the most simple and convenient currency in British North America; and if they adopt ours it will confer no boon on us, as it is all right without them. Suppose we have one currency; while the balance of trade is against us our paper will not be taken. At par in Canada unless our Banks have agents there to redeem it. I may say here that in Newfoundland the old system of adding the ninth and the premium is discontinued, and instead they add 22 or 24 per cent., according to the demand.

No one will deny but that the hon. member for Inverness has made a great speech, but so far as argument goes it reminds me of a story told me of the celebrated Whitfield. An old lady once went to hear him, but could not get near him in consequence of the crowd, but she sat herself down on a large stone where a gentleman passing by saw her weeping, and asked her what was the matter. She replied that she was converted. "But, my good woman," said the questioner, "you have not heard him speak." "Oh, no," was the reply, "but I saw the shake of his head." Neither the hon. gentleman's argument nor the shake of his head will, I think, effect us as it did the old lady.

#### MR. CAMPBELL'S SPEECH.

MR. CAMPBELL said—I am very happy to see that the hon. member for Colchester is far better versed in the momentous question before us than he is with the social position of Cape Breton. I do not think that the hon. gentleman has been in Cape Breton from the description he has given of the country, but the able manner in which he pointed out the disadvantages of Confederation will cover a multitude of sins in that particular. The learned gentleman remarked here to-day that in military tactics it is the usual custom to bring the small guns to the front. If such has been uniformly the practice, I find that in this campaign we have made a sweeping change. Nearly all our great guns have fired off with good effect; and now commences a fusillade of small guns, and as we are not much in danger from the enemy in front, the officers in command do not think it necessary to throw out skirmishers, and that accounts for finding us in the rear. When Union became the law of the land, I made up my mind, with many Anti-Confederate friends, to give it a fair trial, fully convinced that, before the end of the year, its greatest friends and warmest advocates would be deeply disappointed; but at the same time we determined if it should turn out such a blessing as our Confederate friends anticipated, then we would accept the situation. Now we have had eight months of this millenium, and in what position are we? Twelve months ago we were a self-governing people, we looked with pride on our past history, we indulged in hopeful anticipations for the future; but in what position are we to-day? The Canadians have full control of ourselves and our finances—our public burthens are made heavy, and to meet those burthens our tariff is increased from ten to fifteen per cent., and if we felt it would stop there, we might feel less apprehension. But when we become proprietors of the Hudson's Bay Territory,

for which we are expected to pay from 30 to 50 millions of dollars—when we become shareholders in the Intercolonial Railway, it is no stretch of the imagination to say that 15 per cent. will not meet our annual liabilities. When that occurs, shall we not, in the figurative language of one of our newspapers, have "one foot on the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific."

It is said that the most intelligent people voted in favor of Union. I admit that many highly intelligent persons, some of them my best friends, voted in favor of Union, and if it were not for such persons Confederation would long ere this have given up the ghost in the hands of that eminent scouther, Dr. Tupper. I would say, however, with much respect to the Union party, that after the forty days legislation at Ottawa, after the humiliating position they see our representatives placed in, voted down on every subject, if after all this they still remain the advocates of Confederation, I cannot have the same high opinion of their intelligence and patriotism. We have now but one course before us, and that, I think, is clearly embodied in the resolutions on the table. I feel confident that the Act which now binds us to Canada will be repealed—that the British Parliament would scout such a policy as that Lord North upheld nearly a century ago—that the people of Great Britain who have ever been eminent for their love of liberty and fair play will not treat our petition with scorn, but instead of that will feel proud of us as the descendants of that noble stock that would rather die with their swords in their hands than yield one iota of their constitutional rights. I am proud to see so much unanimity in this Assembly; I never saw so much before among so many men on one question—so many men brought from every part of the province representing a great variety of interests. I have no doubt that before long the solitary two who now form the opposition will see the error of their ways and fall into our ranks, and if they do I can promise them they will be received with open arms. We are always glad when we see sinners repent. In conclusion, I need only say that for me to go into the merits of the case would be altogether out of place after the incontrovertible arguments brought forward during this debate by my Anti-Confederate friends. They have not left the fabric of a vision for the opposition to grasp at.

#### MR. KIDSTON'S SPEECH.

MR. KIDSTON said:—In rising to address the House on this most important question, I feel that it is one fraught with the deepest interest to the people of this Province; but before commenting on the resolutions laid on the table, I may say that I shall endeavor so to modulate my voice that it will not disturb in the least the equanimity of the hon. member for Inverness. That gentleman reminded me of a passage of arms that once took place on the floors of this House between the Hon. Joseph Howe and the late Provincial Secretary, Dr. Tupper. The former said, "If you resist the devil he will fly from you, but if you resist Dr. Tupper he will fly at you." This gentleman (the member for Inverness)

acts in much the same way, and appears inclined to fly at every member who endeavors to discharge his duty faithfully to this country. I shall not travel over the ground that was traversed by the Hon. Attorney General, in laying the resolutions on the table, for I think he has himself done ample justice to the position he occupies, and it would be a waste of time for me to recapitulate those points which have been already and thoroughly grappled. I may remark with respect to the amendments moved by the hon. member for Inverness that he has taken a very superficial view of the question. I did not come here pretending to have a knowledge of law, but I assume that I am at least, capable of sitting in a jury box in this country, and that I am at liberty to form my own opinions upon any facts that may be advanced by legal gentlemen around me. The hon. member for Inverness has taken the liberty of quoting certain authorities in connection with constitutional law. When he brings up Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Pitt I think the hon. member has shown to this House and to the people of this Province that he was only traversing the surface of English constitutional law instead of diving into the depths of that law. I think it one of the most important points to put the question fairly before the statesmen of England. Sir, allow me to refer back to the year 1866. What occurred then? We know that thirty-two gentlemen then on the benches, the hon. member for Inverness included, practised the most systematic deception upon the people of this Province. To such lengths was this deception practised that the Governor's Speech did not contain one word about Confederation. We may presume, and I think it is the feeling of the people of this country, that they acted more as if they had been elected under the electoral privileges of Nova Scotia to represent and mature the views and interests of New Brunswick rather than the views and interests of Nova Scotia. Before proceeding further on this subject I also contend that the resolution passed by the Government then holding the reins of power, was not such as would warrant the people of this Province being deprived of their rights in the way they have been. I believe that the object of that resolution, worded as it is, left an impression on the minds of the people of this Province that after maturing this measure in England, it would be submitted again to the people at the polls, and to the Parliament of this Province. I shall not trouble the House by reading the resolution then passed, which is contained in the resolutions now before us, but I cannot in my own mind conceive how it can be so misconstrued as it is by the hon. member for Inverness, who would attempt to impress the idea upon this House and the country, that it was intended to give the power to these delegates to proceed to England and mature a law which was to deprive us of our rights, revenues and liberties. I contend that no reasonable man of sound judgment can put any other construction on the resolution, than that the same power was delegated to them then that was given when they went to Prince Edward Island to take into consideration the propriety and benefits to result from a union

of the Maritime Provinces. Sir, I repeat, from the outset and all through deception has been practised upon the people of this country.

We remember well that a resolution was passed in this House authorizing the Government of this Province to appoint a delegation to take into consideration the practicability of uniting the Maritime Provinces. How did they act with reference to that matter? They were told to treat the question in a legal and constitutional way. The people's representatives restricted them to the Maritime Provinces. They were not permitted to travel one inch beyond that. But instead of keeping within the limits of constitutional authority, without any sanction on the part of the people of this Province, they took up the question of the larger union, and left the question which they were legally authorized to deal with. What then? We find them going to Quebec at the instigation of men from Canada who came to Charlottetown, who persuaded the Maritime Delegates into usurping an authority and a power, which, constitutionally they could not exercise. Having gone to Canada, there they perpetrated an act which has brought down upon them the execration of the people of this Province. Let me suppose for a moment a case in point: a mercantile firm in this city employs an agent to transact certain business in Prince Edward Island. He is restricted and bound down to perform certain acts, and while he is engaged in this business at Prince Edward Island, some black legs come down from Canada and persuade him to ignore his master's instructions and proceed with them to Canada, and the first thing his employers hear is that he has not transacted the business for which he was delegated, but that he has taken the liberty of handing over his master's property to a party he had no authority to deal with. Now I put it to the hon. member for Inverness if a case similar to that came before him, how would he put it to a jury? How would it be dealt with? Five years in the penitentiary at hard labor would be given the offending party; and I ask you where was our Attorney General all this time that he did not protect his employer's rights? That official gentleman was among them helping them.

I may remark, in the next place that I have an abiding faith when all the facts connected with this question are faithfully and truthfully laid before the Parliament of England, that we will receive ample justice. It must be remembered, by all the people of this province, that when the elections were run in 1863 there were two questions which influenced the electors at that time very materially, and one point was, that Dr. Tupper, who was previously to that in opposition, brought down a series of resolutions into this House in favour of retrenching certain expenditures. He was opposed, and in the heat of debate he pledged his soul's salvation that he would introduce retrenchment if he should be returned to power. I know that this one element, at all events, influenced the country materially in giving him such a large majority when the elections were over, and the other question which assisted him largely

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was the Franchise act. The people believing that a man who had pledged his soul's salvation must be sincere, returned him and his friends with an overwhelming majority to this Legislature. This House and the country know how far he has redeemed that pledge—the language which he used was that of an irreligious libertine. What right has any man to pledge his soul's salvation? Look at the extravagant waste of money in worse than useless delegations—the very reverse of his pledge to the people. I ask you now, is that man to be believed, and is he now wandering about the world with his lost soul. Will any man hesitate to believe that we will not obtain justice from the British Parliament when the case is fairly and fully put before them? When they are fully convinced that they have been grossly deceived, they will feel more annoyed than we do at this moment, and will take such action as will heap upon the heads of the guilty parties the just reprobation which they deserve.

Mr. Bright, who was the able advocate of the people's right in the House of Commons, stated that this question should be submitted to the people at the polls, and knowing that the elections would take place in a few months, he asked that the law might not be forced upon the Province. Mr. Watkin, misled by Dr. Tupper, said the question had been discussed at every polling booth at the previous general election—that he, (Dr. Tupper,) had preached it from one end of the Province to the other. I ask you could Mr. Watkin have perpetrated such a statement as that? Could it have emanated from him? Any one who takes the trouble to read the speeches in the House of Lords, will see that the same belief pervades every line of them. They do not deny our right to be heard at the polls, but believed we had been consulted. If the hon. member for Inverness is correct in his views, how comes it that the Dominion Parliament, at the present moment, have passed a measure authorizing them to negotiate for the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Territory? If the British Parliament is entrusted with the control of such matters, why do they not legislate away the rights of the Hudson Bay Company, and bring it into the Dominion, as has been the case with Nova Scotia? It appears, however, that they have to enter into negotiations with the Company and purchase it. But I would remark that I have always understood that the right with regard to our mines and minerals was vested in the Crown, and it is a notorious fact that, although the Duke of York fully intended to make a conveyance to Rundell & Bridge, it was never done, but, as it was intended to have been done, it was decided that Rundell & Bridge should be treated and negotiated with, as though the lease had been executed, before we could get control of our mines and minerals. On a former occasion I promised to show the hon. member for Inverness that, in a financial point of view, great injustice had been done, as we find the framers of this Bill have given the power to the general Government not only to tax us indirectly, but by every mode they may think proper. I stated that I was ready to prove satisfactorily in point of fact, that we did not receive one

cent from the Dominion Government. Our revenue at the end of the year 1863 is set down at \$1,286,870. We find now by the Tariff introduced at the first session of the Dominion Parliament, we have some \$600,000 of an addition in taxes. Then the 80 cents a head we receive can be taken out of that \$600,000, therefore they gain over \$200,000 by the transaction. But the matter does not end here. Our revenues during the past ten years have increased something like 250 per cent., and, in all probability, our financial prosperity would continue to increase. But however greatly the revenues of this country may increase, we are tied down to this 80 cts; although our revenue should realize three or four millions, we will derive no further benefit. I believe the revenues of this country through the House of Commons in such a hasty manner that they have overlooked these facts, or otherwise they would never have perpetrated such a wrong upon this country.

The gentleman who addressed the House before me has given many useful details respecting the tariff. He forgot, however, whilst noticing a variety of items, to notice the tax on Indian corn. The hon. member for Inverness treated it with a sneer; but look at the state of our province at this moment. From Cape North to Cape Sable our fishermen are in great distress, and the very article they require the most is taxed. Not only are our fishermen deprived of the means of getting their bread cheap, but the article we might have imported and ground into food in the province is taxed; hence our millers are deprived of a benefit also. The hon. member for Inverness told us that any country under the British Crown that would attempt to introduce a tariff that would be restrictive would be acting contrary to its true interests. I ask the hon. member for Inverness if the tariff that has been introduced by Canada is not to a great extent carrying out this principle? I think he must be blind if he cannot see this. I endorse the opinions of gentlemen on the anti-confederate side with regard to this tariff that has been passed by Canada, and I have no doubt whatever that instead of seeing the tariff decreased, it will be largely increased, and be made more distasteful than ever to our people. In connection with this, let me take up the address of the Financial Minister of Canada, Mr. Rose, when he brought down the tariff into the Dominion Parliament. He said:—"It cannot be supposed, from the circumstances surrounding me, that I could bring down such a tariff as would suit all parties and purposes at present, but by the time we meet in March I have no doubt in my own mind that I will furnish such a tariff as will stand and meet all the burthens for five or six years." I believe in my own mind, and from what Mr. Rose said, that the tariff will be largely increased.—For what have we seen? The Dominion Government have succeeded in having a bill passed in the Parliament authorizing that Government to negotiate for the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Territory, and for assuming the whole control of the Intercolonial Railway. When a government becomes possessed of such a gigantic power as that, depend upon it, ex-

travagance and corruption will be the inevitable result. When we come to look at the burthens the government will be obliged to meet, who doubts that the tariff must go up to 24 or 30 per cent. before three years have passed away?

Now, I will turn the attention of the House for a few moments to the history of the old thirteen States, and I would say that they, like ourselves, were once Colonies of Great Britain—they were once desirous of remaining in that Empire; but the stupidity of British statesmen imposed taxes and burdens upon them without their consent, and what was the result? They rebelled, and the consequence was that the mother country lost these Colonies; and if the hon. member for Inverness had studied a little deeper than he did, this question, he would have found that serious collisions took place at that time in the House of Commons between the very statesman he has cited as an authority and Lord North. I need not recapitulate all the circumstances that occurred, but the loss of those old Colonies has by all right-thinking men been considered a misfortune. But times are changed, and in our day we will find a very different spirit actuating the statesmen of England; and I feel also, when this case is brought fairly before the British Parliament they will reflect carefully on the matter, and in all probability remember how it fared with the old thirteen Colonies on this side of the water simply because they would not submit to acts of injustice.

We have been assailed by the hon. member for Inverness, and it has been spread broadcast over the country, that every member who opens his mouth in defence of his constitutional rights must be a Fenian or a traitor. No, sir, it is the very reverse. It is because loyalty has been born with us—because it has grown and strengthened with our strength, that we feel it to be our duty and warn the statesmen of that country of the consequences that may ensue from forcing us into a detested Union. We would be recreant to our duty and to our Queen if we acted otherwise than the way we are doing. Any gentleman who pretends to know anything about the political agitation that prevails at the present time can see, North and South, East and West, a heavy swell on the political ocean of our country, which indicates a storm. A storm will arise, and the only thing that can allay it is the knowledge that our wrongs will be righted, and our constitution restored to us. Will any member rise and tell us that a Government like that of Great Britain, who have spent their thousands and thousands to liberate the African slave, will willingly keep 350,000 loyal subjects in a position of abject servitude and humiliation? None of us will believe that they will act otherwise than with justice to us until we learn it from the acts of the Imperial Parliament itself.

Now I will make one or two observations with reference to the resolutions before the House. In view of all the circumstances connected with our present position, I think it is incumbent upon every man who has been sent here to represent the interests and

wishes of the people of this country, and bring as far as practicable the fact to the notice of the British people and the Parliament of England that there is a feeling existing in this country which can by no means be abated except by the repeal of this obnoxious Act. I feel that I would not be discharging the duty imposed upon me unless I took the first opportunity of expressing these sentiments distinctly to this House and country. They tell us that people have been influenced by other matters than the mere question of Confederation. I reply that as far as our county is concerned I see that no other reasons influenced the elections except the hatred of the people to this Union. I will venture to say that if this question was submitted to-morrow, and every other question shut out, the people would return to this House the same gentlemen who now sit on these benches and no others. Am I to be told that the Parliament and people of England will not understand all this? Am I to be told that because the wealth and intelligence of the city of Halifax (supposing that to be so for the sake of argument) are in favor of Union, therefore the Parliament of Great Britain should decide against us? Will any one argue that the Parliament of England would adhere to a particular question effecting the empire because the wealth and intelligence of the city of London happened to be on a certain side. As respects the Province generally, where is the difference, and I do not except the city, despite what the hon. member says to the contrary—there is a widespread aversion to our continuance in this Union.

I may say that I have listened with great pleasure to every address that has been offered on this question in favor of these resolutions. I am gratified to see so much unanimity and such determination of purpose. Let no one attempt to mark us as disloyal now. If we were inclined to exhibit disloyalty we would not seek redress in the constitutional manner we are doing. Here you see this body of representatives and His Excellency carrying on the public affairs most harmoniously. We are going to fight our battle constitutionally, but I feel and realize the position that the gentlemen who have bartered away our rights occupy. They went home to England high in power and persuaded the British Parliament to pass an Act of a most tyrannical character—such an Act as cannot be found in the annals of any British dependency—an Act handing over all our rights, revenues and privileges to Canada. Now we go home to represent the people, and show our Sovereign and Parliament the great injustice that has been perpetrated upon us. We say to Her Majesty in so many words:—“The gentlemen who were here before were men whose words were worthless, they were men who betrayed their country, and deceived your Government.” Do we wonder then that the men who carried this scheme shrink and tremble as they now do. They know that misrepresentation will no longer avail them. I believe that a fabric built upon a foundation of falsehood, misrepresentation, and corruption can never stand, but that the spirit of liberty will tear it down to the ground. Let our opponents say what they

may we shall have restored to us that glorious constitution under which we have lived and prospered so long—under which our revenues have largely increased from year to year, and under which the people have enjoyed every happiness.

The House then adjourned.

SATURDAY, February 15.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Hon. J. FERGUSSON introduced a bill entitled an Act to amend the Act incorporating the Mira Bay Harbour Co.

Mr. PINCO presented a petition from the trustees of Pictou Academy, praying that no alteration be made in the existing school law. He asked that the bill relative to the Scotia Coal Company be read a second time, but his request could not be granted, as it might interfere with the debate on the resolutions.

Mr. COPLAND presented a petition in reference to a poor section.

The adjourned debate was resumed.

(Mr. Kidston's speech concluded.)

Mr. KIDSTON continued:—I closed my observations last evening with the remark that it was my firm conviction, and I believe it to be the firm conviction of every well regulated mind in the Province of Nova Scotia that the fabric which we have seen raised on the foundation of corruption when assailed by the force of truth and fact will crumble into dust. This Confederation reminds me of an anecdote which I remember hearing of a certain horse trader who was thus accosted by the man who had just purchased one of his horses: "my good man, you have got my money, and I have your horse—now that the bargain is concluded tell me his faults while we take a bottle of ale together." The reply was "well the horse has only two faults,—one is that when you let him loose he is hard to catch,—the other is that when you have caught him he is not worth a cent." Our bargain is as bad as that one. The measures of the very first Ottawa Parliament give us full evidence, as far as Nova Scotia is concerned, that the legislature of Canada is un-British in its principle, arbitrary and despotic in the exercise of power. We have full evidence, as far as patronage is concerned, that it has been denied to those who went there to advocate our interests; for our members were told "you must swallow your Anti-confederate principles and support the Canadian Government at all hazards, or walk; you need not otherwise ask us to make this, that, or the other appointment." That is the actual state of affairs. I will now confine myself more particularly to the 5th clause of the resolution, for that embodies a great deal. The hon. member for Inverness said that we had been generously dealt by—that the Dominion Government had paid \$600,000 more than they had received from Nova Scotia since Confederation. All I can say in that case is that he has placed himself on the horns of a dilemma, for if that be the fact, how has it come to pass? By the statement of the Finance Minister, just before Confederation took effect, it was shewn that

we had an overflowing treasury, money sufficient for all our demands; and with only six months experience of the Union, we are told that the Dominion Government have been obliged to advance us \$600,000 over and above what we have paid into their treasury. But the change is easily accounted for. Look at the system on which the Union is financially founded. Look at the Governor General's salary, and take that as a criterion. \$50,000 has to be raised in a Dominion comprising four millions of people to pay its first officer. Contrast that with the sum which the United States, with a population of 34 millions, pay to their President. The sum paid in that country is \$25,000, and the difference is greater than at first would appear, for the salary of the Governor General is paid in sterling money, the amount in gold being equal to-day to \$80,000 of the currency of the United States. And are not the salaries of all the officials appointed under the Dominion Government proportioned to that enormous salary of the Governor General? Is that the management that was to be expected? One would have supposed that the Government of Canada, with the experience of the past before them—with a knowledge that, through financial bungling, they have reduced the state of their country almost to bankruptcy, would have had a care how they governed the Dominion. Take the statement exhibited in the Journals of 1866, and what do we find? The figures shew that their whole system was unsound.

The Canadians were involved in a debt of sixty-four millions or more, and at the present moment I think I am correct in saying that that debt is nothing less than seventy-five millions. Mr. Archibald tried to persuade us that our debt exceeded that of Canada, taking man for man of the population. Let us see how that assertion tallies with the fact. Assuming the debt of Canada to have been sixty-four millions and upwards, and her population 3,560,000, while the population of Nova Scotia may be put at 350,000, we see the debt per head on the Canadians will be \$25 while that of the Nova Scotians will be only \$15. Now, then, to show the unsoundness of the arrangement, put down the debt of Canada for two Canadians at \$50, and the debt of two Nova Scotians at \$30,—this produces \$80; and if you divide by four you will have the debt per head of the Dominion, and the calculation will prove that every man, woman and child in this country is put in for \$3 per head more of debt than he has any reason to pay. This \$3 per head gives us for the whole Province nearly a million of dollars which we have done nothing to make ourselves liable for. I find, circulated through the country, the statement that if we had not been confederated we must have increased our tariff. This is merely one of the assertions, used by the Opposition, which they are unable to prove. I contend that such would not have been the case. It is acknowledged on both sides that at the date of Confederation coming into force we were in a most prosperous condition. Our revenues had risen from \$660,000 to \$1,226,570. Judging the future by the past, I should say that it would not be neces-

sary to increase our tariff by one per cent to meet all our requirements. But the fact is that as soon as ever you back the Confederates out of one false position they drop into another equally ridiculous. First they told the country that our taxation would not be increased, now they are trying to persuade the people to give a fair trial to the system; they say "it is not right to prejudge matters—do not ask for the repeal of the Act until you give it a fair trial." I ask if that is logical reasoning. It is about as sound as for the watch, set at the bow of the vessel, entrusted with the care of thousands of lives, and, seeing breakers ahead, to fold his arms and say: "well, there are breakers ahead, but let the ship run on, and will see whether the rocks or the ship are the hardest." Would the captain accept such reasoning as that from his watch? The hon. member for Inverness turned attention to Cape Breton, and cited her history as a proof that the Imperial Parliament had the power to legislate away the constitution and revenues of a country. I thought he was better acquainted with the story of the Cape Britain Union than that. He said:—

"The Island of Cape Breton possessed a separate constitution; it had a Governor and a Government of its own independent of the Province of Nova Scotia. The House of Commons came in, and by a single Act, containing perhaps not a dozen of lines, amalgamated the island with Nova Scotia. The island was given only two members in a Legislature of forty men."

The island, it will be remembered, had no Legislature of its own. I believe I am correct in stating that it petitioned to be annexed to Nova Scotia. I know that parties were sent home to dispute the legality of the Union, and to carry the matter before the Privy Council, and I think the delegates then had thrown in their teeth the fact that that petition deprived them of the right to the repeal they solicited. The hon. member is also in error in saying that we had two representatives; we had only one at that time. But what does this illustration go to prove? Many in Cape Breton think it proves substantially the very facts which we are propounding to the people of Nova Scotia; they say that the island could never procure justice at the hands of the Government of Nova Scotia until it obtained additional representation.

The hon. member touched, Mr. Speaker, on grounds which, if followed out faithfully and truthfully, would show his position to be false and untenable. We know that nothing like justice was done to Cape Breton up to the day when we had four representatives, and even when that number was doubled it could not be said that we were receiving a fair consideration for the money that we were paying into the treasury year after year. That is the position the hon. member puts himself in when he talks about Cape Breton. All throughout, the arguments of the Opposition remind one of the anecdotes of the white man and the Indian who went on a shooting expedition with the understanding that at night they would meet and divide the game. The white man shot a crow, and the Indian a black duck, and when they met the white man proposed to make the division,

and said, "Suppose you take the crow, and I will take the duck; or I will take the duck, and you take the crow." "Well," said the Indian, "what for you always say crow to me?" There is too much crow, and not enough duck, in the hon. member's logic. I feel that in submitting our request for repeal to the intelligent people and Government of England, and to our beloved Sovereign who sits on the throne of Britain, we are appealing to those who have hearts to feel, and sympathize with the wrongs of our people. I believe that when our Sovereign fully comprehends our story her ear will be open to our petition, her heart will respond to our desire, and that she will without hesitation demand that her Parliament restore us to our original condition, and to the rights and liberties which were founded on the British constitution.

I think it can be shown that the Parliament of the Dominion, in its first session, has departed from everything like British principle, and has shown a determination to treat us in a way too arbitrary to be submitted to by any free people. Do you think that the eyes of British statesmen will be blinded to this truth? We know that if the sentiment of love which is planted within the human heart, whether it be loyalty or any other species of affection, be treated with contempt and spurned, the mind takes a reverse action and that love is turned into undying hatred. May I refer you to the thirteen lost colonies in proof of my position? There we saw loyalty as true as that which prevails in any part of the British dominions to-day. That loyalty was turned into hate at the rebellion; but when the rebellion broke out in the United States, and brother was arrayed against brother, many thought that their hate to England would die out, but there was nothing that could obliterate the hatred of the old colonists to Great Britain. There is a proof that love trampled on and spurned becomes undying hate, and hence the consequences. I ask will British statesmen trample on the rights again of another colony. Will they, with the lessons of the past, and looking at the geographical position of Nova Scotia which makes her the stronghold of the continent, attempt to force us into compliance? The hon. member for Inverness tried to persuade us that England would force us at the point of the bayonet, but would she run the risk, knowing that Nova Scotia is the Gibraltar of this continent, of having love turned into hate in this Province, and of the consequences which must follow? I know that that hon. gentleman is capable in some instances, more especially in courts of law, of making "the worse appear the better reason," but I doubt that he can convince the statesmen of England that we have been justly dealt by. I will state one or two facts to show the position to which our affairs have come. I was asked by several of my constituents to get one or two way offices established, and to have some slight change made in the post rides; but how was I met when I touched upon the subject in conversation with the Post Master General? I respect that officer as a thorough and courteous business man, but the first thing he asked me

was, "subject anything that there are have ber? dation if we know flesh or become awake ment t with th the Do dian p As I right t in their right ple's s The h arnoun Scotia princ we so happy Secret ed the count wisher our co revoc until gales. would that will k that j not t s e pe at pre proceed we w mess will b it is i Mr of en post r run t reply mast Mr tude invol Nova ful fortu whic my mri been hope our r for rega Nova tativ stitu ough of m

was, "have you seen Mr. Blanchard on the subject?" That shut me out from asking anything further. What, has it come to this that the postal affairs of the whole Province are hanging on the lips of that hon. member? Have we been reduced to such degradation? It is time for us to be up and doing if we have come to that, and let England know that beyond a certain point mortal flesh cannot submit. When the insult has become so glaring it is time that the country awoke to a sense of its duty. The treatment to which I have referred is of a piece with the treatment of our representatives in the Dominion Parliament. I ask are Canadian pets to preside over our affairs?

As I have said before the constitutional right of the people to be heard on any change in their institutions has been ignored. That right has been vindicated now by the people's advocates outside of and in this House. The hon. Joseph Howe has buckled on his armour, and come forth to do battle for Nova Scotia. When he was fighting for the noble principles of responsible government, which we so long enjoyed, and which made us a happy and a prosperous people, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies propounded the doctrine that the Government in this country was based on the well understood wishes of the people. We have been told that our constitution has been swept away and is revocable. I will not believe that statement until we have it from the lips of our delegates. Who will attempt to say what would be the consequences then. I believe that the news which they will bring will be cheering to this country. I believe that justice will yet be done; and if this were not the opinion of the people, we would not see peace and loyalty throughout the land, as at present existing. Gurs are a loyal people, proceeding in a constitutional manner, and we will wait until the message comes. If that message should be favorable our rejoicings will be unparalleled; but if it be the reverse, it is impossible to foretell the consequences.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I take this opportunity of enquiring from the hon. member if the post rides of which he has spoken, do not run through my county? If he declines to reply, I will communicate with the Postmaster General.

MR. LAWRENCE'S SPEECH.

Mr. Speaker.—When I survey the magnitude of the great question before us, which involves the largest interests of the people of Nova Scotia, and which must exert a powerful influence, for good or evil, upon their fortunes, I experience a sense of responsibility which is almost painful. But, sir, it is not my purpose to enter into any lengthy remarks on this question; that ground has been fully explored, and I should hardly hope to come back with a single discovery; our dealing with this question is not so much for long speeches, as to act and decide, as regards the restoration of the constitution of Nova Scotia. It is the duty of the representative to sacrifice considerable to his constituents. But in his unbiased opinion he ought not to sacrifice to any man, or any set of men living. They are a trust from Pro-

vidence, for 'the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. And, sir, I hope that wisdom and moderation will be displayed in dealing with any question that may come up for discussion. The question before this House is most vitally connected with the liberty and well-being of every man in Nova Scotia; which being decided one way, he may be a free man; which being decided the other, he will be under Canadian rule. And, sir, I cannot find words to express the horror I feel at the outrageous action of the men who sold the liberties and rights of a free people. I must confess, sir, that I have listened to the hon. member from Inverness with a good degree of curiosity. He made a violent attack on the Government with all the fury of a lion; and pours out all the vials of his wrath upon their official heads. But I shall leave the Government to answer for themselves. Nor is he willing to stop there; he goes on to assail the whole House; and gave a challenge to any five or six of them. But, sir, when I look round these benches, and see him surrounded by thirty-six men, I can make all allowance for his fury. And thus looking at the hon. gentleman's position, I must admire his courage. I know he has a hard road to travel, and therefore I would say to him in all good feeling and brotherly love, have charity in all things, and do not work so hard against the current of public opinion.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is not to be conceived that a people who have enjoyed the light and happiness of freedom, can be restrained and shut up in the gloom of tyranny and degradation—all progress requires effort. The human mind never rests contented under difficulties, nor yields to the pressure of tyranny without a struggle. It naturally resists oppression and force in all their forms. When it is deprived of what truly belongs to it (as a matter of course) it calls in all its forces, and prepares to regain its own. Such a question is now before us and before the people of this country, and which involves the same principle. The people of Nova Scotia are deprived of what truly belongs to them, and they expect the men whom they have elected to carry out their wishes in seeking for a repeal of the forced and obnoxious British North America Act, and to use all lawful and constitutional means to restore again the right of self-government and the free enjoyment of British liberty, which was obtained for Nova Scotia by the energy and ability of the Hon. Joseph Howe and others, and granted by the Queen and Parliament of Great Britain. But we have been handed over to a set of men who are far away, and who care nothing for us or for the preservation of those interests which are as dear to Nova Scotians as the blood that circulates through their veins. Now, Mr. Speaker, this is no party question, it far transcends all party considerations, and strikes as deeply and fatally at the rights alike of Conservative and Liberal. The people of this country, of all parties, have nobly entered their solemn protest against the outrageous action of the men who sold their country, and which deprives Nova Scotia of self-government in the control of their own revenues, in defiance of every principle of free

constitutional rights, British justice, and fair play. But they adopted the principle that might makes right, and in that spirit laid their sacrilegious hands upon the constitution of the country; and, sir, if this Confederation Act is not repealed so far as regards Nova Scotia, Nova Scotians will be very little better than servants to the Dominion Parliament; which will, on all occasions, laugh to scorn anything in opposition to their policy from the nineteen members representing Nova Scotia, although backed by the members from the other Province. Canadians may differ or quarrel among themselves; but whenever a question will come up effecting the interests of the Lower Provinces, they will unite against us, and therefore we need never expect any kind of fair play from a Government with so large a majority against us.

"Oh," but some of the Union men say, "you have punished the men that betrayed you, now turn too and go in for the Union." But, sir, I think different; it is not so much a question of punishment, as it is the recovery of the rights and liberties of the people of Nova Scotia. Now, sir, it is well known that death was in the pot for the last four years, and unscrupulous schemers broke in upon our rights, and took possession of all we enjoyed, or is worth having in any free country. With false statements and cunning deception, the Government of England was made to think that the people of Nova Scotia were willing and desirous of a union with Canada. All our appeals were of no avail; the people's petitions were unheeded; all our account of misrepresentation from a few ambitious and interested agitators. Now, sir, what have been the result of the statements made to the British Government that Nova Scotia was in favor of a union with Canada? Why, sir, on the 18th September last, the voice of the people coming up from the eighteen counties of Nova Scotia, condemned and drove to the wall the forsaken remnant of those, who up to the very last hour of their power, ceased not in treating the people with scorn and contempt. No wonder then, that the voice of the country has spoken out with a sound not to be mistaken, against a Confederation that has been forced upon them. The people of Nova Scotia have done too much not to do more; they have gone too far not to go on; they are brought into that situation in which they must either silently abdicate the rights of their country, or try constitutionally to restore them. Canadians may talk plausibly to Nova Scotians, but so long as they exercise a power to bind this country, so long will the chains of the one go against the liberty of the other. I love the old constitution; I have confidence in the integrity and capacity of the people of Nova Scotia to govern themselves as in days gone by. I love the good old flag of England, I was born under it, and I hope to die under it. But I have no desire to live under Canadian rule; I love freedom too well for that. Our cause may meet impediments, and may for a time be defeated; but ultimately must triumph, for

"Freedom's battle once begun,  
Breathed from bleeding sire to son,  
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

Yes, sir, our claim is strong, based on the eternal principles of right; and is it possible that a thing so grossly wrong as this uncalled for and forced Union with Canada can triumph? No, sir, the people of Nova Scotia know their rights, and will never submit to be kept in leading strings by Canadians. If the people are to be lulled to sleep, in the very crisis of their country's salvation, who, then, is to decide? Not the intriguers and interested office hunters of the country. No, sir, the voice of a majority of the people is the proper channel to decide in such matters, and keep in their own hands the result of the hard labor and toil of their youth. Look at the outrageous tariff that the Canadians have forced upon us, and what do we get in return? Why, they say, "O, you shall have 89 cents a head of your own money back." This, I suppose, is one of the glorious benefits that we were promised under Confederation.

We now have to pay one-third more tariff than we formerly paid, and receive nothing in return but a little one-sided charity, or something like a pension, to meet the local demands of the country; we have to pay taxes to support this outrageous Confederation, in defiance of the voice of the people of this country. And, sir, that union of heart and spirit which is absolutely necessary for our people will never be brought about by forcing on them high tariffs, and other distasteful acts. The people of Nova Scotia never asked for a union with Canada, and the subject would have slept if it had not been for a few aspiring and interested politicians, who kept the question alive, and forced it upon the people by means best known to themselves.

We have heard a great deal said of late about public men changing their opinions; why, sir, public men must certainly be allowed to change their opinions and their associations when they see fit. Men may have grown wiser,—they may have formed more correct views of public policy. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that when a sudden, and what appears to be a great change, takes place, it naturally produces a shock. I confess, sir, that I was shocked at some latter day conversions — conversions that seemed to take place almost in the twinkling of an eye. Such movements of the affections, whether personal or political, are a little out of nature. When we see old political enemies, abusing each other in all that is vindictive and malicious, and suddenly falling in love with each other, it cannot fail to make a deep impression on the public mind.

Look back at the Irish union; it was no union of the people, but only a scheme of politicians, and it is very clear that if Ireland had never been betrayed, if her representatives had never been bought and sold, there would be very little to dread in regard to Fenians at the present day. History says, "that the partnership of Ireland with England was secured by British gold." Ireland was sold through her false sons; corrupted and induced by men who are held out before the world as traitors to their country. Take, for instance, the case of Castlereagh; it is said he bought and sold his country; his conscience was his punish-

ment while he lived; and though he has been dead many years, his evil reputation lives after him. Our constitution has been seized upon, and bartered away to Canada without the consent of the lawful owners. And, sir, it is the duty of the people, the rightful owners, to use all legal and constitutional means to regain what has been forced from them. I desire to see Nova Scotia free from the control of Canada, and unfettered as the winds of heaven. If I stood alone on this question, I should feel it the greatest pride of my life, to vote for a repeal of this forced Union, and restore to the people their free constitutional rights. The people of this country want nothing but fair play, and the Government that tries to force anything else upon them, will only be sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind. Sir, this Confederation with Canada was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity. Wherever the civil rights of a country is not associated with the Government, and the people understand that the Government may be one thing, their freedom and privileges another, the attraction to hold them together is lost. It is well known that the self-appointed delegates misrepresented the sentiments of the people of Nova Scotia; it was asserted that after a calm and mature consideration, they had pronounced their judgment in favor of a Union with Canada; of this assertion not one syllable has any existence in fact, or the shadow of fact. Sir, to affirm that the people of Nova Scotia was in favor of what they were against; to make the falsification of her sentiments the foundation of her ruin, and the ground of this distasteful Union, can best be answered by sensations of astonishment and disgust.

The time is come to lock out upon the whole sweep of the horizon which encircles Nova Scotia, with a firm purpose to do our duty to the people of every part of it. I have opposed Confederation with Canada throughout. I stand acquitted to my conscience and to the country; and I now protest against it as tyrannous, oppressive, and unjust to the people of Nova Scotia. Although Nova Scotia is young yet we have a right to be proud of her; we have enjoyed the blessings of responsible government, the best and freest in the world, because self-government gives a power which no other form is capable. It incorporates every man with the country, and stimulates a spirit of liberty and strength. Is it then to be conceived that a people, who have enjoyed for many years the light and happiness of freedom, can be restrained and shut up in the gloom of slavery to Canadian rule? No, sir, you might as well try to stop with sand the running of a rapid river; the only consequence of such an attempt would be a temporary suspension. The forcing stream would find its way through new channels, and would spread destruction and ruin on every side; therefore the progress and liberty of a people are like the progress of the stream. Kept within its proper channel it is sure to make fruitful the country through which it runs; no human power can stop effectually its passage; and short sighted as well as foolhardy must be the man or men who would engage in such an unders

taking. The Government of this country for some time back have not been represented by the true feeling of the people, because it has been too much influenced by passion, prejudice, or party interests, which may often give to the Executive apparent strength; but no Government can be either lasting or free which does not create confidence and energy amongst the people. The people elect their representatives to act under the constitution, to alter it,—they are appointed to exercise the function of legislators, and not to transfer them without the consent of the rightful owners. To have power is one thing, and to do right is another; so if the late Government had power to pass an act to change the constitution without the consent of the people, surely this Government have greater power (having the voice and true feeling of the people) to pass resolutions asking for a repeal of this forced Union. If this country is to be rescued from the perils which she is under, it must be done by an outspoken, manly, truthful, and bold declaration of the sentiments of the people of Nova Scotia. We ask no more than to be left in the enjoyment of the rights which God has given us; and if these rights are not restored again it will be hard to keep down the elements which exist in the breasts of an injured people.

It has been said by many of the friends of this forced Union with Canada that but for a few party politicians the scheme would have met with no opposition. This, sir, is no new strain. It has been sung a thousand times before. It has always been the tune of a weak Administration. Did ever you hear a minister acknowledge that the evils which fell on his country were the necessary consequence of his own incapacity or his own folly? What man (wherever he may have been) that has been in the possession of political power ever yet failed to charge the blunders and mischiefs resulting from his own measures upon those who had uniformly opposed those measures? Look back at the administration of Lord North. He lost a large portion of America to his country, yet he could find pretences for throwing the odium upon his opponents. He could throw it upon those who had forewarned him at every stage of his disastrous policy. O, no! it was owing to no fault of his administration; it was the boldness of Chatham, Fox, Burke, and others. These men, and men like them, would not join him in his American war. They would not join what they considered to be extreme folly. They declared him to be wanton. They pointed out plainly, both to him and the country, what the end would be; but he declared their opposition to be selfish and factious. He pursued his course, and the result is in history. It is an old and constitutional right of the people to canvas public measures and the merits of public men, and to demand from them an account of the trust reposed in them; and a people who would be afraid to call their representatives to an account for their actions in Parliament would deserve to be blotted out of all the records of freedom. They should not dishonor the cause of self-government by attempting any longer to exercise it. They should feel ashamed, and

keep their unworthy hands entirely off from the cause of responsible liberty, if they are capable of being the victims of tricks so stale, so often practised, and so much worn out on serfs and slaves.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we meet here to look after our ship of state, and while a plank, a timber, or any part of her holds together, we should not forsake her. She has been disturbed and drove from her anchorage, yet she is still afloat, and is now freighted with the hopes and liberties of the people of Nova Scotia, she is now under canvas, and close by the wind with a good strong breeze; and although there may be some breakers ahead, yet I trust that she has a captain and crew that has already acquired an energy of advancement that will support her course clear of all the rocks of opposition, and bring her back to her old anchorage, under the good old flag that has braved for a thousand years the battle and the breeze.

Now, sir, we have heard a great amount said about constitutional law. That is all very well for legal minds to contend about; they will try to make the black side white and fair. But, sir, there is a law that stands far above all such law, a law of justice and fair play, that is enshrined in the hearts of the people, planted there by the God of nations. It is not a collection of abstract essays on public questions of right or wrong. This is a law which is never silent; it speaks in the midst of armies; it is as diffusive as the air we breathe; it spreads itself by a sort of majestic influence over land and sea. Taking its rise in a sense of right, which even in early times was powerful enough to vindicate itself, it has gathered new strength with the advance of civilization, and it is attended in this age by sanctions which no people may disregard. Sir, we may glance back at the American contest with Great Britain. The war of the Revolution was undertaken in defence of a great principle; the spirit of liberty revolted against taxation, which was too light to be felt as a burden, but was too great a violation of principle to be borne by men who were jealous of the encroachments of power. They snuffed oppression in the tainted gale, they struck for freedom, and in the mighty struggle which ensued they had the sympathy of mankind, and the contest undertaken for liberty ended in independence.

But, sir, I believe that when our case is properly understood on the other side of the water, that England will do us justice. When I take into consideration the feeling of the people of this country, I feel my share of the great responsibility of this House. The country is in a crisis. I feel it to be a crisis; and I am ready to say God speed to the man or men who shall carry us honorably and safely through it. Now, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I desire to say a word in regard to the question of disloyalty that has been charged against a large majority of the people of Nova Scotia. We who stand up and vindicate the rights of the people, have been called rebels, traitors, and annexationists. Now, sir, I would ask, was O'Connell a rebel for asking that his countrymen should have equal rights with other British subjects? Was Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wel-

lington rebels when agitating for a repeal of the Corp. Laws? Were all the great politicians of England rebels, who from time to time agitated a repeal of the laws which they believed unfair to their countrymen? No sir; a thousand times no. I am fully convinced that every argument urged against the step we are called upon to take, might have been advanced with equal justice against any of the changes I have enumerated. O, but many of our opponents say, that the people of Nova Scotia are ignorant, and are not capable of judging for themselves—that they do not know what freedom is, and that they have no right to name freedom till they are fit to use their freedom. Why, sir, such a doctrine is very like the man who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise in slavery, they may, indeed, wait forever.

Sir, the cry of loyalty will not long continue against the principles of liberty. Loyalty is a noble thing, a judicious principle; but loyalty not associated with liberty is only a corrupt principle. Sir, you may boast of a union with Canada, but you have no union of the people. Any Act of Parliament that would destroy the liberty of the people is not worth the paper that it is written on; it is dead born from the womb. Sir, the bulk of public opinion of Nova Scotia are before this House, and say, we want our liberties—we received them from God, and we will not resign them to Canada; and we ask for a repeal of this wicked and forced Union. Therefore, you men of Nova Scotia, cherish liberty as you love it; cherish its securities, as you wish to preserve it; and be true to God, to your country, and to your duty.

Our opponents may boast of their bone and sinew, wealth, intelligence, respectability, virtue, and everything that sounds glorious; but, sir, what does a majority of the people of Nova Scotia say? We mistrusted your political conduct all along, but now we have weighed you in the balance, and you are found wanting. We have paid you off for your shortcomings, and sent good and trustworthy Tories to take your place—men in whom we have confidence.

I have spoken out freely what I have felt it my duty to say; we must look the dangers which threaten us in the face. The people of this country look to the action of this House with the deepest interest, and I trust that the action of this House will fully meet their expectations. And, sir, those who are now contending for the rights of the people, may be barked at and denounced for a time; the surges of opposition may dash against us; but when the storm is gone by, reason and truth will triumph. I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes, and for the sake of Nova Scotia, we shall act unanimously in voting for the resolutions now before the House.

MR. CHAMBERS' SPEECH, (concluded).

MR. CHAMBERS said:—Last evening I was unable to conclude my remarks on this question, and I therefore take this opportunity of resuming, and promising to confine myself strictly to the question before the House.

ating for a repeal of all the great political laws which they who from time to time have enacted for our countrymen? No. I am fully convinced that the equal justice against which we enumerated. O, they say, that the peonant, and are not themselves—that they is, and that they freedom till they are Why, sir, such a man who resolved he had learned to for liberty till they they may, indeed,

will not long come of liberty. Loyalistic principle; with liberty is only you may boast of a you have no union of Parliament that if the people is not written on; it is b. Sir, the bulk of Nova Scotia are be- we want our liber- God, and we will and we ask for a and forced Union. Nova Scotia, cherish its securities, as it be true to God, our duty.

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evening I was on this ques- is opportunity to confine my- ore the House.

My desire is to shew my constituents that the vote which I intend to give will be intelligently and conscientiously given. When I ceased speaking I was making reference to the stamp act—an act grievously borne in the Province. It was such an act that caused the Colonies, which now form the United States, to revolt, although their loyalty was as true as that of any people within the Dominions. We never thought such an imposition would be put upon us. From all I can learn, this stamp act is likely to be most inconvenient in its operation. A man living nine miles from a Post office, before he can draw a bill or give a valid receipt must go that distance for a stamp; the result will, in many cases, be that the business cannot be done. If a person wishes to draw a bill for a hundred dollars, and one cent over, the stamp will cost him six cents, and that must be lost if the holder wishes to proceed for its collection. The easiest way, in such a case, would be to forgive part of the debt. Was such inconvenience submitted to in any other country. Now as to the newspaper tax. Take the *Eastern Chronicle*, of which paper I think a good deal, because it did us a vast amount of good in the late contest, for example. It is published twice a week; the postage will be forty cents, and the duty, at fifteen per cent., on the paper will make twenty cents more, being three shillings additional which each subscriber will have to pay. This monstrous tax will bring the subscription up to thirteen shillings a year. The proprietors tell me that they expect a serious reduction in their subscription list as the result, for they must either take only seven shillings a year for their paper, or they must charge thirteen shillings to their subscribers.

It was said in the election contest that the Canadians would bring down their capital in abundance, and this statement turned a number of votes, because the young men thought they could easily obtain the means of going into business; but what was the result? Have we seen these prophecies fulfilled? It is true a new Bank has been established, but money instead of being at six per cent as before, can hardly be had at seven per cent. If the additional charge of one per cent benefited our banks it would not be of so much consequence, but it is paid over to the Canadian treasury. We have been accused by the hon. member for Inverness of bringing forward weak arguments, but I might show the House at length how weak were the arguments of his superior, Mr. Archibald. In the Colchester contest we held fourteen meetings, and instead of talking about Confederation he spoke about the mines and minerals, and said, "you must support me because I helped to settle that question." But in the western part of the county at one of the meetings the people refused to hear Mr. Archibald at first, on the ground that he had refused to hear their petitions; but my colleague told them that if they wished to hear any one on the other side they must hear Mr. Archibald, and then they agreed to hear him provided he would stick to the question of Confederation. He promised to do so, and commenced at considerable length about the Acadia Iron Mines, and the steam works which were be-

ing erected there, stating that hereafter the company would have four millions of consumers instead of 350,000, as the iron would go duty free. This was a pretty forcible argument, and some one said, "how are you going to answer that?" "Fortune favors the brave," and it so happened that one of us had a copy of the Canadian tariff, and what was our answer? That under that tariff the products of the company's works went in duty free, and under Confederation it could go no freer. The people began to laugh at the hon. gentleman, and instead of attending the other meetings there he paid visits privately to the people.

At the next meeting he had five individuals to assist his cause, but he did not attend himself. A learned Doctor offered to show us some of the benefits of Confederation, if we would give him an hour, and the sum and substance of his argument was that we could make babies as cheaply here as in Canada. We cannot send manufactured goods to Canada, because their water power and machinery is so far superior to ours, and when we can get our machinery equal to their's at present, they will be far in advance of us in the market. They get coal in return cargoes from England; they can get their iron cheaper than we can supply them, and the fact is they are now sending stoves down here to compete with our foundries. One of the arguments throughout the election, we know, was that manufactures would be established here, but now we find the Canadians sending down merchandise of all kinds. Will they take our butter and cheese in return? Not at all, for, while we heard a great deal about orders for cheese, the Montreal papers were stating that Halifax would be a good market for butter, if it were good. They will not take our pork, for in Halifax we see as many porkers from Canada staring us in the face as would make a dinner for every Confederate in the country. Orders for leather, it is true, came down at one time, but they were not repeated, for it was found that leather was no higher in Montreal than in Halifax, and the orders, in future, for that article, are not likely to be of any considerable amount. They will not carry cargoes of our coal in steamers, but it is said they will take our gold. That reminds me of a society of attorneys in London, who agreed that they would take nothing but gold from their clients; in a short time it was found that one of their number had taken silver, and, on being brought to account, his excuse was that he had taken all the man's gold first. Another was found taking coppers, and his excuse was that he had taken all the gold and silver. So these Canadians, after taking all our gold, will take our silver and copper also. Why should we pay more for a Canadian article that we can buy cheaper in England? What we want is to be allowed to get our goods where we choose. I now will show you what is said by an advocate of Confederation on this subject. The *Christian Messenger* is a good authority on most subjects, but it appears to have gone wrong, somehow or other, on the subject of Confederation. What does this paper say when it finds the shoe pinching its own corns?

"Another highly injudicious tax is that of 15 per cent on the importation of paper. This duty was long ago abolished in Great Britain as a barrier to the spread of information and a relic of the dark ages and yet we are to have it imposed on us at this day. The object of the impost is doubtless to encourage the manufacture of paper in this country. But we do not think the publishers throughout the Dominion should be made to pay a tax for the purpose of benefitting few countries, let us have a free trade in this article so essential to the mental food of the whole people. We protest against this as a decided retrograde movement."

What we want is free trade all over the world. We are told that we should try this Confederation, but I am quite satisfied with what I have seen of its operation during six months. Here I remember a little story told of the King of Abyssinia and a Yankee, who told him that he would teach his donkey to read in fourteen years' time if he was paid a sufficient sum of money. Now the King of Abyssinia puts to death all those who do not keep their promises, and how do you think the Yankee looked at the matter. I will take the money, he said, and live comfortably for the fourteen years, and by that time either the donkey or myself or the king will be dead. So it will be with us. If we try Confederation for a few years we shall either see its advantages or we shall all be dead. Wherever we look over the face of this country we see opposition to the Union. Farmers, fishermen, mechanics are all opposed to it, and Gemand repeal. The majority of the bankers and capitalists also entertain the same opinions. This feeling originated among the people themselves, and has not been stimulated by politicians as certain gentlemen would have us believe. It is the duty of every patriotic Nova Scotian to oppose this Union. I must say we would willingly pay Mr. Blanchard \$100,000 if he would get us rid of this detestable yoke that is now upon our necks.

But the hon. member asks, What will happen if we do not get Repeal? I have heard that question asked before. "What then?" is a momentous question. I asked a gentleman the other day how he would answer it. He replied, "Mr. Chambers, I advise you to be careful of your property; we have a large stake in the country, and whatever you do, seek a change in the law." But suppose we cannot get a change? He would not answer that question. I say that the people of Nova Scotia are loyal now, and wish to continue so, and if they only get Repeal, they will be ten times more loyal than ever. They do not seek Annexation, we do not wish to participate in the war debt of the United States—it would be a greater victory to get Repeal without Annexation. We wish to live as we have lived. We do not ask for a Republican form of Government or any change in our institutions. We do not wish to elect our own Governors; but I believe that the man who gets us Repeal will become our Governor somehow or other, for the people will be so delighted they will have a mock election, if they cannot do anything else. We only wish to be placed where we were before, but, if the agitation continues, I cannot answer for the people. I know that they are determined to have Repeal, and if they do not they will be exasperated. Whatever the consequences

may be, the Confederates will be answerable. If they go on exasperating the people as they have been doing, they will drive them into Annexation.

Hon. SPEAKER.—I cannot allow you to proceed in that way. You had better not express what you believe.

Mr. CHAMBERS.—Well, the people shake their heads sometimes, and wink a little. All I will say, in conclusion, is that we must work together, and be true to ourselves and our country, and we need have no fears of the future.

#### Afternoon Session.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

#### MICELLANEOUS.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that before the House proceeded to the order of the day, which was the striking of the committee to try his election, he wished to take exception to the objection filed by the petitioner. He also objected to the drawing of the committee when there was not the requisite number of members, thirty three, present besides the Speaker and himself.

The SPEAKER thought that the number was sufficient, but finally postponed the order of the day to Monday.

Mr. DICKIE presented a petition from the Clerk of the Peace of Kings County on School matters.

Mr. COCHRAN presented a petition from Charles Lamont and others on School matters.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY presented a petition from Freeman Denison and others for money for a road.

Mr. NORTHUP presented a petition from Brookside Settlement, Terrence Bay, for a money grant.

Mr. CHAMBERS presented a petition from E. Tupper and others for money to build a bridge; also, one from Mr. Blackwood and others for a grant of money.

Mr. RYERSON presented a report from the special committee on the relief of distressed fishermen. The report was received and adopted.

Mr. NORTHUP presented a petition from R. Nickerson and others for a grant for a road near Sambro; also a petition from J. E. Hodson for the privilege of making a sidewalk from Bedford Station to the ride range.

Mr. PURDY asked the Government to lay on the table a return showing the increase of salaries made by order in Council, and the advances for the road and bridge and other services from 1st July to 5th November, 1867.

#### DEBATE ON THE REPEAL RESOLUTIONS.

The adjourned debate was resumed.

#### MR. FREEMAN'S SPEECH.

Mr. FREEMAN said—I do not intend to make a lengthy speech or to occupy the time of the House unnecessarily, but I will offer a few remarks on the question which has so deeply disturbed our once peaceful and happy Province. Were I to consult my own feelings I would keep my seat, and give place to gentlemen who are prepared to address the House with greater effect than I can, and who are awaiting their turn to deliver their

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nt intend to make y the time of I will offer a hich has so eful and happy t my own feel- d, give place ed to address an I can, and o deliver their

speeches. But I feel that I have an important duty to discharge, and shall I not raise my voice, feeble though it may be, in condemnation of the British North America Act, which has imposed so many burdens on us, and deprived us of our liberties, I shall betray the trust reposed in me by my constituents. I have taken notes of topics which suggested remarks, but the gentlemen who preceded me have occupied nearly the whole ground. I may say at the outset that I heartily endorse the resolutions laid on the table by the Attorney General touching this question, asking a repeal of the Union, and representing our case so fully as they do. I feel pleased also at the unanimity of feeling which gentlemen around these benches have expressed on this subject, as also at the manner in which the Government have taken hold of it, and I am happy to say that the county I represent is also pleased with the action of the Government thus far. We have had a fair trial of this act for five months and upwards, and the results are pretty well known to the people of this country. In that time we have lost much in a financial point of view. Take, for instance, the calculation which the hon. member for Inverness gave us—he told us that we could appropriate \$320,000. That, I believe, consists of the subsidy given to Nova Scotia. It was said also that the local revenue would probably amount to \$142,000, and these two amounts give \$366,000. That will be about all the revenue that we shall have to dispose of. It is generally acknowledged that our debt will be eight and a half millions, leaving us \$28,000 to provide for interest. The Provincial Secretary told us that the School grant would probably be \$234,000; the road and bridge service in 1866 was \$244,000, and these items alone give us \$493,000, and makes a deficiency of \$27,000. Then we have all the other local services to provide for, as follows:—

Government departments,	\$15,000
Crown Land department,	18,000
Mines,	72,593
Legislative expenses,	30,000
Hospital for Ineane,	30,000
Poor's Asylum,	12,000
Ferries,	12,000
Relief of Poor,	5,000
Navigation securities,	20,000
Public printing,	6,000
Miscellaneous,	4,000
Coroner's inquests,	1,400
Deficiency as above,	27,000
<b>Total deficiency,</b>	<b>\$258,493</b>

This will be an enormous loss, and there will be no other mode that I see of meeting it than by direct taxation. It will never do for us to resort to that, for the treatment which we would receive in return from our constituents would be something like that which was visited on the heads of the thirty-two gentlemen who inflicted this Act upon us. The evils of the measure are not only those which my calculations show: Mr. Rose tells us that the Dominion has a floating debt of sixty million dollars, a portion of which we must pay, and there are other disadvan-

tages which have been fully gone over by the gentlemen who preceded me. We have been tauntingly told that the elections run on the 18th September were run not only on the Confederation scheme, but on side issues such as the school law. My personal knowledge as to other counties is somewhat limited, but as to the county which I represent I can say that such is not the case. The Union question was the all-important question before the electors. The candidates who were running their elections in the interest of Canada spent considerable sums of money, and brought other influences to bear on the election, and although an enormous sum was laid out on one bridge and road just before the election, the Union candidates secured only one-fourth of the votes of the county. It was not run on the side issues, although the candidates holding Union principles did all they could to rally the old parties, and to sustain themselves by allusions to other questions.

Among the many disadvantages which must result from this obnoxious Act is this,—that the readjustment of the representation by population in the Ottawa Parliament will in course of time give us a smaller proportion of members than we have now, while the representation of Upper Canada will be increased. The scale of increase of population shows that the increase of Canada was by the census of 1866 equal to 4.34 per cent., while that of Nova Scotia was but 1.82 per cent.

The population in Upper Canada was—	
in 1866,	3,090,000
in 1861,	2,507,637
<b>Increase,</b>	<b>582,343</b>
The estimated population of N. Scotia was—	
in 1866,	368,000
in 1861,	330,857

<b>Increase,</b>	<b>37,143</b>
Making a result as follows:	
Canadian increase,	582,343
Nova Scotian increase,	37,143

Increase over N. Scotia in 6 years. 545,200

At this rate of increase, Upper Canada progressing much faster than Nova Scotia, and the representation being readjusted every ten years, that of Canada will increase, and that of Nova Scotia decrease. This will be a grievous wrong to this country. According to the scheme, Nova Scotia receives 80 cents per head, and \$60,000 per annum, while New Brunswick also receives 80 cents per head, \$50,000 per annum, and an additional sum of \$63,000 for ten years. In this an injustice was done to us. We have a larger population than New Brunswick, and why should she require \$63,000 more than us? The reason assigned may have been that she was engaged in railway extension; but were we not in just the same position? But the fact that New Brunswick did not readily come into the scheme, may account for the extra grant which may have had some effect in producing the sudden change of feeling which was witnessed in her second election. The people of this country also feel deeply aggrieved at not being allowed to speak on this question at the polls. We feel that a Union between No-

va Scotia and Canada is not desirable, because the legislative policy required by the two Provinces being different, Canada requiring a protection which taxes the breadstuffs which we must buy from abroad; but we feel that even if the advantages were on our side, the treatment which we have received would have been utterly unjust. I was glad to hear by the remarks of Mr. Pingo that he was unfavorable to this part of the transaction. He seemed to be displeased at the way in which the scheme was carried, although he is willing to accept the situation. If the hon. gentleman thought that the Government had done wrong in imposing this Act upon the people he should have protested against it, for I feel that no one having the spirit which should actuate every Nova Scotian, can fail to express his condemnation of the policy which has prohibited the people of this country from exercising the franchise on an all important question affecting their interests so vitally as this does. I feel that I can endorse all that the resolutions contain; they are suitable to the occasion, and express the feelings of the people. I trust that they will be unanimously adopted, and when our delegates go home with the request of this House, that the country be relieved of the burthen imposed on us. I have an abiding faith in the Queen, and the men administering the affairs of the mother country, that they will hear and accede to our petition.

MR. COCHRAN'S SPEECH.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN said:—I have attentively listened to this debate from its commencement, and must congratulate the House and the country on the ability with which it has been conducted. If it had not been for some remarks that fell from the hon. member for Inverness, respecting the constituency I have the honour to represent, I hardly think I would have troubled the House with any observations, and certainly I shall be very short in what I intend now to say. The hon. gentleman having had an election of his own to run, was hardly in a position to know the actual state of things in this city. He had himself a hard battle to fight, and it was only by the merest chance that he came here at all. When the question of Union came first before the people of this country, I took that view of it which I have ever since held. When Dr. Tupper came out a candidate for this county, the Anti-union party thought that the time had come to make a move, and I was waited upon by several gentlemen asking me to come out. I paid no attention to them for a while, but when I saw that my services might be useful to the party, I consented. At that time I had taken a passage for Europe in the Cunard steamer, and I determined to go notwithstanding the approaching election. In going round and testing the feelings of the people of Halifax, as well as those outside of the city, I found that one-half of us might be away and the matter would be easily settled in our favour. But on my return, I found that about 200 persons who had signed the requisition to us were prepared to vote against us, or not to vote at all. The Government of Canada sent a despatch,

requiring every public officer to vote for the Union candidates. Mr. Longley used his power as the head of the Railway Department. Even the city officials were threatened by a gentleman who had been long in the City Council, and was fond of boasting that he had been instrumental in electing several Mayors. Such was the state of things when the elections came off. I have no hesitation in saying that if an election were held in the city to-morrow, we would get a large majority over any Union candidates that might be brought forward. The men who ran perfectly wild in favor of Union feel very differently now. It has been stated that the most respectable merchants of Halifax are Unionists. Now go up Water street, from Moren's to West's, and you will find four merchants against Confederation to one in favor of it.

The tariff—one of the first acts of the Confederate Parliament—is certainly not an argument in favor of Union. Neither is the Stamp Act, under which every man is obliged to affix a long list of stamps to every bill and note of hand. This will be a pretty costly ornament to the people of this country. Just look at the tariff—fifty per cent. higher than our old one. If a man buys four bushels of corn he must pay 40 cents or 2s. on it. On the other hand wine is reduced to ten cents—the same as that upon corn. The rich man can drink his wine at a less rate, but the poor man must pay more for his food. I have been forty years in this country, and I never paid a cent on corn and cornmeal and rye flour before. Our coal is obliged to pay a 20 per cent duty in the American market, and yet the Canadians allow the American coal to come into their ports duty free. That shows us plainly how we may expect to be treated by the majority in the Confederate Parliament. I have no doubt Sir John A. MacDonal'd would gladly impose a duty on American coal, but his supporters from Upper Canada will not allow him to do so. I have no doubt we shall have a 30 per cent. tariff imposed upon us ere any great length of time has elapsed. When they wished to conciliate the Maritime Provinces they lowered the tariff to 15 per cent., but we know that under the expensive system of government established in the Dominion this rate will not suffice to meet the expenditures. They propose buying the Hudson's Bay Territory, and building the Intercolonial Railway, but where is all the money to come from? Not from a tariff of 15 per cent., certainly, when we know that Canada could not meet her ordinary obligations for years under a 20 per cent. tariff. I trust, let me say in conclusion, that we shall not be kept in this Union much longer, but that Nova Scotia will be permitted to regain her old constitution and privileges, under which she has enjoyed so much prosperity and happiness. I have travelled over Europe and America, but nowhere have I seen a happier and more contented community than Nova Scotia. I left the old country in my youth, and perhaps I was not then the most loyal of men. I was, like a good many of my countrymen, carried away with the notion that England was an enemy, but when I came to Nova Scotia, and saw the state of

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things here, I was satisfied and have lived in the Province ever since. I found that the man who would not be loyal to this country must be a fool or an idiot. I believe at the time of the Fenian excitement, had this country been invaded, my countrymen would have been true to their allegiance; I never heard a man speaking in support of the Fenians or saying there should be Fenians among us. I am sorry to be obliged to confess, if matters progress as they have been doing, if we do not get out of this Union, much of this good feeling will be swamped. I believe that peace and order are gone from Nova Scotia forever if this Union is perpetuated. I believe that many persons were once in favor of Union, but when they came to see the iniquity of the present scheme, they changed their opinions very soon. Nothing shewed more clearly the feelings of the people of Nova Scotia than the departure of Dr. Tupper and Mr. Archibald from this city a few days ago on their way to Canada. These men were a credit to any country—their ability entitles them to respect, but when they left not a farewell cheer rose from the crowd assembled on the wharf; one would actually have thought it was a funeral. But when Mr. Howe left he left amid the hearty cheers of the large crowd that saw him depart on his patriotic mission. Such is the feeling of the people of Nova Scotia generally.

The men who sit on these benches indicate very clearly the sentiment of the country. I do not find fault with the people of Canada. I believe they found themselves in a position of difficulty, and could see no other means of extricating themselves except by annexing the Maritime Provinces. As respects the men who betrayed their country in this House, we cannot but censure them most loudly. One of the gentlemen who now sits in the other end of the building met a friend one day on the street, when the question of Confederation was under consideration, and said, "We are sold." That hon. gentleman, however, was found voting in favor of Union, and now he has been rewarded. So far as the resolutions are concerned, I agree with every line of them, and hope when the people of England look at the real position of matters they will meet out to us that justice to which we are entitled at their hands.

#### HON. PROV. SECRETARY'S SPEECH.

Hon. Prov. Sec'y. said:—In rising to address the House at this time I feel much embarrassed, from the fact that in the opening of this debate three or four legal gentlemen addressed the House, taking up the constitutional argument, and following after them came a number of able merchants who took up the financial part of the question, and thus the matter has been so fully discussed, and so completely exhausted, that a lengthy speech would be merely adding to what has already been said, in a discussion which, in my opinion, should not detain the House long after to-day. It is important that the debate should be brought to a close as early as possible, and at the same time it is important that every gentleman should have an opportunity to express his views, in order that

the people of this Dominion and Great Britain should know the unanimity of sentiment prevailing throughout the length and breadth of the land. I speak to-day from a different standpoint from that occupied by any other gentleman, from the fact that I am free to confess openly to the House that I am a Unionist as far as a union of the Maritime Provinces goes. When the resolution was brought down and passed authorizing a delegation to Prince Edward Island, to form a scheme for such a union, it met with my hearty approval, and I looked forward to the consummation of the measure with a large amount of interest. But I was deeply disappointed when I found those gentlemen who went on that delegation closed their labors at the instance of a number of delegates from Canada, who desired to frame and carry out what they were pleased to term the larger Union. I felt, with regard to the Maritime Provinces, that inasmuch as our interests were identical, a union would have the effect of removing duties which interfered with commercial interchange, equalising the currencies, removing restrictions from trade, and reducing the legislative expenses, without any risk being incurred, but with the certainty of the general interests being advanced. When we look around our Province, and see that we are only connected by a narrow neck of land to New Brunswick, that nearly all our ports are open on one year's end to the other, and that we are a fishing and maritime people requiring trade with all the world, it is obvious that a connection with Canada, whose harbors are closed for the greater part of the year, must result in great disadvantage to this colony. I said that our ports are open for the whole year,—it is really so, at some seasons some few of the smaller harbors are closed, but as a general rule such is not the case. As a maritime and fishing people it is necessary, in order to the prosperity of the country, that we should have as nearly a free trade policy as possible, while Canada, being peculiarly situated, requires a protective policy in every sense of the word. Therefore I say in all sincerity that in my opinion there is no confederation of Nova Scotia with Canada that can result in anything but disaster and taxation, beyond what the country can bear for some time to come.

I said that I looked forward with interest to the consummation of a scheme for a Maritime Union, and that my disappointment was great when I found that that project was abandoned, but still I looked forward in hope that some scheme might be arranged whereby the Confederation of all the Colonies might be carried out without seriously impairing the interests of the smaller Provinces, and when the scheme was brought down I was prepared to give it the most careful consideration, and to adopt it if I found it anything like what such a scheme should be. But when I came to examine it, and to find that it seemed to have been concocted for the particular advantage of Canada, and that the interests of this country would suffer very materially from a union on such a basis, then, in common with nineteen-twentieths of the people of this Province, I made up my mind

to do all I could to defeat it, and I have never ceased from that effort down to the present time. I know it has been said that Mr. Howe's efforts caused all the agitation in the country, and that if it had not been for him the measure would have been approved at the polls. I stand here as the representative of a county in which was held the third, if not the second meeting on the subject, a year before it was known which side of the question Mr. Howe would take; and no matter what his views were—although I am free to confess that he gave us a very material addition of strength when he came out—the feeling would have been just as strong as it is to-day. I will endeavor to-day to make a short and practical speech, and in order to show the correctness of the views I have already advanced I will take up a few figures and support my position by them. As it is not in accordance with Parliamentary usage to refer to a debate that has been closed, I will be unable to approach a former speech of the hon. member for Inverness, excepting by way of supposition, and we will therefore suppose that the Government came before the Legislature with a speech from the Throne, in which it was stated that the financial condition of the country was unsatisfactory, and that the leader of the Opposition, to show that such a statement should not have been made, told us that in consequence of Confederation being carried out the Province had run into debt to the General Government \$600,000 before six months had elapsed. If that were the case it would prove very conclusively that the Confederation was not at all satisfactory. No argument in favor of the existing state of affairs could be adduced from that state of things, because the hon. gentleman, in saying that the country was in a better financial condition than ever before—there being \$329,000 in the treasury on the government with—would be obliged to admit in the next breath that we had run into debt by \$600,000. I am not willing, however, that the argument should go before the country even in that way, but I will read from Mr. Rose's statement a passage bearing on the subject. Before doing so, however, I would remark that the assertions about the Canadian Government having been largely in advance to us will be equally applicable if, on the 2d of July, that Government had paid over to this Province a portion of our subsidy. The Finance Minister, in that case, might, with equal truth, come forward with the assertion that we were largely in advance in our receipts. Mr. Rose states the matter thus:—

“ Statement C gives in detail the receipts and payments in Nova Scotia, and a glance at it shews as follows:—

Receipts,	\$769,689
Payments,	580,414
leaving an apparent surplus of	\$219,275
But since then, there has been advanced on account of the subsidy to be paid to Nova Scotia,	\$317,449
And there has been paid for interest due to the Messrs. Baring,	242,428
	559,877

From which if we deduct the surplus of receipts just mentioned we shall find that Nova Scotia has at this time received an advance of

\$340,802

This is the position up to the 1st December instant, but while I make the statement, I hope no member will entertain any sectional feeling—I give the facts as they are, but these figures, it should be remembered, fluctuate very much, and of course a great deal of this expenditure is on account of the debt of \$8,000,000 with which Nova Scotia agreed to come into the Union. We have in fact to find the money to make up a portion of that debt, and having found the money, the Dominion is bound to find the money to meet the interest. It is not as if the debts of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick had existed at the time of the Union; for then all the Dominion would have had to do would have been to provide the interest; but there are current engagements of the Maritime Provinces, maturing from time to time, which the Dominion has to find money for at once, and that perhaps not merely to the amount of seven or eight millions, but to the extent to which their liabilities exceed this sum, and after this comes interest on the whole, the excess of which over the interest on the seven or eight millions will have to be deducted from the subsidies to be paid.”

This is a plain statement of the facts, and it places the whole matter in so clear a light that there can be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that we really are not indebted to Canada in any sum for advances. I have prepared a short statement which will shew how the matter stands, excluding the amounts paid on account of the two railroads. I take the amounts as Mr. Rose gave them, making \$219,275, the five months subsidy, which is all that should be chargeable, and it leaves \$84,133 in our favor. I do not deny that the Canadian Government may be in advance of the receipts, because they have paid something on account of our debt. If that debt was six and a half millions, and we were entitled to go in with eight millions, they were bound to pay us the balance at any time, and on the principle which they have adopted, if, on the 2nd of July they had been called upon for the additional two and a half millions, they would have charged that against our account as so much advanced. I proceed in the next place to give a comparative statement of the amount of duty collected in Nova Scotia in 1866 under our tariff of that year, and of the amount that we would have paid in that year under a Canadian tariff. I have had every item calculated, and although it may possibly be erroneous to the extent of a few dollars, yet I believe it will be found in the main correct. I take 1866, because it is the only complete year that we can calculate by.

Amount under Canadian tariff,	\$1,830,238.80
“ “ Nova Scotia tariff,	1,402,698.88

Difference against Nova Scotia. \$427,539.98

Thus we see that under a Canadian tariff we would have paid on the importations of 1866 \$427,539.98 more than under our tariff of that year. It is true that Mr. Johnson has

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made a calculation producing a different result, making it appear that Nova Scotia would only lose \$59,000, but any such statement is preposterous. The free goods could not so nearly balance the account, and a statement shewing such a result is intended to deceive and mislead. The same thing was done with regard to the imports of New Brunswick, and a most competent person come forward and shewed that in that statement an omission was made of \$200,000. The whole matter is carried on by that kind of deception. I said that this country required free trade as nearly as possible, and that will be plainly shewn when we come to place the protective duty of Canada on her, for the importations of Nova Scotia, in 1866, were equal to \$38 per head, while those of Canada, commonly considered the most wealthy Colony, only amounted to \$15 per head. When our importations, under a ten per cent. tariff, come to \$38 per head, is it not plain that the raising of that tariff must be advantageous to the country? I find also that Canada expends but 86 cents per head for local purposes, while we expend \$2, and the same proportion prevails throughout. This remark brings me to the consideration of our revenue and assets under Confederation, and I think the statement I made of the figures, a few evenings ago, will be found in the main correct. I will shew first our revenue from the various sources:

<i>Revenue.</i>	
Crown Lands,	\$ 42,764.26
Gold Mines,	25,000.00
Coal Mines,	45,000.00
Hospital for Insane,	20,000.00
Subsidy,	264,000.00
Bonus,	60,000.00
	456,764.26
<i>Estimated Expenditure.</i>	
Salaries,	\$ 15,000.00
Criminal Prosecutions,	2,000.00
Coroners' Inquests,	2,000.00
Crown Land Dept.,	17,850.00
Education,	164,000.00
Legislative Expenses,	30,000.00
Public Printing,	10,000.00
Public Works,	40,000.00
Department of Mines,	15,000.00
Poor Asylum,	13,000.00
Relief,	6,000.00
Roads and Bridges,	240,000.00
Steamboats, Ferries, &c.	8,000.00
Navigation Securities,	10,000.00
Provincial Exhibition,	6,000.00
Agriculture,	6,000.00
Deaf & Dumb Inst.,	2,000.00
Miscellaneous,	12,000.00
	598,850.00
Expenditure over Revenue, \$142,085.74	

I ask the House if that is the position that a Province, rising in the scale in which we have risen for the last ten years, should be placed? I blush for those who have placed Nova Scotia in that position? In addition to the amounts which I have stated, there has been paid since the 1st of July on the new

Provincial Building \$35,653, and there will be yet to be paid \$20,000, making \$55,653. Then coming to the department of education, we find that we must make an advance of \$45,000 as a loan to the counties, which will, it is true, be repaid in the subsequent year, but which must be provided out of this year's revenue. Again, we are obliged to provide 2-3 of \$80,000 for the new Poores' Asylum, amounting to \$54,000; and at least \$25,000 for interest on excess of public debt. These items give \$179,653 to be added to the deficit of \$142,085.74 which I stated before, making a total of \$321,738.74 as a deficit for the present year.

I stated before that I have made this statement of figures, not with a view to deceive, but to show the House and the country what we must expect if we are to remain in Confederation. It would be useless for me to try to make it appear that we have \$200,000 or \$300,000 to spare from the treasury when we shall certainly be short over the amount which I have put down for roads and bridges.

It has been repeatedly said by the advocates of Confederation: "we have given you a new Act,—you found fault with the Quebec scheme, and therefore we have improved it." I should like to know in what the improvement consists,—the Quebec scheme left us the right to impose export duties, but that has been taken away by the Imperial Act. The new arrangement gives us \$60,000 per annum, but it gave a like sum to all the other Provinces, so that we, who suffer, must have to pay a part of this very money, and the right of laying on an export duty is vested in the General Government. That is just the position of things under the new arrangement. As regards the constitutional part of the argument, I would just say that no doubt many members recollect the celebrated campaign which Dr. Tupper made in the western counties,—he held a meeting at Weymouth, among other places, and what was the ground of his argument there? It was that Howe, Archibald and McCully were governing the country in defiance of the well understood wishes of the people, and were going contrary to all British precedent in doing so. He made a most pathetic speech, telling us that those gentlemen were going to govern the country in that way for four years. Well, they did so, but at the end of that time the people had a perfect right to displace them if they pleased. Dr. Tupper, however, thought they had not the right to hold the government for an hour; he declared they were infringing on the constitution, and laid down the doctrine that the constitution belonged to the whole people—that every child in breathing his first breath took in a portion of it—and that any man who undertook to govern the country in defiance of the wishes of the people would be depriving them of the privileges which belong to them under responsible government.

The hon. member for Inverness told us that the Attorney General was the Tory of Tories, and boasted that himself had been brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, learning the principles of Howe, Young, and other leading men of the Liberal party. I looked at him with amazement.

ment,—is it possible that he has imbibed the principles which those men laid down, and yet so far forget himself and everything preached and practised by the leading men on the Liberal side of politics in this country, as to stand up here and tell the people that they had no more right to control the Government, or to be heard on any change in the constitution, than the people of Russia,—for his statement in substance was that? He reminds me of what an American gentleman said that Lord Derby remarked in England on being asked what were Earl Russell's politics,—his reply was, "when Earl Russell is in power he is a Tory, but when out of power he is a Liberal." So when the hon. member for Inverness was out of power he was a Liberal, but when he got the ship hand he was a bigger Tory than the Atty. General, who, in this debate has been advocating true conservative principles: the right of the people of the country to govern themselves. I have never taken a very decided stand on either side of politics,—I have been a Conservative, but only this far, that I was always willing when it could be shown that a change was necessary, to aid with both hands the advancement of the true interests of the country.

The hon. gentleman also referred to Halifax being strongly confederate, and spoke of the wealth and intelligence of the metropolis. When I read the accounts of the July celebration in Halifax, I thought that all the citizens must have adopted Union principles, but I little thought that a large amount of the funds expended in that celebration were paid out of the public chest. That expenditure was made, I believe, for no other purpose than to make the people of the rural districts believe that Halifax was strongly confederate. That brings to my mind the scenes enacted in the country on the 1st of July; while in Halifax the day was celebrated with something like rejoicing, what was the fact in the country? From one end to the other nothing but mourning and grief were exhibited; the shutters were closed from morning to night; the flags were at half-mast; Dr. Tupper hung in effigy from every barn along the road, and everywhere the signs of deep regret at the loss of the country's liberties were displayed. The hon. member for Inverness asked the other day what we expected to accomplish by this agitation. I will tell him: we expect to accomplish a complete repeal of the Union as far as Nova Scotia is concerned. We will approach the British Government as loyal and intelligent men, the descendants of men who preferred a home in the wilderness of this country to ease and affluence under the American flag. We will tell them that the Act of Confederation was forced on our country. Our people, having had time to consider the matter, are perfectly satisfied that to continue the present state of things would bring nothing but ruin and disgrace upon them, and we therefore come here as loyal and loving subjects of the Queen, to ask for a repeal of the Act.

I think I can tell the hon. member what the answer will be also. That Parliament will say we were deceived into the passage of the

Act and did not give it full consideration—we are far from wishing to force the loyal people of Nova Scotia into a confederation against their wishes. Take back your constitution, and so long as you remain loyal and true to the British flag and feel a desire to live as a colony of Great Britain, we will do all we can to advance your interests in time of peace and protect you in time of war. The question "what then" was asked the other day. I will tell the House "what then,"—a long loud shout will go up from one end of the country to the other of God save the Queen, and many a poor man, whose daily food has been made dearer by the legislation under which we are suffering, will join in the shout. When that day comes a new stimulus will be given to every branch of industry. The fisherman will go forth with his line, the miner will take up his shovel, and the ship carpenter his axe. The merchant will make large importations, and new life will be infused into the people. I have not the slightest doubt that if we gain repeal, our importations, instead of continuing to fall off as they did last year, will soon be doubled. If the right of self-government be restored to us the people would not feel even the fifteen per cent tariff which we have been paying Canada a heavy burthen.—for the great trouble with us now is that we receive no corresponding benefits for the taxes that we pay. If repeal be granted, as I have said, the country will go forward with new strength and vigor, trade will be opened in new channels, the waves of prosperity will roll in on Nova Scotia's shores, and our Province will enjoy the position that nature has destined her to occupy, as one of the finest gems in the British crown.

Mr. HOOPER—I intended addressing the House on several occasions, but so much has already been said on this subject that I feel I cannot invest it with any new novelty, and therefore I shall only say that I heartily endorse the sentiments contained in the resolutions, and shall vote in their support.

#### MR. DESBRISAY'S SPEECH.

Mr. DESBRISAY said:—Mr. Speaker, I shall endeavor in addressing the House to be as concise as possible, but I feel that this question is of such vast importance that I would be avoiding a duty I owe to those whom I have the honor to represent if I were to pass it by with a silent vote. One thing, sir, is indisputable, that Nova Scotians are not today as free nor as contented as they were previous to the Confederation of this Province with Canada. I know it is asserted that the Anti-Confederate party are to blame for the discontent that unhappily exists in the country, but this statement cannot be supported by sound argument. Some of the warmest advocates of Confederation do not hesitate to declare that the mode of procedure as regards Nova Scotia was most high-handed and outrageous, and I venture to assert that there is not on record a more cool, determined defiance of popular rights than was exhibited by the principal agents in the transaction here in Nova Scotia. It has been frequently asserted that the leading men of this Province, years ago,

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advocated the Union of the Provinces. It was, I admit, urged that the union was desirable, and if wisely managed might result in good, but to say that such a scheme as this, with all the advantages for Canada and disadvantages for us, which are its main characteristics, was ever dreamt of, much less publicly proclaimed, is not consistent with fact. It was never once hinted, at least up to the time when its advocates saw a chance of its being effected, that the people should not be consulted on a measure like this which would affect themselves and their children for future generations. Tell me not that the constitution of our country can be changed, and the rights of this people bartered away without reference to those whose interests are immediately affected. If the arguments of the hon. member for Inverness and his friends be correct, then any Legislature, however corrupt, can wholly destroy the liberties of the people, and they must tamely submit. If a Legislature, elected as ours was in 1863, can act as they did, and still be within the constitution, then the people cease to have a voice in the management of their affairs, and self-government is only a delusion and a snare. Then the most monstrous acts can be committed by those who, pretending to represent others, have their own personal aggrandizement chiefly in view.

I want to know why the people of Nova Scotia occupy a different position from the people of New Brunswick. This is a question that has not been, and cannot be, answered. The people of that Province had two separate elections, but the electors of Nova Scotia were not allowed the right of expressing their opinions upon the most momentous question that ever engaged the attention of this country. No satisfactory reason can be given why the people of Nova Scotia, who are certainly just as intelligent and capable of coming to a satisfactory conclusion on matters of importance as the people of the neighboring Province, should have been denied the right which the latter enjoyed. On every principle of justice they should have been consulted, and the members of the former Legislature who declared one day the Union to be impracticable, and on the next recorded their votes in favor of it, deceived the people whom they had been sent to this House to represent. One of the arguments of the Confederates has been that this Province having comparatively limited resources, was to be united to a country of immense wealth—that we were to enter a partnership in which one partner—that is Nova Scotia—would have a small capital, while the other—that is Canada—would have an enormous income, and that we would receive benefits much greater in proportion than any contribution we could make to the general stock. This delusion was entirely dispelled by Mr. Galt who, when advocating the Union, used this language: "I ask the House frankly to look at it as a great measure brought down to relieve Canada from distress and depression." He went on to say that if the local revenues were inadequate then the people must resort to direct taxation.

I remember when I was studying my Profession in this city, coming into the gallery, and hearing the present Attorney General say: "Nova Scotia came from the hands of the Creator, endowed with greater natural advantages than any territory of equal dimensions on the face of the globe." I ask you if the development of her resources in the interim has not proved the truth of what he then said. One of the first questions that should have been asked when the measure was under consideration was, whether it was to be advantageous to all the Provinces concerned. What did Sir Richard Graves McDonnell tell the Legislature in the session of 1864? That he was pleased to be able to congratulate them on the unprecedented increase in the revenues of Nova Scotia. The following statement will clearly show the remarkable increase of our customs revenues in ten year's time: In 1856 this revenue was \$371,588; but it had increased to \$1,226,199 in '65. In 1854 our Exports were valued at \$4,990,672; but in 1865 they amounted to \$5,830,693. As I represent one of the principal, indeed the largest fishing constituency in Nova Scotia, I may mention that the fish exported in 1854 from this Province was valued at \$1,960,932, and in 1865 it reached \$3,282,016. I have said that there was no necessity for Nova Scotia to enter into the Union in order to promote her prosperity and advancement. When the French fleet visited this port some years ago, one of the officers made a tour of the Province in order that he might see the state of the descendants of the old Acadians, and when he returned to France he wrote a work, in which he asserted that there were no people who had more reason to be happy and contented than those in Nova Scotia, and he added with reference to the taxes, they laid upon them "as lightly as a down cushion." Compare this state of things with that of the Canadians. Having had a deficit for many years they saw in the revenues of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick a means of overcoming their difficulties, as suggested by Mr. Galt. Accordingly they proceeded in hot haste to Charlottetown, and persuaded the Delegates from the Maritime Provinces, who were charged with the performance of a certain duty, to adjourn to another Province, and there to arrange a scheme which was wholly outside of their instructions. This Province has received from its public men the most contemptuous treatment.

The story of Mr. Watkin has been often referred to, and I must also allude to it for a moment. The man who is the "head and front of all the offending" in Nova Scotia was the one who led the Parliament of England astray on this question. He says he told Mr. Watkin that he had delivered addresses in the different counties on the question, and that he came into power with a large majority who gave the scheme their support. Mr. Watkin evidently sought for correct information. Because Dr. Tupper delivered lectures in Truro, Windsor, and one or two other county towns, were the people of this Province therefore to be considered conversant with the details of the scheme. He must have made the statement he did designedly, in order to have Mr. Wat-

kin believe that the people had decided in favor of the scheme, because he knew that such was not the case. I would like to know why he did not remain here to finish the work of educating the people up to the blessings of Confederation in the face of a high tariff and the Canadian Stamp Act. It is said by the Fenians come to Nova Scotia, or if there is any threatened invasion, the people must rise in their might; and yet if they are deprived of their rights and privileges as British freemen by those living on their own soil, they must be quiet.

All we required was the privilege of deciding the question for ourselves, and I shall turn the attention of the House to the language used by the gentleman who moved the resolution on which the delegates went to England, and we want nothing more than what he said to show the proper mode of dealing with this question. Mr. Miller said in Temperance Hall: "Let no attempt be made to place the walls of the Provincial Building between this measure and the electors of Nova Scotia. If the advocates of the measure have faith in the soundness of their scheme, let them submit it to the only tribunal competent to pass a judgment upon it, the people at the polls." That he then took the right view of the question the elections of last September clearly proved. Yet the gentleman who used this language came to the House and in his place moved the resolution on which the delegates went to England, in order to fasten this iniquitous scheme upon us. I would like to know why the course he advised at first ought not to have been followed in 1867? I am ashamed to say in my place in this House that so many public men of Nova Scotia, charged with the interests of this people, proved false to the trust reposed in them in the manner they did. Why, sir, a city wood sawyer, even the man who begs from door to door, "poor pensioner on the bounties of an hour," may better illustrate the worth and dignity of human nature than the men who betrayed their country, though they have half the letters of the alphabet after their names, and now receive high salaries in the Dominion as the reward of their deception. These men I hold to have been Nova Scotians only in name, and I am happy to see that some of them are out of the country, and if all of them were away the interests of the people would not suffer in consequence. Let me, however, add that I hold that men who have been consistent advocates of Confederation all through are not to be classed with those who came here declaring that they were opposed to the scheme, and afterwards voted in favor of it. The hon. member for Inverness the other day hinted that he hoped to change the opinions of some of the honest men he saw around these benches. I hope he will not be able to do any such thing. I believe every man will maintain his allegiance to his Queen and to the people, and that every one of them at least of the thirty-six will emulate the conduct of that noble Roman sentinel who foresook not his post at the gates of Pompeii, but was found when the ruins of that city were uncovered, standing in his place erect in death, still holding his spear. (Cheers in the gallery which was repressed by the chair.)

Mr. BLANCHARD—If it were not for the example set by the House itself the galleries would be quiet enough.

Hon. SPEAKER—Sir, it is not for you but for the chair to attend to the order of this House. You are not yourself inclined to preserve that decorum which is expected from every gentleman, for you very often converse with gentlemen on these benches when others are speaking.

Mr. BLANCHARD—I may say that never since I have had the honor of a seat in this House have I known a gentleman to be refused permission to interrupt another, and make some explanation. When gentlemen encourage that gallery to make demonstrations to destroy the order of this House they are at liberty to do so, but if you do not check them I will.

Hon. SPEAKER—When you, sir, assume the duties of the Speaker of this House, and whilst I am here to preside over the members of this body, and reprove them for anything, I must call you to order, and desire that this may never be done again. (Cheers in the gallery.)

Mr. BLANCHARD—"I see strangers in the gallery."

The galleries were cleared, and the House at once adjourned until Monday.

MONDAY, 17th Feby.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

Mr. ELKANAH YOUNG presented a petition from Mount Uniacke, and introduced a bill in accordance with the prayer thereof, asking that that settlement be incorporated into West Hants.

Mr. RYERSON presented a petition from a Way Office Keeper, asking for a larger salary.

Mr. KIDSTON, a petition for money.

Mr. BLANCHARD, a petition for certain remuneration.

Mr. J. McDONALD, from School section, No. 9, St. Andrews, praying for an alteration in the School Law.

Mr. NORTHUP, from A. Coffie, of the Cumberland Hotel, Amherst, in reference to the License Law.

Mr. PURDY, also two petitions on the same subject.

The order of the day, the drawing of a Committee to consider the petition against the return of Mr. Blanchard, was then taken up.

Mr. BLANCHARD entered a protest against the petition on the ground that no legal and sufficient security has been filed—the securities being two members of the House.

Hon. SPEAKER said he had looked over the authorities, but he could not find an instance of any petitioner having two members of the same Legislature as securities, but perhaps the hon. gentleman, or his counsel, would cite some precedent.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked that he be heard by his counsel at the Bar.

The motion was granted, and JAMES McDONALD, Esq., appeared at the bar and addressed the House against the validity of the petition. He argued that it was contrary to the dignity of the House that members should act as securities in cases where they

were acting as a Court. It should be remembered, he argued, that the Legislature was the highest court from which there was no appeal, and consequently there was greater necessity to do nothing that might tend to the injury of those whose interests were in their hands. No precedents could be found anywhere—either in England or the colonies—for such a case as was now under consideration. It had been decided in the courts below that a member of Parliament cannot be received as bail, because, although he may be worth the money a hundred times over, yet he cannot be called upon to respond on account of his privilege. In elucidation of this point the learned gentleman cited several cases from May, Saunton, &c. In May, he added, it is stated that there is an order of the House, that members of the Commons being barristers are not to appear before the House of Lords in matters which are likely to come before the House. What would be thought of a member of Parliament accepting a fee or reward in connection with matters before the House? The independence of the House would not be preserved if the members were made directly interested in matters concerning money that came before them.

On the conclusion of Mr. McDonald's remarks, the galleries were cleared, and the question considered with closed doors.

On resuming the following committee was struck: Mr. Ross, Hon. Mr. Robertson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Freeman, Mr. D. McDonald, Mr. Lawrence. The committee was called together for Wednesday.

The House then adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, 18th Feby.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Mr. KIRK presented a petition from Guysboro' for a bridge across St. Mary's River, and strongly urged the Government to take the matter into consideration.

Mr. BLANCHARD also spoke in favour of the construction of the work.

Mr. KIRK said if the Government would not take the matter up, then the people of Guysboro' would be obliged to ask for leave to incorporate a Company to build the bridge, and ask tolls thereon.

Mr. J. McDONALD presented a petition from Black River, Fraser's Grant, Antigonishe, in reference to Education. Also from Black Settlement, Tracadie, to change the name thereof, and a bill in accordance with the prayer thereof.

Mr. LANDERS, petitions for money grants.

Mr. JOHNSON, bill to legalize assessment roll in Shelburne.

Mr. HOOPER, petition of Angus McDonald and others, for money on a road.

Dr. MURRAY, petition, section No. 12, for a change in a polling place; also a bill in accordance with the prayer thereof.

Hon. Mr. TROUP, petition from Annapolis, praying the House to grant a survey of a road between Shelburne and Annapolis; he pointed out the necessity that exists for the work in question.

Mr. BLANCHARD said the former Government had given a pledge to construct the work, which was undoubtedly desirable.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard, Messrs. Blanchard, Vail, and Northup were appointed a Committee of the House in reference to the Legislative Library.

#### DEBATE ON THE REPEAL OF RESOLUTIONS.

The adjourned debate was then resumed.

MR. DESBRISAY'S SPEECH, (concluded).

Mr. DESBRISAY then continued his speech: I was interrupted in the Address which I was making to the House on Saturday, by the hon. member for Inverness. He found fault with the members of this House following the practice of the British House of Commons in expressing their opinions of what they hear, and I think he might have shown to me a measure of the same forbearance which was exhibited to himself on a previous day when you, Sir, having given orders for the galleries to be cleared, the occupants were allowed to remain because that hon. gentleman saw "respectable people" among them. The return I make is this: I am ready to bear my testimony that the hon. member is very useful in this House, and I know that since I came here he has given his attention closely to the public business. When I closed on Saturday I was about referring to the cry of disloyalty and annexation which has been brought against the Anti-confederate party in this country. From whom does this cry of disloyalty and annexation come? Chiefly from a few persons in the city of Halifax whose stock in trade appears to me to be slander; slander which, in the words of Shakespeare,

"Outvenoms all the worms of Nile,  
And makes the meat it feeds upon."

Slander which, as we see day after day, spares neither the longest life of usefulness nor the highest respectability. I am happy, however, to know that these persons stand alone, and that they have about as much influence now in this country as they had on the eighteenth of September last. There has been a good deal of lip and pocket loyalty in Nova Scotia, expressly manufactured for the occasion. With this loyalty I have nothing whatever to do. I love England, the home of my fathers and the birthplace of the free; England that leads the nations, asking them to accept for themselves the great and manifold blessings that follow in her train; England that in so many lands, our own included, has erected her national flag and the standard of the cross together, so that the lustre of the one is made brighter by the glory of the other—this England I love. I do not, however, love this dear land of the Mayflower any the less, and the rights and interests of her people are to me objects of special importance. A great deal has been said about the tariff, to which the people of Nova Scotia are subjected by the Confederation scheme. In examining it, I do not so much care whether there are certain articles that are admitted duty free which were not free before. The main question which concerns the people is this: Are the articles most required for their subsistence taxed? If those articles chiefly consumed by the poor people are taxed, whilst those that are used

by the rich are admitted free, then it is a tariff to which the people of Nova Scotia can never give their consent; and on examination of the matter, I find what I have stated to be the fact.

The hon. member for Inverness referred to Catholic Emancipation, the abolition of the Corn Laws, and the Reform Bill, and cited the speeches of Mr. Pitt and Sir Robert Peel to shew that it was right to pass this act in the way it has been passed. All the measures referred to extended and enlarged the liberties and privileges of the people; whereas this act, in support of which he brought such matters forward, curtails and to a very large extent destroys the rights and privileges of the people of this country. I thought, when he undertook to deal with this question, he would not have taken solely the opinions of men who might rise in Parliament and give their views on constitutional subjects, but that he would have referred to those works that are text books of authority. He might without difficulty have quoted from the highest authority, and have shewn that it is not competent for a legislature to delegate its power to make laws to any other body. But he did not do that. It will be in my power also to cite Mr. Pitt, and I think he will not appear as the advocate of encroachment upon the liberties of the people. The hon. member will not forget the celebrated stamp act which was to bind the old thirteen colonies. It is constantly asserted that Confederation is necessary to the defence and security of the provinces, and it is certainly curious that the old stamp act uses the same argument. The preamble states in so many words that it was necessary for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies.—Here you see that the same reason that was given for forcing the Stamp Act upon the old Colonies has been applied to us. I think I can show that the people of Nova Scotia are now taxed by the authority of the British Parliament, because if it were not for the British North America Act the Government of Canada would have no right to levy a tax upon us. There was not even a delegated power to pass the Act given by the people, and therefore they are as virtually taxed by the British Parliament as the inhabitants of the old Colonies were in the last century. We are not represented in the British Parliament any more than were the old Colonies. How was this thing brought about? A delegation went to England, and authorized the British Government to pass the Act; it was so passed, but it was never ratified by the people of Nova Scotia. A reason given why the latter should be satisfied with this law is that power is left to the Local Legislature to tax the people for their own local wants. That is one of the arguments used by the men who defended the Stamp Act. The then Lord Chancellor said, in debate, "The nature of the Stamp Act seems to be mistaken. It binds all the Colonies in general, but it does not control the power each Province has to lay internal taxes for local purposes."

Lord Camden said, "My position is this—I repeat it—I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are in-

separable. This position is founded on the laws of nature; it is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature. There is not a blade of grass growing in the most obscure corner of this kingdom which is not, which was not ever represented since the constitution began; there is not a blade of grass which, when taxed, was not taxed with the consent of the proprietor."

If the people of Nova Scotia were taxed under this Act by their own consent, then most of the objections to it would be removed; but no man can say that the consent of the people was ever given to this British North America Act.

Let us now see what Mr. Pitt said, in the House of Commons, in the debate on the "Address of Thanks:"

"It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in the House to tax America I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequence, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the Colonies. Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion—it is, that the Stamp Act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned—because it was founded on an erroneous principle."

What was done at the end of the debate? The obnoxious act was repealed by a majority of 114, and the repealing act was carried to the House of Lords by more than two hundred members. That is what the people of Nova Scotia want the British Government now to do with this act, which is stamping out their energies and making them disheartened—to do just what they did for the old Colonies.

It has been said that this scheme was "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity." So glaring has been the corruption leading to its passage, and so hostile is it to the interests of the people, that we may say, with Macbeth, on reviewing the whole matter, we have "supped full of horrors." Even the Sabbath day, we are told, was desecrated by some of these delegates by appending their signatures to this act. The hon. gentleman from Inverness makes a note. On the principle laid down by that hon. member in reference to the Attorney General, I can prove it. He said it had been rumored that the Hon. Attorney General had incited the people not to attend their militia drill, and as it had never been denied, he took it for granted it was true. Adopting his own style of argument, it has been asserted throughout the Province that this act was done, and it has never been denied. Therefore, according to his own logic, I take it to be true.

The hon. member said a good deal about the city of Halifax having at the last election thrown a majority in favor of Confederation, and therefore he argued that the intelligence and wealth of the city supported the measure. But is Halifax the whole of Nova Scotia? No,

only a small portion of it. Even if every man in Halifax had voted for Confederation that would prove nothing as against the whole people of Nova Scotia. But the honest-hearted member for Halifax rose in his place and told us that since the election a great change had taken place in the feelings of the citizens, and I take for granted, from his means of knowing, that his statement is true. I would like to know what the city of Halifax would be without the rest of Nova Scotia? Some people seem to forget the relation it bears to what is outside of it. The hon. member for Inverness next referred to the Great Confederate party; let us enquire a little into its greatness. Up to the 18th September the country was deluged by pamphlets of every description bearing on the question. Bogus proclamations, with the Queen's arms forged, were issued to prevent the electors meeting and consulting on this subject. The hon. member for Halifax spoke about bill stamps, and he could not imagine why so many were required except it was for ornament. They sent down from Ottawa election notices ornamented in the highest style of art, with only blanks left for the candidates' names. Thus were the elections managed in Nova Scotia. After all the official influences of this Province and of Canada, used as they were by no means sparingly, what was the result? They only succeeded in sending one man to Ottawa and two to this House. When the division on these resolutions takes place there will be witnessed a sight that was never seen before since Nova Scotia had a Parliament—every county voting on one side on a question of public importance after a lengthened discussion. Even the county represented by the hon. mover of the amendment will come up and join hands on the same side. The people of Nova Scotia, by the vote then to be given, will wipe out the false statement contained in the preamble of the British North America Act, that they desired to be confederated with Canada. Then will the people set their seal to the demand for repeal, that is coming up from every town and village and settlement in Nova Scotia. I entertain a good hope that this Union will be repealed. Two grounds for that hope I will mention to the House. One is that I do not believe that He who guides and controls the affairs of men, will allow the people of Nova Scotia to be oppressed by those who have, in the short time that has already elapsed since the passage of the Act, shown the same tyrannical spirit towards us, that characterized their proceedings up to that time.

The second ground of my hope is that the appeal of the people, constitutionally made, will shortly be presented at the fountain head of all that is "lovely and of good report" in the widely extended British Empire, where above the noise of party, and the machinations of evil and misguided men, even-handed justice sits enthroned in the person of our beloved Queen. I believe that the appeal, so made, will be none the less patiently listened to, nor none the less likely to be granted, because it is sent from a Province which was for a time the home of that royal lady's illustrious father, and in which her own first-born son was received with an outburst of

love and loyalty second to none that has greeted him in any portion of her dominions. I thank you, sir, and the House for the attention that has been given to what I have said. I shall cheerfully give my vote, as I am happy to know will be the case with almost every other member of the House, in favor of the resolutions laid on the table by the hon. Attorney General.

## MR. LANDERS' SPEECH.

Mr. LANDERS.—In rising to make a few remarks on the very important subject before the House, I beg leave to say that I am not here to represent Fenians nor Annexationists, but loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. I believe that to be a very good maxim which reads never let go a certainty for an uncertainty. It was a certainty that previous to the British North America Act Nova Scotia had a good constitution—one that was highly prized by all her people. It was also a certainty that Nova Scotia had a good revenue amply sufficient to meet all necessary liabilities. This Confederation has now taken us into a position of uncertainty. I am one of those who believe that Nova Scotians should manage the affairs of Nova Scotia—the voice of the people, her own representatives, should fix the tariff, appropriate the revenues, and control her offices, and allow me to ask are we in a position to do that under the Dominion of Canada. I answer no. A people residing seven or eight hundred miles away from us, in whom we have very little confidence, with whom we have very little more political dealings than the Jews of old had with the Samaritans—they now fix our tariffs, appropriate our revenues, and control the offices of our country. If there is any one thing that I desire more than any other that appertains to this life, it is that Nova Scotians may be freed from this detestable Confederation. When I say this I am not speaking only the sentiments of my own mind, but the sentiments of those who sent me here to represent their feelings and present interests; and feeling so strongly as I do upon this point, doubtless is one reason that causes me to believe that we shall obtain the repeal we are seeking for. I remember reading in a very good book of a certain king who had very large dominions—larger than those of Canada I presume. He had also a very proud prime minister—so very proud that he required every man who went out of the king's gate to make obeisance to him. It so happened that a certain poor man at the gate refused to comply with this mandate. The consequence of this was that the minister became very angry, but he scorned to lay hands on the poor man alone, and so he devised a plan to destroy the whole nation to which he belonged. He succeeded so far as to obtain the king's permission to carry out his wicked design, and when the king was made better acquainted with the wickedness of his minister, he saw the crime of destroying this poor people, and he accordingly countermanded his order and gave them permission also to hang the minister on a gallows fifty cubits high. I am confident when our Queen, God bless her! is made acquaint-

ed with the wickedness of confederating this Province with Canada, she will certainly countermand the order, and I trust she will issue a mandate to hang the chief betrayers of Nova Scotia. It has been frequently asked during the debate if Nova Scotia is refused repeal, what then? I am not going to answer that, but I remember reading the words a wise man said, "When the wicked beareth rule the people mourn." There will be mourning in Nova Scotia if the demand for repeal be not granted. Having made these few remarks I give my most hearty assent to the resolutions laid on the table by the Attorney General.

MR. RYERSON'S SPEECH.

Mr. RYERSON said:—This discussion has now lasted for some time, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to say much, but I feel I would not be doing justice to my constituents were I to let this debate pass by without giving expression to my sentiments. This House has met for the purpose of taking into consideration one of the greatest questions that ever came before this country. We are called upon to deal with a law which has been forced upon us, and is in no way suited to the people of this country. The people have protested in the most loyal manner against the measure of Confederation, and it is now the duty of the Legislature to endeavor by every constitutional means to rid themselves of this North American Act. We have now met here to effect that object by appointing our delegates to proceed to England to lay the matter before the British Government. The Parliament of England will never agree to be confederated with Canada. With that country we have no sympathy and never can have. All that we ask is to be left alone to manage our own affairs. The people never asked for Confederation. They were contented and happy until that scheme was conceived and passed by Dr. Tupper and Mr. Archibald, who united to force it upon them, and to heap burthens upon them in the shape of taxes that are most grievous to bear, to hand over their revenues without their consent, leaving them nothing to provide for their roads and bridges and their schools, except 80 cents a head. If more money is wanted for our local services we must resort to direct taxation. Under our form of Government a ten per cent. tariff was ample to pay for our schools and roads and bridges, railway interest, and whatever we required. If went on increasing our prosperity we would have ample means for the construction of our portion of the Intercolonial Railway. When the delegates go to England there must be one thing they must be told in plain terms, and that is, to make no compromise. If they cannot get a repeal of the Act, then they must come home to Nova Scotia, and we shall see what is to be done. No doubt there will be delegates from Canada, and when the Parliament meets at Ottawa they will do everything they can to soothe down the people—they will pass any tariff we ask for in order to keep the yoke firmly on us. We must be very careful, and

not yield a single inch. If we cannot get repeal from the Parliament of Great Britain, let our own Government let us manage our own affairs for a while. We may be loyal to the British Crown, but let Nova Scotia manage her own affairs. If the British Government has withdrawn its protection from us we will go alone, and drive every Confederate out of the country. We have always been a happy and contented people before this act was forced upon us. Everything is now unsettled, and nobody knows where to turn.

There are a few persons called Confederates still who endeavour to hold up their heads to make people believe it is all right; but they know it is all wrong. The whole country is disheartened. We shall become a second Ireland; but I believe when these documents are laid before the British Parliament, repeal will be granted. Look at the Canadian tariff, and you see they relieve everybody who, they think, have influence in this country; they throw off the duty on 23 articles that enter into the construction of ships in order to neutralize a class of persons who possess weight and influence in this province; they take the duty off the rich man's wine and tax the poor man's bread. Whoever has known of bread being taxed until Confederation came into operation. The Canadians take the control of our light houses, our breakwaters, our revenues, and do all that they think proper. Custom houses and Post offices are all controlled by the Canadians. If the people of Nova Scotia are going to submit to any such thing they are made of very different material from what I think they are. I do not believe the people have been sold for 80 cents a head—that they will submit to any such indignity. There is a certain class of persons certainly who are not worth half of that sum—that is to say, the Confederates—they are only calculated to bring disgrace upon us. I would like to see our delegates when they come back with the act of repeal, bring also a warrant to apprehend those arch traitors who sold this country. I believe they have yet to come here and to be tried in Nova Scotia for their disgraceful acts. Unless, indeed, they are forced to fly into the United States, and hide themselves in some remote section of that country. In conclusion, I would say that I fully endorse the Hon. Attorney General's resolutions.

MR. KIRK'S SPEECH.

Mr. KIRK said—I rise to make a few remarks at this late stage of the debate on this very important question which is agitating the people through the length and breadth of Nova Scotia, under circumstances somewhat embarrassing. I would have preferred remaining quietly in my seat, and giving a table vote on the resolutions laid on the table by the hon. and learned Attorney General, and with which I entirely concur, but I feel that I would be recreant to my constituents and to the people of this country, and not express my sentiments plainly on this question. The people of my county were grieved when they learned that one of their representatives on the floors of this House,

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after he had given them assurances of his  
opposition to Union, and in whom they  
placed their confidence, had walked across to  
the other side in direct defiance of his pled-  
ges and often repeated opinions, and voted  
in favor of the British North America Act.  
There can be no doubt as to the motives that  
actuated this gentleman thus to betray his  
constituents and pervert his principles, when  
we look at the other end of the building and  
see him occupying a seat in that body. There  
is another gentleman to whom I must also  
allude, to my great regret—I refer to the  
gentleman who was elected to the Dominion  
Parliament in my county, who enjoyed the  
confidence of the Anti-Union party so fully  
that no one dared to oppose him, who fought  
their battles manfully for many years in this  
House, and was for some time leader of the  
Anti-Unionists here, but who, on his first ap-  
pearance in the Parliament at Ottawa, for-  
sook his friends and accepted the Union. I  
can do no better to give an idea of the man-  
ner in which that intelligence was received in  
his county, and what the people there think  
of his recent action in this matter, than by  
reading a resolution adopted at a large and  
influential public meeting recently held in  
that county. The resolution says:—

*Whereas*, At the general election in this Province in  
September, 1857, the people of this County declared  
themselves against Confederation in the most em-  
phatic and decided manner;

*And Whereas*, Mr. Stewart Campbell, for some time  
the acknowledged leader of the Anti-Confederate party  
in Nova Scotia, was nominated in the interest of said  
party, and as an Anti-Confederate returned without  
opposition.

*And Whereas*, The said Mr. S. Campbell, regardless  
of his solemn protestations, and in violation of the  
confidence reposed in him, did desert his party and  
"accept the Union;"

*Therefore it is Resolved*, That this meeting dis-  
claim and repudiate such gross misrepresentation of  
his constituents, and hold up the man and his acts to  
the contempt and execration of honorable men.

I allude to this matter because the Confed-  
erate party here are trying to mislead the peo-  
ple of Canada and England by saying that  
were it not for a few leading politicians there  
would be but little opposition to the scheme  
in Nova Scotia. This, however, is not the  
case, for although the gentleman just alluded  
to was perhaps the most popular man even  
in that county at the time of the recent elec-  
tion, there perhaps is no public man at this  
moment less popular. And why? Because  
he accepted the Union. The people are so  
determined for repeal that they will sacrifice  
their best men, if need be, to obtain that re-  
sult.

The learned leader of the Opposition ran-  
sacked the pages of British history in order  
to discover a precedent to justify the late  
Government for the manner in which they  
forced upon the people of Nova Scotia the  
British North America Act. He talked of  
the Catholic Emancipation Act, the abolition  
of the Corn Laws, and of the Reform Bill,  
but he miserably failed to find justification  
for the course pursued. It has been proved  
by the gentlemen who have referred to these  
arguments that those acts were passed in  
Parliament, not in direct opposition to the  
wishes of the people, but the Government

was forced to pass them by the pressure  
brought to bear on them by the people. It  
has also been proved that the passing of  
those acts was an extension of the rights and  
privileges of the people under the purview of  
the existing constitution of Great Britain.  
Was this the case with the British North  
America Act? Did the people ask that any  
such act should be passed? or was it the mere  
extension of the rights and liberties of the  
people of Nova Scotia under the existing  
constitution? No, sir; it was done in direct  
opposition to the wishes of the people. Peti-  
tions were sent up here from all parts of the  
country, numerously signed, asking that no  
such measure should be passed, but no notice  
was taken of them. It was passed despite the  
people. Nor was it an extension of the rights  
and liberties of the people of Nova Scotia; it  
was the very reverse. Our rights and liber-  
ties have been taken away, and handed over  
to a people eight hundred miles away, with  
whom we have but little trade or intercourse,  
giving them the power of taxing us as they  
please, of collecting our revenues and dis-  
bursing them in whatever manner they may  
think proper.

The experience of the last six months has  
proved that the Canadians are determined  
freely to exercise the powers they have thus  
unconstitutionally obtained over us. They  
have raised the Tariff, under which Nova  
Scotia had prospered, and which was found  
quite sufficient to meet all her wants, from  
ten to fifteen per cent.; they have imposed  
upon us a stamp tax, and they have taxed  
newspaper literature, and placed a duty on  
Corn, and Cornmeal, an article which the  
poor fishermen of Nova Scotia largely con-  
sume, all of which duties, previous to Union,  
Nova Scotia was perfectly free. And our re-  
presentatives in the House of Commons, at  
Ottawa, were powerless to prevent the imposi-  
tion of those obnoxious acts; and when the  
mining interests of this Province asked for  
the concession of one small privilege, the pro-  
tecting of their interests, by placing a small  
duty on foreign coal, it was refused. And it  
is because our rights have been thus trampled  
upon, and that we have been so highly  
taxed, and the power of taxation given to a  
people who know little about us, or our ne-  
cessities, (saying that we hitherto have been  
a prosperous people), that we ask repeal.  
And, sir, because we ask repeal, we are told  
we are disloyal, annexationists, &c. Now I  
would like to know, who are the people that  
ask repeal? They are the bone and sinew of  
the Province of Nova Scotia. Sons of loyal-  
ists, of those who fought and bled for the  
honor of the British flag, and men who are  
as willing to-day as ever before to do the  
same, if protection is afforded them. And  
they do not all comprise the poorer or less  
intelligent class of the people; and it is not  
true that all or any great portion of the in-  
telligence is in the Confederate ranks. We  
ask repeal as a question of right, and nothing  
but repeal will suit Nova Scotia, or satisfy  
her people. We are frequently asked, "If  
you do not get repeal—what then?" What  
then. The people of Nova Scotia will then  
act as becomes loyal people; who were once  
free, and who have now lost their liberties.

I can only say sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

MR. TOWNSEND'S SPEECH.

MR. TOWNSEND said:—So much has already been said on this question that I shall occupy the attention of the House for a very few minutes. I feel proud of Nova Scotia as I look around this House, and see the men who are here to represent the true sentiments of the people. I ask, where are the 31 men who sat here a year ago, and hartered away the rights and liberties of this country? Only one of them has escaped to tell the tale. When I was a young man we had a debating society, and sometimes we got a question on which we all agreed, but somebody would step forward and take the hard side, and I think the hon. member for Inverness has had the hard side all through. His financial argument is entirely swept away by the hon. members from Kings and Digby, and so it is unnecessary for me to say a single word on that subject. References have been made to a certain statement cooked by Mr. Johnson at Ottawa, and certainly I regret to find it backed up by Mr. Tilley. He only endorsed it because he had not looked it through, for I believe him to be a man of honor and great pluck. He was not afraid to go before the people and ask their opinions on the question of Confederation. If Dr. Tupper had pursued a similar policy he might have fared much better than he did. I do not think the people would now be satisfied even if he gave us back our old tariff. We want to tax ourselves and to have no connection with Canada. We do not wish to quarrel with the Canadians—all we ask is to have our old status restored. Look at the present condition of this House—reduced to little better than a quarter sessions. A good deal has been said about the constitutional part of this subject. It is one of the glories of England that her statesmen had the courage to pass the Emancipation Act. Was there a man rejected by the people, because he supported that measure? Mr. Cobden preached at every polling place in the country in favor of the abolition of the Corn Laws. He was supported by the voice of the people, and Sir Robert Peel was constrained by the force of public opinion to support that measure. Was there a man turned out on account of his action on this question? So highly did the people think of Mr. Cobden that they subscribed to buy him an estate. I can think of a case like this. In Poland they could not agree among themselves, and they asked the assistance of Russia, and then she came in and divided the country. We will fight for our rights as long as we can, and I believe the Queen will let us go. We will not obey Canadian laws—we will obey every law until England says no. Then instead of being the most law-abiding we will become the most lawless. The people are aroused; they will go ahead when they are once aroused. It is this excitement that I wish to allay. When our delegates go to England let them state the case fairly. We have no wish to go into the American Republic, for I consider it the most tyrannical rule on earth.

MR. MACDONALD'S SPEECH.

Mr. D. McDONALD said:—I have no intention in rising on the present occasion to detain the House for any length of time, for the subject has already been fully discussed. The question of Confederation has been discussed in every town and hamlet in the country during the last eighteen months, and the people of Nova Scotia have patiently heard the arguments and deliberately weighed their merits, and have declared with singular unanimity against the measure. Their hatred of this Act has been intensified by the recent action of the Canadian Legislature. Our power and influence in the Local Legislature is exceedingly limited. All our revenues and rights are under the control of the Canadian Parliament and Government. There is no parallel case in British history except the union of Great Britain with Ireland. There the Legislature was corrupted and the country arbitrarily annexed. The hon. member for Inverness has quoted a speech made by the great Pitt in advocacy of that measure. Pitt has passed away and so has his policy. It is no longer recognized by the people or Parliament, but is repudiated forever. His speeches are no authority on constitutional law—they are *ex parte* statements. The great men who preside over the councils of the nation would forfeit their position if they pursued the policy of Pitt. The spirit of the British constitution is truth and justice, and when fraud and corruption or force are employed in violation of that constitution to affect any object evil consequences must surely result. We have an example of that in Ireland at the present hour, and will probably have an example nearer home. I am not going into a lengthy argument on this question. I perceive that hon. members are anxious to have the debate brought to a close, but I will say a few words about the cry of disloyalty. The loyalty of the people is unimpeachable. Some may call us disloyal, but we abhor the very idea of annexation. We have an abiding faith in the justice and honor of our Queen, of the Parliament and people of England; we believe we shall receive justice at their hands; but if we do not, what then? Who can answer that question? There is one thing that can be said, that the free people can never forget such an injury—thus will Nova Scotia become discontented—the Ireland of the New Dominion. In conclusion I will only add that I have been sent here by a large majority of the electors of the County of Antigonish, by nearly the whole body, I may say, to support any measure that will have a tendency to effect the repeal of the British America Act so far as Nova Scotia is concerned. In accordance with the wishes of my constituents, and with my own pledge to them, I support the resolutions now before the House.

DR. BROWN'S SPEECH.

Dr. BROWN said:—I cannot allow the present occasion to pass without making some observations on the question before us. I feel that the present discussion has nearly exhausted the subject, and that I can add little or nothing that is new and striking; still I

SPEECH.

I have no intention of occasion to detain you for a length of time, for I have fully discussed the subject. It has been discussed in the committee for several months, and the members have patiently heard and weighed their arguments with singular care. Their hatred against the measure is increased by the recent action of the Legislature. Our local Legislature has increased our revenues and has taken away the rights of the Canadian people. There is no doubt except the case of Ireland. There is no doubt that the country is a member for which the measure is made by the Government. Pitt's policy. It is a policy of the people or Parliament forever. His constitutional statements. The councils of the nation if they are in the spirit of the law and justice, and force are essential to the constitution to enforce the laws. The measure must be a sample of that which will promote the interest of the members are right to a close, and the cry of the people is undivided, but the nation is in a state of excitation. We will receive justice and honor and people do not, what is the question? There is the free trade injury—thus the conclusion is sent here by the whole body, and that will be the wish of the Nova Scotia is the wish of the people to pledge to now before

how the pre-aking some e us. I feel nearly ex- a add little ing; still I

hold it to be a duty every representative owes to his constituents and to the country, to say something on a question the most vitally important that has ever been debated on these floors. My speech shall have one merit at least. It shall be short. I am a great admirer of short speeches, although I know it is common to hear public speakers and their friends boast that they had spoken for two or three or more hours. The hearer's attention is very apt to flag after listening about half-an-hour, and what follows is very likely to spoil the effect of the whole. I may say at the outset that I entirely approve of the Resolutions before the House. I have carefully combed them over, and can find little or no fault either with the sentiment or the language. They express in a plain and forcible style the feelings, the hopes, and the aspirations of the great majority of the people of Nova Scotia.

Why has this hateful connection been forced and fastened upon us? I think I can give some of the reasons. Canada wanted us. She was in trouble; she could not reconcile the adverse and conflicting sections of her population; she needed our aid to strengthen the dominant party; she wanted us to help pay the interest on her debts, and to help her fight her battles. They had tried separation and Union, and many other experiments, and ended by coming to a dead lock. Another reason was that certain leading and ambitious men of this and the sister provinces thought they saw in this measure the means of securing to themselves a higher position, a larger sphere, greater honors and emoluments than this little province could offer. They cared not for their country; they were willing to barter away its rights for their own aggrandisement. I am sure these designing men must have seen that this measure could not possibly be for the public good. No sane man, who is not blinded by interest or prejudice could, on calm reflection, see anything in it but public calamity. They hoped to affect their purposes by the junction of the two great parties that have hitherto alternately swayed the destinies of the provinces.

Another reason is to be sought, I fear, in the position of the Mother Country. It seems clear, too clear, that Great Britain would be glad to solve the question, how she could honorably get rid of us. I regret to be compelled to admit this, but I think it cannot be denied, looking at the speeches of her statesmen in and out of Parliament, the outspoken opinion of a large and respectable portion of the press, and the general tone of public sentiment, that this is a just and fair conclusion. If England really desired to retain this Province, our case would have received more consideration when brought before the two Houses of Parliament. It is probable she is beginning to perceive we are more trouble than we are worth, and think this Confederation scheme, whether it may bring good or evil to us she cares not, will serve as a decent pretext to cut us adrift. Another reason why Britain is willing to part with us, is the difficulty of defending us. We are utterly unable to defend ourselves. These colonies are like a string of beads, strung along the borders of a great and powerful nation,

which can swallow us up at any moment. The shrewd politicians of the old country fully understand that in case of war how impossible it would be to defend us at a distance of 3000 miles against an enemy with a million fighting men trained to arms, capable of being increased to five millions, possessing ample means, and all the activity, energy and sagacity of the Anglo-Saxon race. They know full well such a contest could have but the one result—defeat and dishonor. We are the weak spot of the Empire. The great Indian territory, surrounded by weak neighbors, with its millions of native soldiers, is capable, with very little aid, of self defence. The insular position of the great Pacific Colonies, Anstralia, New Zealand, of Jamaica, the Mauritius, and the other eastern and western isles, makes their defence easy. The same may be said of the Cape Colony and her other African possessions, which cost but little anxiety or expense. It would seem, that in the selection and planting of colonies, England always kept a careful eye to the expense of their maintenance and their defence with the single exception of the North American Provinces, which were thrown upon her by the action of the United States' loyalists, with scarcely the option of retaining or rejecting them. We can hardly wonder, then, that Englishmen think these North American Colonies are a nuisance and a bore; let us make a nation of them, and let them set up for themselves.

I now approach a tender point—I mean the sentiment called loyalty. For my own part, no man could be a more sincere admirer of the British institutions than myself. I have always sympathized with British armies and generals when at war—and with her noble statesmen, her politics and literature when at peace. What I have said of myself will very generally apply to nearly all the people of this Province. I do not presume a people better satisfied with their political, commercial and social condition existed on the face of the earth. I am afraid I must refer to this matter as one of the past. The facts stated have greatly changed the popular enthusiasm. I fear this intense feeling of loyalty begins to waver, and I must say I am not surprised at it.

Hon. SPEAKER.—I must call you to order.

Dr. BROWN.—I must speak my opinion plainly and distinctly. I think that loyalty should be reciprocal, and that loyalty to ourselves is the first great point. We should take care of ourselves, and Great Britain is as much bound to be loyal to us as we to her. Loyalty is often only another name for humbug and hypocrisy. If Great Britain is unwilling to take care of us we must only take care of ourselves. The learned Speaker has not called me to order, but has simply given me a gentle hint. In the House of Commons much broader language is used. We find Mr. Bright saying openly and distinctly, if it pleases Nova Scotia to go to the United States let her go. We find another—

Hon. SPEAKER.—Mr. Bright may say very rude things in the British Parliament—he don't break any rule; but I do not think the hon. member would say that the people are disloyal now.

Dr. BROWN—According to my knowledge of the feeling in my own county there are three-fourths of the people would prefer annexation with the United States to a connexion with Canada.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL—That is true.

Dr. BROWN—Still they are quite willing to remain as they have been. I find on reference to a speech delivered by Mr. Killam in the year 1836, that he gives the remarks of a certain Mr. Oliphant, a member of Parliament, made at Sterling. In speaking of republican institutions, he said:

"To his mind there was no spectacle furnished by the world at this moment so interesting as the 30,000,000 Anglo-Saxons working out by hard experience the unworked problems of Republican Government. In the first place there was no other race fit to cope with those problems, or to understand the principles they embodied, but that to which we and they belong. Although he did not believe in them for this country, he did most cordially believe in republican institutions for America. As an Englishman he had no sort of objection to the Monroe doctrine and the spread of Anglo-Saxon Republics all over the American continent—the more the better. There is no reason, because we are a constitutional monarchy, and well satisfied to remain so, that we should insist upon our colonies, which had none of the traditions or associations which had made us what we are, adopting monarchical institutions after they left us."

I will also quote from the same speech a conversation that took place between Lord Jervis, the famous Admiral:

"Lord Brougham, in his lives of eminent statesmen, says of Sir John. His sagacity no man ever found at fault, while his provident anticipations of future events. He says we shall see a remarkable example of this faculty in a matter of deep interest at the present moment. (1839. If of deep interest then, how much deeper now). When Lord Shelburne's peace was signed, (1783,) and before the terms were made public, he sent for the Admiral, and showing them, asked his opinion: "I like them very well," said Sir John, "but there is one great omission." "In what?" "In leaving Canada as a British Province." "How could we possibly give it up?" said Lord Shelburne. "How can you hope to keep it?" replied the veteran warrior, with an English republic just established in sight of Canada, and with a population of a handful of English settlers among a body of hereditary Frenchmen. "It is impossible, and rely on it you only retain a running sore, the source of endless inquiet and expense." "Would the country bear it?" "Have you forgotten Wolf and Quebec?" asked his Lordship. "Forgotten Wolf and Quebec?" No, it is because I remember both. I served with Wolf at Quebec; having lived so long, I have had full time for reflection on this matter, and my clear opinion is that if this fair occasion for giving up Canada is neglected, nothing but difficulty in either keeping or resigning it, can follow."

There is one thing I may say in connection with this question, and that is, the subject of free trade between this province and the

United States is of more importance than all other questions; it strikes me that on it depends the salvation of this country. I may say a word or two with regard to the means used to induce the House of Assembly to pass this Act. I hesitate, and it would be invidious to name the persons concerned in this unholy bargain and sale of our rights. Certainly some gentlemen here recollect the mode pursued to induce the members of this House to vote against their express convictions. I had frequent conversations with gentlemen who voted for this Act though they had expressed themselves strongly as possible against it previously. It is easy for us to comprehend how this was brought about. We know when the Union was accomplished a large number of them obtained their reward.

Then, again, others were gained by intimidation. They were compelled to vote in a certain way by a certain pressure. This pressure, I recollect, was brought to bear against me because I happened to have a brother in a subordinate position in this County. The leader of the Government at that time made me the subject of repeated, most savage, and unjustifiable attacks. To prove this I may appeal to some gentlemen now around these benches. He thought to coerce me into submission, but I was less anxious for his good opinion and support than that of the electors and citizens of Kings.

The means used to carry Confederation was misrepresentation to the British Government and Parliament. That is well known, and it has been so much discussed that I need not dwell upon it. Mr. Watkin has been often alluded to, and no doubt he and his Nova Scotian coadjutors have been largely instrumental, by the use of unfounded assertions, in fastening this curse upon us. Another means was, by subsidizing the Press. We all know what immense sums have been given to certain publishers during the past few years. One person, you will see from the Blue Book, received \$15,000 for a period of nine months ending June last, and it is told by those who should know, that \$8,000 or \$10,000 more are included in other accounts, of which the items are not stated.

What are the effects of Confederation? The first is, we are injured financially, we lose very largely indeed. I shall not enter into details, for gentlemen who have preceded me have gone into the subject fully. It is easy for any man of common sense to see that the expense that will result from the extensive establishments kept up at Ottawa, with a Governor-General at its head enjoying a salary of \$50,000 and other offices in proportion, to prove the extravagant and wasteful expenditure of Canada. Take the fact that a prosperous and fertile country, with natural resources almost unsurpassed, contrived to swell up a debt little less than that of the United States, in proportion to population, although the latter has been engaged in a fearful civil war of more than four year's continuance. How can we help coming to the conclusion that they are most extravagant? No doubt the increase of our taxation will be about 50 per cent above what it has been previously. As an example of the extravagant

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expenditures of Canada, I will give you a list of the sums paid in connection with the removal of the seat of Government from Quebec to Ottawa, in 1866:

*From the "Public Accounts of the Province of Canada for the fiscal year ended 30th June, 1866. Printed by order of the Legislature, Ottawa."*

Paid to D. Godley—Removal expenses Gov. Genl. Secy's offices and staff from Quebec to Montreal, and thence to Ottawa.....	\$4,221.10
Do do—Gov. General's establishment, do.....	520 00
E. A. Meredith—do Prov. Secy's office Quebec to Ottawa.....	4,505 03
G. H. Lane—do Prov. Registrar's office, do.....	2,317 26
T. B. Harrington—do Sec. General's, do.....	2,868 99
W. Dickenson—do Finance Department, do.....	3,276 90
R. S. M. Bouchette—do, do, do. Customs Branch do.....	3,320 60
T. Nudeman—do Bureau of Agriculture, do.....	9,862 67
J. C. Tache—do. Public Works Deptmt, do.....	3,495 33
W. H. Griffin—do. Post Office Deptmt, do.....	8,708 86
A. Russell—do. Crown Land Deptmt, do.....	18,245 03
Col. McDougall—do Militia Deptmt, do.....	4,447 23
J. F. Taylor—do Legislative Council, do.....	10,168 30
W. B. Lindsay—do. House of Assembly, do.....	20,272 60
Crail & Vallim—do for removal of departmental furniture.....	16,199 00
Various smaller charges.....	15,765 29
To Hon. Sir N. P. Belleau—to enable him to pay the employees of the several departments of the Civil Government an addition of 20 per cent on their original allowances.....	22,623 57
To do—to enable him to pay amounts awarded by Special Commission for losses sustained, &c, including double rents, on account of removal of the seat of government..	22,619 78
	\$177,459 47

Here you see that the total expense of this removal amounted to the enormous sum of \$177,459. I think that a private individual might have been engaged to do the same amount of work for one tenth of that sum. Another of the evils of Confederation is the alienation of the affections of the people, but I need not dwell on this subject. The prophecy of the Confederate party was that in a short time the people would accept the situation as their neighbors of New Brunswick had done. It appears to me the popular feeling is intensified every day. In this city you now hardly meet a person who raises his voice in favor of Confederation. In my own county it would be entirely useless for a Confederate to offer himself at the hustings. It is not that we have been defrauded and deceived, but we have been insulted—we have not had the ordinary privileges of freemen. One of the greatest wrongs connected with this Confederation is, that all the offices are filled up by persons in whom the people have no confidence—the customs and excise, the post office, the light-house service, the judiciary, and almost every other department are controlled by the General Government, and filled up by servants and favorites, and if we want any change in connection with them we must go all the way to Ottawa, and most likely fail in our application afterwards.

I wonder how my friend, Mr. Blanchard, can stand up and say that it is right that these offices should be filled by a party that forms only a fraction of the people of this

Province. In closing I will refer to an old fable which I read with interest a long time ago. Two pots, one earthen and the other iron, agreed to take a voyage together; the earthen pot was shy at first, considering its frail nature, to undertake it. But the iron pot promised its companion whatever happened to take care of it. The weather was fine, and the two sailed along very gaily on the smooth current for a while, but by and by there came up a squall, and the iron pot came into contact with the earthen pot and knocked it to pieces. That will be the way with us. If we consent to make the voyage with her Canada will sink us. I conclude, I will only say that I hope that the application for repeal that is now being made to England will be successful. I do not know much about governments and diplomacy, but I trust a sense of justice will prevail with the rulers of the British nation; and that we shall be restored to our former happy condition.

#### HON. MR. FERGUSSON'S SPEECH.

Hon. J. FERGUSSON said.—Since you, sir, have directly addressed me, I shall make a very few remarks. There is no doubt that there is a deep feeling of discontent pervading the whole Province in consequence of the Act of Union which has been recently consummated without the consent of the people. I much mistake the people of Nova Scotia if they do not resent it at some time or another. I don't wish to make any threats, but we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact—for it is palpable through the whole country and it will be soon known in England—that never was a greater act of injustice perpetrated on a free people since the American revolution. No regard was paid to the petitions we sent home a short while ago. Now delegates are going across the water to make known the voice of the people through the constitutional channel; that is, through this House; and I have great faith in the sense of justice, in the love of fair play, in the wisdom of the people and the legislature and statesmen of England, that they will do us that justice to which we are entitled. I am confident that the time is not far distant when the Province of Nova Scotia will be gratified by the knowledge that the obnoxious Act of Union, so far as we are concerned, will be repealed, and we shall obtain our rights and liberties, of which we have been so unjustly deprived, and then content and happiness will again prevail among us as in times past.

#### MR. YOUNG'S SPEECH.

Mr. YOUNG said.—In ancient times it was the custom for the younger senators to speak first, and such appears to have been the case to a certain extent in the present debate. I have no intention, let me say at the outset, to go into the financial part of this argument; the Provincial Secretary gave us all the information that was necessary on this particular point. All I can say is that last year we had both our pockets full of money, but now we have little or nothing in them. As respects the Canadian Parliament, see what was the very first thing they did—they added insult to injury; they send persons

persons here to take charge of our custom houses. A good deal has been said about the power of Parliament. Parliament has no doubt considerable power—it has been said that it is able to do anything but make a man a woman. It would be a pity that this should be done now, for the poor girls find it difficult enough now to find husbands. But the power of Parliament is limited to a certain extent: suppose it passed an Act to burn the city of Halifax. It is said they could do so; but could they sustain it by public opinion? An Act just as bad has been passed. If they passed an Act to burn up all our houses, we could rebuild them; if our ships are lost, we can make new ones; but liberty and freedom, once gone, are really lost. One argument against this measure, and the strongest, is that the people do not want it. The men who brought this measure forward know as well as we do that we do not want it. They told dreadful stories on every occasion. I remember one gentleman saying that the Canadians owned 7,000,000 tons of shipping, whereas the fact is Nova Scotia has not as much shipping as Nova Scotia by a good deal. I cannot understand the action of the late Legislature. The idea of men sent here with certain powers voting themselves out of power, and going back to their constituents and telling them so, is a palpable absurdity. What would my constituents say if I told them that I had not only voted myself out of power, but had also handed over their rights to others?

Now I believe that the expenditure of \$20,000,000 in connection with the Intercolonial Railroad had a great deal to do with the passage of this measure. Certain persons will get big commissions. Then some people liked to have it said—they had got the railway—notoriety is very dear to many persons—for instance, the men who set the Temple on fire. The Attorney General told us we held our institutions from the Queen. If I mistake not the Canadians had their representative institutions granted by the Imperial Parliament. There is a difference, therefore, between the two. To think we should enter into Union with over a million of French Canadians. These people buy little or nothing, as compared with ourselves; I know it from my knowledge of the same class of persons in New Brunswick. A French author has said that France is the brain of the world; but I don't know about that. At all events, in my opinion, this Nova Scotia is the brain of British North America. In the feudal days loyalty was very well; but now-a-days there is a good deal of bread and butter about it. I think I am loyal myself, but I do not make so much talk about it as some persons; I show my loyalty by my acts. As respects these resolutions, I shall vote for them. As respects Repeal, I hope we will get it; but I am not so sanguine as some are. If we do not get it, what then? Well, we have to suffer; we have to be a second Poland; it will come to that. The world may pity us, but what good will that do? I would just say to this House and to the people, every Nova Scotian who has a soul should step forward and get rid of this hateful Union. The hon. member for Inverness talked about

poison bags. A great many persons have such things; but they keep them quiet; he unties his and scatters the contents broadcast over the House. I have seen so much of the poison that now I am not frightened at it. I am a good deal like the Eastern monarch that fed on poison, and so it lost its effect upon him.

#### MR. PURDY'S SPEECH.

Mr. PURDY said:—At this late stage of the debate, when the subject has been exhausted, I would much prefer giving a silent vote, but looking at the question in all its aspects, and knowing the importance of the great issue before the country, I feel that I would not be fully discharging my duty if I gave a silent vote. I shall not attempt to make any lengthy remarks, because it is already pretty much exhausted.

I feel, sir, that the importance of the question demands that we should give it a careful consideration, and advance every important idea that can be brought out, in order that the matter may be laid fairly before the country and before the British Government to whom we appeal. I will not detain the House at great length, but I wish to review the principal branches of the subject. Our first Assembly met in 1758,—we were governed for years by an irresponsible government,—the Governor surrounded himself with whom he pleased, and the country had no power to make him change his councillors, so that the opinions of the people would be reflected. It was soon found that a government of that kind did not promote the prosperity of the country;—and the people spoke out, demanding a more just and equitable distribution of the patronage and power, and required that they should have the control which rightfully belonged to them. I will not delay to narrate the means by which Nova Scotians at length came to enjoy the privileges of a free people. They had a right to a free government,—they had shown themselves a loyal people, and had striven hard to maintain the British flag in this country. The thirteen old colonies felt the Stamp Act grievous to bear,—on its passage they manifested every sign of displeasure and regret, and finally rebelled, but Nova Scotia remained loyal and true even to this hour. We showed a loyalty in our early history in bringing the militia to defend this city at various times, and whilst the settlers in the country districts were clearing their lands and building their houses with one hand they were defending their families from the attacks of the Indians and other enemies with the other. I might also narrate a long chapter of events occurring in 1812 when the war with the United States broke out, and our people were called upon to suffer many privations. Privateers infested the coast, harassing our fishermen and destroying our commerce, and then, sir, our House of Assembly, although the revenues were very small, gave a large grant of money to aid the militia, fitting out armed boats, and preparing for the defence, not of only our homes but of the British flag on this side of the Atlantic. I am the descendant of British loyalists, and I feel

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that the history of our country warrants us in asking the justice which we are about to demand of the British Government, and in believing that our request will be heard.

I might go on to shew that this country has not only been loyal, but that she has been generous. Look back at our early history, and you will find that when fires occurred in Boston, Montreal, Miramichi, and other places, at various times, Nova Scotia contributed freely for their relief. Not only so, but when the battle of Waterloo took place, and the British soldiers had left widows and orphans to be provided for, the loyalty and generosity of this country was shewn by a contribution that was honourable and handsome. Yet we are told that because we stand up, like men of a free country should, we are disloyal. I trust the time has now arrived when no man will dare to hurl the slander of disloyalty at the Anti-confederate party in this Province. Loyalty does not surely prevent a people from claiming their rights and privileges. Among the other characteristics of Nova Scotian's enterprise has been prominent. I might enumerate the principles of trade, and shew that in none of them have we been deficient. Method of government and frugality of government might form another branch of my argument by which I might shew that we have been able to govern ourselves in a most honorable and satisfactory manner. Bravery might also furnish a topic for remark for the brave and proud hearts of Nova Scotians would never allow any aggressor, single-handed, or in a multitude, to trample on their rights. They have nerve and manliness enough to resist, and when I heard it said that our request for repeal will be unheeded, and that the British Government will carry out the Confederation Act by means of the troops in the citadel, I feel that they may crush out the free spirit of Nova Scotians; but they will have something to do which I trust never will be done. I trust that the Government will never ask British troops to fire on a Nova Scotian, and I believe that Nova Scotians will not require it, for, with fair argument and common sense they will obtain from the British Government their rights as free subjects. It is not worth while now to narrate at length what has transpired from the time when we were a Crown Colony. As intelligence advanced, and our resources were developed, a change was found to be necessary in the constitution of the Province. I refer now to the time when responsible government was obtained—to the period when the Howes and others came out and asked that the people should have more freedom and power in their Assembly, and that the government should be carried on according to their wishes. Those events are well recollected and understood in the country, but how was that change obtained? It was by going honestly to the country and asking the people whether they desired a change in their institutions; going throughout the length and breadth of the land; appealing to the sound sense of Nova Scotians, and asking them to elect men who would join in the demand for more power and freedom. The demand was made that the doors of the Council Chamber

should be unlocked, and though the Council asserted its rights with a great deal of dignity and force, yet those doors were opened by pressure of public opinion. The Councillors have ever since been under the public eye.

The British Government at that time gave up something—they gave up the power of taxing us and of appointing our Executive Councillors without our consent, and vested in this House the full control of the revenues; we were allowed in short to govern ourselves in the manner we thought best. I might go on to show that although from the time when the first tree was cut in Halifax to the time when Responsible Government was granted, our progress was slow. Yet from the moment when the people obtained control of their own affairs, our trade and resources were developed, and the country prospered in a ratio far beyond what it had achieved up to that period. It was obvious to any one that our own people ought to be better judges of their own requirements than persons across the water. I have said that our progress was slow since 1749 down to the time when Responsible Government was conceded; and I might cite many facts in proof of the assertion; in 1833 the first coach went to Windsor, in 1814 we had only three lighthouses, in 1825 our population was only a little over 100,000. But when Responsible Government was granted, and power given to the people to control the Government, the country advanced with a degree of prosperity which was most honorable to it. We immediately commenced building breakwaters and lighthouses, improving harbors, opening free roads, and building bridges, extending postal communication, and building railways, and yet, until after Confederation, we had no bread tax, no paper tax, no stamp act, our tariff was low, and yet our people were increasing in numbers and in wealth. We naturally enough looked about to see what resources we had that could be developed; we were nearly surrounded by the sea, we had harbors plentiful and good, timber was convenient, and there was no reason why we should not turn our attention to shipbuilding. We did so, and the result is that Nova Scotia owns more shipping in proportion to her population than any country in the world. I was struck the other day with a statement which shewed that in 1866 we owned 3509 vessels, of 400,895 tons, while New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec, forming the great country which the Unionists would have us believe is a garden of Eden, owned altogether but 2873 vessels, of 459,800 tons. Let us govern our own country, and we will develop our resources and foster those interests which are most congenial to the country. The public records show that down to 1863 there took place in this Assembly constitutional debates which are fresh in the minds of most of us, and I desire to draw attention to what took place particularly in 1863. Since responsible government was established all the public grievances were brought before the people at the general election, and at that date there were no constitutional difficulties, no grave public errors, but the great question before the country, whether honestly raised or not I will not stop to inquire, was

that of *retrenchment*. I put it to the House that if there had been grievances they would have been brought forward; but that seemed to be the only question which the people were asked to decide upon. As a proof of this I refer you to Dr. Tupper's letters and speeches. In a letter dated May 16, 1863, over his own signature, he raises the issues for the elections. It is true that in that letter he turns aside for the purpose of showing that Mr. McCully was a man of most abominable character, tinctured and tainted from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet when money and his own advancement were concerned; but he puts forward as the great issue, "taxation or retrenchment." The people decided, and returned a large party to the House in favor of retrenchment, taking the issue as they found it placed before them. Then we come down to 1865, and to what more particularly concerns the subject under debate—the resolution on which the Confederation Act is said to be based. To my mind that resolution lacks the essential element of authority to the delegates to do as they have done. The word "arrange" did not authorize the delegates to *accomplish and complete* an act; it merely put them in a position to discuss and eliminate all the arguments for and against the scheme, and to put the matter in proper shape before the House. The delegates, under that resolution, had a right to only "arrange" the political questions of the day—to bring the material into shape; but the command remained in the Legislature, and they were bound to come back for final orders. Before the delegates went to England there were no petitions in favor of the measure, but numerous petitions against it; our condition was sound and good, and the people little thought that so great a change would be made without asking their consent. So it laid in my mind; I was convinced that the delegates would never think of having the act passed without consulting the people, and I had too much confidence in the Imperial Parliament to suppose that it would pass it under such circumstances. To dwell upon all the aspects in which Nova Scotian interests have been sacrificed would be impossible for me at present, and it is not so necessary since gentlemen have discussed one point after another so fully in this debate.

One of the points, however, which suggest themselves, is the injustice done to us by not having the debts of the different Provinces fairly and equitably adjusted. The debt of Nova Scotia has been created by the building of lighthouses, breakwaters, improving harbor, opening and maintaining free roads, building free bridges, railways, &c. Not one dollar of our debt was caused by deficiency of revenue to pay officials, whilst \$22,000,000 of the Canadian debt was incurred for borrowed money to meet current liabilities, and of course has no equivalent asset. It has always been a grave question with me whether the British Government, not being liable for our debts, can control our *assets*, and upon this point I might refer to the remark of Earl Gosford, who said that the debt of Canada, not being under the control of the British Parliament, the question could not be touched

by that body. I think there is a fair question for discussion in that suggestion. I will now turn attention to what this Assembly and the people have been doing for the last thirty years. Have they been inculcating no leading principles of Government? They have. In 1836 the policy of consulting the people at the polls was announced; Mr. Howe advocated the introduction of Responsible Government, the people accepted the principle, and the elections resulted in a majority to carry out that policy. In 1837 the issues respecting Responsible Government were fairly before the people, and the question was whether the country should continue under it or recede. It decided to continue. We are then down to 1850 when the House had under consideration a bill respecting the Legislative Council. It was thought by some that the Council should be made elective, and a discussion arose on that issue. This House at that early date enunciated the principle that in a change so material the opinions of the people should be ascertained. A resolution was carried in these words:

"Therefore Resolved, That it would be premature in this House to express an opinion on so material a change in our Provincial constitution, and that the sentiments of the people thereon ought to be first of all ascertained."

Here then this Legislature passed a resolution confirming indelibly the principle that not even a change in the Legislative Council, making it an elective instead of an appointed authority, should take place without an appeal to the people at the polls. Then again in 1851 the same principle was established, when the House of Assembly had again under consideration the question of an Elective Council. After debating several days, a resolution was reported from Committee of the whole. The following is an extract: "This House is of opinion that it is wise to defer the consideration of so organic a change in the constitution until the general election shall have been held during the present year;" which passed, and established the policy again of consulting the people at the polls. It would be worth while to scan the policy of the leading men of this country for the past few years. Dr. Tupper has been one of these leading men, and I will therefore be right in criticising his public acts and endeavoring to ascertain the ideas on which he acted. In 1859 he advocated strongly the principle that we should not accept the railway guarantee, and fasten a railway system on the country without going to the polls. Does not that shew that his conviction was in favor of giving the people the freest and widest expression of opinion on any important change? In 1861, during a constitutional debate, we find him again expressing a similar opinion, and bringing in petitions tallying with his views. Those petitions enunciated the principle that though the measures of the government might be supported by a small numerical number in the House, yet when the people outside expressed different views, it was the duty of the Governor to interpose his prerogative, dissolve the House, and let the people be heard. That convinces me that Dr. Tupper's mind was imbued with the idea of the power which the people ought to pos-

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sees. In 1863 we find a similar expression of his opinions in this resolution: "that on the eve of a general election it would be as unwise as it was inoperative to pass the resolution now before us."

Here again the thought it was a sound principle to allow the people to decide for themselves. I might go through the letters and speeches of Messrs. McCully and Archibald, and shew that they expressed the same desire to let the people rule, but I will not trouble the House with further remarks on that branch of the subject, and will come down to the action of the delegates in England in England. Here I may say it becomes necessary that there should be put on record the fact that when politicians undertake to tamper with the rights of a free people they must suffer, as the just consequences of their acts, disgrace, shame, ignominy, and consignment to private life. This view of the case should be put plainly forward.

We find after the delegates went to England something stated in the Queen's Speech, which no honest man in this Province will endorse: "that the delegates represented all parties and opinions in this Province." I think there is no man with hardihood enough to assert that Archibald and McCully led at that time the old Liberal party in this Province. It is true that years ago when the party lines were drawn they did lead the Liberal party to a certain extent, but they did not in England represent the opinions of that party. The Confederation scheme destroyed all party lines in this country, and when to-day I look around these benches and see Liberals and Conservatives joined hand in hand to free the country from the Confederation Act, I feel that all party ties are broken, and that the people have come together for a common protection. The statement therefore that the delegates represented all parties was untrue. If I am asked for further proof of my assertion, I point to the history of the Quebec scheme:—The delegates went to Quebec and prepared their scheme in secret,—they returned, and by the action of an honest Prince Edward Islander, the people became aware of its nature. As soon as the public got hold of it, meetings were held, the scheme was condemned, and Archibald and McCully were likewise condemned as the prominent men of their party. And yet after that they dared to go to England, and claim to represent the opinions of the old Liberal party in this country, and caused such a statement to be put in the Queen's Speech. It was patent to every one that the Quebec scheme was condemned as not being what the country wanted. I will next turn attention to what occurred in the House of Commons, and with all respect for that body that it deserves, with no desire to use a harsh expression concerning any man, I must say there is a responsibility resting upon every one of us to call things by their proper names, and to speak our true feelings. We look at what took place in the British Parliament, and stand against at the statements made and means used to pass this Act. Does any man pretend to say that there the truth prevailed, or that our delegates discharged their duties faithfully? Who was Dr. Tupper? Was he

not as it were our sentinel—the representative of our Government, bound by the ties of duty to speak the truth, may sir, to speak the whole truth and *nothing but the truth*? What, then, was the truth which he was called upon to state? In the discussion in the House of Commons the fact came out that the question had not been submitted to the people at the polls. Mr. Bright enunciated the principle that before so material a change in the constitution could be made, tearing up our old constitutions and forming new ones, the people should in justice be consulted. That announcement struck the ear of Mr. Watkin, who was supporting the measure, as requiring an answer, and although he was trying to press the bill through at all hazards, caring little for us and much for Canada, he thought it necessary to consult Dr. Tupper about the facts. Dr. Tupper's statement of the matter at Truro was something to this effect: "Mr. Watkin left his seat, came over and spoke to me, we went aside and conversed, &c." It is plain that Mr. Watkin desired to know whether the measure had ever been before the people or not, and he should have had a prompt and candid reply. According to Dr. Tupper's own statement, Mr. Watkin got from him an answer, and it is not pretended that Watkin even conversed with any other person on the subject at that time except Dr. Tupper. After consultation, he returned to his seat, and made a statement which we all know to be *untrue*.

The SPEAKER suggested that it would be better not to discuss the proceedings in another Parliament.

Mr. PURDY continued—The answer which Mr. Watkin gave is on record, and any man can read it for himself. I shall be clearly in order in saying that Dr. Tupper should have been there as the guardian of our rights and interests, bearing our commission, and in the discharge of his duties if he heard a man state an *untruth* he should have corrected that *untruth*—he should have stated that the question *never* was submitted to the people at the polls.

(The usual hour for recess having arrived, the House adjourned and resumed at three o'clock, when the debates were resumed, and Mr. Purdy continued.)—It has been contended that Dr. Tupper's answer to Mr. Watkin was based on a lecture delivered in St. John by the former; that lecture, then, has some prominence on this question. I cannot say what its contents were, for it was never published or circulated in this Province. I find, however, in referring to the *Colonist* of that period, some extracts from the press of New Brunswick which show pretty well what the views entertained there on the subject were. The *Colonist*, which was the exponent of Dr. Tupper's opinions, copied this extract from the *St. John Morning News*:—

"The lecturer was a fair type of the displeased or disappointed Conservative. It was evident, from the moment he stepped off neutral political ground, that it was his intention to have a dash at somebody; and if he could not succeed in the tournament to unhorse his adversaries, indulging in certain foolish political notions of their own, he would at least be able to shiver a lance over the backs of his audience. Let people know at all events what he thought of demagogues, governors, and colonial slavery. The burthen

of the lecture implied that responsible government was a delusion; that governors have too much power; that colonists were tied hand and foot to the chariot wheels of Downing street; that our statesmen were nobodies; that beyond the limits of their respective provinces they were unknown; that England snubbed us at every turn, and when she had a treaty to make with a foreign power the colonies were regarded with contempt, and their territories and fishing privileges taken away from them."

I will not wary the House with lengthy extracts, but I wish to direct attention briefly to the circumstances surrounding the political questions of that day, for I believe that such a view will shew the justice of the remarks which I have quoted. Dr. Tupper was fresh from a constitutional debate in which he imagined that the grievances were entirely on his side. I deny that at that time he had within his brain any practical idea about the Union of the Colonies, and if I am asked for the proof, I reply that immediately after delivering the lecture alluded to, he delivered a lecture to another audience in Portland, (St. John), not on a confederated Union of the Provinces as a whole, but on a legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces only. If he were consistent in the one lecture he was not in the other, and thus the remarks of the *News* are justified. It may seem out of place to refer to this matter, but it should be remembered that on these lectures has been based the argument that the people at the polls had taken the subject into consideration, which is not true. Much has been said on the constitutional branch of the argument, but as I not a lawyer, I cannot be expected to deal very fully with it. I would however direct the attention of that great constitutional lawyer the leader of the opposition, to the remarks of Mr. Adderley, in the House of Commons. Referring to an Act passed in the previous session, he said:

"In 1861 Nova Scotia took the lead in promoting the scheme of union, and was the first to propose that delegates should be sent to this country, to confer on the subject with the then Colonial Minister the Duke of Newcastle, who promised that, if the desires of the colonies for the union were clearly made out, the proposition would be taken into careful consideration by this country. He mentioned this circumstance, because it had been recently asserted that the Government at home had pressed this matter on reluctant colonies. In consequence of the Duke of Newcastle's reply to the proposal of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, that colony, together with the other maritime provinces, proposed at the end of 1864 to hold a conference, and then for the first time Canada came forward, asking to be permitted to form part of the conference. It was material that that fact should be borne in mind, because it had been stated that Canada had, for its own local purpose, urged the measure on the small or provinces. It had been said that the difficulties of Canada had been the cause of the proposal for the union. It certainly was true that at that moment Canada had constitutional difficulties to contend with; but they were no more the cause of the proposition for the union of the provinces than the divorce of Henry VIII was the cause of the Reformation, though they might have been acts which precipitated what all desired."

I take it for granted that Mr. Adderley had in his mind the fact that the Colony had representative institutions, and therefore concluded that its people had a right to be consulted before their constitution was broken down. Some persons think that we had no right to discuss the propriety of the Union Act, but that we must take just whatever the

British Government may choose to give us. With all due deference to the wisdom and forethought of the statesmen who were engaged in the passage of the Act, I submit that we should be allowed to express an opinion upon the Act itself, and upon its details. I could refer back to shew that the policy of the British Government has not always been the best, and that they have made mistakes, which they afterwards admitted. For example their policy towards the thirteen Colonies was not a wise one. Referring to the Confederation Act, I find in the clause respecting the Intercolonial Railway, something which goes to prove that the delegates exceeded their authority under the resolution of our legislature. This clause appears in the Act as the consideration in a bond, and is as follows:—

"Inasmuch as the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have joined in a Declaration that the construction of the Intercolonial Railway is essential to the consolidation of the Union of British North America, and to the assent thereto of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and have consequently agreed that provision should be made for its immediate construction by the Government of Canada: Therefore, in order to give effect to that agreement, it shall be the duty of the Government and Parliament of Canada to provide for the commencement, within six months after the Union, of a railway connecting the River St. Lawrence with the city of Halifax in Nova Scotia, and for the construction thereof with out intermission, and the completion thereof, with all practicable speed."

It would appear from that that the delegates accepted the terms which they got in consideration of the railway, and if we leave that clause out the inference is that their assent would not have been given. No person authorized the delegates to make the railway the consideration for Union—before they did so some one must have had the right to be consulted, and the question is who should it have been? I answer that in my belief the people, whose destinies were in the hands of these men, whose interests for well or for woe were to be affected, should have had an opportunity of adjudicating on the whole matter. But it is urged by many that because certain leading men were in favor of Confederation, therefore there was necessity for consulting the people. With all respect for the learning and discretion of the members of the learned professions who favor Union, I take it for granted that they can hardly claim to be able to judge of what our farming interests require, so well as the 48,000 farmers, head of families, do know what is likely to affect their interests as well as doctors and lawyers. Again, would you exclude the 16,000 mechanics of this Province, the merchants, and all those who represent the industry, trade and commerce of the country from saying what affects their interests? Would you take from our 15,000 fishermen the right to have their voice in a matter so deeply affecting their welfare? Must the rights of all these classes be disposed of upon the *ipse dixit* of a few individuals, however learned and intelligent they may be? Responsibility in this matter must attach to somebody, and who was it that prevented the people from being consulted? Who were the men who were bold enough to take hold of the constitution and stifle the voice of the

those to give us the wisdom and who were engaged, I submit that, to express an opinion on its details. If that the policy of it not always been made mistakes. For example, thirteen Colonies, respecting the Confederation, something which delegates exceeded resolution of our appears in the Act, and is as fol-

Canada, Nova Scotia in a Declaration of the Colonial Railway Union of British America, Nova Scotia have consequently made for its immediate benefit of Canada: that agreement, and Parliament and the commencement, of a railway company in the city of Halifax, in connection thereof with all

that the delegates they got in and if we leave it to their assent. No person can make the railway before they did the right to be who should it in my belief the in the hands of or weal or for I have had an on the whole many that be- are in favor of was necessary with all respect of the mem- bers who favor that they can ge of what our well as the 48,000,000, do know interests as well as in, would you of this Province who represent- merce of the affects their in- come our 15,000 their voice in a their welfare? es be disposed of new individuals, they may be? must attach to prevented the Who were the take hold of voice of the

electors of this country? Bold men they must have been who usurped the functions of every man in the Province. They were the men who advocated the principle of going to the polls with every important measure,—some of them had placed on record that resolution declaring that no change should take place even in the Legislative Council without the people being consulted. When they undertook to undermine the constitution, to usurp the rights and stifle the voice of Nova Scotia, they should have shrunk from the responsibility, and asked themselves "are we the men to seize upon the liberties of the people after all the pledges we have given, turn recreant to the trust reposed in, and prevent them from being heard at the polls?" I have asked "who are the men?" I mention first the name of Dr. Tupper, not because it gives me any great pleasure to do so, but because I hold him responsible in the first degree. Being the leader of the Government, he, of all other men, should not have been guilty of this arbitrary exercise of authority. If it is asked how he came to be in power I answer that when the delegates to Charlottetown had got permission of the Governor General to go to Quebec, there to arrange the terms of Union, he, as leader of the Government, should have said "no, the people have never been consulted, and I will not go unless it is understood fairly that the people will be heard before the matter is decided on." Again, he went voluntarily to England on the delegation,—could he not then have said to the House of Assembly, "I will accept the introduction which the resolution of this Legislature will give me, but a clause must be put in which will bring the matter back to the people at the polls." Nor is that all,—when he went to England and decided on the scheme, even supposing he considered it a good one, he should have considered the rights of the people, and made a provision in the Act by which they would have been consulted. And, coming down to a late stage, if the truth had been told by Mr. Watkin in the House of Commons in answer to Mr. Bright's remarks, the operations of the Act would have been suspended until it came back for ratification. Where is the authority for such a course? has been asked.

The Leader of the Opposition refers us to the Corn Laws, the Emancipation Laws, and the Reform Bills. Perhaps his reasoning upon this point may be sound, but it struck me as being a piece of special pleading to say that because the British Parliament passed measures like those, it could pass an act like that which brought about Confederation, destroying our Constitution and affecting every interest of the country. True, those enactments altered, to some extent, the representation of the country, but the highmindedness and honor of British statesmen called upon them to deliver a portion of their people from injustice. Englishmen have ever been jealous of their rights, and so are we. After those measures had been passed the Parliament still remained; it could have repealed them and restored matters to their old condition. This Confederation Act, on the contrary, takes from us the power of altering the laws to suit our Province.

Coming down to a later date we have had cited as a precedent the union of Cape Breton. Now we know that if a witness is put into the box he is considered guilty of perjury if he fails to tell the whole truth. The leader of the Opposition, when he quoted that precedent, should have told us fairly that Cape Breton had no Legislative Assembly. Again the union of the Canadas was effected after the rebellion there, and when commissioners were exercising military authority. Surely these instances bear no comparison to our case: we were in peace and prosperity, legislating according to our constitution, with no sign of quarrel or rebellion. Precedents upon our side of the question have been cited in numbers, the case of the other colonies, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland being proof of the way in which our people would have been treated if the Legislature had acted fairly. I think, however, that the challenge to cite precedents came from the wrong quarter—precedents should come from those who seek to justify the charge that has been made. We asked no change, and those who urged it should be prepared with precedents to establish their authority for what they did. It is hard to find cases exactly in point, for in the history of no country possessing representative institutions has there been such an attempt to subvert the constitution. Precedents which do not apply to the condition of affairs established when the principle of Responsible Government were conceded are not in point, because the Imperial Government, having granted us certain privileges, will not revoke them. It has been clearly shewn that important measures have from time to time been submitted to the decision of the people at the polls, and surely that is the course which should have been followed in this instance. It may be considered out of place for me, a layman, to refer to any legal point, but I have found one reference which seems to me to be applicable to this question. In 1825 the British Parliament passed an Act, chap. 114, containing a clause worded in such a way that it will not be denied that thereby some rights were conceded to us, and if that be the case the Union Act cannot be successfully defended as constitutional. It has not inaptly been said that this Union Act was good for those who advocated it. Perhaps if we search all the records of history we cannot find a measure which holds out so many rewards for its friends. The system of increased salaries and multiplication of offices was one of the most objectionable features of the scheme, next to that which destroyed our powers of legislation. I need not descant at great length on the loss which Nova Scotia will experience by the change,—we lose our public works of nearly every description, and although we go into the Confederation with nearly an equal debt, yet there is in point of fact no comparison between the debt of the Canadas and of Nova Scotia, for ours does not represent a dollar of deficiency, while that of Canada represents twenty-two millions of revenue deficit.

I will now briefly allude to the operation of this Act since the 1st of July. One of the main arguments of those who supported

Union principles, was, that although our representation was small, yet our power and influence would be equal to that which controlled the former Canadian Government, and would, therefore, be equal to our wants. But when we look at the history of the Dominion Parliament we see how inadequate that representation has been found. We see that our rights have been disregarded, and our representatives, even when aided by those of New Brunswick, were powerless to effect any change when the members from Upper and Lower Canada combined against them. Look, again, at the policy of that Parliament respecting our coal. When we asked for a small duty on American coal, we were told that for the Canadians to tax themselves for our benefit would be preposterous. One great characteristic of our Government has always been economy,—we incurred no debt beyond what was necessary for our public works, and presented a fair example of the benefits of representative institutions; but the policy of the Union Act is to create a large and expensive Government, with extravagance prevailing in every branch of the public service. The Legislative Assembly of Canada had more clerks and pages than members, and so on throughout the other Departments. Some remarks were made to the effect that if Repeal was obtained it would injure the prospects of the railway to New Brunswick. I will not detain the House further than to mention the bare facts of the case: that the railway can be built without Confederation and without an increased tariff, is surely too plain to require discussion. The branch from Truro to Amherst was put under contract some two or three years ago, and as our revenues were then considered sufficient to meet the subsidy, I take it that I need not labor the argument. The Annapolis road is to be built by subsidy, and the trunk line would be far more advantageous to a Company who would undertake it. But a still stranger fact is, that so late as June last, within the time that Confederation was to take effect, a Company actually did make an offer to build the road on the terms of the old contract. I have no doubt, therefore, that the road can be built as soon as New Brunswick is ready to connect with us, provided our financial affairs are restored to their former condition. We have always been ready to connect with New Brunswick and Canada, and the fault has lain with them, by not performing their part of the agreement.

In bringing my observations to a close, I wish to make a few remarks on the election of 1867. It has been said by some that the question of Confederation did not enter largely into the consideration of the people at that election. I think that the facts are too plain to require much discussion; if we are to judge by the amount of government influence used to defeat the anti-confederate party, we have a pretty good guide as to the struggle which the friends of union made to carry their principles. False arguments innumerable had to be met; the people were told that we were not going to have the Canadian tariff, and it has turned out that the only alteration has been in lowering the duty on liquors and raising that on the necessities of

life. In referring to the influences brought to bear in Cumberland, it may not be amiss for me to state how it was that two unionists should have been elected there. I undertake to declare that but for the government influences and the unfair means of every kind used, the unionists would have been swept off the board. What was the position of affairs in Cumberland? I declared for repeal, and that is the policy which the county favours this day, although Dr. Tupper secured a seat, and also a gentleman who sits here. I had not wealth or influence in my favor; the votes which were given for me were given voluntarily, while in favor of our opponents means such as were never before practised on any people were brought into operation. The same may be said of other counties. The road moneys have been laid under contribution without the authority of the House; salaries were increased in the same way, and other shameful devices practised to secure support. The hon. leader of the opposition is a confederate, and I may fairly ask how it is that Inverness sends a man to occupy the position? I find that in that county only 800 votes out of 2000 were polled for union; and, without going into a discussion which will come on more properly hereafter, I may say that Inverness, like Cumberland, is anti-confederate at heart. The leader of the opposition has complained a good deal of being obliged alone to combat the arguments of so many gentlemen on this side of the question. He has himself to blame for his position, and is therefore entitled to no sympathy. When I heard his complaints the other day, I was reminded of one we read of who called for a drop of water to cool his parched tongue; the hon. member may weep and wall and bemoan himself, but the fault is his own. The rights of the people have been trampled on, and any one who goes to his succor and support must take his life in his hand as he crosses the gulf of public opinion. Every man here has a solemn duty to discharge, and I trust that duty will be faithfully done. What are we here for today? To obtain the repeal of the Union Act so far as it affects us, to assert the rights of the people, and to demand the privileges which the British constitution extends to us. When the vote is taken, these duties will be discharged in a way that will do honour to the House and to the country. Let me say, finally, that whatever decision may be arrived at, the result affects not only us but every British colony. Hereafter, whenever the privileges of any people are invaded, the precedent of the violation of our constitution will be urged; and therefore it is to the interest of all the colonies to assist us in our struggle for repeal.

Mr. DOUGLASS said: Mr. Speaker, at this late hour, I will not detain the House by any lengthened observations of mine. In the name of the people which I have the honor to represent, I repudiate the British North America Act as unconstitutional and oppressive; and calculated to reduce the people of this once happy province to a state of servitude and degradation. With these few remarks, I shall support the resolutions laid on the table by the hon. Attorney General.

WEDNESDAY, Feby. 19, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock, p. m.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL presented a petition from a number of Indians of the Miramichi Lake, praying for relief.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON, as chairman of the committee on the Inverness election, asked leave for the committee to adjourn to Monday next at 11 o'clock. Leave granted.

Mr. NORTHUP presented a petition from John Goose and others for money to expend on a road.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN presented a petition for a grant of money to build a bridge.

Mr. NORTHUP presented a petition from John White and others, of Musquodoboit, for a grant of money; also, a petition from Preston in reference to the school law. The latter was referred to the Committee on Education.

Mr. WHITE presented a petition against any material alteration of the school law.

Mr. KINGSTON presented a number of petitions for grants of money on roads and bridges.

Mr. YOUNG presented a petition in reference to the ferry between Windsor and Hantsport.

Mr. MORRISON presented a petition from Geo. Leister and others for money to build a bridge over Salmon River; also, a petition for a railway station at Salmon River.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON laid on the table information asked for in reference to the Hospital for the Insane.

## DEBATE ON THE REPEAL RESOLUTIONS.

The adjourned debate was resumed.

## MR. COPELAND'S SPEECH.

Mr. COPELAND said:—Mr. Speaker, with your permission I rise to offer a few remarks upon the great question of Confederation, now before the House. But as the gentlemen around these benches have so fully and ably discussed the question already, I will not at this late period of the debate occupy much of your time.

I have the honor of being one of the representatives of the second most populous county in the Province, and if your take into consideration its vast mineral resources, I believe the first county in the Province, and as representing such a county I do not think I would be doing justice to myself or those who sent me were I to give a silent vote, I desire therefore in a few words to express my hostility to the British North America Act, also to the fraud, deceit and treachery by which it was carried.

I believe, sir, that such an Act as the British North America Act, affecting as it does the interest of the people so materially—such an overturn of their constitution—should have been referred to the people at the polls; and the parties who so systematically prevented the people from passing on it, committed a very grievous injury on the people of this Province, and perpetrated an act which will forever hand their names down to posterity as men who have wantonly trampled upon the rights and liberties of a free people. And I believe there was too much honesty and

sense of fair play in the British Parliament to pass such an Act if they had not been deceived by the delegates, and made to believe that the people of Nova Scotia were in favor of it.

But, sir, when an opportunity was at last presented to the people, they arose in the majesty of their strength, and have declared in a voice of thunder that they abhor the British North America Act—the fraud by which it was carried, and the treachery of the men who perpetrated the deed.

Nova Scotia is small in extent, but rich in resources; why, sir, just but glance at her fisheries, her vast mineral wealth, her gold, her iron, her coal, her shipping, her mercantile capabilities, and her near proximity to Europe; and I think, sir, that you will agree with me that Nova Scotia is the most important part of North America in proportion to its size.

Sir, I am a Nova Scotian, possessing, I trust, all the feelings of a Briton. I am proud of my native country—proud of the mighty Empire of which we form a part, and loyal to my Queen and Sovereign. But, sir, I will never submit willingly to have my rights and liberties swept away, and handed over to the tender mercies of the Canadians, to be nothing better than “hewers of wood and drawers of water” for them. Sir, I feel that my countrymen possess the same feelings with regard to this matter, that I do myself, and that nothing but force and coercion will cause them to submit to the B. N. A. Act, and that they will embrace the very first opportunity of getting free from it. I shall therefore most heartily give my vote for the resolutions submitted by the Hon. Attorney General, knowing that in doing so, I am not only fulfilling the desires of my own constituents, but expressing the views of the people of the whole Province; and with a firm belief that the British Parliament will, on the facts being made known to them, grant the people of Nova Scotia what they desire, and without which nothing else will satisfy them, that is a repeal of the B. N. A. Act, in so far as it refers to Nova Scotia.

## MR. WHITE'S SPEECH.

Mr. WHITE said:—So much has been advanced on this question that it is with the greatest embarrassment that I rise to address the House. To give a silent vote on the resolutions, however, would not be congenial to my feelings or consistent with the duty I owe the people of the important county who have honored me with the trust I have undertaken. Not only has a great deal been said on this subject, but much has been so ably said that my embarrassment arises not so much from what I should say as from what I should leave unsaid. Promising not to occupy the time of the House at any length, I will advert to one or two matters which occupy my mind in connection with the history of Confederation. We all know something of the history of Canada, and a glance at that history shows that she has been laboring under serious disadvantages for thirty years past—disadvantages partly entailed by her system of representation,

which was established with the treaty of peace which followed the rebellion. That treaty would not have been acceded to by Upper Canada unless the representation had been framed according to her wishes. Lower Canada having then the largest population. The result was that equal representation was made the basis of the treaty. This gave rise to nearly all the difficulties which Canada has since had to encounter. Not very long ago we saw a Government formed there which lasted but two or three days, owing to the equal system of representation. This difficulty led to the conception of the present scheme, the basis of which is representation by population. It is true that the Canadian politicians had also an eye to the revenues, but their main object was to remedy the political difficulties which their system of representation entailed. This may have suited Canadian policy, but in common with those who have preceded me in this debate I protest against it as far as Nova Scotia is concerned. I was struck with the argument of the hon. member for Inverness the other day, when, in support of the constitutionality of the measure, he instanced the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Emancipation of the Catholics in England. Every one knows that the members of the British House of Commons received instructions time and again on these questions from their constituents. The Catholic Emancipation Act, it must also be remembered, only extended the privileges of the people; it did not restrict them. It aimed a blow at the prejudices of the age, but not at the constitution itself. It did not transfer to another country the revenues of Great Britain, nor did it extinguish the Lords and Commons, and that instance is therefore not at all analogous. The mode of passing Confederation has been much commented on, and very properly so, for even if the measure were good, the manner in which it was passed would have been reprehensible. So was the conduct of some of its supporters. I will not travel out of my own county to illustrate this, but will refer to an address delivered in 1865 by Mr. Bourinot, my predecessor in this House. After an earnest remonstrance against that measure, he concluded by saying:—

"Now that the people should be told that they were to have nothing to do with deciding so important a question as changing the constitution of the country, but that the House could deal with it irrespective of the wishes of those they represented, was something most preposterous to propound in a country like this, enjoying the principles of Responsible Government—where the people are the fountain of all authority. The Provincial Secretary must have known that the House was elected under our existing constitution, and could not change it without consulting those that elected them. Yet the Provincial Secretary was quite ready to strike down all existing rights and privileges enjoyed by this people, in order that he might march on to Ottawa. But far and wide the spirit of the people asserted itself. Little by little a feeling arose which spread over the length and breadth of this Province, and showed the Government that they must pause in their rash career. In my own county at first much indifference was felt on this question, but as the discussion proceeded a strong feeling of dissatisfaction at the scheme exhibited itself among all classes of the people."

These were that gentleman's views in 1865, and I here assert that his constituency ap-

proved them, and yet I find that in 1866 he voted for the measure. Had any change occurred in the meantime? I contend that nothing occurred which should have materially altered his views. He delivered a speech in 1867, and by way of explaining his vote said:

"The reasons for my opposition to the Quebec scheme are known to many of my friends, and as I have stated them at large to the house, I need not refer to them again, excepting to say that I support the measure from conviction. My mind was not influenced by any freak of a moment, or by any desire for office. It is well known that I never held office, and that I do not desire any either under the general or local government. In the opinion of some gentlemen every man does wrong who does not strictly conform to their views; but I can fully justify the course I have taken. When I came to the session last year there were many conflicting reasons operating in my mind and I was not fully determined as to whether I should support or oppose Union. In the first place I found on reading attentively that the opinions of the most intelligent men in England were favourable to Confederation; then I saw that the organs of the various religious denominations were likewise favorable, and that the proposition had received the support of the leading men of every political creed.—Everywhere evidence was to be found that the wish of the Imperial Government was to see Union consummated; then came the Feudal excitement, and the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty; and, at length, when our own territory was menaced, I felt that the moment had arrived when a true and patriotic lover of his country should decide. I then came to the conclusion that I should support Confederation, in order that we might be prepared to meet the emergencies which were approaching. I gave the proposition my support, however, with the understanding that the Quebec scheme should undergo modification."

Perhaps I am hardly justified in saying that this was an eye opener to Mr. Bourinot—that the mists cleared away as soon as he discovered that there was room for him in the Senate, but I cannot help saying that he exhibited a total want of that patriotism which he so glibly talked about. Patriot is hardly the word to apply to him. Sir, if this be patriotism, our lexicographers should revise their works and find some term or combination of words better fitted to convey to our country's interests, and devotion to our country's interests. Sir, I can scarcely trust myself to dwell upon the conduct of those who have been instrumental in consummating this measure of Confederation. Suffice it that these records (Debates of House of Assembly, 1864 to 1867) abound with the tergiversations of those of whom the people of this country did hope better things.

I turn now from all the inconsistencies which that record illustrates to a subject which has not been touched on by those who preceded me. I refer to the address to Genl. Williams, which was got up for the purpose of whitewashing some individuals. I was much struck with the view taken of that address by some of the Confederate organs; it was taken not merely as an expression of loyalty to the Queen through the Government, but as announcing to the English people that the people of Nova Scotia were in favor of Confederation, and a clause to carry out that view was inserted in it. When we reflect upon the means by which that address obtained its signatures, it loses its effect, and should do so. When introduced to my county, it was sneakingly taken around, and people

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were asked to sign it hurriedly, and did so, being told that it was merely an address of loyalty to the Queen, and had no political significance. Many who signed it were astonished to find afterwards that it contained a clause designed to make Confederation appear popular. If in other counties that address was signed as it was in Cape Breton, I deny that it was any compliment to General Williams. Its being signed in that county was not, I must repeat, intended as an expression of agreement with the policy of those who carried Confederation. In conclusion, I may say, Mr. Speaker, that I have an abiding faith in the generosity of the British Parliament, and believe that, without doubt, this repeal will be granted. The attention of the British people has been so much turned, within a year or two, to the condition of Ireland, that the Imperial Government will hesitate, I feel certain, before refusing an application like this. I, for one, am content to await the result. My remarks, I fear sir, have been somewhat desultory and void of that eloquence which characterised a debate on a similar subject in England, some years ago; but, sir, however weak I may be in reproaching this thing and its promoters, my weakness may be to some extent compensated for, by my sincerity in the cause of Repeal.

## MR. BLANCHARD'S SPEECH.

MR. BLANCHARD said:—It was understood, Mr. Speaker, that this afternoon should be devoted to giving me an opportunity to review the numerous speeches made on the subject under debate, and I feel that it never has been, and I trust it never will be again, the lot of any man in Nova Scotia to be placed in my position. However indifferently I may be able to discharge the duties which devolve upon me, and however small may be the abilities which I can bring to bear, yet I feel that it is well that there is some little difference of sentiment here. If it were otherwise the employment of the House would be short, and little or no interest would centre in this debate. I find myself now called upon to reply to about twenty-nine speeches, delivered by gentlemen on the government side of the House. It was said last evening that some of those gentlemen should have the reply, because I might take the whole twenty-nine and lacerate them, but I have no idea of doing anything of the kind. On the contrary, I will say that such an array of eloquence and talent as has delighted the House for more than a week never occurred in a Provincial legislature before. We have seen coming to the fore and delivering lengthy addresses men who, one would have supposed, would hardly have occupied as much time as the last speaker. Talk of lawyers, sir, they cannot compare with some of the farmers and merchants who have been addressing us. Some gentlemen who, before the last election, had hardly ever made a speech except in a village debating club, have delighted the House for two mortal hours at a stretch, with language, it is true, that is somewhat unusual, but with power! eloquence! and wisdom!!! Such as I must congratulate the country on possessing.

Talk of the talent of the House being lessened since the Union Act came into force! Why if we measure the talent of our gentlemen by the number of their words, and their ability by the force of their language, nothing to be compared with this debate has ever occurred before. I sat here in the days when we thought we had intellectual giants among us—when Mr. Johnston on the one side led an array of talent that was of no ordinary character, and when Mr. Howe and Mr. Young, on the other side, were sustained by a fair share of talent and ability; but all the debates of those days were as nothing when compared with these twenty-nine speeches sit in a row, suggesting to the memory the nursery rhyme about some other things in a row. I intend to go into the subject with good temper, because whenever I have, on other occasions, ventured to indulge in a little retort, by way of satire, on gentlemen who had attacked me, I got a dressing such as no ordinary man would submit to, but I promise two or three gentlemen that before I am done I will return the compliment. If I should omit to refer particularly to any gentleman, I trust he will pardon, and take to himself the remarks I make to his friends.

In the first place, however, I wish to take a broad view of some of the features of the debate. We had a good deal of constitutional argument, and I regret that when I closed my first speech the Attorney General was not allowed then and there, as he wished to do, to reply to my remarks upon that head, for that would have given me an opportunity of commenting upon his observations. I feel that it will be manifest that in the course of his argument he either misrepresented the issues of the question or he was not aware of the facts. We were told that this country had a charter—an inviolate charter, but I ask the Attorney General to meet the argument which I advanced; that if such a charter were given by George II. it has been violated over and over again until there is not a ray of it left—violated in every conceivable manner—torn into ribbons ten thousand times. I will give book and page in proof of my assertion: in Murdoch's History, vol. 2 page 332, it is recorded that by proclamation George III., with the advice of his Privy Council, annexed the Islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton to Nova Scotia. Again we find the Governor and Council of this Province altering the representation in the legislature and the franchise. What became of the immaculate charter then? In 1769 Prince Edward Island was made a separate Province by the act of the King and Council—the same power separating the Island which had annexed. But going down to 1784, what do we find the condition of the country to have been? Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton were one country, under one Government and Legislature. In 1784 New Brunswick was cut off from Nova Scotia by the Act of the Crown. In 1784 Cape Breton also was made separate; in 1820 that Island was restored to this Province. When I addressed the House before, I was under the impression that Cape Breton was annexed by Act of Parliament, but on careful examination I find I was mistaken.

for the union was effected by order of the King and Council; that, however, does not affect the argument. Where, then, was the charter that could not be broken? It was maintained by the Attorney General that the King and Council could not touch the charter—that it was irrevocable and must forever remain so; and yet in 1820 the King and Council annexed Cape Breton by their own act. Let any gentleman refer to the Journals of 1844, and he will find there that a special session of this House took place in the month of July, when the whole matter of the annexation of the Island was brought up by orders of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who wished delegates to be sent home to meet the representatives of Cape Breton when they went before the Privy Council. A petition had been sent to England from 100 persons asking for repeal, and urging the unconstitutionality of the decree on the same grounds as those taken in this debate. If there is any strength in the argument now, how much greater ought its force to have been then, when the system of Government was swept away without the voice of the people or their representatives being heard. There was no House of Assembly or Legislature that could be appealed to. We have heard a good deal about the strong feeling pervading the country now, but I have been often told by men who were well acquainted with the state of the Island in 1820 that the feeling then was infinitely stronger. £1000 sterling was subscribed by a small population to send home delegates and engage counsel in England. The Privy Council then desired this Legislature to send an agent before them—not to discuss the propriety or judiciousness of annexing Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, because that branch of the argument was expressly excluded, but to discuss the constitutionality of the Act. Our Legislature declined to send agents, yet the question was elaborately discussed before that tribunal, in whose integrity the public had the most implicit faith, and within whose doors the breath of suspicion never entered. Did the Privy Council decide that the union was unconstitutional, and repeal their decree? No; but they sent back something like this message to the people of Cape Breton: "you have been united by the Act of the King and Council, and united you must remain." United they have remained (fortunately for themselves, and it did take many years for the great feeling about repeal to dwindle out of existence.

Having said this much in reference to the charter, and having, as I think, shown that the acts of the King and Council have been universally recognized as controlling our affairs and annexing separate Legislatures, I think I have made a point which cannot easily be overcome. I will admit the truth of the proposition, that as the country progresses and the Government becomes more liberal and democratic, the Legislature should be consulted on subjects of this kind, but I cannot understand the allusions, which some gentlemen have made to despatches which state that the Parliaments of the Provinces should be consulted. Those despatches have been spoken of, as though they contemplated an

appeal to the people. As I said before it is a doctrine unknown to the British constitution that we must go beyond the representatives of the people and go to the people themselves for the declaration of their will. However desirable such a principle may be it is not British, it is American in its inception and history; it never formed a part of our constitution, and I trust it never will. I come now to refer to the observations made by various members in this debate, and I must say, with all due respect for those who constitute this House, that if they could but divert their minds from the heat and prejudice which operate on them, they would see the impropriety of much that has been said in this debate. We have had a good many hard words used in nearly all the speeches from that of the hon. member for Londonderry down to that of the hon. member for Picton (Mr. Copeland) who spoke this afternoon. I have known the latter since I was a child, I am well aware that a more upright man Nova Scotia does not contain, and when I heard him in his quiet voice use the words "fraud, deceit, and treachery," I felt that he had not measured his language. So stereotyped have those phrases become, that at last it seems impossible to discuss this question without using them. I will endeavor not to retaliate for the strong language that has been used, but I cannot help saying that such expressions are seldom employed in reference to anybody present or absent, and I do feel that there are some who would hardly have ventured to use such language if those to whom they applied it were here. To whom did they apply those words? I have under my hand a speech and pamphlet by a man, who, above all others, earned and retained the respect of the Conservative party; and I ask the Conservatives of this House—the men who from childhood have been taught to look up to James W. Johnston, if they are prepared to apply the terms "traitor" and "treachery" to him? If that old gentleman were here, even at his time of life, I would like to see the man who would get up and talk about fraud, deceit and treachery, and apply the terms to him. I was long opposed to that hon. gentleman. I know how to admire talent and patriotism even in an opponent: I should like to see the Attorney General tell him that he was a traitor. As long ago as 1854 Mr. Johnston made one of the finest speeches ever delivered on the floors of Parliament, and not content with that, after the publication of the Quebec scheme, when asked to give that speech for general publication, he endorsed every word he had ever uttered on the subject.

I cannot forbear reading to the House one or two sentences containing so much eloquence and pregnant with so much instruction, that I hope, before we hear the words which I referred to again repeated gentlemen will reflect on whom they are casting aspersions. In Cape Breton, when a Highlander curses and swears he is said to use "bad English." We have had a good deal of "bad English" in this discussion, but as far as I am concerned this violent language passes by me as the idle wind, which I regard not.

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In reference to Judge Johnston's opinions I will read first, not his utterances in 1854, but in 1865. He said on the one hand:—

"Union under one government, giving to British subjects, in their confederate and growing strength, a nationality worthy of their origin, and a theatre of action such as national expansion demands; where, acknowledging the sovereignty, maintaining the institutions, cultivating and perpetuating the principles of the parent State, and putting forth the energies of freemen, they and their descendants may, under a gracious Providence, have the opportunity of rising to degrees of political influence, material prosperity, intellectual and literary attainments, religious, educational and moral progress, and refinement of taste and manners, which cannot be reached in small and contracted communities."

On the other hand is:—

"The perpetuation of the present isolated condition of the Province,—and rich as she is in material benefits and prosperities within the limits which small communities may attain, yet few in numbers, weak in strength, unequal to the development of her own resources, unable to furnish to her sons professional education, or to retain at home her enterprising youth, she has little prospect for the future beyond a dwarfed existence and ultimate absorption into the neighboring Republic."

"One of these must be chosen—the other rejected. There is no other alternative. My sentiments formed and publicly avowed through a quarter of a century, leave me no room for deliberation now. To an old man, individual, any decision is of small moment, but as a member of the community, in the exercise of my best judgment on a question of vital interest to all of us and those who come after, I dare not deny a national existence, with its privileges and duties, to my descendants and my countrymen."

"I therefore accept Confederation as a great benefit, whatever my tendencies in favor of Legislative Union, and though they were greater and more fixed than they are."

Sir, is that the language of a discontented politician? Is it the language of an ambitious man who wanted to get into a larger arena? No, but it is the language of a man of a ripe old age, removed beyond all political relations, and ornamenting the Judiciary in a very high degree. Does it become some men whom I could name to talk about traitors and treachery, and to stigmatize so strongly as they have done the friends of Union, and among them a man like that?

Now, let us consider when this discussion of Union commenced. Its origin was not in 1863 or 1864, or in the days when Mr. Howe brought it forward, but a way back in 1814, long before Cape Breton was annexed,—and we then find that the late Chief Justice Sewell and the Duke of Kent took a decided interest in the question. From then until now the great minds of the country directed their attention to it. I have under my hand a letter on the subject, written by the Duke of Kent in which he speaks strongly in favor of the project. But passing over many beautiful and eloquent passages in the speech delivered by Mr. Johnston in 1854, let me read to you his concluding remarks. He said:—

"I cannot conclude, Mr. Chairman, without acknowledging how far short I feel I have fallen of the capacity of the subject—I will not say of its requirements, for the measure I have advocated needs little of argument or of eloquence. The principle on which it rests is so simple—so truthful—so practical—so acknowledged—that argument and eloquence seem superfluous."

"Union is strength—reason, philosophy and experience declare, illustrate and confirm the truth. Religion and civilisation demand its aid."

"It upholds the sovereignty which God has given to man over creation, and is the basis on which rests all the agencies for fulfilling the Creator's designs for the amelioration of our race. Supported on this principle the question seems no longer open to debate, so simple the question seems no longer open to debate, so soon as the practicality of Union is affirmed. And yet the subject affords ample scope for reasoning the most rigid and eloquence the most exciting. Hence at one moment the mind is embarrassed to find rapid objections to oppose—at another, oppressed by emotions difficult to utter."

"I trust and believe my deficiencies will be less in the more perfect and able exposition the subject will receive from those around me, and that, guided by the aids of reasoning and eloquence, it will be placed in the light it ought to occupy before this Province, our sister Colonies, and the Empire."

"I offer no apology—or, if any be required, my interest as a Colonist, my duty as a citizen, my country's welfare and the well-being of our posterity, must plead my excuse for inviting this discussion. Called, in the Providence of God, to take part in the councils of my country, I have now fulfilled a duty I should have been ill satisfied to have left undone. I am my public career shall terminate."

This quotation, let it be remembered, is from one who was looked up to with reverence and respect as a gentleman of the highest personal character, and when I heard the words "traitor and treachery" applied to him by men who, in comparison with him, are the merest pigmies, I feel inclined to advise gentlemen to go and look at Judge Johnston's grey hairs, and when they think of him as a politician of forty years standing, the Conservatives of the House at least should be ashamed of the injustice which they have done him.

Hon. PROV. SECT.—Mr. Johnston did not vote for the measure.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued:—No he did not vote for it, but look at his language after the legislature had adopted it, both in the letter which I have quoted, and in his address to the Grand Jury at Truro and Amherst last summer. I think that after this some gentlemen would wish their language unaided. But am I done when I have spoken of Mr. Johnston? No sir, many are the great names which I could cite as advocates of Union. I will not go into a discussion of Mr. Howe's inconsistency, except to say a few words. I will not say that Mr. Howe was the father of Union, because he was not. Mr. Johnston was the originator of the question here; but I am going to speak of one circumstance in connection with Mr. Howe, and to quote one sentence from a speech of his, and I will be content with that, because, as far as Mr. Howe is concerned, the subject has become hackneyed and tasteless. In 1857, after losing the control of the government, Mr. Howe said in reference to the Union of the Colonies: "If there was one question unsettled when I left the administration, in the discussion of which I desired to mingle, it was that (Union of the Colonies). When the hon. gentleman (Mr. Johnston) moved his resolution in 1854, I lent him all the aid in my power, and if it were debated again gladly would I assist him." Now, sir, I ask the House, and especially the liberals who have been accustomed to look up to Mr. Howe, if it becomes them to talk about traitors and treason when Mr. Howe said that this was almost the only question which he had been unable to settle. Now I ask some of these gentlemen, and some

of the people outside, who have been talking blatantly about traitors, to consider Mr. Howe's definition of that word. He says: "I hold that the Queen's commission runs throughout this entire realm, that every constitutional mandate of Her Majesty her loyal subjects are bound to obey, and that he who attempts to thwart or oppose the policy of the Imperial Government is a disaffected and disloyal subject." Nor am I done when I shew the House that the Equity Judge and Mr. Howe are men to whom the terms that have been used were applied? Standing as I do, almost alone, when I hear gentlemen talking as if I had forgotten the rights of the people, I am tempted to turn back and tell them who must at the same time have forgotten those rights. Let gentlemen consider whether they are prepared to apply these epithets to the Judges of this country presiding over the Supreme Court. If they are not they should remember that they have done so in applying them to others. If, sir, I stood alone in the country, as I stand almost alone here, I would still, I think, have enough manly feeling not to be put down, but to induce me to give expression to the sentiments which animate my breast. That, however, is not the case. The opprobrious terms which have been applied to the advocates of the measure, are not applied to me alone, but to men who are greatly my superiors: to the Judges, to Mr. Howe, to the men who preside over the various chorches of the Province, to the overwhelming majority of the profession with which I am connected, to men of every class in the country who ought to know, as well as the farmers we have heard so much of, what is for the good of the country.

There are one or two questions of which I wish to speak before going into a reply of the various gentlemen who have addressed the House. We have had recently placed before the country a comparative statement of the amounts of duties received under the preceding and existing tariff by a gentleman of no ordinary ability. When some gentlemen get up and talk flippantly about the figures, as if the officer who published the statement knew nothing about them, I would ask them to pause. One gentleman said that Mr. Johnson had made a mistake in every entry, but he did not stay to reflect—perhaps he did not know, that in April 1866 the duties were largely altered. We had one set of duties to April and another to September, and which set was Mr. Johnson to take? If he took the old duties it would not be a fair statement at all, for his object was to show how much more would be collected under the Dominion tariff in 1867 than would have been collected under the tariff as it was on the 1st July 1867. That is the answer to the array of figures presented by the hon. member for Kings. Even another gentleman, who took the trouble to publish a full statement in the paper this morning, has not ventured to adopt this view of the subject, but I would ask whether it was fair, under the circumstances, for the Provincial Secretary to bring down what is the same statement to all intents and purposes, and to publish it only a few hours before I was called upon to reply? Why did he

not take the hon. member for Kings and cram him for the task? The statement of the latter gentleman was altogether fallacious, inasmuch as he took the duties preceding April, while Mr. Johnson took the subsequent tariff. Again, that gentleman and those who have addressed the public through the newspapers, have entirely ignored one branch of the subject. Mr. Johnson calculated that there would be a change in the trade of the country in consequence of a large amount of goods imported from Canada free. Mr. Jones and Mr. Dickie entirely ignored this fact. Let me turn attention to some of the articles to which this remark applies. Mr. Johnson has deducted \$6000 for arms and ammunition, and why? Because there is a manufactory in Canada where they can be obtained as cheaply as they can be imported. Bacon and hams are also omitted, because Canada will give us as large and cheap a supply as can be obtained from the United States. So as to other articles of produce. Why, I ask, was this view of the case ignored? Why is it that no gentleman has considered the large quantity of dry goods hitherto paying duty, but which will now come in free? Among those articles:—felt and felt hat bodies, materials for hoop skirts, machine silk twist, prunella, silk twist for hats, boots and shoes, candle wick, straw plaits, Tuscan grass and fancy, &c. All these articles paid ten per cent before, and are free now, and yet these gentlemen in their calculations insert thousands of dollars which should have been omitted. They have put down a large sum for India rubber manufactures, but who does not know that Canada can supply them as cheap, and indeed cheaper, than they can be had from abroad.

One word about printing paper, about the taxation of which a great deal of complaint has been made. I have taken the trouble to enquire about that matter, and what is the fact? For the last five or six years printing paper has been so high that it could not be imported from the United States, and the publishers have been obliged to import from Great Britain. But the price has now become so high there that a mineral substance has been used for adulteration, which has been found most injurious to the type. At this moment I undertake to say on good authority that an article infinitely superior can be got from Canada, free of duty, more cheaply than paper can be got from Great Britain, and at this moment there is an agent of one establishment here endeavoring to negotiate for a supply. I will not, however, dwell on this subject by going over the various articles to which similar remarks apply. I have made no calculation and do not intend to make one, but I desire the country to look at the various statements put forth, and to give them a fair examination. There are a hundred men in the Province more competent to examine this matter than any of us, and the truth can be easily arrived at if the change of importation is borne in mind. Passing to another topic, it has been declared in the amendment which I submitted, that in the present condition of this country it would have been necessary to increase the taxes to

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discharge the public services without Confederation, and I now ask members to look at that matter. I will not make an elaborate calculation, but I ask the House to consider the facts set out in the resolution: that while our debt two or three years ago was but four or five millions, it now amounts to eight and a half millions, and, according to some, nine millions. If it is a fact that we were about having to provide interest on our additional debt of so large an amount, I ask where was the money to come from? \$240,000 was the smallest sum which *must* have been provided annually after the 1st of July for that purpose. Will any man tell us that we were able to take that sum from our annual revenue, and still provide as we had been doing for our roads and bridges and other services? It was impossible. "But," says the hon. member for Kings, "we had been growing at such a rate for the last ten years that if our progress were the same we could have met these liabilities." It is easy to look back and easy to prophesy, but if he had looked more carefully and gone to the proper authorities he would have found the fact standing out patent that the revenues of last year down to the present time were \$130,000 less than at the corresponding period of the previous year. This sum, added to the amount of interest which I stated, makes \$370,000 to be provided for. And yet we are told that before Confederation Nova Scotia was a happy country, and could carry on her public works without increasing the taxation. I could not help feeling amused at hearing one gentleman talk about Nova Scotia being economical, and keeping within her income. When we doubled our debt within five or six years, surely we should not talk about keeping within our income. I undertake to say at any rate that our debt is double what it was eight years ago, and yet it is said that Canada is a most extravagant country, while Nova Scotia is a tight little place that manages its affairs differently. When I said \$130,000 was the deficiency, I should have given the exact figures which are \$127,373.27 to 1st September last.

Before going into a reply to the speeches of the hon. member let me ask one or two questions. The resolutions laid on the table state holdly that our revenues are in such a condition that we are unable to meet the public requirements. Yet what did we hear stated the other day? That the accounts were in such a state of confusion that the Government, acknowledging themselves incompetent for the task of arranging them, were obliged to call in the assistance of three gentlemen from outside. Those accountants were put to work three or four months ago, and I ask why it is that, though the House has been three weeks in session, although the country has been looking for alarming disclosures about peculations on the part of the late Government, at this moment we are still without the result of their investigations. I am unable to account for it; perhaps the Government can,—but these Commissioners should at least have given a preliminary report. A committee of this House was appointed some time since to investigate the public accounts, but they have not held

one meeting up to this hour. If the statements made by the Government be true, why has not the proof been laid before us either by the report of the accountants or the report of our own committee? I can imagine a reason—it may be that when the report comes up it will be found that we have money enough and to spare. If this be not the case why are delegates to be sent home to say to the British Government that this country is not in a condition to carry on its public works at a time when we have no report from the Commissioners or from the Committee of this House? If the statement be true, it is within the power of the Government to prove it. If the accountants have not been able to exercise due diligence in their work who has been hindering them? Is the Government doing so? Have these gentlemen been supplied with the information necessary to the completion of the work? No, sir; to my knowledge information has not been applied for at the very quarters where it could be derived, and therefore the Government are not in a position to say what is the condition of our finances. When they put into the mouths of members, for the purpose of sending it to England, the statement that we are not able to carry on the public affairs, why did they not lay the proof on the table?

I come now to my reply to hon. members, and I find that the first gentleman who favored me with his notice was my hon. friend from Londonderry, who gave us *his views* of the constitutional law bearing on the subject. This is not the first occasion on which I have heard of the hon. member's constitutional law; he seemed to think once upon a time that no one but himself was a match for Mr. Johnston—no one would so readily approach the lion in his den, and catch him by the heard, as he. He told us once that he could make a better collection of Revised Statutes in a week than all the rest of us put together. How often have we listened in times gone by to the constitutional law which I, "the member for Colchester," proclaimed to the country. He used to say, in substance, "do not take your law from Johnston or Young; I, the great man from Colchester, will tell you what the law is, and let no one dare dispute it."

In that strain he used to address the House, and now, coming down from greater game, he has turned his artillery upon me, and has told the people that I knew nothing about constitutional law, and that I had a great deal of audacity to talk of it in his presence. He asks us to consider the precedents set in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, where an appeal was made to the electors. I did not say that there was to be no appeal to the people when the government could not carry on the affairs, but I said that when the government could carry its measures through the legislature, no man had ever heard of a dissolution being required. That was the state of affairs in New Brunswick when the question was mooted; the government disagreed on the subject, and there was no alternative but to appeal to the people in order to settle the question. But was there an appeal on this question in Prince Edward Island? Not at all; they had their decision there at

the usual time, and so with Newfoundland. The hon. gentleman also complained that in speaking of some one who had asked the question "what then?" I was trying to prevent Nova Scotians from asking questions. Not at all; but on the contrary I wished him and every Nova Scotian to ask himself and his neighbors, and the leaders of this movement, "what then?" I ask that an answer to that question be given to me as a Nova Scotian, and to every man whom it interests in the country:—If repeal is applied for, and refused, what then? I will not repeat what I heard an ex-member of this Legislature say in the lobby of the House this forenoon. If his sentiments were uttered within the purviews of London, he would be imprisoned within half an hour; but when gentlemen in private make such assertions, why not state their answer to the question boldly? I want the hon. member for Colchester to ask himself and his leaders "if repeal be refused, what then?" The hon. gentleman himself undertook to answer it, but with all the skill of a practical lawyer, he went round and round it without coming to the point. He says I may ask myself "what then?" when I think of facing the electors of Inverness. I have faced them three times already, with what result the House knows; but I will never forget the time when the hon. member for Colchester was with us before, and when, at the close of the last session of that House, some of us went down to bid each other good-bye, and after four years hard fighting, the question was asked "who will come back?" They thought there was no hope for me—I never dreamed of seeing my face again; but we all thought that there could be no doubt about the return of that hon. gentleman with flying colours. How could any constituency resist that great constitutional lawyer? I did come back, however, and I ask where was he? Left at home. I therefore tell the hon. member, when he asks me how I shall face the electors of Inverness, that he had better look after Colchester. When my constituents do not want me, they will bid me good-bye, and dispense with my services. The hon. member also made some remark to the effect that any society of chimney sweeps would kick from their company the men who voted for Confederation.

Mr. MORRISON.—Hear hear.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued:—It would be more becoming to the hon. member to say shame, shame, for such language was hardly suitable to the dignity of the House and to his own position. He also spoke of some people speaking of themselves as the almighty "we," but it was the almighty "I" with him. Things went wrong in Canada, he told us, because "there was no Tom Morrison there." He said further that Nova Scotia would never be loyal to Canada, and, in imitation of a celebrated orator, exclaimed "never! never! never!" I thought that that passage would have taken the House by storm, and that the country when it heard it would burst out in wild enthusiasm. Then he said that Mr. McGee was an "extirpated" rebel,—that surprised me a good deal for I thought that Mr. McGee had still an existence. I would like to speak with respect of every man, but when

members talk in that strain of Mr. McGee they should remember who he is and who they are. Where did I see that statesman within the last few years? On the platform of Temperance Hall, which was crowded with one of the finest audiences that it ever held, and there Mr. McGee kept the whole attention of that audience enchained [for two hours with eloquence such as is rarely heard on a platform. Whom did I there see delighting to do him honor? The Hon. Joseph Howe, who said at the close of the lecture to the orator of the evening, "go on, I am with you;" and Mr. Johnston and Dr. Tupper joined in these expressions of honor and encouragement. When we hear a man like that—the first orator in British America—spoken of as an expatriated rebel, it is enough to make one's blood boil. The hon. member for Colchester concluded his speech rather strangely; he said "if I had ten thousand voices I would shout repeal! repeal! repeal!" That was his peroration, and a magnificent one it was. I should like to ask the members who are in the habit of reading their bibles to recall to their minds the way in which Joshua directed that the walls of Jericho were to be knocked down: he directed the Israelites to take ram's horns and make trumpets of them, to surround the city, and blow with all their might. Then the people were to shout with all their voices, and the walls were to fall down flat. I would advise the Government to follow that example: to send the hon. member home to England as a delegate, and if the British Government should refuse repeal, to station him in front of the Colonial Secretary's Office to shout. If the walls do not fall as he shouts I shall be very much surprised. I admire the voice of the hon. gentleman; I only wish that heaven had given me such a one, and I trust that the Government will not forget their constitutional lawyer when they come to appoint the delegates. Perhaps it may be unnecessary for me to take my advice.—the walls of Jericho may be down now, for I should not be surprised to hear that the hon. gentleman's shout had reached all the way across the Atlantic. I speak thus of that gentleman with perfect good nature, hoping that when next he addresses us he will give me as good a text.

Sometime after him we had the hon. member for Halifax, Mr. Northup, who made a short speech. Some allowance is, of course, to be made for a young member unaccustomed to debate, but when I heard that gentleman's impassioned tones and language on the subject of Confederation, and his not very creditable allusions to the Hon. Mr. Mitchell and others, I thought "well, is it possible, that we have never heard of his being a Confederate?" It has been said that once on a time he sustained and supported the men who were carrying the scheme;—that may not be true, but he was certainly recorded as one of the most emphatic supporters of Union. Something wonderful must have occurred to change his opinions. He told us of what his customers said, and of what some one from New Brunswick said respecting the feeling there. I believe, from conversations I have had with parties from that Province that those rumors are worth

about as much as some that we have had circulated here. It was said, we know, that hundreds of men of the first standing had forsaken us and joined the Anti-Confederate cause in Halifax, and yet we know that not a man of good position has left the ranks of the party. I assert that most emphatically, and should like to see proof to the contrary. I come next to the speech of the hon. member for Queen's, Mr. Smith, and of him I can say that he has not provoked retaliation by insinuations of motives, or by the use of violent language,—he will excuse me, however, if I say to him that I think the principles of constitutional law are utterly at variance with those he laid down. He spoke of the charter of George II., adopting the idea that that charter is inviolate and immaculate. I am old enough to recollect when Responsible Government was introduced—when the twelve gentlemen who sat in the Council exercising executive and legislative functions were, by an Act approved of in England, required to vacate their seats, and what was the argument then? Mr Cogswell raised the cry of "the charter, the charter!" But the Parliament and Government of England declined to say that the charter restrained the Legislature from passing such an Act. That was the great argument, however, then,—the Councilors said: "The King of Great Britain has by his charter appointed us, and no Act of your Parliament can touch us." That was the very same doctrine that we heard from the Attorney General the other day.

HON. ATTY. GENERAL—The Councilors held office at will.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued.—That makes no difference,—they were appointed by charter, and did their objections avail them? No, they were swept off, the question of that charter was disposed of pretty quickly, and a Legislative Council was appointed in their place. But, says Mr. Smith, "here is an answer to all your black letter laws,—here is a confirmation by the Privy Council of the Queen's right to grant the mines and minerals of the Province." Who denied the right? True, for a time there was a doubt about the matter, but the question was at length decided. Who denies that the Sovereign could grant the unoccupied lands of this Province, but all this does not affect the question of the charter in the smallest degree. The hon. gentleman told us that Catholic Emancipation did not pass against the will of the people. It is the first time that I have heard that assertion,—will anybody tell me that if the voice of the people of England had been taken on the question there would not have been an overwhelming majority to say "no"? It is to the everlasting credit of some of the best Protestants of England that they carried the measure against the prejudices of the majority of the people, and obliged the people to submit. Let me here contradict the assertion made by some one that this question and that of the Irish Union was referred to the people. The people of Ireland were opposed to the Union, but the Union was effected through the will of the Legislature.

We have been told that Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland have not been coerced

into the Union? Why is that? Because their Legislatures—the only true exponents of the wishes of the people—the only constitutional and regular channel through which their wishes can be made known, did not agree to the scheme. With reference to the Legislative power which Great Britain possesses over her Colonies, let me read from Blackstone, vol. 1, page 101:—

"When the sovereign Legislature sees it necessary to extend its care to any of its subordinate dominions, and mentions them expressly by name, or includes them under general words, there can be no doubt but then they are bound by its laws."

That is the general doctrine, and as regards the prevailing practice, do we not, day after day, submit to laws passed just in the same way as that which united the Provinces? Whenever Parliament chooses to pass such an act the people must submit, and there can be no appeal. Let this House and the country bear in mind the great distinction between the British and the American rule on this subject. In the Republic, if any one is dissatisfied with a law which has been passed, he can bring it before the Judges of the Supreme Court, and if it be unconstitutional the Judges will not enforce it. Have we any such rule under the British Constitution? No, the Judges of England are as much bound as the meanest subject in the realm by any law that Parliament may pass. Let me here read from Kent, a most celebrated writer on American law and the constitution of the Union. In vol. 1, page 504, he thus says:—

"A case in Pennsylvania has been recently decided involving an important political principle—the Court held that a statute authorizing the citizens of certain Counties to decide by ballot whether the sale of spirituous liquors should be continued in said Counties was UNCONSTITUTIONAL, as being a delegation of Legislative power not permitted by the Constitution, and contrary to the theory of Government. So in New York, an act establishing Free Schools, which had been submitted by the Legislators to the popular vote, was declared to be not a law."

Now we have a law exactly like that in Nova Scotia, at this moment: that if any polling districts should, by a majority of its voters, declare that they do not desire licenses to be granted, the licenses cannot be issued, and yet such an enactment in the United States has been pronounced unconstitutional. That is the distinction between this country and the United States. There is with us no power that can interfere with or dispute the authority of the law as declared by Parliament. The reverse is the case with the United States, and yet some gentlemen seem to desire connection with that country. We know that a great cry has been raised about the members who sat here two years ago, having forgotten their obligations to their constituents. Now upon that point let me read another extract from Blackstone, page 159:—

"The system of members being bound to obey their constituents is spoken of by De Tocqueville as one that would, in the end, render all the guarantees of representative Government useless and vain."

Upon the same point Smyth, in his lecture on the French Revolution, said:—

"How absurd to have a question decided by the constituents at one end of a country, and afterwards

debated at the other. Of what use are reasoning and eloquence addressed to those who, in the first place, have to say their instructions on the table."

I refer to these points in view of the condition of things two years ago, and to shew that the legislature of that day was bound to pass such measures as its members believed right, without strict regard to the views of the constituencies. Listen to what Burke said upon that question while addressing his constituents at Bristol. He said:—

"I do not obey your instructions! No; I conformed to the instructions of truth and nature, and maintained your interest against your opinions with a consistency that became me. A representative worthy of you ought to be a person of stability. I am to look to your opinions indeed; but to such opinions as you and I must have five years hence. I was not to look to the flash of the day. I knew that you choose me, in my place, along with others to be a pillar of the state, and not a weather-cock on the top of the edifice exalted for my levity and adversability, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every fashionable gale."

In view of these doctrines, so well established, I ask whether it was becoming to style the men who voted for Confederation, two years ago, "traitors," because they went, it may be, against the wishes of their constituents? I will come now to another branch of the argument. The hon. member for Queens referred to the large petitions got up, at the instance of Dr. Tupper, for the dissolution of Parliament, and he quoted that gentleman's remarks to shew that the Governor was bound to dissolve the House when a majority of the people shewed themselves hostile to its measures. But the hon. member forgot the answer that was given to that request, and I give that answer more especially for the benefit of the liberal members of the House, because it came from the man whom they appear willing to bow down and worship. Mr. Howe, in leading the government of that day, defied Dr. Tupper, and said that the legislature was not to be influenced by every breath of popular opinion, and that for its full term the legislature would continue to govern the country in the way it thought proper—not as the delegates, but as the representatives of the people. From a Minute of Council, dated 29th July, 1861, I take this extract:—

"Mr. Hatfield and Mr. Campbell are the best judges of the soundness of their own views and the propriety of their conduct. They are not delegates but members of Parliament, and from the moment of their election they were bound to represent, not only Digby or Argyle, but the whole Province, whose great interests were committed to their care. This doctrine laid down by Mr. Burke at Bristol in 1774 has never been questioned in the Imperial Parliament. And Mr. Hornum, member for Strone, though recently called on by his constituents to resign, has asserted his rights, and illustrating this sound British doctrine, positively refused. If members were to resign whenever for a moment they displeased their constituents, the calls would be frequent—personal independence would be rare, and questions would be discussed by requisitions rather than by fair deliberation and many debates. If Parliament were to be dissolved whenever a gentleman changed sides, or a discontented constituency petitioned, free institutions would become an endless distraction, and no man would ever dare to deliberate or run the risk of being confined."

These are the doctrines of Joseph Howe, put upon the Minutes of Council, and here

again is a statement of his views on the 20th April of the same year:—

"With regard to the members of Digby and Argyle, it is the undoubted principle of the British Constitution that a member once returned by a constituency has to consider what he believes to be the interests of the whole country, and not the wishes of a simple constituency. He is elected a representative and not a delegate, and the constituency have given up to him for the limited period fixed by law for the duration of the Parliament the power which they possessed."

We have heard announced the doctrine that members are bound to be guided by the wishes of their constituents, and in no case to depart from the views of the people, but I leave this point with the comments which I have already made. In passing from the speech of the hon. member for Queens, I must thank him for the kindness with which he treated me and my colleague. I wish I could congratulate all the members for having evinced so generous and candid a spirit. When I addressed the House previously, I am free to confess that I was to some extent blameable for the warmth I exhibited, but I held out the olive branch, and said that I regretted some of the language which I had applied, and that I had used that language only because I had been provoked beyond endurance. I said I hoped that in future we would be able to conduct our debates with good temper and moderation, but have I been met in the same spirit? Sir, there never was a man who stood on those floors and had so much contumely and contempt heaped upon him as have been heaped upon me by two or three members, and before I am done, if Providence give me the power, I will teach them not to repeat their conduct—teach them that towards me they should have acted with something like decency and moderation. When some members have thrown upon me affronts of no ordinary kind—have even dug up the bones of a departed brother and flung them in my teeth, they must and will be taught a lesson they will not readily forget, unless I am deprived of the powers of speech.

The next member who spoke was Mr. Chambers who gave us a long discourse on the tariff, and who endeavored to give us the benefit of his general knowledge of business. I do not think, however, that he met the argument that I had put fairly before the House, but I shall speak of him with respect, because his treatment of me merits such a return. He told us that his children had put into his valise a couple of books from which he read,—I have heard of a good many clever children—some exceedingly clever ones—who could instruct their parents, but if he has children capable of comprehending those books their precociousness must have arisen from the principles which make the parent resemble Nebuchadnezzar, who "ate grass like an ox." He told me that he and I started in life together,—I did not feel much flattered at that, because I was under the delusion that he had started in life ten years before me; but he went on to say that I had obtained what I sought: a high position in this country. That reminded me of a remark made by the late Mr. William Murdoch, when he was about to depart from Nova Scotia,—some of his friends gave him

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a supper party, at which his health was proposed by Mr. Howe, who passed a high opinion on him for his abilities, and for the position which he had acquired. Mr. Murdoch, who was well known not to be a public speaker, got up and said: "Mr. Howe and I set out in life at the same period but with different objects, and we both obtained them,—he sought fame and he got it—I sought money and I have it." I know that I have not obtained very great fame, but I know that the hon. member for Colchester has obtained money. If the object of my desire is still glittering before me, that is not the case with him, and I congratulate him on his success. He talked, however, about the wild woods of Canada in such a way that would lead one to suppose that he had never been in Canada,—I can tell him that away up in those wildernesses they have cities containing four times the population of Halifax, and that he should remember, when talking about our fine folks off Nova Scotia, who, like Robinson Crusoe are "monarchs of all they survey," that the waste, howling wilderness of Canada contains more than four times the population of Nova Scotia. The Chinese used to talk about "outside barbarians," and used to think that "these English were not fit to associate with the great people of China," and so it is with some great people in Nova Scotia, who say to the Canadians, "oh, keep away from us you backwoods' people, we want our country for ourselves, and wish you would leave us alone in peace." It has been said that in my remarks in a previous debate I attempted to attach a stigma upon the people of Colchester,—every member of the House must know that nothing was farther from my thoughts,—I was trying to turn into laughter and ridicule a remark made about the people shouldering their muskets in the cause of repeal. Outside of the House it has been said that I insulted the people of Colchester,—I leave it to those who heard me to say whether that is true or not.

The hon. member for Colchester, Mr. Chambers, found that his notes had got into confusion; "but," said he, "I am here to make the worst of Confederation." Nothing could be more honest than that admission, and if all the gentlemen around me would make as clean a breast of it I could understand them better. The hon. gentleman admits that he is not here to look at the matter in a fair light, but to make of it the very worst that he can. He told us also that he came here unpledged to the policy of repeal, and I rather think there are a good many like him, for while I am free to admit that the subject of Confederation was to a large extent before the people at the elections, I deny most emphatically that repeal was the great question before the country. I assert without fear of contradiction, because I have it on excellent authority, that one of the members for Halifax denied and repudiated that he was running for repeal during the election contest, at St. Margaret's Bay. Mr. Jones and one of his colleagues made that denial most emphatically during the canvass, putting, as the issue before the electors, the propriety of punishing the men who had carried

Confederation. The hon. member, Mr. Chambers, went on to say "we are all open to conviction"—I would not like to doubt his assertion, but I believe something like this of his friends, that

"A man convinced against his will  
Is of the same opinion still."

I think all that could be done in the way of reaching their convictions would not accomplish a great deal. He gave us a very telling description of a supposititious case—of my having gone to Ottawa, and having obtained as a match for my daughter a duke or a lord, and then having forced her into matrimony. I have no idea of going to Ottawa; I want to stand by the wreck, if we must call it so, to the last, and I will remain here as long as any constituency honors me with its confidence; but if I wanted a duke or a lord, that would hardly be the place to go for one, and I can assure him I would take care that the interests of all parties were consulted. In course of his speech the hon. member told us that he could make a tariff in two days. What a fortunate county Colchester is to have two representatives, one of whom could make a volume of revised statutes in a week, while the other could make a tariff for the Dominion in two days. Let us hand over to them all the business which usually occupies the time of the Legislature, and I have no doubt these two great minds will arrange all the affairs of the country without any difficulty. Their accomplishments would make the eighth wonder of the world, and I only hope they will not hide their talents under a bushel. I have no time to follow the hon. gentleman through all his remarks about the duties, but I understood him to say, in reference to the shipbuilders, that he did not pity them—that they were served right, for "while they live they live, and when they die they pay nobody." He reminded me of an old adage, which does not apply to him, but which runs:

"He who drinks grog at night and goes to bed mellow  
Lives as he ought to live, and dies a jolly fellow."

I think that some of the hon. member's friends, for instance the hon. member for Yarmouth, and the hon. member for Pictou, Mr. Copeland, will hardly think themselves complimented at the idea of the probability of their dying some of these days and paying nobody. I was surprised at the versatility of the hon. member for Colchester. He drew illustrations from nearly every source, and came at last to Marryatt's novels, from which he gave us a description, that I hardly think he meant to apply to me, because it is a description of a dog, not of a man. They drowned him, and he would not die; they shot him, and he would not die; they hanged him, and he would not die; and this makes me think he must have referred to me, because I have been shot at and stabbed, and yet here I am alive and to the fore.

The hon. member read us an extract from one of his books. I thought it was never going to end, but at last it did, and he sat down after talking so long and so fast that he could talk no longer. But, like Snarleyow, he came to life again, and in course of a dis-

sertation of an hour and a half said that it had been put on him to review the tariff. Who put that task upon him? Was it done in caucus, or did the Government put it upon him, feeling that they had not enough ability among themselves to discuss the matter? I do not wonder at the selection, however, because if Mr. Chambers could make a tariff in two days, he was just the man for the undertaking. We have in the Government a Finance Minister, an Attorney General, and other unofficial members, but their duties are delegated—one member gets the tariff to deal with, another touches upon the finance question, and so on all around. I have now finished my review of the speeches of the hon. member for Colchester, and if I have said anything offensive, I trust he will not take it in that light, for I have not meant it so.

The next gentleman to whose remarks I will refer is the hon. member for Victoria, who, smarting under some observations which I had made on a previous day, rose with the determination of hurling around him without consideration or reflection, such anathemas and vituperation as are rarely heard here. I ask him if he knew that he was talking of men whom this country delighted to honor for forty years, when he talked of a few blacklegs coming down from Canada? When did we ever hear this Legislature disgraced by such language before?

**THE SPEAKER—Order.**

**MR. BLANCHARD continued:**—I feel that I am right in what I have said, when I am commenting upon an epithet too opprobrious to be used here. I have spoken about "bad English," but I ask if worse English than the expression to which I have referred could proceed out of the mouth of any person? The hon. member said that these men, delegated as they were by the highest authority in Canada, should have three years in the Penitentiary. Let those who are out of that institution plume themselves on the fact. I ask any member of this House, or any man who hears me, to go home and think of himself, of the position he occupies, of those who are near and dear to him, and I ask if one man out of fifty thousand can say after that examination: "There is no spot on one of those with whom I am connected." Let the hon. member consider that, and when he next feels inclined to hurl the epithets "blackleg" and "common drunkard," let him remember that he who is without sin should cast the first stone.

**THE SPEAKER said** that Mr. Blanchard's language and manner were calculated to irritate members.

**MR. BLANCHARD continued:**—I have sat here for three or four days listening to such language as no ordinary man would submit to, while such language is used in reference to those whom I respect, as long as I draw the breath of life I will not suffer those who use it to escape with impunity—they must make the consequence. The hon. member for Victoria said that the Canadian Government, having reduced this country to the verge of bankruptcy, were now calling on us to pay their deficiencies. That is not the fact, and the hon. member should have known

that we go into Confederation with an equal debt, and that the surplus debt of Canada is to be paid out of her local revenues. He also said that Cape Breton had petitioned to be annexed,—I gave proof for my assertions on the subject of that union, and I ask him to give his proof for that. But at the close of the hon. member's speech he said that he was about to reveal a state of facts that was not at all creditable,—he undertook to say that, desiring some alterations in post rides he had called on the Postmaster General, and that the answer of that officer was, "have you seen Mr. Blanchard?" He then went on to ask if I was the man to be consulted, insinuating that I controlled the post office patronage of this country. He had not resumed his seat an instant when, not knowing what he meant, I asked whether the changes were not in post rides that run through my own county. I received no answer to that question, and I ask what the House thinks of a member coming and trying to cast a slur upon me and upon the Post Master General, without being in a position to answer that question on the spot. But what will be thought of him when I read the correspondence which passed between Mr. Woodgate and myself at the close of the hon. member's speech? I wrote this note to the Postmaster General:

HALIFAX, Feby. 15th, 1868.

*A. Woodgate, Esq.*

Dear Sir,—Mr. Kidston has just stated in the House that on asking you about some Post Office changes, you asked him if he had consulted me. Will you be kind enough to let me know if the above is correct; and if so, under what circumstances you made the observation.

Yours truly,  
(Signed) H. BLANCHARD.

GENERAL POST OFFICE,  
Halifax, Feb. 15, 1868.

Dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, and to state that some few days ago, Mr. Kidston called at my office, and suggested some changes in the mail route between Plaister Cove and Baddeck and Mabou, Whyccomagh and Baddeck. After expressing, each of us, our views on the subject, I said: "Have you consulted Mr. Blanchard?" or "Would it not be best to speak to Mr. Blanchard on this matter?" or words to that effect. I mentioned this, as you were one of the members of this county, and I considered you should have a voice in such cases; at the same time, I never for one moment supposed Mr. Kidston would bring on the floors of this House a conversation which I looked upon as altogether private, for the time being, as of course such mail alteration would have to be referred now to Ottawa.

I am, yours respectfully,  
A. WOODGATE.

*H. Blanchard, Esq., M. P. P.*

The fact was that two-thirds of the whole rides which he wished altered were in my county. The hon. member, I repeat, got up and in the most open manner charged me

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I. BLANCHARD.

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with controlling the management of the Post Office, when the Postmaster General had merely referred to me because I was immediately interested in the subject. The post rides referred to are those running through to Baddeck and affecting Mabou, Wyococmagh and Plaister Cove, and I ask what right or business one of the members for Victoria had to interfere and ask for a change in matters relating to my own county without consulting me? I should like to pay some attention to the gentlemanly speech of the hon. member for Queens, Mr. Freeman, but the abundant field for remark with which others have furnished me has left little time to delay. But he made one remark which was very true and for which I thank him. He told us that in six years Canada had increased in population by 582,000 persons. Is this the wild howling wilderness that we have heard of? Has this been going on in the backwoods about, which the changes have been rung from one end of the country to the other? In six years its increase has been larger than the whole population of Nova Scotia. This is the terrible country with which we are connected, and which is hanging like a millstone about our necks. I thank the hon. member for the illustration, and I feel that when he comes to reflect upon it he will see that a very great deal of the contumely that has been heaped upon Canada is undeserved, because she is a great and growing country. In reference to the remarks of the hon. member for Halifax, Mr. Cochran, concerning the feeling in the city, I will merely say that my observations were made in answer to some remarks about a great change having taken place in public opinion here, and about the return of five Anti-Confederate members being a proof that a large majority of this constituency were unfavorable to union. I said that, as I was informed, the city had thrown a considerable majority in favor of Confederation—to that his colleague assented, but I did not say, and I should be sorry to say, that the whole wealth and intelligence of the metropolis were with us. I will say nothing of the influences which he spoke of further than to remark that I have seen such assertions as he made here denied most emphatically. I would be sorry to intimate that the hon. gentleman would say anything that he does not know to be true, but when he says that the Dominion authorities sent down a despatch telling the employees to vote for the Union candidates on pain of dismissal, I take leave to tell him that I wish the assertion to be proved. Mr. Tilley denied it in the most clear terms, and if the proof can be given, I take it for granted that it will be produced, but until then I take the liberty of denying the assertion.

I had nearly forgotten to notice the speech of the Provincial Secretary, who, contrary to the usage of members of Government, of putting themselves in the forefront of the battle, waited until nearly all the ammunition had been expended and nearly all the guns had been fired off, and then came to the rescue by giving to the House his version of the subject. He told us that he was once a Unionist. I am very sorry for his pervers-

sion, and as some of his followers have held out the flag of truce to me, saying, "come with us, and we will do thee good," I feel inclined to say the same to him, more especially as he should have been led by manly. British feeling to come to the aid of one who was being pitched into by some dozen of his opponents. The Provincial Secretary said that our harbors are open all the year round, while those of Canada are closed in winter, and that therefore our condition was not suitable for a Union. I can understand a gentleman living on the South Shore talking in that way, but if he came with me to visit the ports on the Gulf of St. Lawrence—some of them the finest in this Province—he would find it hard to discover an open harbor in winter. Where, in the fine County of Pictou, is there an open harbor? Has Sydney an open harbor? Then going around by Wallace, Pugwash, Windsor and Hantsport, and the other ports on the Bay of Fundy, he would find the harbors all closed. Yet he says that the Union is unsuitable because our ports are open and those of Canada closed. We would do well enough, the Provincial Secretary thinks, united to New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and yet the ports of the Island are closed until May. As to New Brunswick, it is true that a considerable coast is open, but the most flourishing parts are closed for six months. What, then, becomes of his argument?

He told us also that the figures prepared by Mr. Johnston were calculated to deceive, and that we are to lose by Confederation \$480,000 this year. I will not say that the figures of the Provincial Secretary were calculated for the purpose of deception, but how did he arrange them? All that is due on the Provincial building was charged against next year, when he knows that that is a part of the public debt. The building represents its whole cost; if the Dominion takes it the building will be set down at its cost, and the balance will be paid out of the Dominion treasury; and I ask then why, instead of that being credited, it was charged against our revenues? I do not care whether you call it £40,000 or the building; if we hand it over to Canada we must get credit for it, and therefore I say that a great mistake was made in charging the balance against next year's revenue. But what more? The Province has to provide two-thirds of the cost of a new Poors' Asylum; but by what jugglery can the Provincial Secretary charge the whole cost against next year's income? The cost is to be scattered over several years, or will be merely interest-bearing debt.

The next observation of the hon. gentleman was that the Quebec Scheme was better than the new arrangement, because it gave the Local Legislatures the right to tax our exports. I am thankful that the delegates had wisdom enough to take away that power, because if there be any one duty more hurtful and detestable than another it is an export duty. New Brunswick, it is true, has an export duty of one shilling per ton on timber, and we have a royalty of sixpence per ton on coal, but we should be exceedingly glad that the possibility of any increased tax

being imposed has been removed. I would infinitely prefer that a revenue should be raised by a tax on incomes or a *per capita* tax than by an export duty, and I am therefore, I repeat, glad that the right was taken away by the British Parliament. That step was not taken with a view of giving to the General Government the right to impose the duty, but to prevent difficulties from arising. Suppose, for example, that New Brunswick imposed an export duty of twenty per cent. upon some articles produced only by her, the result would be that the other Provinces would be taxed to that extent for the peculiar products of the Colony of New Brunswick. We were to be made one in effect, and yet that power would enable the Local Legislature to create hostility and inconvenience, and yet the Provincial Secretary considers this one of the disadvantages of the new scheme. He quoted Dr. Tupper to me. I am not bound to look at that gentleman as very high authority, and when the hon. member gives me Dr. Tupper I will give him Mr. Howe, and my authority will be as good with him as his is with me. When Dr. Tupper said that the House should have been dissolved in 1860, and Mr. Howe said it should not, Mr. Howe was right, and the British Government so decided. He had around him men who were capable of telling him what the constitutional law was. I was not a member of his Government at that or any other time; my advice was never asked by Mr. Howe, nor was it ever tendered to him, but he had around him men who were competent to do their duties well.

The Prov. Secy. said that I had boasted having been brought up at the feet of Howe and Young, and he and others associated me with democratic principles. I repudiate the imputation. The liberal party of this country went in for reform and progress; but they had as much true conservatism among them as the conservative party had. Some of the conservatives of this country jumped over our heads and became radicals, while we were the true conservatives. While I learnt the principles of progress and adopted them, I learnt also that the conservation of the rights of the Crown and of Parliament were as necessary as the conservation of the people's rights. He told us that some one had made the remark that Earl Russell, while in power, was a Tory, and while in opposition was a Liberal. I should like to ask him whether he, now that he is in power, is a Liberal or a Tory? What kind of a heterogeneous government have we? A repeal government some say,—that is all, they are like a bunch of sticks, with nothing to tie them together,—they have no other policy than that expressed in the shout of the hon. member for Colchester: "Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!" Yet these gentlemen say to me, "get away from us, you are a democrat—you were brought up at the feet of Howe and Young—we are the true conservatives—stand aside and let greater men pass." I did not expect to hear from a member with so soft a voice and gentlemanly a manner as the Prov. Secy. has, such strong language as he used. He talked about people hanging me from every barn in the country. Some one threat-

ened to hang me as high as Haman; but why erect a gallows forty cubits high for that purpose if I have been hung already? The hon. gentleman had better be careful that the popular tide does not change, and he will find himself hanging in effigy to a barn in Digby some day. Popularity is often very evanescent, and the day may come when even he will find himself deserted by many of his followers. He can tell us what is to be the result of this appeal to the Throne! He is in the confidence of Her Majesty's Government!! and no doubt carries on a correspondence across the water!!! He tells the country "do not be alarmed; I, the Prov. Secy., having held office for *three months*, have the wisdom and authority to tell you what will come to pass." When we get to the doors of the Colonial Secretary's office, whether we have to knock down its walls with ram's horns or not, I will tell you what the answer will be: It will be "take back your constitution, and then new life will be infused into Nova Scotia, and we will have an immense revenue to distribute." What a beautiful picture of the change that is to take place in this latter-day of his dreams. Nova Scotia is to have such prosperity as was never heard of before, and her trade will be so vigorous that she will not mind a fifteen per cent. tariff. He does not pretend, however, that had we remained as we were, our duties would not have had to be raised.

I have passed over the speech of the Prov. Secretary, more hurriedly than I should like to have done had time permitted delay, but I come now to the speech of the hon. member for Lunenburg. I feel it due to him to say that I regret the circumstances under which his speech on the first evening was interrupted. His address was not marred by anything of which I can complain, but while advocating the views he held with all earnestness, he avoided references which others made, and which in my opinion were out of place. He said, and the statement was repeated by others, that the constitution of England was not changed by Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Corn Laws, but that these measures increased the liberties of the people. I deny that *in toto*, in the sense in which the terms are applied. Who were the people of Great Britain before Catholic Emancipation was passed? The people who had control of the Government, and of every public office, and from whom alone the Sovereign could come, were the Protestants of Great Britain. Outside of these there were no "people" according to the constitution. The Catholics were not recognized as a part of the people, but were deprived of the rights of British subjects. Instead, therefore, of the emancipation being an extension of the liberties of the people it was a curtailment of them, because by throwing in large additions of Catholics to the constituencies, the powers of those who before had held the franchise were abridged. Some of those who engaged in this debate may be wiser than Burke and Pitt, but these men declared the measure to be an infringement of the constitution as adopted at the revolution. They carried the bill through Parliament, however, in spite of an immense majority of the people, who were

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never asked to vote on the question at the polls. Parliament passed the Act and decided the question by opening their doors and every office in the kingdom save one to the aspiration of every honest Catholic subject. I deny most emphatically that these changes were referred to the people, and that they were not made in opposition to the feelings of the majority of the electors. A reference was also made to the Stamp Act passed to tax the American colonies, and while on that subject I wish to show the distinction between that Act and the Stamp Act recently brought into operation. The Attorney General and others attempted to show an analogy, and tried to make it appear that the existing Stamp Act was passed and enforced by a foreign Parliament. Such, however, is not the case. The first was passed by the Parliament of Great Britain to make the colonies pay a share of the expenses of the war which had just terminated between England and France,—a war in which the colonies had spent some of their best blood, and a share of their treasure. But the whole comparison is done away when we reflect that the existing Act was passed by a Parliament in which we have a voice. Gentlemen may say that it is a small voice and not worth having,—no matter how small it changes the constitutional rule relating to the whole matter. The objection was to "taxation without representation," but we have a representation.

From more than one member here, and over and over again in this discussion, we have heard that the scheme of Union was objectionable, because one of the delegates, while passing through Quebec, attached his name to it on Sunday morning,—it has never been pretended that more than one did it. The deed, of course, was to be regretted, but I can tell gentlemen that there has been more heavy sins than that committed round these benches within the past few days, and it would be well for us all if, when the time approached, for us to leave the world if we had no greater sin to answer for. I can appreciate a due regard for the Sabbath and the propriety of observing it with decorum, but I cannot appreciate this double reining, this straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. Some of the gentlemen who made this objection committed a worse sin within half an hour afterwards by reviling their neighbors.

(The usual hour for adjournment having arrived, the debate was adjourned and the House adjourned.)

THURSDAY, Feb. 20.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

The adjourned debate was resumed.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued:—I would not, Mr. Speaker, have claimed so much time were it not for the peculiar circumstances in which I am placed. But of the number of gentlemen who spoke at the other side, a good many occupied more than an hour and a half, and to all who spoke I am called upon to reply. I will take care, however, that my remarks this morning shall be brought within a small compass, for I find that I have gone over nearly all that I desired to say. There were one or two points which I omitted yes-

terday in speaking of the finances, and these I will take up first. I shewed the House that the financial statement published yesterday morning, in answer to the calculations of Mr. Johnston, contained two or three gross errors by not taking into consideration the free goods that will be imported.

But there was another error which I omitted to mention, and which was one that such a gentleman as Mr. Jones should not have made. Referring to one item that he mentions, we find him stating that at the present rate of duty cotton warp will not be largely imported. Does not every one know that at this moment cotton warp is only half the price that it was last year? It has come down from 1s. 3d. to 8d. sterling per pound; and yet that gentleman, in charging the duty derivable at fifteen per cent., has not taken notice of the price. The same importation of cotton warp that was made last year would cost just half what it did then, and therefore the duty, as compared with last year, will stand at 7½ per cent. Yet that gentleman, actuated, no doubt, by a desire to make the matter look as bad as possible, has calculated the duty as being payable on the same quantity and at the same price. There is also a very large reduction in the price of all cotton goods, and yet Mr. Jones takes no notice of this.

The hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Chambers), who dwelt upon the tariff, must have been aware of these facts. I have no doubt he does not like that the whole country should know them, and would prefer that his customers should not know that cotton and cotton warp has fallen nearly 100 per cent. It was said in course of the debate that it was never intended or expected that the delegates would have taken any action in England that would bind this country—that they were merely to have gone home for consultation, and to have returned with a scheme for ratification by this Parliament. That statement has gone from lip to lip, but I hold in my hand a public declaration made by the leader of the Government at the time when the resolution passed. In 1866, in reply to Mr. Annand, Dr. Tupper made this explanation, which is to be found on page 224 of the debates:—

"Hon. Provincial Secretary, in reply to a remark from Mr. Annand, said that the passage of the resolution would enable a scheme of Union to be given effect to by the Imperial Parliament, but that one of the conditions would be that the existing Legislatures would not be interfered with, and would continue to sit for the term of their election."

I ask whether, in the face of this declaration, it can be said that the country was deceived, and that the delegates were not given complete authority? The only reservation was that the existing Legislature should not be dissolved until the period of their existence had expired. In the face of this declaration given to the country, how can the complaint of deception be made? The resolution itself was as plain as it could be written; but to prevent the possibility of a misunderstanding, the leader of the Government, in distinct and unqualified terms, declared that the

delegates would ask the British Parliament to pass the Act. But we have heard that this Act of Union has never been recognized by this Legislature. What was the fact? Did not the delegates come back after the Act had received Her Majesty's assent, and give the country to understand that nothing but the Queen's Proclamation was necessary to carry the measure into effect. This Legislature, furthermore, by the first Chapter of the Acts of 1867, recognized the British North America Act as positively as if it had re-enacted it clause by clause, accepting entirely the condition of affairs.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL:—The name of the Act is not on our statute book.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued.—What, then, is the meaning of the Act providing that the whole public system should be altered? What was the object in changing the members of the Legislature if the Act was not recognized? But the ninth clause of the chapter which I referred to mentions the British North America Act in terms recognizing it as the law of the country, and providing how the Legislature shall be controlled after it comes into operation. Notwithstanding that we have two laws of our own Legislature, based upon the Union Act, we are told that the country was deceived and betrayed, and never contemplated the passage of the measure. I shall wait with anticipation to hear what the Attorney General will reply to that branch of my argument. If time permitted, I should like to have gone into an examination of the amendments which I have laid on the table, because I believe them to contain a genuine exposition of constitutional law so far as I have been able to embody it in the advocacy of what I conceive to be the true state of the question. I prepared them with that view, and I invite the Attorney General to take them as a body or singly, and to show to the country where I have made a false statement, taken wrong views, or misstated the law. I will not go over them, because I have already occupied considerable time, and I do not believe in the advantage of very long speeches.

Some members have quoted the despatches as though the Colonial Secretary had required the measure to be submitted to the people. That course, I venture to say, was never contemplated. The directions from the Colonial office were that the matter should be referred to the legislatures, and by the legislatures the scheme was passed. Whether the members of the Parliament of Nova Scotia betrayed their trust, or not, is another question. I am not here as their defender, but I might reply to the taunts which have been used by saying that the men who were here then were equal, if not superior, to those who are here now; not only in point of talent and ability, but in honor and patriotism. For my own part, I feel no reason to be ashamed of the position I occupied, for two reasons: I acted in accordance with the convictions of my mind, and I was associated with gentlemen for whose character, talents and opinions I had no reason to blush, however much abuse they may since have been thrown on them by gentlemen who will sit here for many a day before they earn for themselves the name and fame possessed by them. The hon. member

for Sydney took delight in attacking Mr. Bourinot, who, when he was here, was well able to take his own part; and the hon. member for Colchester attacked his former colleague, attaching to him the name of "smooth bore." I cannot say that I admire either the good taste or delicacy shown by thus attacking absent men. Some men are very bold when the enemy is not in sight. But if we are to be bored by anything I should prefer that it be by a "smooth bore," rather than anything else, but Mr. Archibald's smoothness is of the kind of which I should like to see more here; and if bored at all that the operation should not be performed by such dull and worn out pointers as we have here. The public character of those men is before the country, and they need not fear the verdict of futurity.—I therefore feel that to make myself their champion would be going beyond what is necessary. I wish, however, that some of them were here for a little while, for if they were, some of those who have been so free in talking of "treachery" and "smooth bores" and "wily men" would forbear, or if they did not, would receive such a castigation on the floors of this House, as in my opinion their conduct merits. They have gone elsewhere, however, some in the discharge of public duties, others into private life, and under all the circumstances it would have been better to have conducted this discussion without some of the unseemly references which were made.

It was said by the hon. member for Kings, the Provincial Secretary, and one or two others, that if we received \$500,000 from Canada it was in payment of the debt which Canada was bound to pay. It is most extraordinary that members will pervert the plain figures placed before them.—I showed the House that Canada had paid \$500,000 beyond and above the amounts collected,—it was not for debt, but \$50,000 was for the Annapolis Railway, and \$450,000 were for our current expenses. It is true that \$100,000 was for interest, but that is not debt,—it is a portion of what this Province would have to pay if it were not for Confederation. To all this there has not been a pretence at contradiction.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY.—Is not the sum advanced to be added to our debt?

Mr. BLANCHARD continued.—We will see presently. Our debt, it is said, is up to eight millions and a half of dollars, and the General Government has paid the interest on the \$500,000, by which it exceeds the limited amount. If it is added to our debt it will be because we are not able to meet our current expenses. Let the Government bring down the proof to controvert my statements if they can,—it is impossible that they can do so, because leaving out the Annapolis Railway which may be considered debt, \$450,000 is the smallest sum paid to Nova Scotia in discharge of her current liabilities. The question is whether the moneys collected here were sufficient to meet those liabilities.—I assert that they were not, and if I am right we have not got the worst end of the bargain. When gentlemen come here and pretend to show that the new tariff will put into the Canadian treasury \$500,000 more than was ever

taken from Nova Scotia before, I reply that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the plain fact is that since 1st July we have gone behind hand about \$500,000. If an answer can be given to this assertion I trust it will be given, but none has been attempted so far. The hon. member for Kings was exceedingly anxious to make an attack on me, and I felt afterwards that I was less plucky than usual when I prevented him opening up a previous debate for the purpose of going into a criticism upon my remarks, but I thought that I and the House and the country had had enough of those attacks, and therefore resolved that if members were anxious to display their wit they should do so within the rules of Parliament. He, however, referred to some remarks of mine about my feelings after an encounter with Mr. Johnson. Sir, when I have a skin on which no lash will produce an impression I may be in the position of some who never feel a sting. He reminds me of the cattle in a particular part of Ireland, which, it is said, are a most convenient description of cattle, for when he wanted a hide he had only to whip him through a hedge,—that would take the skin off, but in course of the next week a new one would come on. I feel attacks that are made upon me and do not pretend that I am not sensitive, nor do I envy the man who does not feel them. But when the hon. member says that after the attack which he referred to I should have gone to my constituents and told them that I was unfit to represent them, he much mistook honorable and gentlemanly feeling.

We have been talked to about taxes and tariffs and some gentlemen with no bated breath, and one gentleman said that three-fourths of the people would prefer annexation to the United States to Confederation. It required all your vigilance, Mr. Speaker, to check these disloyal sentiments, but I should like to point them to the land of their delight, and show them that the greatest taxation ever dreamed of prevails there. I came yesterday across a statement compiled from statistics which showed that the taxation of the United States amounts to \$22 07 for every man, woman and child within the Union per annum. Who will talk about annexation being preferable to Confederation after that? Who will say that it is better to go into the Democracy and pay a share of its war debt—better that our country should be ruined with all its interests than that we should be associated with our fellow-subjects in Canada? I conceive that the expressions which we heard upon that point were made in haste, and that there is hardly a man in or out of the House who would repeat them after an hour's consideration. Away, if you please, with all loyalty and attachment to the British Crown, decide if you like as to which country we are to join upon mere national considerations, but let us not forget that if we go under the stars and stripes, taking even the lowest view of the cases, we will be a hundred times more heavily taxed than we are within the Dominion. I feel in making these remarks at the close of the debate that I am not like a person passing through an arid desert, culling a flower here and there, because the subject

abounds with argument, and the only difficulty is in selecting which to give the preference to. I have already commented upon some peculiar and unnecessary statements and references that were made, but there was an expression used which I have not referred to, and which grated very harshly on my ear, it was the phrase "common drunkard." Applied as it was to a public man of high station, I feel the expression to have been one of which the gentleman using it should have been ashamed, as I know some of his friends were on account of his coarseness. The reference was either to Mr. McGee or to Sir John A. MacDonald—I care not to which of them; but I will tell the hon. member for Pictou that he should be a little more cautious before he ventures to throw stones. I am as sober a man as there is in the Province, but I should be very sorry to apply such a term to any one, and I would remind the hon. gentleman that there are some of his own house and of his own associates whom the phrase would suit as well as any of the public men of Canada.

Mr. SPEAKER said that this expression was out of order.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I have no objection to withdraw it, but the remark was no more out of order than the language which I am replying to and which was used deliberately in reference to Mr. McGee, or Sir John A. MacDonald.

The SPEAKER.—It is not in my power to control members in speaking of persons elsewhere, but I cannot allow any offence, by implication or otherwise, to those over whom I am presiding.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—My remark had no reference to any person within these walls, and I should be sorry to retaliate in the style displayed by the hon. member for Pictou, but I repeat that there is hardly a man in Nova Scotia who, after sitting down and calmly reflecting upon those with whom he is connected, will feel himself in a position to throw stones at his neighbors; and I think that when any member so far forgets himself as to use the language which I referred to, he merits the answer which I have given. The same gentleman gave us another long discourse on the question of the lands at Pictou taken for Railway purposes. It is not denied that in being granted again, the late government restricted the lease to the right to use them for those purposes. Some of the leases of those lands were made by the government of which Dr. Tupper was the leader, and I and my colleagues issued others. If, however, they be unconstitutional and void, there is a way of arriving at that decision. The substance of the whole complaint seems to be that some one applied for a water lot on which to make a marine slip, and was informed that he could not get a grant of the water in front of the land of any person else. The land ceased to be the property of the projectors of the slip when it became the property of the government for public purposes. I do not feel in a position to say whether the quantity of land taken was too great or not, but I do say that the moment the land was dedicated to public purposes the Marine Slip Company and everybody else lost their rights

in it; but I take for granted that, if they had applied, they would not have been refused the lease.

The hon. member said also that we could have had Reciprocity without anybody being a bit the wiser, by means of legislation. If he understood the matter he would know that that is just what we have always refused on any terms. Legislative reciprocity means that the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States shall pass a bill for admitting certain articles duty free this year, and that the next year it may be repealed. No colony would accept such an arrangement for an hour, because the effect would be to build up interests and trades, and after we had got them in operation, three lines in an Act of Congress would destroy them utterly. The very fault that was found with the Canadian ministers was that they hinted a willingness to accept legislative reciprocity. We had once an Act of the Legislature of the United States by which ground plaster was admitted duty free; all around the Bay of Fundy, as if by magic, mills were erected to grind the plaster, but in a year or two after that industry was fairly under way the Senate revoked the Act, the mills went to ruin, and are lying there yet, monuments of the folly and danger of legislative reciprocity. Does not the hon. member know, furthermore, that we could not pass an act to admit free the goods of any one country alone? The policy of the British Government is that such arrangements are to be made only by act of the Imperial Parliament or by treaty. When he talks about the United States having reciprocity with one Province, he should know that that being is impossible, and yet he talks as if Canada were the *bete noir*, and as if we could get a treaty without any difficulty if we were once rid of her. But if he will refer to his leader, the Attorney General, he will be told that, in his opinion, reciprocity is all a delusion—that we have no need for it at all, and would be far better without it—that we want protection, and should keep ourselves to ourselves.

The hon. member for Picou was foremost among those who talked about treachery, and he went so far as to compare the men who voted for Confederation with Montieith and Lopez, the most contemptible characters that history has produced. I wonder that he did not compare us with Judas Iscariot, for he could only go that one step farther than he went. I was glad to hear him say that he had no personal acquaintance with the Senators, because, if he had, he could not have used such language as that they were "a disgrace to the country." Is John H. Anderson, T. D. Archibald, John Locke or Benjamin Wier a disgrace to the country? And who is it that has the coolness to come here and speak in that way of our public men? When it is in his power to boast of having done for his country one hundredth part of the good which some of these men have done for it, we might be content to listen to him. Some of those gentlemen have built up large fortunes by their industry and enterprise, and have done more for Nova Scotia than he and his friends will do in the next hundred years. I will say no more upon this point,

but leave it, trusting that the hon. member will reflect upon his language, and feel that it should be withdrawn. He gave us poetic quotations in any quantity in his speech, and quoted Shakespeare in reference to me. I recollect hearing Mr. Howe say that one could make Shakespeare and the Bible prove anything; but what quotation was selected for me? It was in relation to the man who never smiled. I did not think that such a description was applicable to me—that I was a cynic, who never enjoyed anything like a joke; but Shakespeare speaks somewhere of a man who does smile, and he says

"That one may smile and smile again, and be a villain."

I feel that perhaps the best answer I can give to the hon. member is to repeat some of the language which he used, and leave it in the ears of the House and of the country. He said he would be afraid to meet me in a dark lane, or to have me behind him in such a place. When a member of this House would come up to another placed in my position, and use such language, I feel that he needs but little reply. I am an assassin, am I? He is much mistaken in my character. Whatever I have to say to a man I say it to his face—not in a dark lane or behind his back; but I can tell him that a man who would aim at another such a stab as he aimed at me, would do anything in a dark lane. The use of this language, accounted for the nervousness of the hon. member yesterday, when it was agreed between the Atty. General and myself that our speeches should close the debate. He sprang to his feet and was most anxious to know whether he could not get an opportunity to reply. I am willing to hear him if the rules of the House will permit it. If we are to sit for a week or a month longer, by all means let us have the reply and the rejoinder which will follow. He said also that such language as I had used was only to be heard in the Police office, the fish market, and the back slums of the city. I ask if any member of the House is warranted in making such remarks as these? When he talks about the back slums I feel that others may be as familiar with these localities as I. He then went on to talk of my name and family. Of that name I have good reason to be proud, but when the hon. member undertakes to tell me that a brother, who has been dead for twenty-five years, would be ashamed of me if he were here, I ask him if he should not feel somewhat ashamed? The honor of my family is in my keeping, not in his,—if it were in his I fear it would be sadly tarnished. When next he talks to me about my family he had better beware of the retaliation which will be the result. I do not rely for my defence on the fame of my ancestors, but on my own right arm and on my own ability, and I repeat that when next the hon. member feels inclined to indulge in those attacks he must not forget that I will have an opportunity for reply. I regret exceedingly that he has driven me into a line which I would prefer not to have taken in closing this debate,—as I said before, I held out the olive branch in closing my last speech, and almost pleaded that we should have no more exhibitions

of warm feelings should be and man responded have engaged in a conclusion with which and proud it I will of time.

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of warm feeling, but that the public business should be carried on in a gentlemanly tone and manner. I rejoice that that appeal was responded to suitably by many members who were engaged in the debate. I now, in conclusion, thank the House for the patience with which my address has been listened to, and promise that unless circumstances require it I will not again occupy so large a portion of time.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL'S SPEECH.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL said:—I am happy that at last this debate, which is the most important that ever occurred in the Legislative halls of this Province, is about being brought to a close. In the remarks which it will be my duty to offer to the House I will not imitate the tempestuous oratory of the learned and honorable gentleman who has just resumed his chair, but I shall endeavor as calmly and coolly as is possible to review him and his discourse. I will not notice the amendments which he has offered, because in sustaining the resolutions which I submitted I must necessarily refute his, as they were introduced for the purpose of contradicting mine. I cannot of course admit the soundness of the constitutional law which those amendments embody, and I do not believe they are altogether accurate as to facts. I shall however treat the honorable and learned member with the utmost possible courtesy, and shall endeavor as far as possible to indorse his own estimate of himself. He tells us that he is a very profound lawyer—I intend to admit it;—he says he is very brave—the terror of all his enemies—I will admit that also,—he is a hero. But there is one perfection which I fear I cannot concede to the honorable gentleman, I am not prepared to admit that he is a very good logician. His dialectics are a little disordered, and I fear that in the multiplicity of his studies he has not paid a great deal of attention to the art of logic. The first of the resolutions which I laid on the table asserts the somewhat self-evident proposition that the Legislature of this country, having been elected to make laws, statutes and ordinances, under a written commission or charter, had no power or authority to effect an alteration or abridgement of the constitution. That was a proposition, one would suppose, that was too self-evident to be controverted, and I ask, Mr. Speaker, how the learned member from Inverness has attempted to controvert it? He has done so by referring to the Imperial Parliament, and saying in effect:—"Because the Imperial Parliament possesses the power to alter the constitution, therefore the inferior Parliament of Nova Scotia has the same authority." He need not have given himself the trouble to search for precedents and authorities to sustain his view of the power of the Parliament of Great Britain, for who ever doubted or questioned the extent of that power? The Parliament of that country is the supreme power in the land,—it stands above everything and can therefore do as it pleases. It is absolute within itself, and there is no power within the constitution that can review its acts and statutes. Consequently when the Queen,

Lords and Commons of England have determined to make an alteration in the constitution they were at perfect liberty to do so, for the simple reason that there is no authority superior to theirs that can question what they have done. But is that the case in this country? What sort of a constitution have the people of Nova Scotia? A written constitution and charter, given to them through the commission of the Governor of the Province in 1747, and composed likewise of a number of instructions in despatches, which I have carefully examined, but which I shall not read to the House. That charter defines the Legislature of the Province to consist of a Governor *quasi* king, a council *quasi* Lords, and a House of Representatives *quasi* Commons, and confers authority upon it to make laws, statutes and ordinances for the peace, order and good government of the colony.—This constitution is defined and written like that of the United States, and our Parliament consisting of Governor, Council and Assembly have no power to legislate beyond the authority conferred on them by the commission or letters patent. Therefore it is possible for a statute of this Legislature to be void and there is a power which can declare it so. In order to illustrate this position let us suppose that the Legislature of Nova Scotia passed an act authorising the Legislature of Prince Edward Island to tax the people of Nova Scotia. They would have the power practically and *de facto* to put such a law on the statute book, but I ask if that statute would not be void? I ask if the people of Nova Scotia could be taxed under an act passed in Prince Edward Island and by the authority of such a statute? Let us suppose for a moment that by virtue of the Legislative power conferred on them by this Parliament, the Legislature of Prince Edward Island imposed a stamp duty such as Canada has taken the liberty of imposing on us,—and suppose that a gentleman in Nova Scotia had given to another a note of hand which the law of Prince Edward Island declared void, unless stamped, and that an action was brought upon it,—the maker of the note pleads the statute of Prince Edward Island, and what would the Supreme Court say? Would not the Supreme Court have the power to decide that the Legislature of Nova Scotia had transgressed its authority in passing such a law, conferring on a foreign legislature the power to tax our people? Would not the judges refer to this charter and declare the stamp act void? That undoubtedly would be the decision, and if the judges did not decide so they would conduct themselves in opposition to the plainest principles of justice and common sense. If they did not decide so the party to whom the note was given would appeal to the Privy Council, and how long would such a law be allowed to disgrace the statute book of Nova Scotia. Therefore the comparison between the two Parliaments was entirely inapplicable. The Legislature of Nova Scotia as compared with that of Great Britain is like a mosquito compared with an elephant. There is a remarkable resemblance between them,—the mosquito has a long trunk, as we sometimes know when he penetrates our flesh and causes no little irri-

tation of our nerves, and 'c has the elephant. The elephant could take a man up on his trunk and pitch him on his back, and if I asserted that the mosquito could not do the same, following his process of reasoning in the present case, the learned gentleman would contradict me and refer to the elephant in proof of his opinion. The reasoning in the one case is as good as that in the other, and when the honorable gentleman undertook to cast a doubt on the authority of Lord Mansfield I am again involuntarily but forcibly reminded of the mosquito and the elephant. I think I have shown plainly that there is no comparison between the two Legislatures,—I have shown that it does not follow that because the Imperial Parliament can alter the constitution, the Parliament of Nova Scotia can do so too. But he has asserted that the Legislature of Nova Scotia had repeatedly altered the Constitution. There I am at issue again with the hon member as to the facts. This Legislature has in no single instance altered the constitution, but has always enacted its laws within the range of the constitutional authority conferred by the charter and the instructions of which I have spoken. "But," says the honorable member for Inverness, "has not this Legislature altered the polling districts throughout the country? Have they not increased the representation of one county and lessened that of another? and is this not an alteration of the constitution?" My answer is, no. There were no violations of the constitution. At the time when the Governor was ordered to call our assembly for the purpose of making laws there was no subdivision into counties, the country was sparsely populated, no survey had been made, and as a consequence the Province was as it were all one county. The instructions from the home government tell the Governor and Council, in calling together the Legislature, to make such distribution of the seats as they thought proper, so that they acted under the constitution throughout. When the country was subdivided into townships and counties, it became necessary to alter the representation, and thus the whole proceedings to which he refers are strictly within the limits of constitutional authority.

Then again the honorable member referred to the case of Cape Breton, and asked, "Did not the King in council by proclamation unite Cape Breton and Nova Scotia?" He did; and that circumstance goes to maintain the line of argument which I have adopted. What was the condition of Cape Breton? She was a conquered colony, and from the time of the conquest of Louisburg was held by the sovereign of England as his estate in fee simple. The King had the whole legislative power in himself and he chose to govern the colony, as a crown colony, under certain regulations made by himself, through a Governor and Council. The Parliament of England or that part of it consisting of Lords and Commons had nothing to do with the matter, for as I said the King was owner of Cape Breton. He did not give it the same charter as he gave to Grenada and the older colonies, but continued to rule it as sole legislator until he thought proper to confer the privileges that he had conferred on Nova

Scotia. The hon. gentleman will not pretend to say that Cape Breton ever had an assembly or any body resembling a legislature to make laws for the country. When the King thought proper to annex the island to this Province he did not infringe the laws of Nova Scotia but imparted the blessings of the constitution of Nova Scotia to his subjects in Cape Breton, and when the people of the island foolishly objected to the transfer and went home with their case to the Judiciary of England, they were told and told properly "the King owns you, and as he thought proper to dispose of you he had a right to do so, because he held you in absolute sovereignty." That illustration therefore goes to support my argument.

Then, again, the hon. member asked us if the Legislature of Nova Scotia did not confer universal suffrage on the people, and in doing so change the constitution? I reply, No. It was not a Legislature that gave universal suffrage; the original commission was to the "planters and freeholders," and they alone, in conjunction with the Governor and Council, could make laws. The Governor represented the Sovereign, and the Sovereign had retained in his hands power to abrogate any statute of the Legislature. He had retained all the powers which he did not confer on the people of Nova Scotia, and those powers were by no means inconsiderable. Having, then, given the privilege of legislation to the planters and freeholders, he had a right afterwards to give that privilege to the rest of the people. Therefore, without violating the constitution, but in the exercise of her Royal authority, by assenting to an act of our Parliament, the Queen extended the privilege, formerly limited to the freeholders and planters, to the householders and other inhabitants of the country. We were told that on another occasion the whole constitution was convulsed and overthrown by a sort of political earthquake—that the whole of the old Council of Twelve who exercised legislative and executive functions were dismissed by a single stroke of the pen of the Colonial minister, and thus a complete revolution was effected. In that statement of the case the hon. member is greatly mistaken. Who's Council was that? It was the same Council that the King had ordered to be summoned when he gave the charter to Lord Cornwallis. That charter ordered the Governor to select and choose a Council who should hold office at the will of His Majesty. These twelve Councilors were the legal successors of the first Councilors, and at the time they were dismissed were holding their seats at the Council Board at the pleasure of the King or Queen, and were liable to be called upon at any moment, as they were on the revision of our institutions, to resign their commissions and give place to substitutes. So that in no one of those cases was our constitution invaded.

But the argument of the hon. member assumed a position which is by no means granted, and that is that in case of Confederation our Constitution was changed by our Legislature. He assumed that to be a fact which is not consistent with the truth. The Legislature of Nova Scotia has never been a

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party to the British North America Act, nor  
has it ever recognized that Act as having any  
force or obligation on the people of Nova  
Scotia. Upon that point our statute book is  
completely dumb—the British North Ameri-  
ca Act is not ratified or confirmed by any  
statute of ours, and without some such sta-  
tute the people and Legislature could not have  
expressed a desire to be connected with Cana-  
da. These are arguments for the people of  
England, and for the constitutional lawyers  
of that great country,—they will pass from  
my lips to the Crown Officers of England.  
The constitutional officers of Nova Scotia  
have shewn themselves unable to deal with  
the question, and we would have supposed  
that when all the leading Barristers of Nova  
Scotia, as has been stated, are Confederates, it  
is strange that among them all there has not  
been a man able to produce anything  
in the shape of an argument, or bearing the  
slightest resemblance to an argument. I  
shall state the case most simply, so that it  
will be plain to the meanest understanding,  
and I assert that throughout the debate in  
the Legislature and throughout the press of  
of the country with the immense array of  
professional talent which has been spoken  
of not a man has been able to state anything  
like a simple and reasonable and proposition  
in favor of Confederation, and against the  
arguments which I have advanced. I will  
first turn attention to that great leading case  
which was decided, not by Lord Mansfield  
alone, but by the whole King's bench of  
England, and which stands on the books  
an incontrovertible leading case on the sub-  
ject. I mean the case of Hall and Campbell.  
The hon. member for Inverness talked of Lord  
Mansfield, and seemed to insinuate that his  
authority was not of the highest character,  
and when I heard him I was a little astonish-  
ed I must confess. That astonishment is in-  
creased when I reflect who Lord Mansfield  
was,—that he was decidedly and without ex-  
ception the greatest jurist who ever sat on  
the bench of England. Lord Coke was emi-  
nent in the Common Law like Lord Mans-  
field, but the latter had travelled much fur-  
ther than Coke,—he had gone on a voyage of  
discovery all around the world of juris-  
prudence, critically examining and  
mastering the systems of Rome, Greece  
and Palestine—he was a most accom-  
plished scholar, a man of the finest intelligence  
and the highest integrity. There never was a  
magistrate on the Bench who discharged his  
duties more satisfactorily, and with greater  
credit, since the world began, and yet that is  
the man of whom the hon. and learned mem-  
ber presumes to speak slightly! Why, sir,  
as compared with Mansfield, the best lawyers  
in this Province are as the half-hatched eag-  
lets compared to the full grown bird that  
soars almost to the limits of the atmosphere.  
to gaze with unflinching eye on the dazzling  
radiance of the meridian sun. What was  
that case of Granada in which the decision of  
the King's Bench was given? The king had  
conquered the country: Granada had yielded  
to the royal arms, and in April, 1764, the  
king, by a Commission, (the same, I believe,  
as that conferred on this country through  
Lord Cornwallis, for Lord Mansfield, in his

decision, cites the very words which conferred  
legislative powers on Nova Scotia, and the  
Charter to Granada has, besides, the words:  
“in like manner as we have conferred similar  
powers on the rest of our Colonies,” or to  
that effect, showing that the Charters were all  
copied from one original, under the great  
seal of England, conferred on the people of  
Granada the privilege of self-government.  
He had at that moment supreme legislative  
power over the country,—it was his own  
country in right of his sovereignty,—he was  
its supreme legislator, and, as Lord Mansfield  
says, could have put to death every inhabi-  
tant, or have given any kind of government  
he pleased. By that Commission, in April,  
1764, he divested himself of his legislative  
power. The Sovereign, it will be seen, is, as  
regards her rights and property, no more  
than another individual,—she has her rights,  
the people theirs. These rights are perfectly  
distinct and well defined by the constitution,  
and the Queen can no more interfere with the  
rights of the Province than the Province can  
interfere with her prerogatives. The two are  
perfectly distinct and independent, excepting  
that the relations of sovereign and subject ex-  
ist between them. In July, 1764, the same  
king undertook to exercise the legislative  
powers himself, by imposing a tax upon the  
trade of Granada. A merchant who had paid  
the tax came to England, and sued the Col-  
lector for money received to his use, or as for  
money illegally exacted. The action was  
tried in Westminster Hall, and after four most  
solemn arguments by the ablest constitution-  
al lawyers, a decision was arrived at. And  
what was that decision? That the king, hav-  
ing put his seal to the commission of Govern-  
or Melville, and conferred legislative power  
on Granada, had deprived himself of the power  
of legislation,—that he had thereby irrevocably  
lost the power of legislation,—that  
therefore his subsequent act was void, and  
the plaintiff thereupon recovered his money.  
That was the decision arrived at after the  
fullest deliberation, after the most mature  
consideration, and after the exercise of the  
first constitutional talent in Great Britain.  
The tax was held void, and why was it void?  
Simply, because the King's seal estopped him  
from levying such a tax, they were declared  
void, because he was estopped by the first  
seal from issuing the subsequent letters pa-  
tent. My argument, which I shall now com-  
mence, shall be succinctly stated, and I shall  
endeavor to make it as clear as possible. But  
wishing to argue logically, I shall take the  
liberty of making two postulates. I shall de-  
mand it to be admitted in the first place that  
the people of Nova Scotia were never con-  
sidered as to whether they would part with  
their constitution or not. That is the first  
postulate, and let any man deny it who dares.  
In 1863 the last elections preceding those  
of 18th September, 1867, were held; at that  
time the Canadian Quebec Scheme was not  
concocted. Therefore the question of Con-  
federation was not before the people, and  
they did not pass upon it. Now the hon.  
member for Inverness became angry with  
some one for using the term “blackleg,” as  
applied to some of the statesmen of Nova  
Scotia. I do not like calling names, but it is

singular that that very name has been applied by English travellers to the politicians of Canada. I think it is Mr. Trollope who has said that in that country the term "politician" is synonymous with "blackleg." As I said, I do not like to call names, but it is impossible to get on without calling things by their proper terms. How can I otherwise explain what I mean in referring to those Canadian schemers who stealthily concocted a plan for the subjugation of the people of Nova Scotia—the men who tried by bribery and corruption to jockey us out of our rights. Is the word inapplicable? I think not,—it is the most appropriate, and I say that the men who conducted these practices would be horsewhipped off any race course in England as blacklegs. Our political knaves are not entitled, sir, to have such mild language applied to them,—they deserve something worse. There may have been some excuse for the blacklegs of Canada to lay hold of the revenue of Nova Scotia, but where is the excuse for the statesmen of this Province, who aided and assisted those men in destroying the liberties of the people? How shall I characterize such men as these? Men who, keeping the people from passing on a subject of such vital consequence to their interests, had the wickedness and cruelty in the dark and behind their backs to destroy the rights of their countrymen. Political assassins would be the name for them, and when I heard the hon. member for Inverness mention the name of Judas Iscariot I thought the association was discreditable to the celebrated traitor. Judas brought back the money,—he was therefore an honest man when compared with them. We will never catch one of those men bringing back the price of his treason. Judas also repented and showed himself a considerate man when out of a due regard for the best interests of his country he went and hanged himself. Those politicians have not the manliness to imitate his example and to commit such an act of self-inflicted justice. That, Mr. Speaker, is my opinion.

The hon. and learned member cited the conduct and language of Sir Robert Peel as authority. I did not wonder at his doing so, for I do not wonder at anything, such amazing things do occur now-a-days, that wonders have ceased. The spirit of amazement died within me when I heard the hon. member. Who was Sir Robert Peel? He was a great scholar, an English gentleman, a highly educated man and an orator, but he was a rat. For thirty years he headed a party and then wheeled round and joined his adversaries. And are not the gentlemen whose conduct I have been criticizing all rats—political vermin? Was there one of them true to his political colors? I do not now, of course, refer to gentlemen present. It is said that birds of a feather flock together—animals of some species also become gregarious, and it is well known that rat does not dislike the smell of rat. Sir Robert Peel descended into the grave as damaged a statesman as was ever cited as an authority. But the reference was made to prove what nobody ever denied: that the Parliament can do as it pleases.

The next position which I take as a postulate is that we have on our Statute book no Statute

ratifying or confirming the British North America Act. With these two postulates I proceed to show that the British North America Act is unconstitutional and void and in no manner binds the people of Nova Scotia. And I may say that if we had had in our administration men of high principle—men having any consideration for the rights of the country, when the Queen's Proclamation made its appearance on the 1st of July, our public property would not have been handed over to Canada, our railroads would be still in our hands, our revenues would have been still collected by ourselves and we should not have had the disgrace of coming practically under the operation of that detestable statute. But the enemies of the country had paved the way for its introduction by putting into power just the men to accomplish their iniquitous design. That is the reason why we are placed under a dominion in which *de jure* we are not and do not intend to be.—My argument is this: in 1713, after a British General had conquered Port Royal, now called Annapolis, which means the city of Anne, the treaty of Utrecht was made between the Queen and Louis XIV, by which the King of France yielded the conquest to the Queen of England, and thus Nova Scotia became the absolute property of the Queen, and she and she alone could thereafter legislate for this country.

The House of Commons had no authority over Nova Scotia then or now. They represent the people of England,—not a part of them as was said, for it would appear by the argument of the hon. member that the Catholics were unrepresented before the Emancipation Acts were carried,—they were always represented,—the House of Commons represents every man, woman and child in the British Isles, even the cattle and horses—everything from the grass upwards. The representation in Parliament is complete and why? Because the members of the House of Commons are chosen by the people of England. But did they ever represent Nova Scotia? Never; because the people of Nova Scotia had no voice in their election. Did the House of Lords represent the people of Nova Scotia? No; they represented the landed and aristocratical interests of Great Britain, but they never represented the interests of Nova Scotia, and had no power or authority to make laws for us. The whole legislative power was in Queen Anne and her heirs and successors, under the title of Louis XIV. and the arms of the British soldiery. That Legislative power seems to have been unexercised until 1747, when George II., by his Royal Charter, divested himself of his right of legislation. To the full extent to which the charter goes he deprived himself of the power to legislate for Nova Scotia. I do not say that by that act the King's whole legislative power ceased,—all the powers which he did not give he retained, but such as he did give his seal would not allow him to take back, binding him as the seal of any other man or any member of this House would, him and his heirs forever. All who are in privy of estate with him are bound and thus Queen Victoria is bound by it. Having transferred the Legislative power to the people of Nova

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Scotia he could not take it back. The case of *Hall vs. Campbell* proves that if the King had consequently attempted to legislate for Nova Scotia by letters patent—which is the most solemn deed of the Sovereign—the letters patent would have been void. Now, I contend that when the Queen of England attempted to legislate for Nova Scotia by Act of Parliament, that act is void. This is an assertion which I make in the face of the constitutional lawyers of Europe. If the Queen could not sign letters patent by way of legislation, she could legislate by Act of Parliament. The Lords and Commons had no part in the matter; what they did was nothing,—it did not alter the case, for they had no authority over the land, and never had and never will have until we are represented in their bodies. What did they do? They merely sat beside the Queen and assisted her in doing what she had no right to do. If she had the right to pass that statute, the Lords and Commons merely assented. As if I, being the owner of a lot of land in fee simple, and being disposed to convey it, asked you, Mr. Speaker, and the gentleman who sits beside me, to join in the deed, and I wrote it in this form: "This Indenture, made between the Speaker, my hon. friend, and myself of the one part, and the purchaser of the other part, witnesseth, &c." The deed transfers my land in fee simple, but have the other parties who were joined transferred the title? By no means; the title passes because I, the owner of the land, signed the deed. The signature of the others was a mere matter of form, and conveyed nothing. And so, if the Queen of England had the power, when that statute was passed, to legislate for Nova Scotia, and the Lords and Commons joined her, it would merely have been for form's sake; and I wish it to be distinctly understood as part of my argument that the Lords and Commons had nothing to do with this country. The hon. member opposite has asserted the very bold proposition that no act of the Imperial Parliament was ever declared void. Here I join issue with him. I will show him that statutes of that Parliament have been declared void in the most solemn manner imaginable. In 1774 or 1775 the Parliament of Great Britain took the liberty to pass a Statute Act and a Tea Duties Act to bind the American colonies. Now, let it be borne in mind that if those Acts had been passed to bind England, no power could get them aside; but when they were passed to bind the Colonies, those statutes were declared void because they were void on the principles which I have stated. And who declared them void? The Thirteen Colonies of America declared them void, as the people of Nova are now declaring the British North America Act void,—the armies of Congress declared them void,—the King of France declared them void, and with his army helped to give judgment against the King of England,—the King of Heaven declared them void because they were void in truth and justice. Lastly, George III. was himself forced into the humiliating necessity of declaring them void by acknowledging the Colonies to be free, sovereign and independent States. In 1793 those statutes were

given up in the most formal manner by the King of England, and the whole world since has concurred in the opinion I have stated. No man with any regard for his character as a constitutional lawyer would assert that the decision was not a right one. What led to the great revolution in England and the decapitation of Charles I.? Was it not the violation of the principle which is violated by this statute? What is the proposition which the American people contended for? That, having a legislature of their own, they could be taxed by no other power on earth. Representation and taxation cannot be separated.—without representation there can be no taxation. On that principle Hampden refused to pay the ship money,—when the King said "Give me your ship money," he answered "No, go to Parliament,—that is the only power that can tax me; and if you force your hand into my pocket I will draw my sword," as he did, and he died nobly contending for the rights of his country.

(The usual hour for recess having arrived, the House adjourned and resumed at 3 o'clock, when Hon. Attorney General continued:)

I was discussing, at the time of the adjournment, the possibility of an Imperial statute being declared void, and I think I had shewn pretty conclusively that a very important Imperial statute had been declared void by the judgment of the first courts on earth, and that when Parliament undertook to violate the constitution by taxing the people of the Colonies whom they do not represent, their statutes and legislation may be void. No principle is so perfectly obvious to the common sense of the House as that if the acts of a Parliament are void, there must be on earth some tribunal before which the viciousness of such legislation may be declared. It is very seldom that that great legislature has attempted to trample on the rights of the Colonies,—its leading characteristic has been kindness,—it has always extended the right hand of fellowship to us, and has over-treated us with the utmost consideration and benevolence; but it might possibly on some occasions be tempted to infringe the rights of a Colony;—we contend that it has done so on the present occasion;—that when the Imperial Legislature passed a statute creating a Legislature in Canada to rule over and tax the people of Nova Scotia, silencing the Legislature of this country to a certain extent, depriving the representatives of the people of Nova Scotia of certain powers, and conferring unlimited powers of taxation on an alien parliament in Canada, that statute affected fundamentally the laws of the Empire by violating the vested rights of the people of Nova Scotia. I have stated and proved that Imperial legislation has been declared void,—not only by Courts of Justice to whom the question was referred, but by the armies of the United States, by the armies of France, and by the declaration of the King of England himself; but before that legislation was passed, and while it was passing, it was declared void by the first constitutional authorities in England. The famous Chatham heading the opposition to the bills, and every man following him in opposition were found

openly and publicly declaring the principle which must be admitted as sound: that the Colonies in British America, not being represented in the British Parliament, could not be taxed by that Parliament. What is the reason of this principle? What is Parliament? Parliament is the representation of the people of the country who own the Government. To whom does the country itself belong? To the people. The will of the people is the supreme law of the land. Not only in England, but in Continental nations the people are the source of all power,—every dynasty, every authority derives its power from the people themselves. The people, as I have said, own the country, and the government are their servants. Let us see how far this doctrine has been established. When France had completely gone mad, had dethroned the hereditary sovereign and murdered him and his family and established a new order of things, what did the British nation do? Did they refuse to treat with the *de facto* government? No, recognizing the sovereign principle that the government belongs to the people, the British government recognized the revolutionary dynasty which the will of the people had created. They recognized the usurper Buonaparte and treated him as the sovereign of France when, though a Corsican by birth, he had seized the throne of one of the greatest nations in the world by the force of the bayonet. The principle is recognised in every country that the government belongs to the people, and that the people mould it as they please. The Government and Queen of England belong to the people;—the Queen represents the majesty of the nation, and if the people of that country thought proper to-morrow to set up a different form of government,—if they were foolish enough to abandon the finely working and checking principles of their glorious constitution—to send adrift both the Sovereign and the House of Lords, and to form a republic, it would still be the government of England as it was during the Commonwealth. So that there is no principle more clear than that the people own the government and can do with it as they please. It is plain that the government can have no existence except by the will of the people,—that it cannot maintain itself except by their assistance and support, and that the taxes which the people of a country contribute to maintain the dynasty or government must be their voluntary gifts.

There is no power in the Constitution for taking a shilling out of a man's pocket;—he only parts with his money by his free will, and the process by which the maintenance of government is secured in the British Empire is this: that the people elect representatives with the power of levying taxes. There is no other power known to the constitution which can lay its hands on a man's property in this country. These are the sound principles of the constitution, and we find that in former times the taxes were called benevolences, subsidies, gifts, and a number of other expressions were used to imply, and which all implied that everything which the Crown demanded from the people was their voluntary gift for the purpose of maintaining and carrying on the government. Acting on these

principles such men as Chatham and the men of his country, and the Washingtons, the Madisons, the Jeffersons, the Hamiltons and the Morrisons of the United States—men who were political giants compared with the pigmy and crippled Statesmen of the existing colonies, contended with propriety that no Statute could impose a tax on the Colonies, because the colonies possessed legislatures of their own having the sole and exclusive right to levy taxes on the people. The contest for these principles was successful and will be so while the Empire remains. If these principles are sound, and I should like to see the man who can controvert them, what is the position of the British Parliament as regards the British North America Act? I have demanded that the postulate, that the people were not consulted on the question should be admitted,—I have demanded also that the postulate that there is no act of our own legislature to sanction that statute should be, and it is, admitted. What then has the Imperial Parliament done? Against the will and without the sanction of the people that Parliament has taken the liberty, not only of taxing us but of causing us to be taxed by another power. The complaint against England on the occasion of the Stamp Act was that the Imperial Legislature itself had taxed the people of the Colonies, without having power and authority. We have a worse complaint than that—ours is a much more aggravated case. What we complain of is not that that legislature has attempted to tax us, but that, what is ten thousand times worse, it has put us into the hands of other Colonies, larger, more populous, and more powerful and more extravagant Colonies—Colonies who have no feelings in common with us, who are alien to us, and authorized them to lay their hands on us and tax us at their pleasure. If the Parliament of Great Britain had no power to tax us *a fortiori* ten thousand times, it has no power to create a new legislature in any part of the world with that power. What it has not itself it could not confer on others. Therefore on British principles the act alluded to is void—it never was law because it violated the fundamental principles of the Constitution, because it imposed taxation on a people whom it had no right to tax.

The hon. member for Inverness looks us in the face, and, with an immense amount of assurance tells us that we are not taxed by a Parliament in which we are not represented, and he asks, "Are we not represented in the Canadian Parliament?" I ask what right had England to create any Parliament to tax us, giving us just such representation as she thought proper? Is not our representation in the Dominion Parliament an insult to, and a mockery of the people of Nova Scotia? Is not the man who would accept such representation, and be satisfied with it, fit for the Lunatic Asylum? How many representatives have the people of Nova Scotia to protect their interests against the Upper Canadians—against the Frenchmen of Lower Canada—the strangers and foreigners, whose names we cannot pronounce—in whose elections we take no interest—to whose returns to the Legislature we can make no objection? We have nineteen men also; if they were the

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finest men ever produced on the face of the earth—the finest statesmen ever known—every one of them as fine an orator and as profound a politician as the hon. member for Inverness—their arguments would not stop the taxation of Nova Scotia as long as they would be talking. That is the way in which we are represented, and this is the constitution which the hon. member for Inverness has been laboring to defend. The people of Nova Scotia, if they accepted such a constitution, would be as abject slaves as the people of Turkey, the serfs of Russia, the fellahs of Egypt—the most degraded people on the face of the earth. Does the hon. member suppose that the people of free Nova Scotia will submit with the certain knowledge that the Statute is void. Why is the Imperial Statute void? Simply because its preamble is false. If that preamble were true, no man would be insane enough to dispute its validity. If the people of Nova Scotia desired Confederation with Canada on the conditions imposed by that Act, and the Queen of England were willing to confederate us, there would have been nothing improper or unconstitutional in the Act. It would not then have required the interference of the Lords and Commons, because the Sovereign, as I have shewn, was the original legislator of Nova Scotia. If the Queen then had expressed a wish to the people of Nova Scotia that they should join in a confederation with Canada, and the people of Canada had assented, and the people of Nova Scotia, on being consulted at the polls, had sent to this House a majority of representatives willing and anxious for the federal union, and a Provincial Statute had confirmed it, the British Statute would have been sound and constitutional.

But that has not been the case,—the Act passed against the will of the people of Nova Scotia. It was not simply passed without consulting them, but passed after insulting them, fraudulently, dishonestly, by falsehood, by misrepresentation, by intrigue, by deception, by every species of criminality, which politicians could commit against a country. It was known to the men who went to England on the delegation, that the people did not want Confederation, and that the majority of them were opposed to it. Corruptly undertaking to bind the people of Nova Scotia in that Confederation they went to England and falsely informed the Queen, the Government and the Parliament of that country that the people desired Confederation. A fraud was practised on the people and legislature of England to obtain the passage of the Act, and we know that in law there is a very wholesome principle, that "fraud vitiates all things." Ever since the commencement of the world fraud has vitiated every human contract and transaction into which it entered. There never has been a man who, having been defrauded out of his rights, would not at the first opportunity reinvest himself with those rights, because according to the laws of nature and reason, according to natural justice fraud vitiates every transaction. A statute is not exempt from this allpervading principle of equity. A statute, powerful as it is in England, is not, I say, exempt from that principle, and the

people of this continent and of the whole civilized world will instantly join in one loud chorus to pronounce that a statute obtained by fraud to be void. The advocates of Confederation will soon find the truth of the old saying "honesty is the best policy,"—it would have been wiser in them, if they expected to gain anything by Confederation, to have submitted the question to the people at once, instead of trusting to force it on us by fraud, deception and misrepresentation.—These men, however, performed an act of political assassination, and deliberately, in Canada and with Canadian sherpers, concocted a scheme to rob Nova Scotia of her independence. These statements are all true, and I am not ashamed of the truth. I know certain classes in Nova Scotia who are ashamed of the truth,—who have a strong aversion to it, who love the opposite of truth for its own sake and the sake of its expected fruits, but I am not afraid of the truth, and I say here, that these men wickedly, maliciously and dishonestly conspired to destroy the constitution of Nova Scotia, which the people rightfully prize above all things. If they had not been fools as well as something worse we would have been in an unpleasant condition to-day, but it has been wisely ordained that the roguo is always a fool. If it were not for the folly of the knave he would never be detected, and therefore it is that the maxim has arisen "honesty is the best policy." If heaven had not affected those men with judicial blindness, our liberties would have been lost, but we owe our salvation and the salvation of the constitution to the excessive weakness of the men who having banded themselves together for the purpose of aiding the conspirators in Canada in the destruction of Nova Scotia, were so silly, such inconceivable political nincompoops, as not to perceive that it required a statute of Nova Scotia to bind the people of Nova Scotia. The same men are unable to rake up a single constitutional argument in support of their position. To this utter ignorance of every principle of constitutional law Nova Scotia must ascribe her safety.

The gentlemen who did us this favor chose the Irish job as their model; they have not even the merit of originality, for their plot is a mere imitation of the other. They had not the wit to conceive a plot of their own, but borrowed from Pitt and Castlereagh. There was, however, only a certain portion which they were capable of borrowing; they could not borrow their wisdom, for as is generally the case with servile imitators of others, they only pick up the faults and defects, while they are unable to copy the perfections or merits of their models. The McCullys, the Archibalds, the Tappers and the Henrys, and such most worthy characters, in imitating Pitt and Castlereagh, were able to imitate them only in their vices; they were as corrupt, and even more so, because Pitt and Castlereagh pocketed nothing, while these gentlemen all managed to pocket something,—therefore they were wiser in their generation. They imitated, I say, the faults which rendered that Irish job contemptible in the eyes of the world,—which made one of the finest people in the world

the most unhappy people under the sun.—Observe now the vast distinction between the two jobs—Pitt and Castlereagh, after corrupting the Irish Parliament to transfer the legislative power to the English Parliament, did not satisfy themselves with an Imperial statute—they went further, and called for an Irish Act of Parliament, making the Irish Legislature itself confirm the Act of Union. Mr. Pitt, as we all know, was a great statesman, and although this Irish transaction was a blemish on his character, and evinced an error of judgment and a defect of morality in thinking that the end could justify the means, still he had great wisdom, and when he determined to accomplish the Union he did so effectually. When he had bound the people of Ireland hand and foot, and cast them into limbo, he took care to lock the door and to walk off with the key. But our jobbers had not sense enough to bolt the door; they were in such a hurry to enjoy the fruits of Confederation that they did not take time to think how the thing should be done, but after shutting us into limbo the arrant stupidities walked off, leaving the door ajar and the key sticking in the lock; we will certainly, therefore, open the door and walk out. By the mercy of Heaven we fell into the hands of men who did not know what they were about.

The hon. member for Inverness cited what I called a somewhat doubtful political character in Peel, who, as I stated before, had eminent qualities but the one terrible blemish which I mentioned. If he wanted to find a model I would recommend him to go to Ireland. England never was in the position of the Colonies; she never had such occasion to produce model statesmen of the cast of those I have referred to, but Ireland was in that condition—she had been robbed of her constitution, and had produced some men who were more worthy of imitation than Sir Robert Peel. If he had taken Daniel O'Connell he would have chosen for his model an honorable and patriotic statesman—a man who loved his country from his cradle to his grave, spending the whole of his most valuable life in contending to get back the constitution of which she was robbed, and a man who died advocating nobly the cause of Ireland's liberty. He was the equal of Sir Robert Peel in ability; as a man and a statesman he was his superior. He also was an orator, and as a patriot he had no equal, and he went down to an honored grave. If I were to make any man my model I would choose such a man as that, rather than one who, having forfeited the character of a steady and consistent statesman, descended into an inglorious grave. If this country were unsuccessful in obtaining Repeal she would be much in the condition of Ireland; and I ask, does the hon. member for Inverness wish to see us in that position? Does he wish to see in Nova Scotia generation after generation of discontented subjects?

In reference to the treatment which we have received at the hands of the British Government I must draw a contrast by no means flattering to that Government. If we take up the file of the despatches, we shall see with what care, correctness and impartiality the

Ministers of George II. treated Nova Scotia when Governor Lawrence thought he could do very well without an Assembly. They said "the King had pledged his royal word to Nova Scotia that its people should have a House of Assembly on the model of the British House of Commons, and we command you forthwith to summon the House." The Governor made various excuses—he thought he could do very well without the Assembly; but they answer him, "We command you to execute the royal promises, because we will not have those promises forfeited." They told him that this command was the last instructions he was to receive. This is the way in which this country was treated in those days; but how have the Ministers of Queen Victoria treated this Province? I am sorry to say a word to the prejudice of those great men, and I am willing to believe that, being doubtful of the confidence of the House of Commons, they had enough to engage their thoughts at home without looking into the affairs of the Colonies. I am willing to make every excuse for the Imperial Ministers,—they were told, it is true, by persons from this country, whom they mistook for gentlemen, that Nova Scotia most anxiously desired to be confederated, and that the scheme would be satisfactory to all concerned. But I must pause here and make this observation. In a matter of such transcendent importance, involving the fate of this, the noblest portion of the Empire, these men are chargeable with gross negligence,—they should not have been satisfied with the word of any man, but should have so framed the Act of Union that the people and legislature of this country would have been consulted upon its details. They should have sent it out with a suspending clause to prevent its coming into operation until the people had been heard at the polls, and our Parliaments had ratified it clause by clause. They are chargeable, I say, with negligence in not doing so, and if they are compelled, from the necessity of their position, to draw back and revise their steps—to admit the soundness of the arguments which I am using to-day as to the invalidity and unconstitutionality of that Act, they must go up in Parliament and state that they were wrong. I have such an opinion of the high-mindedness and integrity of that administration, that I believe they will embrace the earliest opportunity of making reparation to the people of Nova Scotia, whose rights they have treated with too much indifference.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me ask what the condition of this country would be if we accepted Confederation? We would be absolutely at the disposal of the Canadian Parliament. They can tax unlimitedly the people of Nova Scotia, excepting that they cannot put a tax upon land. They took our railroads, our fisheries, our public buildings and our revenues, but were kind enough not to take Nova Scotia itself up to Canada—they had the kindness to make that exception. That would be the condition of this country; and let me ask, who are the Canadians that the noble and loyal people of Nova Scotia should be made subject to them? What temptation have we to enter into a Confederation with them? Has Nova Scotia ever for-

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feited her constitution by rebellion? Has the blood of Englishmen ever discolored her soil? Can Canada give the same answer to those questions that we can give? Did not Canada rebel against the British authority? Did not the Canadians slay British soldiers on their soil? Did they not stone, murder and mutilate a British officer while in discharge of his duty, and does not the innocent blood of that officer, like the blood of Abel, cry from the ground? Does it not loudly warn us to have nothing to do with such men? How long shall we be subject to that French population in Canada which has stereotyped itself as a separate nationality in the Act of Union? That is one of the greatest follies of the scheme. They have created an *imperium in imperio*—while power is given to the Canadian Parliament to trample on the rights of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the rights of the French Canadians are not to be touched. There is to be a French nation in our midst, controlling the loyal people of Nova Scotia. Is there a man in this House who would submit to such an indignity? I think there are hardly ten men in the Province who would willingly yield to such a degradation as that.

In this debate we have been asked a very serious and important question which I shall endeavor to answer. We were triumphantly asked, "suppose when you go to England with your address you fail of success, what then?" For my own part I see no difficulty in the question. In the first place we will call on the Queen of England, who is the first constitutional sovereign on the face of the earth, we will submit to her a statement of our case in which we will shew her that we have a right to have our constitution restored; and we will ask her to be pleased to recognize the simple unquestionable right of the people of Nova Scotia to enjoy their independent constitution as it was before the Act was passed. I know that a number of gabblers say "the British Government will not do this, that and the other." I am a reasoning man, and I know that the Queen and her ministers are reasoning people, and I believe that when we have submitted to the Queen the case which I have presented to the public to-day, she will not hesitate to say to the people of Nova Scotia, "you have been most grossly insulted and ill-treated—my ministry have been completely deceived—your constitution must be immediately restored." I have no more doubt that such will be Her Majesty's language than that I am addressing the House. But suppose that insanity should overcome Her Majesty, which God forbid, and that she should say to our delegates, "go back to Nova Scotia and tell your people that they have lost their liberties it is true, that they have been made the most abject slaves on the face of the earth, but it is done and cannot be helped." Then, sir, we will go immediately to the Houses of Lords and Commons, we will instruct our delegates to apply there and to employ the first counsel in Europe to appear at the bar of those Houses there to advocate the unconstitutionality of the statute as was done in the case that I referred to in the King's Bench. We may fairly expect a favorable reply to such

an appeal, for I do not think that the Lords of England—the high-minded noblemen who dignify the position of spiritual and temporal peers of the realm, will turn a deaf ear to the petition of the loyal people of Nova Scotia. Do you suppose that they have such things as McCullis and Tappers in that House? Will that House, which is the embodiment of honor, say "pooh, pooh, go back, you have got liberty enough, the French Canadians will take care of you?" No, sir; but rising with indignation the members of Parliament will say with one accord, "how dare you, Mr. Watkin, mislead the Parliament of England by saying that the people were consulted at the polls? Give your authority for the assertion."

But suppose that the Lords and Commons also became so far infatuated and intoxicated as under any circumstances to refuse to consider our rights, what next? I will tell the people what next: we will then try the Judiciary of England. I will get some gentleman to give me a note of hand for £300 sterling without a stamp,—if he refuses to pay the note because it lacks the stamp, I will sue him and take a special verdict setting forth the condition and constitution of Nova Scotia, the Governor's Commission or Charter, the Royal Instructions, the Imperial Statute,—setting forth also that the people of Nova Scotia were never consulted at the polls on the question, and that there is no statute in our Statute book referring to the union; and then if the judges of Nova Scotia place themselves in such a position that the gates of the Temple of Justice are closed against the plaintiff in that action by deciding that the note is not recoverable, I will appeal to the Privy Council, employing there the ablest counsel in Europe to advocate our rights. Poor as we are we will find the means to have our case thoroughly sifted before that high tribunal, and if that body should decide against us then we will go to the House of Lords as the highest appellate court in the Empire, and take the decision there of the ablest lawyers in the world. And then, sir, if our noble cause be rejected, what next? Will we rebel against the Queen of England? No, but when the Queen rebels against us and abdicates her authority over Nova Scotia by refusing to invest us with our rights, she will discharge us from our allegiance. But the act will be her own and we will be a free people. I do not wish to see such a state of things, and I hope that it may not occur, but if it should the Queen of England will have abdicated her Royal functions as far as this country is concerned.

Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties,—if we owe allegiance to the Queen it is because she owes protection to us, and if she suffers our rights to be wrested from us, then, like James II, she will have abdicated the throne as far as we are concerned. The British Parliament pronounced that James, having violated the constitutional laws of the realm, had abdicated the throne, and if the Queen should place herself in that position what could we do? We must then become a republic or whatever other species of nationality we may desire to form ourselves into, and call upon the United States to guarantee

the liberties of Nova Scotians, the finest people on the face of the earth. The United States, France, even England herself, Italy, Russia, Prussia or Austria, would readily guarantee the independence of a country like this. I have not a shadow of doubt that our liberties would be guaranteed. But if it were not so, what then? Helpless, unable to protect ourselves against the surrounding nations, cast off by our rightful sovereign, rejected by her Parliament, destitute of any assistance from abroad we should have to yield to the inexorable decrees of fate; but we should do so with dignified resignation. We should then wrap around us the mantle of our rejected loyalty, our despised patriotism, and our injured and insulted rights, and if we must succumb to irresistible necessity, we will sink as Cæsar fell beneath the dagger of assassins at the base of Pompey's statue.

The House adjourned.

FRIDAY, Feb. 21.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

A call of the House was had, and the Repeal resolutions and amendments thereto were taken up.

On the resolutions being put to the House, the answer was in the affirmative.

It was moved that the vote be recorded in the Journals unanimously.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that this was the first time he had ever heard of a member of the majority moving for a division under such circumstances. As the Speaker was aware—the voices decide and not the names. In the present case the voices had decided, and the House could not go beyond that. There was only one way gentlemen could have a division, and that was by some one belonging to the majority calling "no" when the question was put; but whoever did so would be obliged to vote for the nays when the division took place.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the question had been put and decided in the affirmative, and now it was asked that a division be taken. He did not care to take the question in that way, unless it came from the minority. Parliamentary rules were made for the minority and not for the majority—in fact, they were intended to protect the weak. He would now, however, order that the vote be entered unanimously.

Mr. BLANCHARD would of course submit to whatever course the Speaker might adopt, but he would at the same time respectfully urge that no vote be entered unanimously except with the consent of the whole House.

Hon. SPEAKER said there were no negative voices, and therefore it was competent to enter the vote unanimously. He explained again, in answer to Mr. DesBrisay and others, that it was unparliamentary to take a division unless gentlemen answered "no" when the question was put.

Mr. BLANCHARD again contended that the vote could not be made unanimous except by general consent.

Hon. SPEAKER replied that silence gave consent, and the voices were unanimous.

Mr. MORRISON said the hon. gentleman was at last convinced on the question of Repeal.

Hon. SPEAKER hoped that gentlemen would not bring up such matters.

Mr. BLANCHARD did not require the member for Colchester to teach him his duty.

The following clauses were added unanimously to the original resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Imperial Parliament have no constitutional power to authorize any Governor General, or any subject of the Queen, to make Senators or create any portion of the Legislature with power to tax the people or legislate for them without an Act of our Legislature authorizing them to do so.

*Resolved*, That the statement made by Mr. Watkin, as reported in the debates of the House of Commons for 1867, that the subject was brought under the notice of the people at every polling place, is at variance with the truth.

After some further remarks,

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that he would move that the following gentlemen be appointed a committee,—the Attorney General, the Provincial Secretary, DesBrisay, White, D. McDonald,—to prepare an Address to Her Majesty the Queen in accordance with the resolutions. He need not say after the very lengthy debate on the question, it was a satisfaction to know that the House had unanimously sustained the resolutions laid upon the table by the Hon. Attorney General. After a fortnight's discussion the House found the amendments abandoned, and the journals recording an unanimous vote in favor of the original resolutions.

Mr. BLANCHARD would not allow the hon. gentleman to state without contradiction that the amendments had been abandoned. On the contrary they were entered on the journals, and he and his friends were content.

Hon. PROV. SECT. congratulated the House that the Opposition had been converted by the resolutions.

Mr. BLANCHARD thought the majority could afford to be a little generous and not make such inconsiderate statements. It was not correct that the resolutions had been carried unanimously.

The subject then dropped.

Mr. FREEMAN moved that certain papers connected with the expenditure on a bridge at Liverpool be placed in the hands of the Committee on over-expenditures of public moneys.

Mr. RYERSON presented a petition from the trustees of Section No. 2, Yarmouth, in reference to the school law.

Mr. COCHRAN, a petition from Jeddore, on the school act.

PROV. SECT., a bill to legalize proceedings of the sessions of Digby.

Mr. BLANCHARD called attention to the fact that a large number of bills to incorporate Mining companies—involving an expenditure in the Province of at least \$100,000—were laying over, to the great inconvenience of capitalists. A number of bills to legalize certain county proceedings were also waiting the action of the House. If these matters were delayed much injury to the public interests might result.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that the policy of the Government was such as to render it impossible to proceed with such legislation.

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Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON said that there was no intention to acknowledge in any way the existence of the British North America Act until the question of Repeal was settled.

Mr. NORTHUP, a petition from Musquodoboit for money.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN, a petition from Protestant inhabitants of Arichat in connection with Educational matters.

Mr. YOUNG, a petition for money on a road.

Mr. COPELAND, a petition on the same subject.

Hon. Mr. TROOP, a bill in amendment of chap. 123 R. S. in reference to the proceedings of Supreme Court at Annapolis and Digby.

Mr. KIDSTON presented several money petitions for seed oats, and for roads.

The House then adjourned.

SATURDAY, Feb. 22.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

Mr. BLANCHARD reported from the Committee on Humane Institutions in part.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL reported from the committee to whom the matter had been referred an Address to Her Majesty the Queen on the subject of Confederation.

Mr. BLANCHARD said:—Before this Address is adopted I would like to make one or two remarks. A week ago, yesterday, the Attorney General brought before this House two resolutions, which, he said he proposed to add to the original resolutions. Now I have no intention to refer to what occurred within closed doors, but this I do say, that the Address is not founded on the resolutions as adopted by this House, one of which was to this effect: "The Imperial Parliament has no constitutional power to authorize the Governor General or any subject of Her Majesty to make Senators or create any part of the Legislature with power to tax the people or legislate for them without an Act of this Legislature authorizing them to do so." Now this resolution is fallacious. The Act authorized Her Majesty the Queen by her Royal Proclamation to appoint the Senators, and Her Majesty did so last July. Now let me ask the Attorney General by what authority the Governor appointed five Legislative Councillors. Was it the Governor General?

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL—No.

Mr. BLANCHARD—It was, then, the Executive Council with the Lieutenant Governor. Where did they get their authority? Under the Union Act? The Governor derived his authority under that Act. I can now well understand that the Attorney General withdrew this resolution; he saw he made a mistake. I regret that the crowning absurdity of these resolutions has not also gone across the water. I must also say that it appears from the Journals that the resolutions passed unanimsously; I now take this opportunity of declaring deliberately that this is not correct; it may be correct theoretically but not practically. I objected to the vote being so recorded at the time. I must also make another observation, and that is, I find the paid organ of the Government declaring most ex-

PLICITLY this morning that I withdrew my amendments. I cannot conceive how any man sitting in the gallery would go to his office, and send forth to the country a statement so utterly untrue.

Hon. ATTY. GEN.—I would observe in reference to the remarks respecting the misrepresentation the hon. member complains of, that he is not the only person who has reason to complain, for I have not read in any one of the Union papers—and it is not often, I confess, that I read them—a single truthful statement of anything that I have done. I merely rise, however, for the purpose of contradicting a statement or two made by the hon. member. He is mistaken when he says that the Imperial Act does not confer the power upon the Governor-General to appoint Senators. It states, after the first batch have been appointed, the Governor-General shall summon—his summons is the same as the Queen's. The first batch are appointed by the Governor-General, with the approval of the Queen. But did he actually appoint that first batch? They could not have been appointed, for he had never heard of them. The hon. member also referred to the Legislative Councillors appointed in this Province. It would be difficult to say who made them; that appears to be something of a State secret. It is not very creditable to the manufacturers, whoever they were. I will tell the hon. member that by the constitution of this Province, through the instrumentality of his friends the Governor-General has nothing to do with the appointment of the Legislative Councillors.

Mr. BLANCHARD—The first six were appointed by the Queen, and hold their commissions under the Royal Sign Manual.

Hon. ATTY. GEN.—The usual practice is for the Lieutenant Governor of this Province to nominate to vacancies in the Council. This nomination requires the Queen's approval. With regard to the last appointments, that transaction was decidedly illegal, for it does not appear to us that the Governor has any right to do anything without his Council.

Mr. BLANCHARD—I am glad to take this public opportunity of exonerating myself and the Government with which I was connected of all connection with the appointments in any manner. I am glad also to remark upon the despatches laid upon the table on this subject. These despatches more than insinuated that these appointments had been made on the first day of July, and after the late Government had entered into power. I undertake to assert in the face of this country most solemnly that on the 1st of July, when these books came into our possession, these appointments were in them. The Government to which I belonged had no more to do with them than the Atty. General himself. More than that, I assume no responsibility whatever in connection with these appointments. They were made by our predecessors and the Lieutenant Governor gazetted them afterwards on his own motion by the advice of the Council which preceded us. Now the Attorney General knows that the power to make such appointments did not rest in the Lieutenant Governor formerly, but in the Lieutenant Governor under Royal instruc-

tions to the Governor General. The latter had Royal instructions to authorize the different Lieutenant Governors to appoint Legislative Councilors. The despatch on the table shows that when the commission to the Governor General was made out that clause was omitted in the despatch. I undertake to say in point of law the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, for want of instructions, and his Council neither, had no power to make these appointments. The Governor General and his Council thought it necessary to apply to the House for an Act to authorize the Lieutenant Governors to make them.

Hon. SPEAKER—I notice in the paper in question the statement that the hon. member had withdrawn his amendment. I was struck with its untruthfulness and its want of decorum. If he in his place had moved that the editor, publisher or printer of any paper that will dare to assume to himself the right of putting any member in a contemptible position, whilst I am Speaker of this House, I will be able to find certain laws which will bring that person before the bar of the House and deal with him as his conduct deserves.

After some further remarks, some gentlemen in the majority still desiring a division, but the Speaker deciding that he would not order one under the circumstances.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL laid on the table an address to the Lieutenant-Governor, praying that he will please transmit previous Address to the Queen.

Mr. PINEO presented a petition from C. D. Rockwood, in reference to a bridge.

Mr. LANDERS, a petition from Annapolis in respect to the license law.

Hon. PROV. SEC., a petition from over 200 inhabitants of Digby against an alteration in the license law.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN, a petition in reference to a bridge at Herring Cove.

Hon. PROV. SEC., a petition from Digby for a road to French settlement.

Mr. PURDY, petitions from Robert Foote and Charles Fisher, respecting land; also several money petitions for bridges and roads.

Hon. J. BERGUSSEON, petition from Little Glouce Bay in respect to the examination of pilots.

Mr. MORRISON asked the Government for a return respecting the survey of the Intercolonial Railroad line in Colchester and Cumberland.

Mr. BLANCHARD read a despatch which he had just received from New Brunswick respecting the action of the New Brunswick Legislature in connection with the Intercolonial Railroad route. He asked the Government if they were prepared to co-operate with the Government of the neighboring province on the subject.

Hon. PROV. SEC. would reply to the question on Monday.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked the Government for information respecting Mr. Howe—if that gentleman had gone to England as a delegate; any correspondence on that subject should be laid on the table.

Hon. PRO. SEC. was not prepared to reply to the question immediately.

Mr. PURDY asked for certain academy statistics.

Mr. DOUGETT presented a petition from Weymouth against any material change in the School Law.

Mr. BALCAN presented petitions from Jeddore and from Musquodoboit respecting roads.

The House adjourned.

MONDAY, Feb. 24.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL introduced a resolution to the effect that should Nova Scotia succeed in being restored to her constitutional rights she will not be backward in performing her fair share of the Intercolonial Railroad.

Mr. BLANCHARD expressed his surprise at seeing a resolution of so important a character brought down at this period of the session without due notice having been given. He would ask if the majority were prepared to pass a resolution which would commit the House to a burthen of £20,000 or £30,000 a year for all time, to come. The fair proportion of Nova Scotia would be 3½ twelfths, agreed upon by Mr. Howe and his friends.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL replied that the Government wished to show the people that they had no wish to obstruct the construction of the Intercolonial Railroad. That it would be very expensive and unremunerative was probable, but nevertheless as a large number of people in Halifax and Nova Scotia generally thought it indispensable to the progress of the country, the Government had moved the present resolution.

Mr. TOWNSEND said that since Mr. Howe made the bargain in question, he had built the Pictou road and commenced the Annapolis line; and he was afraid if we got repeal we could hardly bear the expense that would be entailed by the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. He would rather remain in Confederation than pay 3½-12ths of the cost.

Mr. MORRISON said that our fair and just proportion would be whatever this House should please and decide; they were not bound by any former arrangement.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that the fair proportion was what was stated in the agreement that was made when he and the hon. member (Mr. Morrison) sat on the same side, and acquiesced in it. The objection made to the arrangement was that we would have to build a number of miles out of the province. Now our fair proportion of the cost would be one-tenth, but that would not carry the work to Londonderry. Subsequent, however, to the agreement in question, we had contracted large liabilities in connection with the Pictou and Annapolis railways. Was the House then prepared to pledge itself to pay 3½-12ths of the cost? If so, where was the money required for roads and bridges and education to come from? He felt obliged, under all the circumstances, to divide the House on the subject.

Mr. MORRISON said that now the greater part of the revenues of this province went into the treasury of Canada to pay Canadian deficits. The Nova Scotians had now to sub-

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mit to an additional duty of 5 per cent., and yet the Intercolonial Railroad had not been built, the Northwest Territory had not been purchased, nor any additional fortifications erected. He for one would cheerfully build the railway to Riviere du Loup, if that would get us out of Confederation.

Mr. PURDY advocated the construction of our railway to meet the New Brunswick lines, and thus give us connection with the railways of the United States and Canada, and stated that repeal would not stop the building of that important link from Truro to connect as aforesaid. If we had control of our revenues we would have ample funds. The Tupper government had put that portion of the road under contract two years ago, and it should have been built now. Last July the same company that is now building the Annapolis railway offered to build that section for a subsidy of \$112,000 a year for 20 years, but was refused. Tupper needed it then for an election cry. It could be built on our own resources, and he was glad to find the government giving a pledge:

Mr. DESBRISAY was in favor of the resolution; he looked upon the question as it effected the whole people. They would rather pay for the Intercolonial Railway without Confederation than remain in it and have the road.

Mr. RYERSON said that he wished to show England that the people of this Province were prepared to build their fair proportion of the Intercolonial Railway if Repeal were granted. He did not think it would cost as much as some supposed it would. No doubt if they got rid of Confederation they would have no difficulty in performing their just share of the work.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that what he particularly objected to was that a matter of so much importance should be treated so summarily. The House should know where the means was to come from if Repeal were granted. They could not build the road at a less sum than he had previously stated. Canada had now given us \$500,000 more than she had received, and therefore the remarks of the hon. member for Colchester were exceedingly ill-timed. Under Repeal a 15 per cent. tariff would not pay even the ordinary expenses. He undertook to say that the revenue this year would be \$300,000 deficient compared with that of the previous year. The Tupper Government entered into a contract at the rate of \$112,000 a year for 20 years, that too, for a road which would belong to a company. The party with which he was connected at the time had opposed that policy. The company in question, however, were unable to carry out their agreement. Subsequently a bogus company offered to construct the road at the same rate, but it was not deemed advisable to let them have the line. He was not willing to let St. John be the terminus of the railway, and therefore he opposed the policy of the Government.

Hon. PROV. SEC. was surprised to find the hon. member for Inverness, after having been such a warm advocate of the Intercolonial Railway, coming forward and finding fault with the Government for having brought down a resolution to build our fair and rea-

sonable share of the road. The fair and just proportion would be, he added, whatever the House should decide.

Mr. LANDERS said that he would of the evils chose the least. It was better, he thought, to build a fair and reasonable share of the railway free from than under Confederation.

Mr. PINEO would not vote for the resolution because he conceived it to be the part of the systematic policy of deceiving the people. If it could not be built under Confederation with a tariff of 15 per cent. it certainly could not be constructed if Nova Scotia was left isolated, and obliged to bear by herself all the heavy burthens that she would necessarily have to bear.

Mr. KIDSTON supported the resolution on the ground that if we are to have the road, it would be preferable to pay our share of its construction entirely free from the Confederation.

Mr. LANDERS explained that he would vote for the resolution because it would facilitate repeal.

On a division the resolution was carried by 27 to 5.

Yeas—Ferguson, Northup, Ryerson, Morrison, Cochran, Purdy, Dr. Murray, Dikle, Eisenhaur, Freeman, Smith, Chambers, Ross, Kidston, Kirk, J. McDonald, Young, Flynn, Lawrence, Copeland, Landers, DesBrisay, Robertson, Johnson, Balsam, Attorney General, Provincial Secretary.

Nays—Blanchard, Townsend, Doucett, Dr. Brown, Pineo.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON laid on the table the Report of Hospital of Insane.

#### VOTE OF CREDIT.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY laid on the table the Mines and Minerals Report. He also moved a resolution authorizing his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor in Council to advance such sums from the treasury as may be required to carry on the necessary public business until the next meeting of the Legislature.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that he understood the House would adjourn until next August, and in that case the Government asked the House to give them full power to make any expenditures they choose for a year. It would not have taken the Provincial Secretary twelve hours to put on the table an estimate of what the public service requires.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that it was impossible to satisfy the hon. member under any circumstances. The Government were obliged to pursue their present course, on account of the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, and would be prepared, when the House again met, to justify every dollar of expenditure they might make.

Mr. SMITH said that a similar course had been pursued, not long since, in Canada by Sir John A. MacDonal.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that the people ought to know definitely what they might expect for their roads and bridges, education, &c. The Canadian Government were about inaugurating a new state of things at the time referred to by the hon. member for Queens',

and hence the necessity for the course they pursued.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that the hon. member for Inverness had supported an administration which had expended \$2,116,000 for the Railway to Pictou, without the authority of the Legislature.

Mr. BLANCHARD had opposed the question referred to; at that time it was under the consideration of the Legislature.

The resolution then passed, and the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, Feb. 25.

The House met at 2 o'clock.

THE DELEGATION.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL moved two resolutions, as follows:—

"Resolved, That His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor be authorized to appoint delegates, charged with resolutions passed by this House on the 21st instant, respecting the constitutional rights and privileges of the people of this Province.

"Resolved, That the delegates so appointed are to urge upon the attention of the British Government and Parliament the consideration of the feelings of this House and of the people of Nova Scotia on the question of Confederation, and to ask for the restitution of the constitution of their country as previous to the passage of the British North America Act—that they are not to accept any alteration or amendment of such Act; and they are hereby authorized to obtain counsel to plead the cause of Nova Scotia at the bar of the House of Commons, and to take such other measures to carry out the resolutions of this House as may be deemed advisable."

Dr. MURRAY seconded the resolution, and in doing so animadverted strongly on the remarks of the hon. member for Inverness respecting himself on a previous day.

Mr. BLANCHARD replied to the hon. member in strong terms.

The SPEAKER deprecated the use of such personalities as were used.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked if Mr. Howe had gone to England as a delegate.

Hon. PROV. SEC. replied that Mr. Howe would co-operate with the gentlemen who were about going home as delegates.

Mr. BLANCHARD presumed that Mr. Howe would get his authority after he had been for some time in England.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. explained that the Government, assuming that the House would agree to a delegation, sent Mr. Howe ahead.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked if it was intended that the delegates should only represent one branch of the Legislature, and that the Resol. resolutions should not pass through the other House.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said the Government had made no application to the Upper House on the subject for certain reasons, which he did not consider it necessary to go into.

THE ROAD GRANT.

Mr. PINES asked how it was intended to distribute the road grant; he was ignorant of

the practice hitherto. Was it the intention that the moneys appropriated for the road service should be divided by the several members as formerly?

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY did not know anything to the contrary; it was expected that the members would act in unison with one another.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL added that the subdivision would be made by the members of the several counties.

Mr. BLANCHARD complained that the Government should have laid the road grant on the table at so late a period, when some of the members had gone, and the rest were on the eve of leaving for home. It had always been the practice hitherto for the Government to lay the grant on the table weeks before the House rose, and the members of the respective counties could go out and form their road scales.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL replied that the Government had been obliged to pursue their present policy in consequence of the unusual state of things. If the different members could not agree among themselves it would be for the Government to decide for them.

Hon. SPEAKER said that time should certainly have been allowed the members to look into the road scale. It was not fair to take the stereotyped scale.

Mr. WHITE wished to know if it was the intention of the Government to adopt the scale; he did not think the apportionment fair to his county.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY said that it was only two or three days since the Government had made up their minds what they would give to the several counties. If they could only increase the amount when the House again met, they would only be too happy to do so. Last year the Government had made advances right and left, and hence the funds at the disposal of the House for roads and bridges were necessarily heavily burthened.

Hon. SPEAKER said that time should have been allowed to go into committee on the general state of the Provinces for the purpose of discussing a subject so interesting to the constituents of every hon. member.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON stated that the division had been made just as it had been for the past four or five years.

Mr. YOUNG said that the miners in his county wanted a road to Mount Uniacke, and it was unfair to ask the members to construct it out of the limited funds at their disposal.

Mr. RYEBSON supposed that those counties that over-expended their road money last year could not expect to get much this year.

Hon. PROV. SECY. said that there was a certain apportionment, and if there had been any advance during the past year that would have to come out of it. The Government, he mentioned, merely laid the road scale on the table for the information of the House, and had no intention of moving any resolution on the subject, as the resolution passed on the previous day gave them all the authority they required.

Mr. NORRUP asked if the Government would not give any credit to those counties where there had been an over-expenditure.

Hon. PROV. SECY.—Certainly, they would.

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Hon. SPEAKER said that in his county the over-expenditure exceeded the present grant three times over.

Mr. MORRISON said that, in Colchester, \$5000 had been borrowed for two years, under an Act of the Legislature. He did not think that the Government had any disposition to hold that amount.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. replied that that was unnecessary; the money was borrowed under statute, and on certain conditions.

Mr. MORRISON said that one of the late members had laid out \$1000, which he must repudiate. He did not think that the fact of a railway running through a particular county did away with the necessity of large grants on main roads.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that the late members for Pictou obtained authority to borrow \$3000 on the credit of the road money for subsequent years. They had left this inheritance behind them, which he intended to repudiate as far as possible.

Mr. WHITE would take another opportunity of objecting to the apportionment.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that the Government had determined to put at the disposal of the people \$100,000 for roads. He expected that the several members would return to their respective counties, and see into the condition of their roads and bridges, and will then apply for the expenditure of the money by commission. When the House met again they would be able to know more about the condition of their public finances, and see whether more money could not be given to the road service.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that the House had never yet been able to agree on a road scale.

Mr. KIDSTON did not approve of the basis of the proposed road scale; the grant for his county was quite insufficient. In reference to a matter of discussion on a previous day, he explained that he had never understood that a conversation between himself and a public officer (Mr. Woodgate) on a public matter could be considered "private," and that the public matters in question chiefly interested the County of Victoria.

Mr. NORTHUP presented the petition of W. D. Archibald, of Musquodoboit, to sell an old meeting house, and a bill in accordance with the prayer thereof.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON moved the adjournment of the committee appointed to try the question of the disputed seat for Inverness until the 10th of August next.

Mr. LANDERS presented a petition from Annapolis for aid towards a road.

Mr. BLANCHARD hoped that the Government would not forget to support the steamer plying between Port Hood and Pictou. He presented a petition signed by Dr. Cameron, and very many others in Inverness, who are desirous that the Government should consider a matter so important not merely to one county, but to all Cape Breton. Last year, in conjunction with his colleagues, he had asked the Government to expend a considerable sum of money in improving the route between Whyocoomagh and Port Hood—a route now much travelled during the summer months.

Mr. PURDY introduced a bill to amend Chap. 45 of the Revised Statutes, "Of County Assessment." He wished to equalize the assessment, so that it will not bear so heavily upon the agricultural portion of the population.

Mr. RYERSON asked the Government if they were prepared to make the survey of the road from Annapolis to Digby, and thence to Yarmouth, during the recess.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL replied that the Government would give their attention to this subject at the earliest period.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that it was only due to the Western people that the road should be surveyed and built at the earliest period practicable.

Mr. WHITE presented a petition from the Indians of Esosoni asking for seed oats and potatoes.

Mr. BLANCHARD presented a petition praying that no important change be made in the Education Act.

Mr. RYERSON presented a petition from Argyle for seed oats, potatoes, and barley in the spring.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY presented a petition in favor of the present School Act.

Mr. BLANCHARD introduced a bill to amend Chap. 44 of the Acts of 1867.

Mr. PURDY introduced a bill relative to the qualifications of persons holding commissions as Justices of the Peace.

The same gentleman moved a resolution in favor of voting by ballot.

#### THE ADJOURNMENT.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL moved that the House do adjourn until Thursday, the 6th August next, at 12 o'clock.

Mr. BLANCHARD argued that it was entirely unconstitutional for the Government to have asked only one branch of the Legislature to adopt the resolution giving them control of public expenditures until the House again met. He read from the Journals to show that in 1854 and 1861 the House had been adjourned for several weeks, and that in both cases resolutions in connection with the public expenditures were passed by both branches. Now it appeared to be the policy of the Government to ignore the upper branch entirely in every particular. Such a course of procedure was entirely unconstitutional, and could not be justified. It was for the first time he or any other person had heard of one branch of the Legislature acting on its own responsibility in the disbursement of the public moneys. Constitutionally the Legislative Council should be asked to concur, and to all intents and purposes the resolution passed on the previous day was negatory. The Government were establishing a dangerous precedent—one that could not be justified.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL replied that the country was now placed in a very unusual position. This Province had never before been attempted to be sold by men who pretended to be friends of the people. Now he would tell the hon. member that he and his friends had so crammed the upper branch as to render it impossible for the Government to expect any assistance or support from it.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that the hon. gentleman had not answered his argument at all. He had laid down the proposition that the House had no authority to authorize the Government to appropriate the public moneys without the assent of the co ordinate branch.

Mr. MORRISON maintained that the people had power as well as Parliament. The people made Parliaments—they made crowns and put them on the heads, too, [that] wore them, when the public liberties demanded it. It was the people now speaking through their representatives that distributed the public moneys. He then went on to speak strongly in respect to the mode in which Confederation had been forced upon the people. No precedent could be found in British America, he said, for the course pursued in reference to the constitu-

tion of Nova Scotia: and the hon. member for Inverness should be the last person to use the language he did.

Hon. PRO. SECY. said that a couple of years ago the House placed the whole public revenues at the disposal of the Government, at the time of the Fenian excitement. The country was now in a far worse position than it was then. He hoped when the Government met the House again they would be able to show that they economically and judiciously discharged the trust reposed in them.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that the resolution in question went through the Legislative Council, and therefore his argument was strengthened.

The House then adjourned until 6th August next.

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THURSDAY, August 6, 1868.

The House met at 12 o'clock.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that gentlemen were aware that a Convention composed of members of the Dominion Parliament for this Province, Members of the Local Assembly, and other persons interested in the public welfare, had assembled for the purpose of discussing the condition of the public affairs. That Convention having made some progress yesterday, had come to a resolution to appoint a committee of seventeen gentlemen, who would furnish their views in a report to the Convention. The Government were desirous that that committee should not be interrupted in its labors, and inasmuch as it was not the intention of the Government to proceed with legislation of any consequence, until after the important question of Confederation was determined, he would ask the House to adjourn to Monday at 3 o'clock.

The House then adjourned to Monday at 3 o'clock.

MONDAY, August 10, '68.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

CONFEDERATION.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that before proceeding to the public business it had been considered by the Government imperative to move a resolution entering a protest against any legislative action that the House might be disposed to take, being construed into an acquiescence of Confederation. Without further preamble he would move the following resolution:

*Whereas* it appears from the Despatch of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, Secretary of State for the Colonies, bearing date the 4th June last, that Her Majesty's Government have refused to entertain the request of this House, unaminously expressed in an address to the Crown, praying that the Province of Nova Scotia be released from the operation of the act confederating the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick:

*And whereas* this House, impressed with its responsibilities to the people they represent, feels itself called upon, in the interests of the Country, to adopt such measures of legislation as may be necessary to invite the introduction of foreign capital, promote industry, and generally for the improvement and amendment of the law;

*Resolved*, that in proceeding to consider the legislation necessary in the present state of affairs, this House emphatically declares that they have been, and are, kept under the act of Confederation, by coercion of the Imperial authorities, who have refused to set them free; and that, in now proceeding to pass all necessary laws, this House records its solemn protest that such legislation must not be construed as signifying any approval, direct or implied, of the act confederating the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that he would at the same time state that in a few days the Government would be prepared to indicate the course of action they intended to pursue.

At the request of Mr. Blanchard the resolution was allowed to lie on the table by way of notice,

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that the only objection to letting the resolution lie on the table was that it should stand recorded in the Journals before the transaction of any legislative business.

It was understood that the resolution should date from the day of its introduction.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL introduced a bill to incorporate the Uniacke Union Gold Mining Co.; also a bill to incorporate the Westlake Company; also a bill to incorporate the Imperial Gold Company; also a bill to incorporate the Orient Gold Mining Company; also a bill to incorporate the Prince of Wales' Gold Mining Company.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY laid on the table the despatch from the Duke of Buckingham in reply to the Address of the House, and several accompanying papers.

Hon. PROV. SECY. laid on the table a report from Mr. McNab, Chief Engineer of Railways, in reference to St. Peter's Canal.

Several bills introduced before the adjournment passed a second reading.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN presented a petition from William King, of Grand Lake, asking compensation for damages sustained by a grant being improperly issued.

Mr. BLANCHARD presented a petition for a party who complained that a grant of a water lot had been given for the water in front of the wharf property in Halifax which she had been possessed of for a long period. He thought that some control should be exercised in reference to grants of water privileges in the City.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN presented a petition from Thomas Walsh and others of Meagher's Grant about a School division.

Hon. PROV. SECY. presented a petition of Ambrose Church for aid in publishing a detailed map of Nova Scotia. The petition was referred to the government.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked for papers in connection with a disputed application for a water lot at Fort Hawksbury.

Mr. SMITH presented a petition from trustees and ratepayers of school section No. 30, southern district of Queen's County, for a grant of money to aid in erecting a school house in place of one partially erected and burned.

Mr. CHAMBERS presented a petition from a Physician of Colechester County praying remuneration for attendance on sick Indians.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL introduced a bill to amend chap. 60 of the Acts of 1862 in reference to the appointment of a Stipendiary Magistrate and Police Constable for the town of Pietou. Also a bill to amend chap. 99 of the Revised Statutes in reference to Fire and Firewardens. Also a bill to incorporate the Gladstone Gold Mining Company.

The House adjourned to the following day at 3 o'clock.

TUESDAY, August 11.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The bills to incorporate the Uniacke and Union Gold Mining Company, the Western Company, the Imperial Gold Mining Company, the Orient Gold Mining Company, the Prince of Wales Gold Mining Company, and the Gladstone Mining Company were read a second

time and referred to committee on Private and Local Bills; also the bill to legalize the proceedings of the Digby sessions; also the bill to incorporate the Scotia Gold Mining Company; also the bill to authorize the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Halifax to mortgage or sell certain lands.

HON. PROV. SEC. laid on the table the Report of the Post Master General; also the petition of Ambrose F. Church, presented yesterday. The latter was referred to a special committee, consisting of Messrs. Blanchard, Murray and Townsend.

HON. PROV. SEC. also laid on the table the petition of Alex. Campbell, of Glasgow, as to remuneration for services in connection with Emigration.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL moved the resolution which he had introduced in the course of the previous afternoon.

MR. BLANCHARD said:—I do not intend, sir, to address the House at any length on the resolution which has just been moved by the hon. and learned gentleman. Nor do I propose to occupy any time with any observations calculated to provoke discussion. It is said that it is very hard to "kick against the pricks," and certainly I found it so during the previous part of the session, when I stood with only one gentleman to assist me in opposition to the whole House. It is very hard for one gentleman to make up his mind to resist such an array of talent and numbers as I see around the benches. I now feel that it is my duty to some members to say that if anything fell from my lips last winter, in the heat of debate, calculated to wound the feelings of any gentleman, I cheerfully apologize, and withdraw any such statements. While I see that this language appears to provoke a sneer from some gentlemen in the lobby, yet I am glad to notice that it is received by gentlemen around these benches in the same spirit in which it is offered. I may say frankly that I see no reason whatever to change the opinions I held last winter, for they are founded on the honest conviction of my mind. Whether I am right or wrong, is not the question before the House.—These opinions are as unchanged as ever, and I see no reason to regret the position which I have taken in connection with the question that is agitating this country. But when I see that a Legislature, such as I see before me, has voted certain resolutions and addresses to Her Majesty, it is not for me to provoke a contest which must end uselessly. There is only one subject to which I shall refer. In the press it is the custom to attribute any public grievance or misfortune to the operation of Confederation. Now I notice that the value of the real estate of the city, has increased during the year by a million of dollars; I certainly think this fact might be just as fairly attributed to Confederation, as the fact of any depression of trade that exists in this country. I may say in conclusion, that I intend to give my attention to the business of this House. The Government have the right to expect every gentleman to assist them in the progress of legislation necessary for the public interests. I see no reason why this House should not rise in the course of four weeks at the furthest.

The resolution then passed, and the House adjourned until next day at 3 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, August 12.

House met at 3 p. m.

BILLS.

MR. BLANCHARD, as Chairman of the Committee on Private and Local Bills, reported the bills to incorporate the Ontario Gold Mining Company, the Alpha Gold Mining Company, the Kingston and Sherbrooke Gold Mining Company, the Unique Union Gold Mining Company, the Scotia Coal Mining Company, the Prince of Wales Mining Company, the Imperial Gold Company, the Orient Gold Mining Company, the Hayden and Derby Mining Company, and the Gladstone Gold Mining Company. He said the bills had been made uniform with those formerly passed, as regards the extent of shareholders' liability, the acquisition of lands, and the service of process on the Companies. He also reported a bill to enable the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Halifax, to mortgage or sell certain lands. He said that the bill was asked for under peculiar circumstances. The late Archbishop Walsh had by his will devised to the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation, being the Archbishop of Halifax, certain lands of the Dutch Village, charging them however with the payment of an annuity of ten pounds to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, or to the Sisters of Charity of Halifax. It had been deemed desirable to sell these lands, and a title could not be given unless this charge were removed. The bill would make the payment of the annuity a general charge on the R. C. E. Corporation.

The House then went into committee on bills and passed the bills, to incorporate the Kingston and Nova Scotia Mining Company, the Ontario Gold Mining Company, the Kingston and Sherbrooke Gold Mining Company, the Westlake Gold Mining Company, the Alpha Gold Mining Company, and the Hayden and Derby Mining Company. Also the bills to amend the acts incorporating the Blue Lead Gold Mining Company, the Provincial Gold Mining Company, and the Dominion Gold Mining Company. Also the bill to incorporate the Scotia Coal Company. The last mentioned bill was left in committee, the Hon. Speaker suggesting that additional safeguards should be provided in the case of coal companies desiring to become possessed of real estate. The committee adjourned and reported.

MR. BLANCHARD introduced bills to incorporate the Woodbine Gold Mining Company and the Caledonia Mining Company.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

MR. BLANCHARD said it was usual for the Government within the first few days of the Session to lay on the table the financial returns, and referred to the Journals to show that in the three previous years they had been brought down within the first five days. He hoped the Prov. Secy. would be in a position to state when these returns would be ready.

HON. PROV. SECY. replied that the returns would probably be ready to-morrow. The Government had deemed it wise to make the financial year end on 31st Dec.,—supplementary accounts had also been prepared and would be laid on the table to-morrow.

MR. BLANCHARD regretted that the Govern-

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stated prominently and distinctly that it was not competent for the British Imperial Legislature to take from the Province of Nova Scotia its constitution or in any way to alter it without the consent of the people of Nova Scotia. These are the only two constitutional questions to which I shall refer and say in regard to them, prominent as they are, the Colonial Minister has not been able either through himself or by means of the Crown officers of England, to contradict the law as we have laid it down. His despatch being silent on this point we have the right to assume that he could not find a Crown Lawyer in England who would assume the responsibility of disputing our positions. He is so far from disputing them that he has in reality acknowledged the last for his despatch amounts substantially to this:—"Her Majesty will not set the province of Nova Scotia free from the Union with Canada and New Brunswick because the people of Nova Scotia have assented to the passage of the Act of Union." That is his declaration—the ground he has taken—that the people have consented to that constitution. The next ground he takes is this—"I admit that some injustice has been done to the people of Nova Scotia by the Union Act, but we shall order the Government of Canada to redress the wrongs which that statute inflicts upon the people of Nova Scotia." Upon these two grounds he considers he would not be justified in setting the people free. I call particular attention to these two grounds of reasoning because so far from being conclusive, they have the effect of completely establishing our emancipation. Now in reality he propounds such a syllogism as this—"The Imperial Legislature has the power to pass an act to alter the constitution of Nova Scotia with the consent of the people of that province." This is his first proposition. The second proposition is, "the people of Nova Scotia have given their assent;" ergo, the constitution which was passed, entitled "an Act for the union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick" is constitutionally legal. Now a rule in logic, that if either of the propositions of a syllogism be false, the conclusion is false also. If that be true, we deny the second proposition. The first proposition is perfectly sound—the Legislature of England has the power to alter the constitution of the province with the consent of the people. But the second proposition, that the consent of Nova Scotia was given to the alteration of our constitution, is absolutely false; and therefore his conclusion is false also, and we are entitled to be set free. With regard to the facts of the case I am not speaking at present, I am merely referring to the law. The second ground he takes is, that Canada will redress the wrongs of Nova Scotia, and consequently that Nova Scotia will be compelled to remain in the Confederation.

Now let me ask this House if these wrongs done in Nova Scotia are susceptible of redress. If it should appear that the wrongs committed against Nova Scotia by the Union Act are of such a nature as not to admit of redress, we are entitled to be set free. What are the wrongs? The Duke of Buckingham refers to trade, commerce, and the fisheries, and says the Government will direct the Canadian Government to enter into such a compromise as

to meet all reasonable objections. Now our trade, commerce, and fisheries are all dependent upon the political constitution which was granted; for under that constitution, aliens, strangers, Canadians, have the power to direct and control our trade, our commerce, our fisheries. Then they can give us no redress in regard to these subjects without altering the political constitution. To make myself perfectly understood, it is clear that so long as Canada has a majority—a large and preponderating majority in both branches of the Legislature,—162 over Nova Scotia in the House of Commons, and 72, or 60 as you please, in the Senate—she can do what she pleases with our trade, commerce and fisheries. So we are brought to this point. Before Canada can give us the redress which we require it will be necessary for Canada to consent to a most material alteration in the political constitution of the Confederation. I shall endeavour now to state carefully what alteration would be necessary before the people of Nova Scotia would be satisfied in remaining in the Confederation.

Now look at the constitution of the United States. In arranging it, as large and populous States had to be confederated with small ones, it was considered necessary to guard the interests of the latter in some effectual manner. It was found absolutely necessary to compensate the smaller States for their inferiority in point of strength in the Lower House which was framed on the basis of population, by giving them additional strength in the Upper Branch or Senate. Therefore if you take either of the largest States and compare its representation in the Senate with that of the smallest, you will find that each has the same number of Senators. For instance, New York, with a population of three millions, has 33 members in the House of Representatives, whilst two of the smallest States will not have more than two; but in the Senate the number of Senators is the same. Now unless something be done to place us in the same position as the smallest States of the American Union, I deny that we should continue in the Confederation. Canada has necessarily from her large population a large majority in the House of Commons; but unless she would consent to adjust the representation in the Senate so as to give to the Maritime Colonies a majority in that body, we cannot remain in the Confederation. I do not now assert that it would be merely impolitic or disadvantageous to remain, but I make the bold assertion that under such a constitution the people could not exist, for they have been accustomed to liberty and will not endure the chains of slavery. I therefore come to this conclusion that, in the first place, whatever changes may be proposed must be made in the political constitution. I proceed further and declare that there must be such changes as will give to Nova Scotia such a representation in the Senate as will enable the Maritime Colonies to have a majority in that branch, and that can only be done by giving each Province an equal number of representatives. How should their Senators be appointed? Is it to be tolerated that they shall be appointed by the Governor General? By the Executive of Canada? They must be chosen by the people themselves. In old times we submitted voluntarily to have the Legislative Council appointed by the Queen

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herself. It was from a species of necessity. When the constitution was first given to these colonies we had no other means of obtaining the services of an Upper House except through the Crown. The people are the source of all power, and they must have the appointment of those who are to rule them. Now I come to this conclusion: that the Duke of Buckingham's despatch and you will find these statements sent forth—the Queen cannot release Nova Scotia; first, because the statute is quite constitutional, it having been passed with the consent of the people of Nova Scotia; in the next place she will not release you because she intends that all the wrongs which the statute puts upon you shall be redressed. I ask you and the world generally whether it is not true that the consent of Nova Scotia has never been given—that the people of Nova Scotia have done everything in their power to prevent Confederation—that they never, directly or indirectly, consented. Now if, in addition to this, the evils of Confederation are such that Canada herself cannot take such measures as will correct them—that they are ineradicable in fact,—what will be the result? Let me ask the Duke of Buckingham what will he do now. We tell him that he is in error. Do you imagine that after this we are to be told, "if all this be true we will make an inquiry now." Why they refused it before. He must say at once to the people of Nova Scotia, "you are entitled to be set free, and you must be freed." The Duke can take no other course, and we will pin him down to that; and I will show to the world that we are as good special pleaders as the noble duke himself, that we have turned his reasoning against himself, and placed his Confederation policy in a miserable plight.

Let me dissect this famous despatch a little more. Nova Scotia having a Legislative Council and House of Commons, having all the apparatus of a regular government, how can the people of Nova Scotia express themselves except through their representatives? We have assumed the position that before the people of Nova Scotia could give any assent to the alteration of their constitution that assent must be given in this House and in the Legislative Council, and sanctioned by the Government—that there was no other constitutional method by which the people of Nova Scotia could give expression to their will. We therefore said, your English Statute is void, because it has been passed without being sanctioned by a Statute of the Legislature of Nova Scotia. Again we said, the Legislature of Nova Scotia would have no power in itself to have altered the constitution of this country except the question had been referred to the people themselves at the polls, for this reason: The Legislature of Nova Scotia is not like the Imperial Legislature, a supreme power, but an inferior body, and had no kind of authority over the constitution—it was appointed under a written charter which defined the limits of its power, and confined it simply to the making of laws and not constitutions. Therefore, unless the question was referred to the people at the polls the Legislature had no power to alter the constitution of the province. Let us see how the Duke slides over these difficulties. He does not say that the Imperial Government had a right to pass the Statute—

to legislate away the freedom of Nova Scotia—that the constitution of the people can be taken away without consulting them at the polls. He contents himself with saying, it has not been usual, and then refers us to Canada. The only case he can refer to is the Union of Canada in 1839. I shall refer you to the circumstances of that case, and show you how he stultifies himself when he deals with constitutional history. He has not been able to address a case where the constitution of a Colony has been changed without a Statute of that Colony. He has not produced a case of a Colony, situated like Nova Scotia, with a representative constitution, having its constitution changed without an Act of the Colonial Legislature. Look at the case of Canada. Lower Canada, in 1837, had rebelled against the British Government, and had to be quieted by force; but the upper province, on the contrary, remained firm and true. Sir Francis Bond Head sent down troops to Lower Canada; confiding in the loyalty of the people of the Western section. Under these circumstances the Lower Canadians had forfeited their right to be consulted—they had no constitution, for they had lost it by their own acts.

When Lord Durham went home to England and recommended that the two Canadas should be united in 1838, and when a constitution was passed uniting them in 1839, how was Upper Canada treated? She was not treated like Nova Scotia? She had been true and loyal, and was she united to Lower Canada without her consent? No, Upper Canada was not treated in the same way. The question was submitted to the Legislature and carried by a majority of 14 to 8 in the Upper House, and a considerable majority in the House of Assembly; and yet the Duke of Buckingham comes forward and cites a case which brings discredit upon himself and colleagues, for the very reverse took place of what he assumes in his despatch. There have been several other unions, Scotland and England, for instance, were united one hundred and thirty years ago. Was it thought proper to unite the two countries by force—without consulting the people and Legislature of Scotland? It was debated in the Legislature from time to time, and from year to year, and was finally carried by a deliberate act of the Scottish Legislature. Then we step again over a few years and come to Ireland. Mr. Pitt, one of the first constitutional lawyers that ever lived in England, thought it would be conducive to the interests of the nation to unite England and Ireland, and of such paramount importance did he consider it to have a statute of the Legislature of Ireland that he spent £2,500,000 in order to obtain the votes of members of that body in favour of the measure. If so profound a statesman as Mr. Pitt declared that a legislative enactment of Ireland was necessary, should the total absence of all argument in the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham now prevail upon us? We come now to the only case that is exactly parallel to ours—that of New Brunswick, which was placed exactly in the same position as this province. She was sold by her public men just as we were; she was brought to the same altar to be sacrificed; but there the subject was referred to the people at the polls.

Now I hold in my hand a Minute of Council,



*Fourth*—That the subject of Confederation "was revived in Nova Scotia in 1861."

*Resolved*—1st. That the reverse of the assertion in the despatch of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham is the fact; the word "Confederation" never having been named in any resolution moved for adoption in the Legislative Assembly of this Province previous to 1866, although the subject of Colonial Union had been from time to time discussed in this House in general terms, without affirming the desire of this Province to become a party to a Legislative or Federal Union of the British North American Provinces until the passage of the aforesaid resolution of April, 1866, which was a surprise to the people of Nova Scotia.

*Resolved* 2nd. That the resolution moved in the Legislature of Nova Scotia in 1854, which is as follows, makes no mention of "Confederation."

"That the House do now resolve into Committee on the general state of the Province, for the purpose of considering the subject of the Union of the British North American Colonies," which was debated, without eliciting any expression of opinion from the House, and postponed to the next Session of the Legislature, but was never again taken up.

*Resolved* 3rd. It is true that Delegates from the Government of Nova Scotia, were, in 1857 instructed, by a Minute of Council, to confer with Her Majesty's Government, not upon the subject of "Confederation," but in respect to "a Union of the British North American Provinces;" but the Council had no authority from the Legislature to make such Minute as will fully appear from the report of the Delegates themselves, who say that "neither the Legislature nor the people of Nova Scotia had given an expression of opinion on the subject, and we had no authority to answer the inquiry of the Colonial Secretary, whether the people of Nova Scotia desired the change."

*Resolved* 4th. That the resolution of 1861, makes no reference to Confederation, being simply an instruction to the Government to confer with His Grace the Colonial Secretary, His Excellency the Governor General, and with the other North American Colonies, on "the subject of a Union of the North American Provinces, or of the Maritime Provinces," "with a view to an enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests, and upon which the public mind in all the Provinces ought to be set at rest,"—that a Conference consisting of delegates from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Executive Council of Canada was held at Quebec in September, 1862, at which the question of Colonial Union "was set at rest," without a dissentient voice, on the ground that it was premature even to discuss it—a decision acquiesced in by the Assembly in the session of 1863, and by the people of Nova Scotia, who imagined that the prospect of uniting the Provinces had disappeared. And yet in presence of evidence so clear and conclusive, drawn from the public records of the country, His Grace the Colonial Secretary has ventured not only to defend the adoption of a scheme of Government which was never submitted to the Legislature or to the people of this Province, but to throw upon them the responsibility of having initiated the measure itself;

*And whereas* instead of recommending the repeal of the British North America Act, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham has invited the attention of the Government of Canada to the points raised in the address relative to taxation, the regulation of trade, and the fisheries, with a view to their modification or relaxation in relation to the peculiar interests of Nova Scotia and the Maritime portions of the Dominion;

*And whereas* five members of the Dominion Government have been several days in this city, during a portion of which time a Provincial Convention was in session, but no offer to relax taxation, or to modify regulations in relation to trade has yet been made to the Government or Legislature of this Province;

*Resolved*, That no mere financial arrangement or offer can be made which would satisfy the people of Nova Scotia; short of a restoration of their constitution, with full powers of self-government, which they consider the only effectual guarantee for the wise regulation of their trade and fisheries, for protection from unjust and excessive taxation, and for the economic and wise administration of affairs.

*And whereas*—Jno. Bright, Esq., member for Birmingham, on the 15th day of May last, presented a Petition to the House of Commons, signed by sixteen of the nineteen members elected by the people of Nova Scotia to the Parliament of the Dominion, and by thirty-six of the thirty-eight members elected to sit in the Legislative Assembly of this Province, fully setting forth the grievances inflicted upon the people of Nova Scotia by the act of Confederation, and praying for their removal by the repeal of said act; and also a Petition signed by the accredited Delegates from this Province, viz: The Hon. Joseph Howe, Hon. Wm. Annand, Hon. J. C. Troop, and H. W. Smith, Esq., praying to be heard by Counsel at the Bar of the House of Commons in behalf of the aforesaid Petition;

*And whereas*—The said John Bright, in his place in the House of Commons, on the 16th day of June last, with the approval of the Delegates aforesaid, consented to waive the demand for an immediate repeal of the British North America Act, and to ask in lieu thereof that Her Majesty's Government would institute an enquiry into the grievances of Nova Scotia, which moderate and reasonable request was refused;

*And whereas*—Mr. Adderley, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Commons on the 16th June last, in refusing such enquiry, declared that "he could assure the House that by the employment of other means any apprehensions which might have been entertained by the people of Nova Scotia were being rapidly dissipated at the present moment; that by following the line indicated in the last despatch of the Colonial Secretary (4th June, 1868), and by using all friendly and moral influence, the Government at home would be able, while avoiding all the evils of mischievous interference, to induce the colonists to arrange their mutual interests. This had been effected to a large extent already." Upon which assurance the House of Commons, by a vote of 182 to 87, refused to grant such enquiry.

*Resolved*, That this House regards with

indignation and alarm the refusal of a majority of the House of Commons, inspired by the leaders of Government, to grant even an inquiry into the grievances of a people second to none in the United Kingdom for public spirit and intelligence and attachment to the throne—a demand which could not be safely disregarded if made by the smallest Corporation in the British Isles, and we believe could not have been refused if the population of Nova Scotia were as great as that of the two Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. And this House emphatically records its deliberate reprobation of the statements of the Under Secretary for the Colonies, that the grievances of Nova Scotia “were being rapidly dissipated,” and that their removal “had been effected to a large extent already,” as utterly untrue. And that, so far from the discontent having been “dissipated,” or even subdued, the feeling of hostility against the Act of Confederation has increased and intensified since the Address from this House was laid at the foot of the throne.

And whereas the said Act of Confederation was passed by the Imperial Parliament in direct opposition to, and against the wishes of the people, and is unjust and oppressive:

*Resolved*, That the answer of the British Government to the prayer of this House, based on false premises, is unsatisfactory; and this Assembly again records its solemn protest against the said Act of Confederation which was a fraud upon the people of this country, and nothing but Imperial coercion can force them to be bound by such Confederation Act.

*Resolved*—That the Representatives of the people of this Province, loyal to their Sovereign, but confident of the justice of their cause, feel bound to use all constitutional means for the restoration of their liberty, peace, and prosperity as a colony of the Crown, and in their behalf invoke the sympathy and support of the people of the adjacent Colonies and the lovers of freedom in every part of the civilized world.

Mr. BLANCHARD presented a petition in reference to a Gold claim.

The House then adjourned until Monday, at 3 o'clock.

MONDAY, August 17, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

The following Bills of Incorporation were read a third time and passed: the Eurcka, Wentworth, Uniacke, Orient, Prince of Wales, and Gladstone.

Mr. KIDSTON introduced a bill to amend Chap. 45 R. S. of County Assessment; also, a bill to amend Chap. 47 R. S. of County and Township Officers.

Mr. PINEO asked the Government to lay on the table a detailed statement of the Road and Bridge Service Expenditure in the County of Cumberland, since the first of January last, together with the accounts and vouchers connected therewith. He said that he had understood at the adjournment of the House last winter that it was intended to pursue the usual mode in respect to the road service, and accordingly on his return home he wrote to his colleague to carry out the arrangement for the division of the road moneys, but he had never received any answer up to the pre-

sent time. He had subsequently applied to the Provincial Secretary and had received an answer to the effect that his colleague had claimed the right, as a supporter of the government, to dispose of the whole of the money as he thought proper for the county. He wished under the circumstances to have further information on the subject; so that he might bring the matter to the notice of the House and of his constituents.

#### ENQUIRY.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that last winter certain resolutions were passed by the House authorizing the government to obtain the opinion of learned English Counsel on the subject of the Union. He had heard such opinions had been obtained, and therefore asked the government to lay on the table the papers containing such legal opinions.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL replied that the resolution referred to by the hon. member authorized the employment of Counsel simply to advocate the cause of Nova Scotia. He would like to know where the hon. member had gained such information that any counsel had been employed to give any opinion on the subject. It would be remembered that the argument of the government was this: that the Imperial Parliament had no power or authority to tax the people of Nova Scotia because the latter were not represented in the Imperial Parliament. It was then contended that if the Imperial Parliament had not such a power, *a fortiori*, they would not create a legislature and confer upon it the power which they did not possess. The conclusion was, therefore, if they had not the power, the Imperial Statute was null and unconstitutional. He would say that, on the main point on which the whole question hinged, they had never received any legal opinion.

Mr. BLANCHARD replied that it was quite clear from the remarks of the Hon. Attorney General that such an opinion had been given. He did not deny that the opinion of Counsel had been taken, but rather attempted to evade the question. Now the House and country had a right to know the facts, in view of discussion that might take place on the resolutions now before them. He was convinced that an opinion had been taken in connection with the question of Confederation. Dame Rumour, nay more than Rumour, declared such to have been the case.

HON. ATTY. GENERAL said that the hon. member had not heard him admit that such an opinion had been taken, and that he need not expect to dragoon the Government into bringing down any other papers than they thought proper.

Mr. BLANCHARD was not attempting to dragoon the Government, but had simply asked a question to which the Government ought, in justice to the House and country, reply. He was informed that such a paper existed.

HON. ATT. GEN. replied that the hon. member had received his answer, and that he ought to know there was little dependence to be placed on so fickle and uncertain a leader as General Rumour.

Mr. BLANCHARD replied that it was obvious that the hon. gentleman was evading the question, and that the country would perfectly well

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MISCELLANEOUS.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN introduced a bill to amend the Act incorporating the Union Marine Insurance Company.

On motion of Mr. Ferguson, the bill to incorporate the Cape Breton and Glasgow Company, and the bill to amend the act incorporating the Mire Bay Harbor Company, were read a second time. The bill in reference to the sale of Petroleum in the city of Halifax was also read twice.

Mr. BLANCHARD, Chairman of Committee on Private and Local Bills, reported up a bill in reference to Stipendiary Magistrate in the town of Pictou; a bill to amend County Assessment, so far as respects County of Victoria, and two bills to incorporate Woodline and Caledonia Companies, with amendments.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked when the Government would lay on the table the report of the Delegates.

Hon. Mr. TROOP replied that they would do so on the following day or on the next.

Mr. RYERSON asked if the Government proposed making any alterations in the School Bill.

Hon. PROV. SEC. replied that it was intended to make some slight modifications. The government had been awaiting the receipt of the Report of the Superintendent.

Mr. BLANCHARD suggested the Government should change their printer, if the work was not done speedily enough.

Mr. RYERSON said that the Superintendent of Education should be made to have his papers ready in time.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY asked leave to lay on the table the Financial Returns up to the 31st December last, and in doing so, stated that it was not his intention to occupy much time that afternoon. It was very desirable, he felt, that the House should proceed, with as little delay as possible, to the discussion of the resolutions on the subject of Union now before the House. He would content himself with such explanations as would show the House the state of the public accounts, and that the reasons the Government gave for not bringing them down at the early period of the Session were plausible enough. The government would have been obliged to assume the expenditure for the coming year, and a glance at the accounts would show that they could not do so with any degree of certainty. As he said last winter, when the government took possession of the public offices of this country they found that their predecessors, the Hill-Blanchard government, had already got from the Dominion some \$279,784.22, and had disbursed \$277,560.34, leaving a balance in the treasury for the next six months of \$2,228.88. The House would observe that in the \$279,784 they had included the half year's subsidy, the whole \$60,000, and had drawn likewise on account of the subsidy an additional sum, which left the balance at the disposal of the government \$90,207.88.

That was the amount which the Government had actually a right to put their hands upon. It was quite true that the previous administra-

tion gave as a reason for their expenditures that they required a very large sum in order to pay off arrears; but they ought to have separated the accounts, instead of mixing them up as they actually did. It would have been far preferable if, instead of mixing them all together, they had charged the amount paid on arrears, that on Local, and that on Dominion account. As a natural consequence they had a very large amount to meet, and they had no other way of doing so except by drawing on the subsidy. Under the circumstances the present government were not in a position to lay a financial statement on the table last winter, together with an estimate for the current year. In fact, they were not in a position to say what they actually could disburse for the next six months. They were literally groping in the dark.

Now the government had been obliged, in the first place, to draw from the Dominion government on account of arrears \$100,000—also on account of subsidy the balance in hand. This was paid about the first of February. They then went into the adjustment of the accounts, the Dominion government appointing an agent, and the local government the Treasurer. They had gone into the accounts, putting their initials against each item. As it was difficult to separate the accounts all at once they were obliged to go on with them as they were, until they got the whole of the arrears settled up.

They had received a very large amount from the Dominion Government on account of arrears—viz: \$218,699.28. This was nearly all paid out before the government took possession of the offices. An examination of the accounts would show had it not been for large amounts due to the government, and which they could never expect to receive again,—arrears due on royalty for coal, on the Education fund, and in connection with the Road and Bridge Service—they would have been in a state of Bankruptcy. For instance, they had the advantage last year of a Royalty on coal of \$17,806.32—which indeed might be demanded by the Dominion Government; of \$45,000 due from the Counties on account of Education loan. Then in addition to all this, the Road and Bridge Service was paid to the first of January, consequently they had a very large sum over and above what really belonged to them,—as the 80 cents per head and the \$60,000 besides in order to meet the public services of the Country for the present year. The consequence was that the accounts would show at the end of the present year ending 30th June \$22,000 to our credit.

The Treasurer's Account will show the following sums paid during the period extending from 30th June to 31st December, 1867.

Advances.....	4369 77
Coroner's Inquests.....	1150 00
Criminal Prosecutions.....	1318 60
Crown Land Department.....	7105 50
Education.....	66,508 87
Hare's Lot.....	60 00
Immigration.....	1000 00
Indians.....	26 58
Legislative Expenses.....	2,160 00
Local Works.....	50,026 18
Mines.....	6500 00

Miscellaneous Expenses.....	5705 65
Poors' Asylum.....	3677 70
Provincial and City Hospital.....	11000 00
Public Building.....	18307 98
Public Printing.....	4526 27
Relief.....	5931 37
Salaries of officers of Government...	3702 11
Steamboats, Packets, and Ferrics....	3470 00
Transient Poor.....	16 09
Railway Damages—Colchester, (Pic- tou, R. R.).....	3856 14
“ “ Hants “.....	3185 75
“ “ Pictou “.....	376 66
Navigation Securities.....	15241 94
Private Bills.....	20 00
Punchard, Barry and Clark.....	50590 41
Road Service.....	180 780 95

Total, \$450,615.41

Now the same account showed on the next side:—

Crown Land Department for Land sold.....	\$16433.45
Hospital for Insane.....	4288.31
Mines.....	17629.51
Railway Damages, Colchester, (Pic- tou, R. R.).....	1000.00
Railway Damages, Pictou.....	2000.00
Railway “ Hants.....	600.00
Richmond Suspense.....	2410.00
Royalty on Coal.....	1929.99
Dominion of Canada (arrears).....	100,000.00
Education.....	23,845.23
Road Service, Colchester.....	5000.00
“ “ Cumberland.....	600.00
“ “ Digby.....	800.00
Trespasses.....	54.25
Receiver General of Canada, [special account.....	50,106.85
“ “ “ Subsidy account.....	26418.35

Total, \$490,315.94

The foregoing statement, continued the hon. gentlemen, would show how the accounts stood on the 31st December, and that there was a balance in hand of \$39,700.53 out of \$100,000 received from Canada for arrears. It would be quite apparent to any one who looked into the accounts, that the financial condition of the country was very far from being in a satisfactory condition. He did not hesitate to say—and he would have an opportunity of going more fully into the question when the Estimates are brought down—that under Confederation, with the amount of money given to us in the shape of subsidy, and the sums received from mines and minerals and other local resources, we would only have about enough to keep up the ordinary service, without paying a dollar for the roads and bridges. He might safely assert that they would not have \$10,000 for the roads and bridges if they should provide as liberally for the other services as heretofore. If we gave \$50,000 or \$60,000 for Education, the grant would be reduced one half—similar reductions might be made and all the services thus provided for; but he did not think it very pleasant to reflect that in the first year of Confederation we were obliged to reduce the expenditure in connection with services that actually increased in importance, and consequently in expense, with the growth of the country.

As the population increased, the roads and bridges would necessarily increase in expense; and he believed instead of reducing, they should enlarge the grant every year by at least \$10,000. The accounts, he added, were printed up to the 1st January, and those for the remainder of the year would be laid on the table for the information of the House. He would be glad to give every information on the subject. He was quite confident the House would approve of the manner in which the Government had discharged the trust they had reposed in them during the first part of the session, in connection with the public disbursements.

Mr. BLANCHARD asked the Government whether they were prepared to lay on the table the Report of the Commission appointed last year to investigate the public finances.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY said they would be able to do so in a day or two; the Report had been handed back that it might be amplified in some of its details.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Dr. MURRAY presented a petition from the rate payers of polling section No. 13, Pictou, praying a division for poor purposes. He said that he had presented the petition prior to the adjournment, but it had not been noticed in the Reports. He had learned that the Sessions had power to deal with the subject, and it would not, therefore, be pressed on the notice of the House.

The House then went into Committee on Bills, and passed the Bills to incorporate the Westlake Company, the Crescent Company, the Delia Company, the Meridian Gold Mining Company, and the Preston Gold Mining Company. Also, the Bill to enable the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Halifax to sell or mortgage certain lands; the Bill to change the name of Back Settlement of Tracadie, Antigonish; the Bill to legalize the proceedings of the Digby Sessions; and the Bill to enable the Firewardens of Pictou to borrow money for fire purposes.

Mr. KIRK presented a petition from the inhabitants of Manchester and Guysboro', praying for the construction of a drawbridge across the Manchester river.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that the work prayed for in the petition was of great importance. He would do all in his power to aid in its promotion.

The House then adjourned to the following day at 3 o'clock.

TUESDAY, August 18, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL introduced a bill to amend Chap. 182 Revised Statutes of Madam, Vagrants, &c. The object of the bill is to impose a check on the sending of persons alleged to be insane to the hospital.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON presented a petition from Alex. Hamilton and others, for an alteration of the School Law. Referred to Committee on Education.

Dr. MURRAY introduced a bill to incorporate the Crown Coal, Brick, and Pottery Company. He said that this company had gone into operation at New Glasgow. Suitable buildings,

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ovens, and kilns, had been erected at a cost of about £2000 and employment had already been given to a large number of persons. The quality of the wares manufactured was said to be equal if not superior to any imported from abroad; a number of competent workmen had been brought out from England, and the company would shortly be able to supply, not only the market of Nova Scotia, but of the whole Dominion, and of Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland.

Mr. BLANCHARD said he was glad to see a company of this kind coming in to supply the market that would be opened to them. He was sorry to say that their manufactures would be met by a duty of ten per cent. in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, but the Canadian market was open to them.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that the company would be obliged to pay the duty in another way in the Dominion.

Mr. BLANCHARD introduced a bill to incorporate the Stanley Gold Company of Sherbrooke.

Mr. DESBRISAY presented a petition from a resident at Malone Bay, asking a grant of land in consideration of military services. Referred to the Crown Land Committee.

Mr. BLANCHARD presented a petition from a person who had been appointed a commissioner to erect a breakwater, and who had been made liable for damages in consequence of a trespass committed.

#### RAILWAY DAMAGES.

Hon. Mr. TROOP presented several petitions relative to the appraisement of damages on the line of the Windsor and Annapolis Railway, in Annapolis County. He said it was well known that Annapolis was one of the oldest and finest agricultural counties in the Province, that the land of the county was very valuable, and that the railway ran through its most fertile and valuable tracts for a distance of thirty miles. Under the Railway Act, which was a most improvident one, the Company had located the line in the most crooked form, apparently with the object of taking the most valuable land. The jury, in assessing the damages, had ignored the rights of the proprietors. The petitions were signed by all the claimants, and set out all the facts of the case. All the parties interested had appealed from the assessment to the Supreme Court, the Chief-Justice had sent some of the causes to be tried in the county, but none of them had been tried, and the Chief-Justice had recommended the parties to apply to the Legislature for redress. For that purpose this application was being made, and was backed by disinterested freeholders of the county. To his own observation gross injustice had been done in a large number of cases. Many of the persons complaining had labored for half a lifetime on their lands, and saw their property destroyed before their eyes without a chance of anything but a nominal remuneration. The inhabitants of Kings and Hants Counties were interested likewise in this matter. He would ask to have the petitions referred to a select committee.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL hoped that great attention would be paid to the prayer of the petitions. The Statute gave a very extraordinary and arbitrary power to the Company, enabling them to take the lands of private persons at a

rate of remuneration to be fixed by a jury of the very county that had to pay the damages. Its effect was to take away the land against the will of the proprietors, and to authorize the payment of any price which the proprietors choose to pay. He had been informed that the jury that appraised the damages went on the lands at a very unseasonable time of the year, when they could not arrive at a proper estimate, and made their own valuations without consultation with the proprietors. In his estimation they should have summoned the owner of the soil before them, to see what the peculiar facts of each case were. In not doing so they failed to act as a properly constituted tribunal, and violated one of the first principles of justice. They should have opened their court regularly and summoned all parties before them. He thought an Act should be brought in to declare the whole appraisement void.

Dr. BROWN said he was very glad that attention had been called to this subject. Much discontent existed in King's county as well as Annapolis, and he hoped that King's would be included in any action that might be taken.

The petitions were referred to the following gentlemen as a select Committee: Messrs. Blanchard, Smith, DesBrisay, Purdy and Chambers.

Hon. Mr. TROOP presented petitions from Chas. Wiswell, of Wilmot, and Sophia Spiggott on the same subject. They were referred to the same Committee.

#### PETITION.

Mr. YOUNG presented a petition from Geo. A. Lloyd for an increase of salary. Referred to Committee on Crown Lands.

#### INEBRIATE ASYLUM.

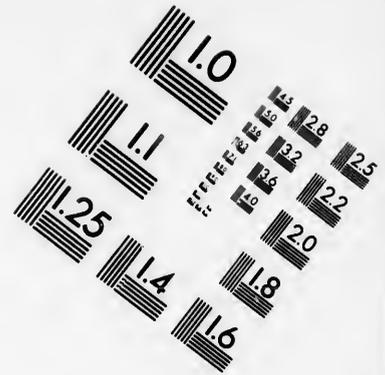
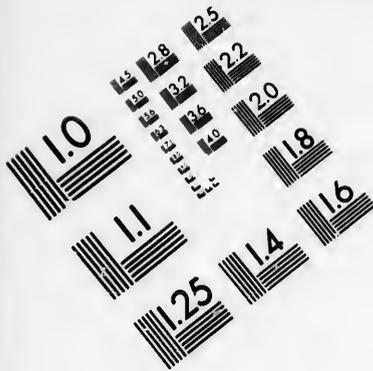
Mr. KIRK presented a petition from Charles Robson, and others, for the establishment of an asylum for inebriates. He said that this was a subject which had engaged the attention of the temperance men of the Province for some time. The necessity for action on the part of this Legislature was becoming every day more apparent, and he trusted that the House would give the petition a favorable consideration.

Mr. BLANCHARD agreed that this subject had long occupied public attention. The Lunatic Asylum had been recently largely extended, and there was in course of erection in Halifax a building called a Poor's Asylum and City Hospital. He would suggest as a practicable view of the question that some arrangement might be made for the establishment of such an asylum as that alluded to in the petition in connection with one of those institutions.

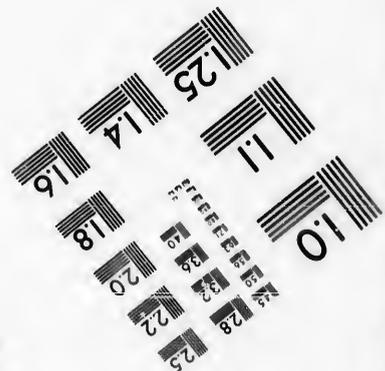
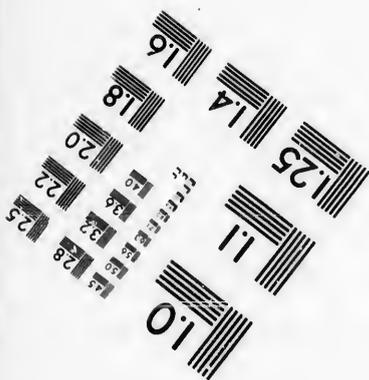
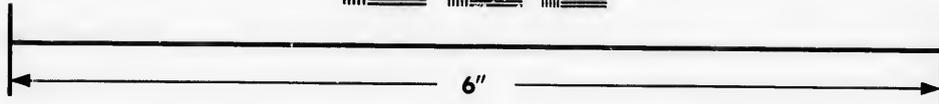
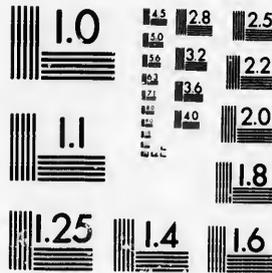
Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that he was about to make a similar observation. The Lunatic Asylum had not been completed; it required an additional wing, and perhaps the Government could not do better than to complete that edifice and apply the new portion to the treatment of inebriates. He was perfectly satisfied that such an institution as that asked for would be an inconceivable blessing to the country. It would tend to check the evils of intemperance into which numbers of young men are gradually falling, and the project would therefore receive his warmest support.

The petition was referred to a select Committee, consisting of Messrs. Kirk, Blanchard, Hon. Atty. General, Murray and Chambers.





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
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## BILLS.

Hon. Mr. TROOP introduced a Bill to amend Chap. 123, Rev. Stat., "Of the Supreme Court and its Officers," the object of the bill being to change the time for holding the sittings at Digby.

The Legislative Council announced by message that they had passed a bill to incorporate the Block House Mining Company, and had agreed to a number of the Acts of Incorporation sent up from the Assembly.

Mr. TOWNSEND introduced a Bill to Incorporate the Chicago Gold Mining Company of Nova Scotia.

The House adjourned to the next day at 3 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, 19th August, 1868.

The House met at three o'clock.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL introduced a bill to incorporate the North American Mining Company.

Mr. BLANCHARD introduced a bill to incorporate the Starr Manufacturing Company.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL stated that the Report of the Delegates would be laid on the table on the following day, as well as the opinion which the hon. member for Inverness was so desirous of obtaining, and charged the Government with endeavoring to withhold. When the House read this opinion it would be a great treat to them.

## DEBATE ON THE REPEAL RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. BLANCHARD said: I am glad, sir, that the hon. Attorney General will be able to-morrow to place the papers in connection with this question before the House. I would certainly have wished to have read them before commencing my address, but it is not for me to complain since the government no doubt would have been quite willing to postpone this discussion had I desired it. I am happy to learn that there is such an opinion after all—that rumour, in this case, is not such a bad leader as the hon. gentleman intimated the other day. Whatever may be the character of this opinion, the House and country will have an opportunity of examining it. At this season of the year—at a time when there is a good deal of important business to be transacted—it is certainly advisable to avoid any lengthened discussions; but occupying the position which I do—not perhaps a very enviable one in the minds of some persons—I would be guilty of something like cowardice were I to allow such resolutions as have been moved by the government to pass without criticism on my part. Before entering into the discussion of this question, let me ask the House to contrast the position we now occupy with that which we occupied in the early part of the session. We came to this House in February last and were told "that this country had never been, and never would be, confederated with Canada." It was announced by the highest authority in the Province that the Act of Union was a nullity and unconstitutional; and the Attorney General and his colleagues in the government were prepared to test that question—to say that the law was not obligatory upon the people—that they might regard it as they thought

proper. They were prepared to contest the question in every way possible—to appeal from one Court to another, until they effected their object. What have we now? The law is recognized by the Government and by every man in the country. We are told by the British Government and Parliament that this law is perfectly constitutional and effective. No man in his senses can pretend to say that Act can be despised or rejected. These resolutions which we have before us at this moment admit, if not in express terms at least in effect, that we are bound by the Dominion Act and must obey it. What has brought about this change in the opinions of the Government? This House was made to believe that the Act was unconstitutional, and therefore negatory and void. The answer now comes from the highest authority that we must obey it, because it is the law of the land and we cannot reject it; and I am proud that I can appeal to the House and country and ask if I was not right in the constitutional law which I laid down last winter. I feel that no better evidence could be given of the correctness of the doctrines which I held than the papers now before the House. I shall say nothing in respect to the opinion which we are to have to-morrow, except that it comes, I believe, from the highest constitutional lawyers in the United Kingdom, and they are second to none on the face of the earth. Let this House be careful now. The Government has once already propounded a doctrine which has been found unconstitutional and untrue, and the House should deliberate *seriously* before stultifying itself again. Delegates of standing and ability have gone to England with certain Resolutions and an address passed by this House, and what did they do? Did they present it? No, they presented a case to the British Parliament, in which these *very resolutions were ignored*, or merely referred to. I hold their case under my hand, as published in the MORNING CHRONICLE of 11th April last, and all that it says on the subject is found in the following sentences:—

"The Local Legislature met in January, when a series of Resolutions were unanimously adopted by the House of Assembly, followed by an address to the Crown which declares that "The loyal people of Nova Scotia do not desire to be in any manner confederated with Canada" praying her Majesty "to revoke her proclamation and to cause the British North America act to be repealed, so far as it affects the Province of Nova Scotia."

That case contains the grounds on which the delegates demanded a Repeal of the Act; but why is it that the resolutions are not embodied in it? or why is it that they do not insist that Parliament had no right or power to pass the law? Perhaps when we have the legal opinion in question we shall be able to understand the reason. How was it then no member of the House of Lords or of the House of Commons could be found to advocate the resolutions passed, it is said—although I doubt it—"unanimously" in this Legislature? I have no doubt that the delegates did all they could, but they were only able, we know, to get Mr. Bright, a distinguished member of the Commons, to demand that a Commission should be appointed to enquire into the grievances of Nova Scotia. I ask this

House to pause further; before both unconstitu-

We are told the constitution Duke of Buccleugh (Duke) to attend by such a writer. Yet Buckingham British Government and similar, in this composing "childish opinions member for taking notes on the subject whether the Duke not—that he about. Let gentlemen do not. They what they say the opinion resolutions should be passed resolution information General, we trust the manacles down to resolutions to them doing contained. delegates "Resolutions pointed, the British Government the people of Confederal restoration as it exists British not to act to such a law, the bar of such other the resolutions advised. It will for the previous a thing nor any in the present ask the Mr. Bright committing this question here maintained. The delegates when single

House to pause, then, before committing itself further; before they again adopt doctrines both unconstitutional and untenable.

We are told, by the Attorney General, that the constitutional principles laid down by the Duke of Buckingham and Chaudos are "actually childish"—it was absurd for him (the Duke) to attempt to contradict those enunciated by such eminent!! constitutional lawyers as framed the Resolutions of the House last winter. Yet the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham embodies the opinions of the British Government, whose exponent he was, and not simply his own. Are we to be told then, in this Legislature, that men, like those composing the British Government, hold "childish opinions," and promulgate childish doctrines in a serious state paper. The hon. member for Queen's, who is so industriously taking notes, may inform us better, perhaps, on the subject; he will doubtless tell us whether the Duke of Buckingham is childish or not—that he does not know what he is talking about. Let me now enquire whether these gentlemen departed from their instructions or not. They had *specific instructions* as to what they should do; it was not sufficient in the opinion of the government that certain resolutions and an address based thereon should be passed; but it was necessary that a resolution should be adopted for their especial information. It did seem as if the Attorney General, who was left out—as if he, afraid to trust the delegates—was determined to put manacles on these gentlemen; to bind them down to the strict letter of the Repeal Resolutions adopted by this House and prevent them doing anything contrary to what they contained. The resolution so binding the delegates is as follows:

*Resolved*, That the delegates, so to be appointed, are to urge upon the attention of the British Government and the Imperial Parliament the strong feelings of this House and of the people of Nova Scotia upon the question of Confederation; that they are to ask for the restoration of the constitution of this country as it existed previously to the passage of the British North America Act; that they are not to accept any alteration of or amendment to such act; and that they are hereby authorized, if necessary, to retain counsel, learned in the law, to plead the claims of Nova Scotia at the bar of the House of Commons, and take all such other and necessary steps for carrying out the resolutions of this House as may be deemed advisable."

It will be seen that the delegates were to ask for the restoration of the constitution existing previous to the Union. Did they ask for such a thing? Mr. Bright certainly did not do so—nor anybody else in the House of Commons, or in the House of Lords. A petition was simply presented by a gentleman who did not even ask that its passage should be carried out. Mr. Bright, as I said before, simply asked for a commission to investigate the complaints on this question, and he said he did so "with the assent of the delegates"—a fact not known here until the result of the appeal was ascertained. I do not complain of the conduct of the delegates who doubtless acted for the best, when they found they were powerless to get a single man to bring before the British Parlia-

ment the doctrines laid down in this House. When the protest was published by these gentlemen, the country first learned with surprise that Mr. Bright had made the application he did with their consent. That the delegates departed from their express instructions there can be no doubt whatever; for they were told to ask for nothing but Repeal. Who does not remember the stentorian voice with which the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Morrison) shouted "Repeal, Repeal, Repeal;" and it is a wonder that they did not hear his voice ringing in their ears when they were disregarding their instructions. This House never asked for a Commission; and I doubt very much if the Attorney General and his government could have persuaded the House in the temper it was last winter to be satisfied with such a mode of dealing with the question. If the House of Commons had granted the application, this government would have found itself in a very awkward position.

Let me here turn your attention to a constitutional doctrine laid down in the speech of the Attorney General a few days ago—a doctrine to which I give my most cordial assent—"that the only way in which the opinion of the people can be ascertained is by the Legislature of the Country, including the Assembly and Council." One would naturally expect a gentleman of Conservative tendencies like the Attorney General to express such doctrines as those. Now let me apply them to the present case. Had the people constitutionally expressed the opinion that delegates should go home? According to the Attorney General—and I quite agree with him there—they had not. They went home to England with the expressed assent of one branch of the Legislature only, and went outside of their instruction altogether, as I think, I have very clearly shown. It is quite possible that the new resolutions may be sent to the Upper House; but at all events we know that unless that is done the assent of the people has not been constitutionally expressed; and this as I have said is not my view alone, but that of Mr. Wilkins as expressed by him when moving these resolutions a day or two ago. I feel I am bound to respect this House, but still this House alone cannot say what the wishes of the people may be—without the co-operation of the Legislative Council it is not the act of the Legislature—only the act of one branch, even if that be the most important branch.

It has been said throughout this controversy that the people and Government of Great Britain were deceived by the delegates who went home for the purpose of obtaining this Confederation—that they urged that the people were favorable to the measure. Now as far as I am personally concerned I need not defend the action of those delegates; but I think in their absence it is but due to them to declare that the statement is incorrect—that they did not deceive the people or government of Great Britain; and I am prepared to take issue with any gentleman on that point, and shall give Mr. Bright as my authority. I now read from Mr. Bright's speech in the House of Commons, and it will be seen that he charged the British Government, Earl Carnarvon in particular, with having passed the Act knowing that the people were opposed to it:—"And

proved it by the Earl's own speech of the previous session." Mr. Bright said: "I say not only do they (the Nova Scotians) not consent, but more, the Government of this country knew perfectly well that they were not consenting parties." And when quoting the Earl of Carnarvon to prove that the British Government knew the state of feeling in Nova Scotia, he said:

"This is the sentence in which the Earl of Carnarvon expresses his feelings on the matter." "If Parliament now delays, delay may mean an indefinite postponement. If we now remit it, I care not on what pretence, to the further consideration of the provinces, we deliberately invite opposition, and we may be sure that many years will pass over before another such proposal for confederation is submitted to Parliament." It is clear from that that the Earl of Carnarvon knew what was going on in the colony, how entirely dissatisfied the people there were with the proceedings of this Parliament; and he feared that if there were any delay—for the Bill would not pass if Nova Scotia was not included—and the question was remitted to the decision of the people of Nova Scotia, the idea of the federation of all the colonies would not be carried out for many years to come."

Can I quote any better authority for Anti-Unionists than Mr. Bright? He tells us that the Earl of Carnarvon was not deceived—that he knew and the Imperial Government knew perfectly well the sentiments of the people on the subject; and yet it has been announced again and again in every conceivable shape that the Union delegates told a falsehood. From whom did the Earl of Carnarvon obtain his information except from the delegates? The Earl knew perfectly well that when a great question of this character had to be passed upon, very many issues would be mixed up with it; but he felt that to postpone the question at that crisis would be to postpone it indefinitely.

I do not hesitate to say that under our constitution there was no practical mode of getting hold of the opinions of the people except by the Legislature, and I am glad the Attorney General has at last admitted that to be the only constitutional mode. I took some pains last winter to show that we had not the machinery they have in the United States: for as it has been, and is now, it is quite clear that let any Government go to the people upon a question, no matter what it is, the popularity or unpopularity of the Government will to a very large extent decide the issue. When the late Premier, Dr. Tupper, brought down that sweeping measure of education, if he had dissolved the House, how many who supported the bill would have been returned? As clean a sweep would have been the result as we have seen made of the Union supporters. In New Brunswick, when the Government went to the country it was badly beaten. I cannot enter into all the causes now; but a few months afterwards their successors went to the country and sustained an equally grievous defeat.

I come now to the most important part of the question before this House, and I approach it feeling the deep responsibility which has been imposed on me—a responsibility which taxes my powers beyond their capacity, but I shall

endeavor to discharge my duty to the best of my ability. I will now take up the first resolution which has been laid before the House by the Government. The Attorney General told us the other day "that if one of the propositions of a syllogism be false, the entire conclusion must be false also." Now, if I prove to the House that the very first resolution embodies a positive and palpable untruth—to the effect that "Confederation" was never named in this country before 1866—then we may legitimately assume that ALL of these resolutions are based on a fallacy and unworthy of consideration. Now the first resolution says that the word "Confederation" was "never named in any resolution moved for adoption in the Legislative Assembly of this Province previous to 1866, although the subject of Colonial Union has been from time to time discussed in this House on general terms, without affirming the desire of this Province to become a party to a Legislative or Federal Union." The next resolution goes on to assert that the "resolution moved in the Legislature of Nova Scotia in 1854 makes no mention of Confederation."

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—None was "moved for adoption."

Mr. BLANCHARD.—What did Mr. Johnston move the resolution for? Was it not to obtain an address to the Queen upon it when adopted? The hon. gentleman has certainly found "a mare's nest." Then, I presume, the present resolutions were not moved for adoption. These gentlemen quote the very resolution moved by Mr. Johnston, and assert that the word "Confederation" is not contained in it; but we have the public records to refer to, and what do we find? I have before me the authorized reports of 1854, as published in the *British Colonist* of February 2, of that year. I find that the resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved that the Union or Confederation of the British North American Provinces on just principles, while calculated to perpetuate the connection with the parent State, will promote their advancement and prosperity, increase their strength and influence, and elevate their position.

"Resolved, That His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, by address, be respectfully requested to make known to Her Majesty the Queen, and to the Governments of the sister Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and P. E. Island, the opinion of this House and its desire to promote the object; and that His Excellency, by correspondence with the Imperial and Provincial Governments, and all means in His Excellency's power, urge and facilitate the consideration of a measure which, if matured on principles satisfactory to the several Provinces and calculated to secure their harmony and bring into action their consolidated strength, must result in lasting benefits of incalculable value."

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL.—The hon. gentleman should consult the Journals of the House.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I quote from the *Colonist*, then the journal by which the hon. gentleman swore, as well as the hon. member for Queens, (Mr. Smith), but not only have we the resolution as I have read it, but we have the remarks of Mr. Johnston, Mr. Howe, Mr. Young, and of the present Attorney-General himself. If the Attorney General of to-day will

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only adopt the doctrines of the same gentleman in 1854, as regards Union, I shall be quite content, although it is very doubtful if they will be acceptable to the people of this country. This resolution, the House is aware, was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Johnston in a very able speech, in which the following remarks occur :

"The motion I am about to make, Mr. Speaker, will I am sure commend itself to the feelings of this House. The Hon. Prov. Secy. told us yesterday that it was the duty of Nova Scotians to boast; and if we may look to the report he yesterday brought in—we well know how to do that. To my mind Sir, it is of infinitely more importance that we should have something to boast of; if we can elevate our position, improve our resources, consolidate our strength, and give to us that which we now earnestly yearn for—something of nationality—shall we refuse to avail ourselves of the opportunity. Let us blow our trumpets as loudly as we please, still little Nova Scotia must remain just as she is, nay New Brunswick and even Canada must to a certain extent be *limited and controlled in their progress* whilst they remain without national character, influence or position. Ever since I first contemplated this subject under the auspices of a man of extended talent and sagacious mind—I allude to Lord Durham,—my eyes have been steadfastly fixed upon the period when it could be accomplished, and I now believe that a movement in that direction *though commenced* by the smallest and least influential of the three Provinces may produce results favorable to its speedy accomplishment."

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—Mr. Johnston is a great Confederate.

Mr. BLANCHARD—It is because he is a sensible man—because his grey hairs have brought him wisdom and his age and experience have told him that Confederation is necessary for the best interests of the people of this country, and have only deepened and strengthened his former convictions. Mr. Johnston, in 1854, advocated a Union or Confederation of these Colonies. His views were that a Federal Union was not the best system—he preferred a Legislative Union; and the present Attorney General entertained similar opinions. He advocated a Union perfect and complete, with only one Legislature for all the provinces.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—Now you have fallen on your feet.

Mr. BLANCHARD—Perhaps before I have done I shall put the hon. gentleman on his head, (laughter), for if the present system be bad, then the one he advocated in 1854 would, in the estimation of the people of this country, be a thousand times worse. He will have my cordial support to-morrow if he will come out a supporter of a Legislative Union; but let him pause well before he does so, and consider how his friends will relish the idea. Will not such a Union, in their opinion, be far more detrimental to the liberties and interests of the people? Mr. Johnston saw in 1854 the difficulties in the way of a Legislative Union; his own mind led him to prefer that plan. He referred to the celebrated meeting held at Toronto in 1849 when the question was fully discussed, and the very plan of Confederation we have now was actually outlined, Mr.

Johnston then said if it was the best we could get we must take it. I quote as follows :—

"The plan they agreed to submit for the constitution of the Provinces is set out in detail and occupies considerable space; I will notice the leading portions :

The Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, P. E. Island and Newfoundland to be joined in a Federal Union under the name of British North America, with a Secretary, and office in Downing street, and a Vice Regent and Federal Legislature. Each Province to have its Local Legislature, the Legislative Council of which was to be elected.

The powers of the General Government were to be the *imposition of taxes, duties and imposts* which should be uniform throughout the Provinces, to assume and pay the debts of the various Provinces, and provide for the peace and welfare of the Union, to establish commercial regulations between the different Provinces and foreign countries, determine disputes, &c., &c., &c., promote internal improvements, regulate Post Office, militia, &c., &c. A Supreme Court being also a Court of Appeal, &c., &c. A subsequent resolution passed against the election of the Legislative Council.

Here is presented a *scheme of Confederation* evidently prepared with care, and worthy of consideration, which it is to be regretted has not been pressed upon the notice of the different Provinces."

Now what I have read to you shows quite distinctly that Mr. Johnston, then the leader of the opposition, discussed the question of Confederation. Mr. Howe and Mr. Young unequivocally declared that they were not prepared for a Legislative Union, whilst Mr. Johnston and Mr. Wilkins declared themselves in its favour. I wished I possessed the eloquence with which the hon. gentleman (the Atty. General) described the benefits that would proceed from a union of the provinces. There are doctrines in that speech with which I cannot concur, but there is much that is just and true. He denounced Responsible Government, as "Responsible nonsense," and would have a House of Peers composed of men drawn entirely from the moneyed classes of England, as I shall show presently. Now what does the hon. member say regarding our constitution then? that constitution which last winter he eulogized so highly and declared to be the British Constitution in miniature. He said :—

"The *weakness of the present Constitution of the Colonies consists in this, that it is so palpably anti-British that it cannot be endured*, and the least consideration and reflection will prove satisfactorily, to the dullest and most obtuse understanding, that *our system is the worst form of Government on the face of the whole earth* as it now struggles to exist, for, in fact, such an *unnatural monster* cannot retain life, and it only puzzles me to imagine how it could have crept into existence at all."

And what did he say respecting annexation? What sort of a picture did he draw of the United States? Let his own words answer:

"I was rejoiced to hear both the hon. gentlemen express an earnest desire to cling to their allegiance, and condemn annexation to the United States as a step not to be thought of. In this, sir, I trust there is not one man in Nova Scotia who does not heartily concur with

them, as I most sincerely do. I never hear the accursed word "annexation," that my blood does not boil in my very veins with unmitigated indignation. And what are we to gain by annexation? Does any Nova Scotian imagine that his life or property will be safer in the keeping of a *Yankee mob*? Why, in the name of Heaven, should we fall in love with a slave-holding, *repudiating, Sabbath-breaking, lynching democracy*? What would act the select minority of the population of the Union—the virtuous, the just, and the religious few—give to escape the turbulent and lawless dominion of the brutal many, and to throw themselves into the arms of our Government? Do we really desire to enjoy the blessings of a Constitution with a mob-elected magistracy, where magistrate and mob not infrequently assemble for the benevolent purpose of executing summary vengeance upon a supposed offender, who, without the form of a trial, or 'shadow of justice,' is brought to the stake and roasted like an ox. Do we sigh for the glorious freedom of a Legislative Hall where the Bowie knife, the pistol and the dagger, occasionally usurp the office of argument, of reason, and of deliberation? Away with such idle dreams! Let us open our eyes and we shall perceive that annexation to the Republic would, in fact, be the greatest curse we could possibly be made to endure.

\* \* \* The autocracy of Russia would, itself, furnish us with more real liberty and greater security than we could find in the arms of the vanquished republic."

The hon. member holds very different language now. He, or some of his friends say that they would rather be annexed to this "Sabbath breaking repudiating," country than be confederated with Canada. He would now rather submit to Joe Howe than be connected with Sir John A. MacDonald and his friends. But what does he say in reference to a Union of the Colonies:

"A Union of the B. N. A. Colonies I believe to be indispensable to our happiness as Colonists, and to the maintenance of the authority of the Queen over her American possessions."

Thus it will be seen that in 1854 Mr. Wilkins came forward and declared to the people of this country that the day had arrived when, in order to retain the connection with Great Britain, a union must be effected. He would sweep away all the local legislatures, and comprise them in one great Central Parliament. I agree with him, but can he make his followers support him?

The hon. gentleman declared the other day that the people should select the Senate, as they did the Legislative Councillors; but what did he say in 1854. Then he hid down the doctrine that the Legislative Council should emanate from the Queen only and be appointed under an Act of Parliament, in order that they might be an independent body. He said:

"The independence of the House of Lords is the back bone of the British constitution. Standing as they do between the Crown and the people, they by their intrinsic weight are at all times able by leaning to the one side or the other to keep the scale even. \* \* \* If the King prevailed we should have a monarchical despotism—if the people a grinding

democracy. The independence of the House of Lords is, I say, the strength, the marrow, and pith of the British constitution.

"Where is the independence then of our Legislative Councils? Who makes them? Whence do they derive their dignity? Why sir, the members of these bodies are picked up from the mass of the people at the caprice of a governor—dubbed honorable—without a shadow of independence—liable to be blown away like the chaff before the wind, the very way sometimes the contempt of their fellow subjects."

He (the Attorney General) then described as follows, the mode in which an independent Upper House or quasi House of Lords was to be manufactured for us:

"Before I suggest the mode of procuring the House of Lords, I would call your attention to the signal advantages to be derived from a Union of the Colonies and the construction of one House of Representatives for the whole. There can be nothing, Sir, in my estimation, more frivolous and contemptible than a deliberate Legislative Assembly on a small scale. In a House composed of 50 or 60 members, one or two artful men will always manage to form a party, sufficiently strong to bear down opposition, and consequently Mr. A. or Mr. B. becomes virtually the autocrat of the colony. Not so in a body consisting of hundreds of individuals, chosen from and representing a variety of distinct and diversified interests. In such an assembly we should escape the petty intrigues and political juggles, which are so disgusting in smaller bodies, and the evil of which has been, and is still felt in all the colonies as at present constituted. The House of Assembly of Canada ran at the heels of Papinian till he led them into rebellion, and used his own heels to escape the consequences of abusing the misplaced confidence of his ignorant followers, and the possibility of coming in for a share of the honors, which in those days were sometimes bestowed upon treason, in a manner a little different from the method recently invented by the Canadian Legislature, and patented by an illustrious bungler who figured at the head of the Colonial Office. In Nova Scotia, too, a certain "good shepherd" has trained the sheep to follow him as blindly and confidently as he could desire, and he certainly manages to keep the flock pretty well together."

Now what about this "good shepherd" who was he? Not his leader of that day but mine, and the shepherd whose voice I knew and whom I fully and faithfully followed. This was the shepherd who had so well led his flock as to keep the Hon. Attorney General and his party in opposition for many years—and then anything, any union, any course would be right which would rid the country of such a demagogue. Now, how are times changed. The Hon. Attorney General is now the shepherd and his flock have thus far followed with marvellous docility. And the small House is not now so "contemptible"—it is quite large enough for him—and there is no danger of Mr. A. or Mr. B. succeeding in misleading the House. But said Mr. Wilkins then (in 1854) "by a union of the provinces we shall get rid of this wretched state of affairs."

I quote further from the report of the House of Peers as follows:

"It must be such a fool as finding the man who denies themselves sufficient wealth on this side would be doing neighbors. They having amassed wealth generally necessary for elevation to general approval lack the influence of their utility. From England sixty gentlemen found among the gentry and entered retired from wealth can they lure them English, I rank in future as Peers of the United Kingdom."

The hon. member ridiculed the proposal of an Upper House. The most if he was might obtainants retained now the right to petition of the touched sent expressed in 1854.

"In reference to the Peers, I have said that they have succeeded in their purpose."

Then the cable of altered of the Hon. will.

Mr. pressed declare House of both him if the pre dare of gists their Imper passed ples by t seen

I quote further in reference to the importation of peers and the creation of a constitution for us:

"It must not be supposed, sir, that I am such a fool as to contemplate the possibility of finding the material of a peerage in the colonies themselves. By no means. If men of sufficient wealth and merit were to be found on this side of the water, I do not think it would be desirable to lift them above their neighbors. The millionaires of the colonies, having amassed their fortunes among the people, have not, I fear, in the scramble for wealth generally succeeded in acquiring the necessary amount of respect, to make their elevation to the peerage be hailed with general approbation, and they would therefore lack the influence which is indispensable to their utility. I should prefer importing them from England, and I feel assured that fifty or sixty gentlemen of fortunes, ranging over a hundred thousand pounds, may readily be found among the highly respectable and intelligent class of men, who, by industry, integrity, and enterprise, have accumulated fortunes and retired from active business. Having all that wealth can give them, it is not at all likely they would decline nobility. In order to allure them they should rank next after the English, Irish, and Scotch Peers, and take rank in future in the same manner as they do as Peers of the Realm. They should be required to remove to the colony and take up their residence there."

The hon. gentleman, it will be seen, then ridiculed small legislatures, even when composed of fifty members, and would have an Upper House drawn from England entirely. The most stupid tailow chandler in London, if he was worth a certain sum of money, might obtain the position, and his descendants retain it to the end of time. He says now that the people of England had no right to pass a statute affecting the constitution of this country—that it should be only touched by the people themselves as represented in Parliament. How different his present exposition of constitutional law from that of 1854. He then said:

"In reference to the difficulty of procuring Peers, let the Imperial Legislature, by statute, create such a constitution for us as I have suggested."

Then the charter—that inalienable, irrevocable charter of Nova Scotia—was to be, not altered, but completely overthrown, by an act of the Imperial Parliament—

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—Yes, with our will.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—Yes, with our will expressed in the way that the Attorney General declared a day or two ago on the floors of this House it could only be done, viz: "by a vote of both branches of this Legislature;" and I ask him if that has not been the case in regard to the present constitution we enjoy? Who will dare deny it? Don't both branches of this Legislature, by overwhelming majorities, declare their willingness to have an act passed by the Imperial Parliament uniting us? And when passed, or at least when its nature and principles were fully known here, was it not affirmed by this Legislature again? Thus it will be seen our present constitution, according to the

Attorney General himself, has been made in a constitutional manner.

"In 1854, said Mr. Wilkins, there exists a stern necessity for a radical change in our institutions, and I repeat my conviction that unless a constitution be forthwith manufactured for these dependencies in every respect as closely imitative as that of Great Britain as possible, they must and will assuredly be lost to her whatever may be their fate." Now he contends that no change is necessary, that the happiness of Nova Scotia under this "undeniable constitution" was perfect. Will he explain why his mind has thus changed? for changed it unquestionably has. A complete revolution has taken place in his sentiments, and should be told why and wherefore. What has been one of the great objections to this Union? That the people of Lower Canada were of a different race and religion from ourselves, and must necessarily prevent a harmonious Union. Yet in 1854 the hon. member showed that by a Union these Lower Canadian demagogues would soon find that they were in the midst of a large country, and must in the course of time conform to British laws and customs. I wish the hon. gentleman would remember what he said only fourteen years ago, when he desired a large union in which our politics would take a higher range, and demagogues would be kept down:

"Neither, sir, will it be a trifling mercy to get rid of the croak of the grievance-monger, and the cant of the reformer. Be assured there will be no resting place for such cattle as these in the barn-yard of the new system. Our agitators will cut but a sorry picture in the House of Commons of the United Colonies; and the Canadian habitans and their demagogues will speedily be brought to their senses, and learn the folly and inutility of struggling for that power, the hope of which they will be under the necessity of relinquishing forever. The French Canadians will soon discover the propriety and expediency of dropping their nationality, and sinking their prejudices, and they will find it their interest to conform to the laws and customs of their English fellow-subjects."

One of these resolutions says that when in 1867 a delegation was sent to Canada to discuss the question of Union, it was considered premature to do so, until free trade was accomplished, and the Intercolonial Railway was built. I will admit that was the view then of the Canadian Government. I know also that the late Mr. McGee, that lamented statesman, at the last meeting of the Parliament at Ottawa declared in his place, in the presence of Mr. Howe, that when that delegation met in Canada and discussed this question, Mr. Howe, supported in very eloquent terms, the Union, and Mr. McGee assisted him with all his ability; but the Government of the day nevertheless thought that the Intercolonial Railway and Free Trade should precede political co-rection. That statement of Mr. McGee's has never yet been denied as far as I know. The delegates returned and reported the result to the Government. The government afterwards sent a delegation to England on the subject of the Intercolonial Railway—which was considered the necessary forerunner of Confederation, or a Union of the Colonies. They came home

after a most elaborate investigation into the question, having made an arrangement by which Nova Scotia was to build three and a half twelfths of the proposed road. Upon examination of the trade statistics of the country, it was found that free-trade without Union was out of the question—to allow whiskey and other Canadian manufactures to come into this country while we are separate provinces was seen to be injurious to our interests. I need not tell the House that the arrangement referred to fell through. Hence the Inter-colonial Railway was making no progress, free trade was believed to be out of the question; and the public men of the provinces came to the conclusion that the order of things must be reversed—that we must have Confederation first. Let me ask then *en passant* whether when we were ready to build the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  twelfths of the road we would have got the money for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. as we do now when we build only one-tenth of the line.

These resolutions speak of the necessity of setting this question at rest. It is certainly time these matters were allowed to settle down quietly. How long is this country to be agitated? The Attorney General will tell you, until we have got rid of Confederation. Capital is to be prevented coming into the Province—the people are to be kept constantly excited, and their best interests jeopardized. We have sent delegates across the water—but we could not find a single person in the Commons or Lords to advocate Repeal—all that Mr. Bright could do was to ask for a Commission of Enquiry; and yet the people are to be agitated still further in order to get what can never be obtained.

In the House of Commons we were substantially told: You are practically free of Great Britain. You are now large enough to manage your own affairs. Pass what laws you please, as long as they do not conflict with Imperial interests. You are free to manage your own affairs,—and you have the services of the army and navy of the mother country for nothing, to protect you from insult and aggression. Instead of sending you a delegation composed of men who know nothing of your local affairs, we have recommended that the Administration and Legislature of Canada should enquire into the subject of your grievances and relieve you of any burthens which unfairly bear upon you. Well the government, or rather its most prominent members, came down here with the view of conciliating the country—of hearing the grievances of the people; just what an English Commission would have had to do. But you were too proud to tell your grievances; perhaps you did not really know what the difficulty was. Now suppose five or six gentlemen had come from England; the government would have gone to them and said that they desired such and such amendments; but they acted very differently in the case of the Canadians. They will have nothing but Repeal, forsooth.

What have we been hearing for the past two years? What were the great grievances that the hon. member for East Halifax (Mr. Anand) was constantly speaking of? They were of a financial character—that Confederation embarrassed our finances, and this Province was agitated from one end to the other

with the cry that we were robbed. What has the Attorney General just told us? "It is not the want of money that is the difficulty. If you gave us all the money in the Dominion Treasury, we would not be reconciled to this Confederation, for we must get out of it." We have had a great many calculations on this financial question, but how much faith can the House place in them. Last winter I proved that Canada, up to that time had expended \$400,000 more than she had received; that was not contradicted; but what did we have? We had a financial calculation from the hon. member for Kings (Mr. Dickie) from Mr. Jones, and from Mr. McLellan. Now see the remarkable discrepancy in these calculations. On the single article of Sugar, Mr. Jones estimated \$57,952; Mr. McLellan \$45,185; making a difference of \$12,767. On tobacco, Mr. Jones estimated \$39,942; Mr. McLellan \$22,645; difference \$17,297. On paper, Mr. Jones \$3,372; Mr. McLellan 6,000, difference \$2,628. On Petroleum Oil, Mr. Jones \$7,698; Mr. McLellan \$20,000; difference \$12,302. The total amount of the difference in the calculations of these hon. gentlemen stands thus: Jones \$60,000; McLellan \$471,000; difference \$229,000. The hon. member for King's, on the other hand, made the gross amount \$732,014 more than Mr. Jones had ventured to show. If I shall show you now that we have been actually gainers by \$400,000 then I shall prove that Mr. Jones and Mr. McLellan were actually wrong by a million of dollars, and Mr. Dickie by more than that amount. The hon. Treasurer has endorsed the financial ability of the financial agent of the Dominion (Mr. Tims) and from that gentleman I learn that this country has drawn from Canada *more than it has paid for current expenses*—leaving out payments for capital—\$395,618, from the 30th June, 1867, to July 1st, 1868. If that be true, then Mr. Jones and Mr. McLellan have miscalculated to the extent of nearly a million. I give this statement on the authority of Mr. Tims, who has spent several months here arranging our financial affairs; and who the leader of this government has asserted is thoroughly competent and reliable. Now let me give you a calculation of my own, which I have taken some pains to prepare:

*Calculation showing Amount expended and received by Dominion Government in 1867 and 1868.*

Total expenditure in Nova Scotia from June 30, 1867, to July 1, '68,	\$2,265,233
Deduct capital.....	696,305
	1,568,928
Amount arrears collected from Collectors.....	116,204
	1,452,724
Interest paid in London on debt there and interest in excess of arrears..	362,000
	1,814,724
Less whole revenue collected in Nova Scotia from July 1, 1867, to June 30, 1868.....	1,434,504
Balance expended in Nova Scotia by Dominion Government beyond amount received.....	380,200

I have left chargeable to actually expected amount how Customs owe and I deduct

In London est of which it was paid b is properly e

Now I ask been Confed balance be. tures would Revenue was of \$380,200.

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I have left out every item that is properly chargeable to capital. I make the balance actually expended \$1,568,928 excepting of this amount however—the Collectors of Excise and Customs owed \$116,204 on the first of July, and I deduct that and we have \$1,452,724.

In London we owed a large debt, the interest of which must be paid semi-annually, and it was paid by the Dominion Government, and is properly chargeable to this province.

Now I ask you if Nova Scotia had never been Confederated on what side, would the balance be. The whole amount of expenditures would be \$1,814,724, and the whole Revenue was only 1,434,504; leaving a balance of \$380,200. I may be told that I cannot be correct, because I am not a man of figures like Mr. Tims, and there is a difference between that gentleman and myself; This is partly accounted for thus. Mr. Tims charges the interest to be paid at 7 per cent; he says that although the interest is 6 per cent, yet we must add 1 per cent. for the difference in exchange, &c.; but at all events the amount as I make it is thus \$380,200 as the excess paid by Canada over all the revenues given by Nova Scotia. I ask the hon. member for King's, or the Finance Minister, to go to the public offices, and obtain all the information on the question, and if they will come a thousand dollars short of my calculation, I will be very much mistaken. If Nova Scotia had never joined Canada, and had gone on alone, she would have gone behindhand to the extent of \$380,000. I believe that the Provincial Secretary has been as economical as was in his power, but he was powerless to prevent this state of affairs. We have heard a good deal about the arrears, and let us see what they came to. I am glad that the Provincial Secretary was candid enough to say that the Hill-Blanchard government could not do otherwise than they did. We were obliged to use all the subsidy in order to meet the pressing liabilities of the Province. On the first of July scarcely a dollar of the Road and Bridge Service, which was inordinately large, had been paid, and these accounts came in upon us soon after we entered office, and in order to meet them we were obliged to draw the subsidy. Then there was the Windsor and Annapolis Railway to be taken into consideration. Now, when the government came in and said that it was impossible to carry on the public affairs without money, did the Canadian Administration say, you must sink or swim, as you can. No, they said, we will give you back the money; tell us what the arrears are on the 1st July, and we will give you what you want. They therefore returned the money and added it to the funded debt of the country. They gave us something like \$210,000. They paid \$391,390 for the Windsor and Annapolis Railway; \$34,805 for St. Peter's Canal; and you will find that the balance then due to Canada was \$434,692. Deduct the receipts from the Collectors, and you will have \$116,204. It appears that Nova Scotia, when she entered into this Confederation, was in debt \$318,488 for the expenses of the current year. I give the calculation:

Calculation showing arrears due by Nova Scotia for year 1867:

Paid in arrears by Dominion Government.....	\$860,887
Deduct as capital	
Windsor & A. R. R. ....	\$391,390
St. Peter's Canal ...	34,805
	<hr/>
	\$434,692
Deduction reclaimed from Collectors for arrears.....	116,204
	<hr/>
	\$318,488

I am not to be told that this was incurred by a reckless and extravagant government; I was not a member of it, or in any way responsible for its expenditures. But let it not be forgotten that the then government made large contracts, at the instance and with the consent of the Legislature, for public works—such as the Pictou Railway, the Lunatic Asylum, the Public Building opposite, which cost about \$200,000, was a legacy from their predecessors; this country got some \$318,000 behind hand. We are told that it is ruin to be confederated with the other Provinces, when we were, at the close of 1867, called upon to provide \$318,000 for arrears, besides increased interest, as I shall presently shew.

I do not wonder that we are told that financial reform will not do, because when we come to consider that question we see at a glance that the friends of Confederation are right and we are wrong. But is the sum that I have stated all that we owe to Canada? I speak of Canada, not as a separate Province, but of the Dominion of Canada, and I cannot understand the observations which sometimes allude to Canada as a distinct country. Canada and Nova Scotia are one, to all intents and purposes. The Provinces of Ontario and Quebec have to manage their own local affairs just as ourselves. We have been told that the Dominion has taken all our money. I have shewn that the assertion is wrong, and that we have received nearly \$400,000 more than we have paid. But what more? What amount have we provided for the Intercolonial Railway? Not a farthing has been allowed in this calculation, and yet the Dominion Government has expended \$30,000 this year, and must provide a large sum to carry on the work. Now then suppose we cut the link, go on our own responsibility and walk on our own feet, and what will be the result? We have heard a good deal said about stamp duties and the tariff of fifteen per cent. Let those taxes be continued and we must be still about \$400,000 behind. The whole revenue of Nova Scotia collected from every source: customs, excise, stamp, and every other source, does not give us money enough, by the sum I have named, to carry on our affairs. I ask whether that is not a view of the question which should be well looked at by the people of this country? If we were free tomorrow, instead of going back to the ten per cent, we must raise the tariff to twenty per cent. To build the Windsor and Annapolis railway, to complete St. Peter's Canal, and to pay for the Provincial building we must go higher even than that. To go back to the ten per cent. is out of the question, for with that tariff we went in debt \$318,000 in a single

Expended and  
received in 1867

...	\$2,265,233
...	696,305
...	<hr/>
...	1,568,928
...	116,204
...	<hr/>
...	1,452,724
...	362,000
...	<hr/>
...	1,814,724
...	1,434,504
...	<hr/>
...	380,200

year. I leave this branch of the question saying as I said before that if my calculations are erroneous I wish them to be corrected. I am anxious to see the finance minister of the government, who has the same access to the sources of information as I had, undertake to convince the people of this country that if we were free from Canada to-day we could go on and manage our affairs as before the Union.

I have referred to the Provincial building, and I will now refer to the policy of the government on that subject. £50,000 of the public money went into that building. I do not complain of the expenditure, I was one of the supporters of the government that authorized it, and I still believe it was a wise appropriation because it has been demonstrated that the building is a saving to the Province by economizing in the way of rents. But what is the fact? Since April that building has been unoccupied. The interest on its cost is \$1,000 per month and that sum the treasury of this little Province is paying for an unoccupied building. This is done for the sake of an idea and that only. Suppose to-morrow we had repeal, or next year—what then? Will we not have to pay the arrears of the rent? We will not allow a Canadian official to set foot in the building, but we must the moment we are free pay the rents which are running on in the meantime for the Post office and Custom House and the interest on the cost of the building is being paid in the meantime. Let the Canadian officials into the new building, and if we got repeal next week we should still be saving at the rate of \$1000 per month. For the sake of a mere idea as I have said the government shut up a building that cost \$200,000 and will not allow a Dominion official to set foot in it. I mention this matter in discharge of my duties as a member in opposition, and I feel that it is a blessing for this country that there is an opposition however small and inefficient, perhaps the day may come when the government will be no longer troubled by me, and when they will have no one to call them to account. Feeble and impotent as my powers may be it is well that they should be exerted to lay this question fairly before the legislature and the country. I make these observations in all frankness and with a desire that the government may see the error of their ways and save the large outlay which they are incurring.

(The hour for adjournment having arrived Mr. Blanchard resumed his seat.)

The debate was adjourned.  
The House adjourned.

THURSDAY, Aug. 20.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The following bills were read a third time and passed: Bills to incorporate the Meridian, Crescent and Delta Gold Companies.

Mr. NORTHUP introduced a petition (and a bill in accordance with the prayer thereof) from John Livesey to incorporate the Interoceanic Iron and Steam Company.

Mr. WHITE introduced a bill to incorporate the Victoria Mining Company.

Mr. A. CAMPBELL presented a petition from John McNeil in reference to Margerie Island, and in doing so, recommended its favorable

consideration. The Government had thought proper always to retain the island for the use of the fishermen, but the inhabitants of the county believe that a part of the island could be allotted to some individuals.

Mr. DICKEY presented a petition from the Medical Society of Dalhousie College asking for legislation to promote its objects.

Hon. Mr. TROOP presented petitions from J. A. Willett, T. A. Moss, and others in Annapolis, relative to railway appraisalment.

#### MR. BLANCHARD'S SPEECH CONTINUED.

The order of the day was then taken up, and—

Mr. BLANCHARD resumed as follows:—When the House closed last evening I was addressing it on the subject of the resolutions introduced by the hon. and learned Attorney General. I went into a good many calculations to show to the House and country that this Province, instead of being a loser by Confederation, received during the past year a sum of nearly \$400,000 beyond what she had contributed to the general revenues. These calculations are before the House and country, and I hope they will receive from the Government that attention which their importance demands; but there are one or two other views of this branch of the subject which I shall endeavor to state as briefly as possible. One of the most celebrated and widely-circulated calculations was that published by Mr. Jones, and he estimated that the customs and excise revenue—taking the imports of 1866—would give in 1867 the sum of \$1,389,937. I find, however, that they did not produce any such sum—only \$1,104,226, making an error on the part of Mr. Jones of \$285,713. Such was one instance of the manner in which the country has been misled on this question.

Let me see now what was the real deficiency? How did this country stand in 1867 as compared with 1866. In 1867 there was a diminution in the Customs and Excise of \$127,278 as compared with 1866. In light-house duties there was a diminution of \$4,065. In the course of ten years ending in 1866, the revenue actually doubled; but in the very first year following, 1866, which has formed the basis for all these calculations, there was a deficiency of \$131,363. Therefore it is futile to calculate upon the probable increase of revenue. It is well known that for several years our revenue enormously increased in consequence of the civil war in the neighboring republic, which stimulated our trade to a large extent. When that war was fairly over, and trade resumed its ordinary channels, and the Reciprocity Treaty was repealed, our revenue fell off very considerably. In 1866 the debt of this country required \$309,135 as interest, whereas in 1868, or two years later, it required \$480,000. So in this short space of time we had so largely increased our funded debt that it took \$170,865 more to pay the interest than previously. Therefore if I add that to the deficiency in the revenue \$131,363 this country in 1868 had to provide for \$302,228 more than she had to pay in 1866. That amount had to be found somewhere. You will see that I am speaking now from the stand point from which I reasoned yesterday. In 1866 very large grants were given in this

country, but truth, what penses, the Peter's Ca Provincial 000. Now of \$288,25 ing them them up t

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country, but I will deduct, for the sake of truth, what might be called extraordinary expenses, the interest on the debt for the Saint Peter's Canal, on the Insane Hospital, on the Provincial Building, making altogether \$14,000. Now we will have a deficiency this year of \$288,228. I give these calculations believing them to be perfectly reliable, and will sum them up thus:

Deficiency in Customs and Excise in 1867.....	\$127,278
Deficiency in Light Duties.....	4,085
	<hr/>
	\$131,363
Interest paid in 1866.....	\$309,135
" for '68.....	480,000
	<hr/>
Increase.....	\$170,865 = 170,865
	<hr/>
	\$302,228
Deduct surplus of '66 on ordinary expenditure, exclusiv of Saint Peter's Canal, Insane Asylum, and Provincial Buildings.....	14,000
	<hr/>
Deficit this year.....	\$288,228

I am not content with contrasting the opinions of the Attorney General in 1854 with those he advocates to-day. I must now ask him to go back to some of the figures that he gave a year ago on the question of Union to the people of this country. The people were told last September that the gentlemen who had voted in favor of Confederation were leading them into a vortex of ruin, and in order to convince them of that the Attorney General published a letter into the *Eastern Chronicle* about the 20th of last August, 1867, to the electors of the county of Pictou, which was copied into the *Morning Chronicle* of September 2nd, 1867. In that letter he undertook to show what money Canada was going to draw from this country, and what she was to give in return. He made out that we were to give \$1,476,500, being the revenue and something more. The balance in favor of Canada—how did he make it out? By reductions from the statement he called "Lazarus." He made a sum of \$40,000 for the protection of the fisheries. I ask the House if he does not now see, with the existing facts before us, that he made a miscalculation. What right had he to deduct such a sum for the protection of the fisheries. Is not the Dominion of Canada doing everything in connection with Nova Scotia pays nothing for that service? For contingent expenses he puts down the sum of \$200,000, and said it was entirely too small. Have we such an item of expenditure in our public accounts. Let him prove, if he is capable, that his predictions or assertions were correct. I wish the House to look upon these calculations in the light of the facts really before us, and of the figures which I now give to the contrary, and then let them if they can deny that every artifice was resorted to, to arouse the fears of the people?

We have heard from the Attorney General—we read it indeed in the resolutions now

before the House—the constitutional doctrine in connection with the modification of the constitution of this country. It does seem to me as if this question was not looked upon in its proper light. I have looked into the question and find that the constitution of Canada was altered no less than six times after the provinces were united, by an address to Her Majesty the Queen. The very first important change was an Elective in place of the old Legislative Council appointed for life, and other changes were subsequently made whenever they were thought necessary. If we wish, therefore, to have our Constitution altered, all that is necessary is to agitate the question in the Parliament of the Dominion—the only legitimate place where a change can be commenced and effected.

We are told that no benefits have flowed from Confederation—that it has been all evil unalloyed. Now how did we stand previously with regard to the Fisheries. When a proposition came from England that the Americans should be allowed access to our fisheries for a trifling license fee the government of this country, backed up by the Legislature, sent strong remonstrances against such an arrangement. It was effected, however, notwithstanding Nova Scotia had expressed her strong disapproval, and American fishermen are allowed to fish on our coast by paying the small fee of 50 cts. per ton. As soon as Confederation became a fixed fact, and a delegate was sent home clothed with the authority of the Dominion Parliament, he succeeded in having that license fee raised from 50 cts. to \$2 a ton. England felt that the remonstrance of so large a country as was comprised within the Dominion was worthy of all respect; but when Nova Scotia stood alone, then she might remonstrate as much as she pleased, but to no purpose. What happened next? No sooner was the license fee raised than a motion was made in Congress for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty; for it was seen that the policy of the Dominion and British Governments was to exclude the American fishermen from the fisheries. I have often avowed my belief that it is a matter of no consequence to our fishermen whether the Americans frequent our waters or not; but it is a matter of importance in connection with the Reciprocity Treaty. The Americans themselves value highly the privilege of fishing within three miles of our coast; the loss of which would be a great disadvantage to them, and therefore we can use the fisheries as a lever by which we may obtain a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty. I consider that Treaty as of very great interest and importance to the people of the province, and we should use every legitimate means of having it renewed. But as long as the Americans see this country agitated from one end to the other, and if we believe the government and their supporters, almost approaching the condition of Mexico, ready to rush into difficulties, we may expect that they will hesitate to renew the Treaty,—with the hope as expressed by their own trade commissioners, that the want of the Reciprocity Treaty would starve us into Annexation. The Minute of Council is a very lengthy affair, and I cannot go over the whole of it; but it asserts that the depression of trade and the

repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty vowing probably to Confederation. I ask the House if it feels disposed to send abroad such a fallacy as that? What had Confederation to do with the repeal of that measure? Nothing whatever, as everybody knows perfectly well. We were told last winter by the hon. member for Pictou, Dr. Murray, I think, that the St. Alban's Raid was the cause of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. Now we are told that it was Confederation that abolished it. We have just heard that the "notorious Ben Butler"—for such is the term applied to him not here only but in his own country—is about going to Prince Edward Island to arrange a Reciprocity Treaty with that colony. Do its people imagine that the British Government will allow such an arrangement, and shut the other provinces out? Such an arrangement would make the Island a perfect nest of smugglers; since what would enter its ports free of duty would have to pay 15 per cent. in the neighbouring provinces. It may be said the Legislature of the Island can pass an act, and Congress can do the same, providing for reciprocity in certain products; but it must first get the royal assent. Suppose it does get that assent—and I am quite sure it will not—what next? I would like to know the value of such reciprocity—dependent on the mere breath of the United States? It might last for a year, and then be suddenly terminated, thereby bringing ruin upon those who had entered into extensive operations in consequence of such reciprocity. I could go back to years before I was born and tell you what happened then.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—Well, well. (Laughter.) You are surely an Irishman.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—When a man makes a mistake of \$200,000, like the hon member did, as I have shown you, he ought to hail from Cork. The Attorney General went back to the time of Queen Anne, but I shall not go so far. I go back to the days when the people of the Bay of Fundy were given the privilege of sending their gypsum free into the United States, by Legislative enactment. The consequence was that hundreds of mills sprung up around the bay; but in a year or two the United States Legislature swept off the enactment, and the mill owners were obliged to stop work. True and valuable. Reciprocity can only be obtained by a treaty between Great Britain and the United States, and not by legislation. I was much amused, a few days ago, to read a correspondence in a Boston paper. We know some of the Provincial papers have had a Washington correspondent, a paid official of the Washington government, a renegade Nova Scotian. They say that when a Nova Scotian becomes a white-washed ankee, he is one of the worst Yankees in the country. This individual writes letters, some which I regret to say are published in thevincial press, urging the advantages of exaction to the United States. I do not know the correspondent of the *Boston Post*—a highly respectable and influential journal, but he says:

"The late action of the Nova Scotia Convention in resolving that it is necessary to use every means to extricate the people of Nova Scotia from a Confederation that has been forced upon them without their consent

against their wills, is the subject of much excited comment in high official circles here, and many well informed persons venture to predict that the "means" referred to should be interpreted armed resistance, looking to American sympathy and perhaps annexation. It is suggested that the people of that distant Province are wild enough to anticipate an intervention on the part of their Government to relieve them from their present political associates. Some communications on the subject have been received, but their contents are kept a profound secret."

This may be only "buncombe" in the opinion of some gentlemen, but we have had similar statements made elsewhere of late. The Washington correspondent of the *Boston Post*, we may be sure, is no mean man, and he tells us plainly that in high circles in the American Capital it is believed that this country is in such a condition that the people are ready, if they can get aid from the United States, to resort to force against England.

I did not intend referring to the fact of this country having been agitated by the most frantic and inconsiderate appeals in the press. The organ of the government, owned and edited by the hon. Treasurer and Premier, has actually used language which might well create the impression which is said to exist in Washington. What is the meaning of the phrase—"the lane with the westward turning." I am glad that such Coctrines have been denounced by the Attorney General—that he wishes no intimate political connection with that "Sabbath breaking, repudiating, lynching country" of which he spoke so strongly in 1854.

There is another subject to which I must refer. In the resolutions before the House Mr. Adderley's speech is severely commented upon in these terms: "And this House emphatically records its deliberate reprobation of the statements of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies that the grievances of Nova Scotia were rapidly dissipated," and that their removal "had been effected to a large extent already," as utterly untrue." Now I am going to show the House what makes Mr. Adderley's statement true in every respect. I will attempt to prove that a great deal has been done since the Dominion Parliament first met to remove causes of complaint in this province. It has been constantly asserted that the interests of Canada and Nova Scotia are not identical—that Canada is to some extent a manufacturing, but chiefly an agricultural, country, whilst Nova Scotia is essentially maritime. We have about 400,000 tons of shipping, and more than a ton for every man, woman, and child in the province. Yet no sooner do we enter into this Confederation, than every cent of duty is struck off those articles which enter into the construction of vessels, and on which we had formerly to pay from 2½ to 5 per cent. Cordage and canvas, sheathing paper, copper and iron were at once declared free. Was that all? The next thing was to abolish the light duties in view of the importance of the maritime interests in this province. As I have said we have 400,000 tons, and that would give us \$40,000 duty which has been struck off. As a concession to the maritime interests they therefore undertook to keep the light house service out of the general revenues. Another

great grievance was that the Canadians had a duty of 50 cents a barrel on American flour, which would be imposed upon Nova Scotia under Confederation with a view of making her purchase the Canadian article.

Now, what is the real state of the case? The Canadian Parliament first lowered the duty to 25 cents, as existed in this Province, and subsequently abolished it altogether. A declaration was declared that our people were to be drawn away to defend Canada in times of difficulty. I shall not stop to argue that it is absurd to suppose that the militia could be taken away from the smaller country to defend the greater, but will pass on. We had 50,000 men drilled every year for five days, and estimating their time at a dollar a day, that would give \$250,000 as the tax the people had to pay for the public defence, besides all the monies contributed from our local revenue for arms, ammunition and the payment of officers. What has happened under Confederation? Our fishermen are relieved from militia duty except in connection with the naval brigade. We are to have 5000 men only turned out and paid for their services. So instead of the militia service being a tax upon the industry of the country, we are actually saved \$250,000.

Now, before considering these observations, I would ask you to sum up the different sums which I have shown you we have received in consequence of the operation of Confederation. First of all there is \$395,000 Canada pays over what she receives; then we have saved \$250,000 in connection with the Militia; \$40,000 for light duties. But what more? We were told the other day that one of the first results of the Union would be the decrease of the postal facilities we now enjoy. Now a year ago the Cunard contract expired, and as it could not be renewed it became necessary to find others willing to perform the ocean mail service at a less rate. Mr. Allen, the great steamship proprietor of Montreal, offered to carry the mails from Halifax to Liverpool, touching at St. John's, Newfoundland, in an inferior class of steamers. It was argued that such a contract would have the effect of largely influencing Newfoundland in favor of Confederation; but nevertheless the Canadian Government would not allow Nova Scotia to suffer, in consequence of the mails arriving several hours later at Halifax, and in inferior ships. They inquired into the matter further, and finally succeeded in making a contract with Mr. Inman, for the use of his powerful steamers, at the rate of £650 a trip, of which amount the Dominion Government pays one half. Without their interposition we would not have a single mail steamer calling at this port at the present time. We have therefore the large sum of \$21,125 paid by the Dominion in connection with the service. This is one of the items showing that Mr. Adderly spoke the truth when he spoke of the effects of Confederation. Then, in addition to all this, the Dominion offers \$10,000 for a steamer to ply on the Southern coast of this province. For many years we have attempted to get a steamer on this route, but our means have been insufficient. The munificent subsidy now offered will have the effect of giving us a fine steamer; and in fact, I understand negotiations are now in progress, and will probably

be immediately concluded, in connection with this important service. The Provincial Secretary may say that I have put down prospective as well as actual benefits, but is not the \$250,000 saved on account of the militia just as much a saving as any other?

I have not exhausted this subject by any means; I have material enough for many long speeches; but I have endeavored to bring my remarks into the smallest compass possible. I have not gone back into the original question—that has been exhausted by discussion after discussion; but I have contented myself with references to the condition of affairs previous to and since Confederation. I have shown you in what position Nova Scotia would have been had it not been for Confederation, and what advantages she has already gained from connection with her sister Provinces. I must apologize for the time I have occupied, and thank the House for the attention with which it has listened to my remarks. I know the great majority hold opinions very different from myself, and I would be willing to go much further into this subject if I thought I could induce them to change their votes. I remember an old member of this House once saying that during the long time he had sat on these benches he had often changed his mind but never his vote. So, in the present case, I feel although I might influence the minds of many gentlemen here, yet I am impotent to make them change their votes, whilst they are under the control of the shepherd opposite, whose voice they seem to know.

#### HON. MR. TROOP'S SPEECH.

Hon. Mr. TROOP then rose and said:—The hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat engaged the attention of the House all yesterday afternoon and the greater part of to-day, and after more than three hours of elaborate discussion of the question before the thirty-eight gentlemen who sit around these benches—the intelligent representatives of the people of this country—he was forced to the conclusion, that his attempt had been a lamentable failure, and that he could not appeal to one gentleman and ask him to divide with him against the government on the great matters which are engaging our attention. I wish the hon. gentleman had followed the course which he outlined for himself at an early period of the discussion, when he said that it was hard for him "to kick against the pricks," but after making the admission that his attempted reasoning was only kicking against the prick, from some unexplained cause he has attempted in a four hour's speech to do what he declared he did not intend to do. If he imagines that he has been engaged in an agreeable and useful occupation, I think the gentlemen whom he has been addressing will be content that he should continue to kick against the pricks for three hundred and sixty-five days longer. For I can assure him, and the people of Nova Scotia, and not them alone, but the people of British America, and the people and Parliament of Great Britain, that it will be "kicking against the pricks" to attempt the subjugation of this country. That man will be a coward, and a traitor also, who would desert his country in this the hour of her direst necessity. The hon. member re-

marked that at this season of the year discussion was out of place. Could I rid myself of the responsibilities which invest me I should much prefer rambling over the vales and lullies of the country—taking counsel with the men who have developed our resources and made the country what it was before this vexed question was brought in and set down as a foot ball in our midst. That would be to me a matter of far greater satisfaction than listening to a four hours' speech,—the most rambling and tedious that was ever addressed to a deliberative assembly. If the hon. member for Inverness thinks that he has succeeded one iota in convincing the people that they have been in error or that they should shrink before the fiat of the Dominion Government or that of Great Britain he must have greatly misunderstood the tone of public feeling. It is because I think he has so misunderstood that tone that I rise to address a few observations based on his speech.

I am happy to know that it is the pride and glory of British institutions that every man, within constitutional limits, can express his opinions fully and freely without placing himself in a position to be charged with disloyalty or with inciting rebellion. If I wanted anything to convince me of this fact I had it in the opportunity of standing in the Parliament of England, among the great minds who control the destinies of the Empire. There I saw the policy and conduct of Her Majesty's Ministers as freely canvassed in that great arena, as any question submitted to this legislature is canvassed by the gentlemen who are assembled here. While I have lost a great deal of the confidence which I formerly had in the justice to be expected from the present government of that country, I have not entirely lost the hope that, by another appeal at some future day, we may lead the public mind of England to see what a grand mistake they have made in attempting to coerce Nova Scotia into this union. Whether they ever come to that conclusion or not, history shews that the statesmen of the mother country have been celebrated for making mistakes in dealing with the people of this continent. When Britain lost one half of America she lost it by not attending to just such remonstrances as we have sent to Downing Street, a 1 which have been met by stupidity or contemptuous indifference. The hon. member for Inverness, in commencing his address, contrasted one position of to-day with that of last session, and in his very curious way of illustrating his views, went on to assume that we had made a great mistake in the early part of the session, and that we are now about to commit another equally great. He intimated that if we continued in this course we should make ourselves the laughing stock of British America and of Great Britain. I take issue with him on that statement, and I should like him to go down to the noble constituency of Inverness and to ask the electors there if they think that this legislature has made a mistake. As long as the people of Nova Scotia are determined to maintain this struggle, and we act in unison with their feelings, we can make sure that we are committing no mistake. We need fear no influence from outside, and before I have done I think I shall be able to shew that even the British and Dominion governments begin to

feel that they have committed a grave mistake, and will be committing a still more serious one in continuing this conflict. I believe that our people in taking the stand which they have irrevocably taken, are already making the pillars of the dominion tremble to their very foundation, and it shall be no fault of ours if we do not shake them still further.

The hon. member, in referring to the resolutions of last winter, argued that because those resolutions declared the Union Act a nullity, and inasmuch as that view had not been fully sustained we were out of court, that we should not continue a useless agitation and that the Act was binding on us all. Very few lawyers going into Court with nine points in their favor would care to rest their case on one point, and if it should appear that the one point of law is against us, and that we are still sustained on nine other points by valuable and convincing facts, I do not know that we should be much the worse off for allowing the law point to go while taking our stand upon the great equitable principles which surround the whole of the controversy. The hon. gentleman proceeded to argue that the binding nature of the Act was admitted in the present resolutions. I cannot agree with him in that particular,—the resolutions go to shew clearly the utter fallacy and absurdity of the reasoning of the Duke of Buckingham and Chaudos. The bungling stupidity of British ministers in American affairs commenced with the dismemberment of the Empire, when the British colonies, which now are rising among the foremost nations of the earth, were struck down from the protection of the British flag. After that example it behoves the British Government to beware how they tread upon the meanest member of its colonial subjects in whatever quarter of the globe they may be found, and I rejoice to know to-day that outside and beyond the region of Downing Street after all the dragooning that was resorted to in order to obtain a sufficient number to vote down the petition of Nova Scotia, behind all stand numbers of the great freedom-loving people of England, who feel that this new dominionism is a great myth and a great mistake. The hon. member told the House that it had better be careful in the exercise of its functions. While I differ very largely to the wisdom, the scientific genius and the general enlargement of view with which the hon. member takes of all political questions, submitting them to a glance in which both the microscopic and telescopic powers are combined, I think he might have allowed the members of this House to take care of their own functions. I think he will have great difficulty in persuading any of the gentlemen whom I see before me to refrain from expressing their sentiments through this House and bidding the people be of good cheer. When I heard that attempt at intimidation I felt that it was the first outpouring of the vials of Dominion wrath.

Mr. BLANCHARD—I never made any attempt to intimidate,—I merely asked the House to be careful.

Hon. Mr. TROOP continued:—I will take the hon. member at his own words. What is the meaning of asking the House to be careful. Is that hon. gentleman the custodian of this

House—the ties? Does he want to think that their right to be on now Dominion advice the which he l stand the largely in it on the e lawful an the agita North A Scotia, an the best ju to be the cial and desirable people w rights an them con them by struck do chly. The ture, and unable to geney—I ve shall them so. Nova S which is politic— "logical lie in t verness. Our fun this hate trust co that tri "we h accomplish ber for left the sprang followe Downi there, I was go opposit that he tical T ing up satisfi ground to sup the fu selves. The way to the de struct dered ing b time v sing t vince hon. I woul enunc ciated British the p

House—the custodian of our rights and liberties? Does he mean to dictate to the members around these benches, or does he presume to think they are not as capable of exercising their rights as he? This is only another attempt to overshadow us all beneath the grand new Dominion—Mushroom. In giving that advice the hon. member assumed a position which he had no right to assume. As I understand the functions of this House, they consist largely in being faithful to the trust confided to it on the eighteenth of September,—and by all lawful and constitutional means to continue the agitation for the repeal of the British North America Act. The people of Nova Scotia, and this their Parliament, claim to be the best judges of what the country requires—to be the best judges of the political, commercial, and other relations which it may seem desirable for them to form. The intelligent people whom we represent claim to have their rights and liberties which were guaranteed to them continued to this hour, and not to have them by fraud, and in contempt of their rights, struck down by an Imperial or Colonial oligarchy. These are the functions of the legislature, and if we to-day or any other time feel unable to exercise them—unequal to the emergency—the duty of the hour is equally plain: we shall go back to our constituents and tell them so. But until we find in the heart of Nova Scotia a different pulsation from that which is throbbing through the entire body politic—something to indicate that we are not “logically pursuing the argument.”—it will not lie in the mouth of the hon. member for Inverness to tell us what our functions are. Our functions are to liberate the people from this hated confederation,—to be firm to the trust confided to us until we can lay down that trust and say to those who sent us here, “we have carried out your instructions and accomplished your designs.” The hon. member for Inverness, in commencing his speech, left the Dominion with all its greatness and sprang into the heart of London, where he followed the delegates into the seclusion of Downing street. He reviewed our actions there, and I thought for the moment that he was going to assume to be the leader of an opposition—that he was possessed of the idea that he could call to his aid a number of political Tims’s, as great in giving votes as in dish-ing up figures,—but when I found him resting satisfied with an attack which he had no ground for making, and which he had no proof to support, I felt that I could safely allow the facts and the papers to speak for themselves.

The hon. gentleman went quite out of his way to read a lecture to the Government, and the delegates for not complying with the instructions which the legislature gave. I wondered for a moment whether he was not drawing back to his first love, for I recalled the time when he would have shrunk from opposing the wishes of any constituency in the Province. I have long admired the talents of the hon. member, and I knew that at one time he would rather have lost his right-hand than enunciate the principles which he has enunciated to-day. I deny the right of either the British or Dominion Governments to touch the privileges of Nova Scotians, and these are

the principles which he once maintained. When he began to blame the delegates for not carrying out their instructions, I felt inclined to ask him for his authority for the assertions he was making. He said that we presented a case to the Imperial Parliament—that we abandoned the resolutions of this House—that we backed down from the position we had assumed, and substituted our “case” for those resolutions. I think he will withdraw these assertions when I tell him that on the tenth day of June, the resolutions passed by this House were laid with the other papers on the table of both Houses of Parliament, and that the case which we prepared was not so submitted, its object being to give information to such members of either House as would be inclined to examine and take a sensible view of the whole question. I can assure the hon. member therefore that the resolutions were not abandoned. Then the hon. gentleman asked why the resolutions were not embodied in the case. I do not wish to be discourteous, but I think if any person went into his office and presumed to instruct him, as a leading barrister, what he should put into a case that he was preparing, he would point him to the door and advise him to retire. I think, therefore, that he was going a little out of the record in dictating where he had no right to interfere. That case will be laid before the House with the other papers, and if it contain anything that will not stand the light of day, the hon. member for Inverness, with the power he can bring to bear outside the House, will be in a position to shew any fallacious statements it may contain.

The hon. member then went on to shew how in the present day certain Canadian influences are Canadianizing the minds of public men, and to ask why it was so few members of the House of Commons could be induced to advocate our resolutions. Perhaps I may be here allowed to explain what the delegation had to contend with when it arrived in England. The present Parliament, as is well known, is a moribund one, and the English constituencies are about to be appealed to on the question of the Irish Church, and when we landed in England the whole public mind was agitated on that great question. I could not help thinking, when I saw the agitation which was rife, and the confusion into which the whole body politic seemed to be thrown, when I saw the British government thrown into a helpless minority on that question, that that discussion and difficulty had been fastened on the Empire by just such an act of gross corruption as that which has fastened the union on us to-day. That had it not been for scenes in College Green—for the corrupt bargain and sale of the Irish Parliament, which, as the Attorney General said, cost Mr. Pitt two millions of money,—there would, to-day, be no question of the dis-establishment of the Irish Church to agitate the public mind, no Fenians hovering on our borders, no millions leaving Ireland and finding a home elsewhere, carrying with them the knowledge that a gross act of injustice had been perpetrated on their country, and that when its legislature sold the great country standing as the gateway between the eastern and western world they had been thereby deprived of those liberties

to regain which a contest has been carried on to this very hour. When that question was thus agitating the public mind, was it a wonder that so small a question, in the eyes of the British government, as the confederation of the colony of Nova Scotia with Canada, should be treated with indifference, until there was found underlying it the same principle as was being contended for in the three kingdoms. What were the enunciations of the British government, on the question of the Irish Church? Would they not have given millions if they could have swept the difficulties out of the way and have brought the long struggle to an issue. While in England, the Prince and Princess of Wales went to Ireland, and there they met the expressions of the loyalty of the Irish people,—huzzas rent the air wherever they went, and not a disloyal sentiment was uttered; but while that was a fact, did the people of Ireland forget their wrongs? No! but they drew a wide distinction between respect for the Crown, and cringing subserviency under cruel oppression. Therefore, while protesting against the action of the British Government and Parliament, while battling for those priceless rights and principles which are dear to every Englishman, we will use, in the language of the resolutions, every legal and constitutional means to obtain the freedom of this country.

The hon. member went on to say that our hands and feet had been manacled by this legislature, the inference being that we were so restricted under the resolutions we had not the authority of explaining fully to the British people the nature of this great question. I think this was hardly a fair insinuation coming from that quarter. The time has gone by in Nova Scotia when the few supporting the confederate ranks can talk to this legislature and to the people in the way in which he assumed to do. The inhabitants of this country have always been the most law-abiding people. If they had not been so,—if they had not resolved to take legal and constitutional means to redress the mistakes of madmen, the contumely and insults heaped upon them, would, ere this, have stung them into taking the law into their own hands to vindicate their rights and to punish their traducers. The government and legislature to-day are in unison with the people, and it is just as well that we should be outspoken and plain, and let the Nation know once for all that there is no power that will ever keep Nova Scotia within the pale of the Dominion, but the power of the British bayonets. That is the meaning of the resolution which declares that nothing but coercion will keep the people within this union. To show that we have good authority for saying, and not wishing to alarm the tender sensibilities of any over loyal unionist, I would say that since I have been across the Atlantic and seen what loyalists counts for there,—since I have seen a great people whose loyalty would not be questioned by even the confederate party, take every opportunity of speaking their views plainly on all great matters of state, and heard the enunciations of John Bright, to whom he said Nova Scotia owes a lasting debt of gratitude, I have been fully confirmed in the view which I have taken. Mr. Bright, when he came to understand fully the case presented to

England by the delegates, with a painstaking and plodding industry, went into the heart of the question and sifted it in all its details, viewed it in every aspect,—political, social, and commercial,—and also, after examining that question, a man wielding the influence which he wields in the national assemblies of Great Britain—a man looked up to and respected as one of the great pillars of the Gladstone Liberal party—came down to his place in the House of Commons, presented the petitions of Nova Scotia, and argued as he did, it affords great encouragement to hear him use such language as this addressed to the Queen, to the ministers who surround her throne, to the people of Great Britain, to the fifty colonies of the empire, and to all the people of America. "With eloquent language and a heart fired by the wrongs inflicted on this country, he made his declaration,—and I do not think you will find a statesman who will be prepared to controvert his position: "If you propose a union at all hazards, the danger to my mind is apparent. From the moment that resolution reaches Nova Scotia there will be created a deeper hostility to Canada." Was it not so? When the tidings came across the Atlantic that the British Government had refused even an enquiry into the case of Nova Scotia, and this after the delegates had spent four months in earnest discussion with them, who could influence the Government of that country when it became known that the delegates had been repulsed and treated with contumely, was there a man living within the eighteen counties of this country, however remote his residence or however inferior his position, who did not turn his eyes in another direction, and begin to think that the broad Atlantic rolling between British America and the old country had in it some extraordinary circumstance that dissolved the sympathy of Englishmen for Nova Scotians? Mr. Bright went on to say:—

"I say, therefore, if you turn them from this House, not only without remedy, but without inquiry, you will create also a growing estrangement from England, and what is perhaps dreaded by some more than anything else, you will create and increase the sympathy with the neighboring New England States of North America. (Hear, hear.) When men are irritated, as the Nova Scotians are now irritated, and when nothing is done to soothe the irritation—when you will not inquire—when you will not remedy—when you will not listen—it takes a very little thing indeed where a colony is three or four thousand miles away from the mother country, to turn its eyes in the direction of the government of a great country—of its own race and with institutions as free—and probably willing, when the colonies are willing, to receive them within its ample borders. This is what I am afraid may happen. Your scheme must break down if the Nova Scotians resolve they will not have it. It is impossible for you to coerce them."

Backed by sound conclusions such as these, and Mr. Bright speaking the sentiments of a very large portion of the people of Nova Scotia—when he made the declaration that Nova Scotia could not be coerced—I think we may turn with a satisfied smile upon those who talk of the coercion the Dominion government will exercise, when it has not a ship of war

upon the ocean is engaged parties on the hat the assumed that will keep regis the purposes persons will fit fish statesmen they can find armies and metace and a side the Atlan

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upon the ocean, excepting the "Druid," which is engaged principally for giving pic-nic parties on the harbor of Halifax. They rely upon the assumed fact that the British government will keep regiments of her troops out here for the purposes of the new Dominion. Such persons will find in a short time that the British statesmen and people are of opinion that they can find better employment for their armies and navies than to use them as a menace and a threat to a free Province on this side the Atlantic. Mr. Bright continued:

"I do not think there is the temper in the English House of Commons, nor amongst Englishmen in the United Kingdom, that would allow the Government by force to coerce the population of Nova Scotia into subversion of her very Government, and into annexation with Canada. [Hear, hear.] But if you are not prepared to coerce, then I say the proper course for the government to take—and I never gave any government an opinion with more conscientious belief in its reasonableness and its propriety—the course which the government should take, is to select one or two men of high position and character in this country, who would go and give two or three months to this question this autumn, to examine into the whole matter in Nova Scotia."

There is the opinion of a statesman, endowed probably with as much ability and influence as the great minds at Ottawa, and probably having as much to do with guiding the destinies of the Empire as Sir John A. McDonald or Mr. Cartier. When a statesman of Mr. Bright's calibre comes down to Parliament and makes such a declaration, knowing its weight, before the government and people of Great Britain, I think we may safely laugh at the fanaticism and utter madness of those who talk of an attempt to coerce Nova Scotia by the powers of the British bayonet. There is no power—no government in Great Britain that would make the attempt; they desire to have the question discussed, and to find some way of having the difficulties reconciled; but when that celebrated division took place in which eighty-six members of the House of Commons went into the lobby with Mr. Bright I felt, as I feel now, that to a very large extent the liberties of Nova Scotia had been secured in that august assembly. With such a victory, the dissolution of this Confederation is but a question of time. Ere long every British statesman will be forced to the conclusion that Nova Scotia cannot be coerced.

Inasmuch as the British government did not see fit to act on the advice tendered by Mr. Bright, we had the other day the absurd exhibition—the ludicrous farce of Sir J. A. McDonald and his colleagues in the government of Canada coming down here, and without a proposition with which they could approach our intelligent and honest men in the country, they wished us to look upon them as the British government. When I heard that these gentlemen had constituted themselves the commission of inquiry which we desired, I felt as I feel now, that they might have been less presuming, and not have intensified the hatred which our people have to the Dominion. They came down with no proposition as far as I could hear, and it would seem that their object was

not to see what our objections were, and to find if our grievances could be removed, but with commissions in their pockets, to exercise those MacDonalld tactics which one of the leading Canadian organs well described when it said that the Premier was accustomed to get troublesome men out of the way in a manner peculiar to himself, when he could not overcome their opposition. They came and went without an attempt to open negotiations with the government, and without anything to offer but some such suggestion as this: "Into the big pool in Canada are running money, commissions and offices, you may as well have a share as anyone else. One of you shall be a judge, another a senator, another a railway commissioner." The little game of policy which commenced a couple of years ago at Government House, and was consummated in this legislature, was attempted to be repeated, but those gentlemen found that they had hearts to work upon. We were not inclined to go with them into the promised land. This House, backed by all the constituencies, preferred allowing the Canadians to deal with their patronage as they pleased. We had taken our stand upon a principle far higher than that of pecuniary gain—a principle to sell which would be degradation to the man who sold it; the principle that to Nova Scotians belonged Nova Scotia, and we were and are determined to demand the restoration of our constitution which had been struck down by fraud, in a manner that no Duke of Buckingham, no British government could justify. The people being engaged in this great contest, we had to take care that no mere promises, no mere speculation as to what is to be the future of this country, should lead us away from the task before us. One more extract and I have done with Mr. Bright's speech:—

*"You have done to the people of Nova Scotia what I maintain is one of the greatest wrongs that despotism in any form can do to any people. You have power to maintain it so long as Nova Scotia has no assistance from outside. But there is no statesman in England who will venture to bring about the shedding of one drop of blood upon that continent."*

Surrounded by everything in the House of Commons, by everything that could make him guarded, moved by no outward pressure, but viewing the whole field of controversy, Mr. Bright told the Government that they had been guilty of an act of despotism. We have felt it so in this country, and I ask where is the people that would lay down their arms when they have a reasonable confidence that by patience they may break their fetters and free their feet from the trammels which now invest them. In dealing with the constitutional question, and in going over some of the old ground, the hon. member for Inverness declared that there was no way of getting at the exact wishes of the people but the voice of the legislature. The same argument was used by Dr. Tupper on the other side of the Atlantic to thwart us in getting our views carried out. This doctrine also met us in the press, one portion of which declared that the number of million votes polled at the last election was only a trifle under that of anti-unionists. In reply to this statement the hon. Treasurer wrote a let-

ter to the *Examiner*, in which an article taking that view appeared, and challenged the government to make the test in any one of three ways: "Submit the question to the whole adult population, submit it to those who exercise the franchise at present, or submit it to the men composing the militia force of Nova Scotia,—by any one of these three tests we are prepared to stand or fall." If the British or Dominion government would agree to put the question in that way the matter could be settled easier than in any other; but when the facts are plain and patent, and when such a challenge has been thrown down, it does not lie in the mouth of the union party to say that there is no way of arriving at the wishes of the people. These gentlemen would not have found such difficulty in the way of ascertaining the popular wish if they believed they could secure a majority of the constituencies. Not until the eleventh hour,—not until the house had been dragooned into the sale of the public rights, have we heard of this difficulty in ascertaining the wishes of the people. How did Mr. Tilley ascertain the wishes of the people of New Brunswick? Why is it that Prince Edward Island has not been dragooned into Confederation after her public men refused the bribe of \$800,000 by which her virtue was to be purchased? Why has Newfoundland been left in the enjoyment of her constitution? Those Colonies stand to-day as monuments protesting against the despotism by which this country has been ruled. The hon. member for Inverness, in discussing the first resolution, thought he had us on the "horns of a dilemma," because the resolution affirms that the word "Confederation" did not appear in any resolution debated before the union took place, and he proceeded to read from the *Colonist* a resolution purporting to be that of February, 1854. The resolution in reality reads as follows:

*Resolved*—"That the house do now resolve itself into a Committee on the general state of the Province, for the purpose of considering the subject of the Union of the British North American Colonies."

I cannot think that in his reference to the *Colonist*, instead of the *Journals*, the hon. member is at all fortunate, but I must congratulate him on that sudden conversion which leads him to take the *Colonist* as his guide. It is a lamentable circumstance when we find a gentleman occupying the position which he has held since he came into this legislature, butting as he has done for the rights of the people, turning to the files of the *British Colonist* to find something by which to pacify his conscience in his endeavor to keep Nova Scotia within the Confederation. I think he does not believe in his heart to-day that she should be kept in the Confederation, and that if he would but give us his unbiassed opinion his views would coincide with the rest of us. If he had been in Dr. Tupper's position I believe he would have cut his hand off rather than have forced his country into a union inimical to her wishes and interests. I give him that credit, and say that if instead of trying to bolster up the weak case of Confederation, when he sees that this agitation, so far from being the work of a few leaders would be carried on as vigorously if its present lead-

ers were dead to-morrow, he could be engaged in a work much more congenial to his feelings. It is because the government understand the intensity of the popular sentiment and see that there will be serious trouble unless this union can be broken down, that they feel it to be the duty of the House to urge home on the British government and people their determination to be free from Confederation. The hon. member then went on, as has often been done before, to quote from the remarks of Judge Johnston and other members of the Judiciary, trying to draw them into the political arena, and to make them say in 1868 what they said in 1854. I do not think it right to treat the judges of the country in that way. Their position should be kept far removed from all political influences, so that every suitor may feel in going into the temple of justice that his liberties and the safeguards of the constitution are not confided to politicians and biassed men. If we wanted a strong argument to convince us of the impolicy of such references, we have only to look to the other side of the Bay of Fundy, and there we see a gentleman second to none in intelligence and legal attainments, preaching Confederation to grand juries on circuit. He is to-day the Governor of New Brunswick with a largely increased salary. While I do not desire to impute improper motives to any class, I think an unfair use has been made of both clergy and judges. Their influence should be eliminated from the great field of controversy. However keen the conflict between politicians may be, men should feel when they enter the courts of God or of Justice that in the former they will not meet political servility and that in the latter the ermine will not be stained by political bias.

(The hour for adjournment having arrived, the hon. gentleman resumed his seat.)

The debate was adjourned. The House adjourned.

FRIDAY, 21st August, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. Young introduced a bill to incorporate the Hants County Temperance League.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL presented a petition from the Committee of the Synod of the Church of England, in favor of the establishment of an Asylum for Inebriates.

A message was received from the Legislative Council stating that they had passed the following bills:—

To legalize assessment in the County of Digby.

To authorize the Firewards of Pictou to borrow money for water supply.

To enable the Roman Catholic Archbishop and Corporation to sell and mortgage certain lands.

To change the name of Back Settlement, Tracadie.

To incorporate the Meridian Gold Mining Company.

To incorporate the Crescent do.

To incorporate the Delta do.

To amend the Acts relative to the Common at Dartmouth.

To empower offenders to  
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To empower the City Courts to send Juvenile offenders to the Industrial School.

Mr. DESBRISAY presented a petition from the Total Abstinence Society of Trinity Church, on the subject of an Inebriate Asylum.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL laid on the table, by command, certain papers from the Dominion Government, relative to the disallowance of certain legislation passed by the local legislature.

Mr. KIRK asked the Government to lay on the table Statement of Expenditure of Road Moneys for the County of Guysboro'.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY laid on the table the petition of the Medical Society of Dalhousie College.

Also introduced an Act to incorporate the Trustees of Trinity Church in Halifax. He stated that there had been a bill of a somewhat similar nature before the Legislative Council last winter, and there had been some objection to the passage of the bill. It seemed that the Building Committee incurred a considerable debt beyond the sum they had in hand, the first bill was intended to enable them to transfer the building to a Committee that might be appointed by the subscribers; the building was still to be retained for the purpose for which it was originally intended. He believed that the present bill would be satisfactory to all parties interested in the matter.

Mr. MORRISON presented the petition of one D. Henderson of New Aunan, asking for certain remedial legislation—allowed to lie on the table.

Mr. BLANCHARD presented the petitions of Christina McPherson and Christina Cameron of Inverness, in reference to certain Crown Lands.

Mr. BLANCHARD introduced a bill to incorporate the Strawberry Hill Mining Company; also a bill to incorporate the north St. Lawrence and Mount Uniacke Mining Company.

Dr. MURRAY asked the government to lay on the table a statement of the road expenditures of Pictou for the year 1867.

Mr. KIRSTON asked the government to lay on the table all telegraphs and correspondence that took place between the Government and the Registrar of Probate of Victoria from August last to September. He wished to know when that person ceased to be a public officer, and how he was reappointed.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL then moved that the House should resume the order of the day.

#### Debate on the Repeal Resolutions.

Hon. Mr. TROOP continued:—When, by the kindness of the House, I was permitted to discontinue my remarks with the understanding that I should resume again to-day, I was proceeding to discuss the arguments of the leader of the opposition, touching the present aspect of the question of confederation. In doing so, I find that there were one or two points that I overlooked, and which I shall now briefly touch upon. One remark he made, in finding fault with the government, was that the resolutions on which the delegates had been sent were never submitted to the Legislative Council, and he assumed that on that ground operation should not be given to them. I think he had much better have allowed that question to remain buried out of sight. However highly I may and do respect individually the gentlemen composing that high branch of the legislature, I think none of us can feel anything but

disapprobation for the way in which the Council was filled up at the time it was. If any page in our history bears marks of a design on the part of the government of the day to break down the liberties of the country, it is that in which stands the extraordinary record that when six gentlemen had been removed from the Council in the Senate at Ottawa, six others were put into their places without law or authority. I hold that the Minutes of Council show conclusively and clearly, as we had occasion to represent to the Imperial Government, that so far from those gentlemen being in a position to occupy those seats they have no right there—that they are sitting there without the authority of law, as well as against the well-understood wishes of the people at the time of their appointment. When such is the case, I ask if the hon. member really thought that this House, representing the almost unanimous feelings of the country, were going to compromise themselves so far—and so far forget the dignity of the country, as to ask a majority of the Council to concur in resolutions which it was the price and object of their appointments to oppose. That there may be no misunderstanding on the point, let me refer to the Minute of Council itself, and we shall see what an extraordinary branch grew out of the tree of confederation at this time, and what an infringement of the rights of the people was made. I want the hon. member to come down and meet this question fairly and squarely, and show to the country how it was that the appointments of the Legislative Councillors, made in June, 1867, never saw the light of day until October of the same year, and that then they are not gazetted by order of His Excellency, with the advice of His Council, but were "directed by the Lieutenant Governor to be published in the *Royal Gazette*." Let it not be supposed, sir, that I desire to say a word offensive to or derogatory of those gentlemen who were elevated to those seats. That is not my position or argument, but I say that when the hon. member makes it a charge against the government that they did not go down to the Council and ask that body to come in and assent to the resolutions, he should remember the backstain influence in which he was concerned, and which by the selecting of the Lieutenant Governor and his Council stifled the popular voice in the upper branch. The object was to drown the voice of the country entirely, and had the Province been placed in this position that the government were only sustained by a narrow majority, he can readily understand what influence the silence of the Council would have had. The observation of the hon. member brings forcibly to my mind the fact that if this policy is to be pursued,—if it is to be insinuated that the voice of the legislature is to meet with opposition in that branch, it is time that we heard again the demand for an Elective Legislative Council. If this House, determined as it is to carry out the wishes of the people, and engaged lawfully in carrying on this great struggle, are to be met by determined hostility in the Council, I think means may be devised for putting that matter at rest. This is my answer to that part of the hon. member's indictment. In the next stage of his argument he went on to say that he was not one of the delegates to Quebec, and he left

the inference that he did not intend to defend their action or policy.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—The hon. member is mistaken.

Hon. Mr. TROOP continued.—I hoped at all events that the hon. gentleman had taken that course, but as he withdraws the remark, I will not give him the credit which I was about to say was due to him for coming in at the eleventh hour and disclaiming the defence of the unwise course which the delegates pursued. This brings me to the discovery which the hon. member made among some old records of a speech once delivered by the Attorney General. I have nothing to do with the speech itself, and will leave it to the Attorney General to answer as he may think fit, but I must say that if those who are so earnestly engaged in advocating Confederation had only turned their attention to geology they would have far surpassed in skill the Lyells and Logans who have become celebrated in the pursuit of that great science. They are prepared to unearth anything—wherever an old rock is to be found containing a particle of Confederation they mine and countenance about it with the most indefatigable industry, and in this way, after two years search, they have been rewarded by a fresh discovery in the speech of the Attorney General. I give them credit for their perseverance, but I cannot help thinking that if they glanced over the record roll of the men who struggled for the independence of this country, and laid the foundation stone on which the superstructure of her constitution is built, if they but studied their productions and the enunciation of their mind, our Confederate friends would be occupied in a way far more calculated to expand their minds and enlarge their views. They prefer, however, to confine themselves to a species of political geology, and they are welcome to all the capital they can make out of it. The hon. member for Inverness quoted the Attorney General against annexation, and hoped we were not going to have another Papineau in Nova Scotia. He endorsed the remark while quoting it from the Attorney General, and behind it lurked the sneer which was apparent through his wholespeech. Papineau may have been in the eyes of some a rebel, yet he loved his country. He was engaged in a struggle, not wisely but too earnestly, on behalf of the great interests committed to his keeping by a large body of people on this continent. While he was engaged in that struggle, where was Nova Scotia and where was the Canadians? Nova Scotia was maintaining the honor of England on this continent, and if Canada had at that time succeeded in accomplishing her will, we would not now be engaged in a discussion as to the future of these colonies, but would be a part of the United States. I think therefore that when our opponents refer to the records of the past touching these matters the less they say the better. Those records prove that but for Nova Scotia and the able men at the helm here, but for such men as Mr. Howe, who, while struggling with his great powers for the rights of the country, knew well were lawful agitation ended and rebellion commenced, British institutions would not have been maintained in North America. Those institutions, thanks to such efforts, were maintained, and with them the constitution which has since

been struck down by an oligarchy, responsible to none, and defying everybody.

Something was said about the good shepherd of the anti-Confederate party, but I wonder where the good shepherd of the Confederates is? There may have been one once, but his Satanic Majesty must have transformed him into something else. But we had a number of shepherds down here the other day from Canada, with crooks in their hands, wanting to gather the sheep and the lambs of Nova Scotia into the Confederation fold. The sheep, however, knew that there were wolves there, and though their rights had been destroyed, they had sagacity enough to keep from that fold. I come now to the question of the Intercolonial Railway, and I must say I was surprised to hear the hon. member trying hard to unearth a page of history that would bear investigation so ill. Do we not know that when Nova Scotia was urging that project the Canadians would have nothing to do with it? That they baffled every negotiation until they saw the opportunity to make Nova Scotia pay the cost of the whole road. The hon. member went on to ask how long this agitation was to be continued. I think that the answer which he will get from the House and the country will be that the agitation will be continued until repeal is granted—until our liberties and our constitution are restored. Unless they are restored I very much fear that it will be a long day before agitation ceases. We now come down to the great financial view presented, and really if the process of reasoning of the arithmeticians, at the command of the leader of the opposition, in the persons of Mr. Tims and the other Canadian financiers, be carried out a little longer, they will be able to make the figures prove anything. I will leave the reply upon this branch to the Provincial Secretary, but I can assure the House that when the figures, as I have seen them, are produced, it will be apparent that the calculations of Mr. Tims have not the shadow of a foundation, and that the reverse of the statements which we have been listening to are true. Any person taking a common sense view of the subject, without being a financier, can see the absurdity of such arguments. Why is it that before the 1st of July, 1867, Nova Scotia always had plenty of money to keep her roads and bridges in repair; to build her railways, to maintain all her public works, and still to shew an overflowing treasury, and that since the first of July, after one year's experience of the Union, the government almost are compelled to declare the country bankrupt. When one hears what Canada is doing for us, one would suppose that we had drifted into the promise land where money flowed like water,—that the mere fact of a paper constitution uniting four provinces under one head had turned the very trees into gold, and made money run in streams. Every now and then crops out an illustration of the great love which the Canadians have for the people of Nova Scotia, and the hon. member in giving utterance to that view, cast his eye across the street and seeing the building built with the money out of our treasury, could not help saying that the government, in declining to appropriate it for Canadian purposes, were doing a great wrong. All I can say is that if the people are not in earnest in this agi-

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tation the sooner we know it the better; but if they are, one or two thousand pounds is not going to weigh in comparison with the great principles underlying the question. The duty of the government and the legislature is to go as far as they can without admitting the rights of the Canadians to a single acre of property, or to a single public building in the country.

The hon. leader of the opposition told us that we did not pay for our railways now. Who does pay then? Our duties have been increased to fifteen per cent, and can it be imagined that Canada has taken hold of a bankrupt Province in which the public works are derelict, merely out of largeness of heart and overflowing love for the people of the Maritime Provinces? Can it be that finding us at the eleventh hour exhausted and helpless, with our resources gone and our treasury depleted, they have come down and said, "give us your country,—we will take all your burthens and pay you beside?" Now let us see how far this theory will bear investigation. It has been openly stated that at this moment the Canadian Government have negotiations pending for the sale of a part of the Nova Scotia Railway to an English Company. If that be a fact I want to know who will get the benefit of the sale? Will the price be added to the local revenue or go into the Dominion treasury? If it go to the Dominion treasury that Government will be charging us with our debt and selling the property that created it, and, of course, this will be justified. The hon. gentleman in one remark touched the pith of this whole question—the stumbling-block which lies in the way of reconciliation; he said that no power within the Dominion could modify the constitution—but that the constitution of Canada had been modified no less than six times. Does not everybody know the difficulties which brought these changes about? Do we not all know that the Canadians went on modifying and to modify until everything has been modified and representative institutions almost destroyed. That has been the great policy of Canada,—she had so modified her institutions that her public men were forced to the admission that representative government was an impossibility, and then it is they go to the Imperial Parliament and obtain a Union of all the Colonies, breaking down their independent constitutions that in the wreck which they caused they might be able to build up one of greater power for themselves. I wish here to call attention to a remark of Mr. Adderley, to shew how fully in accord he and the hon. member are on this question. Speaking of the present position of affairs and the complaints which had arisen, Mr. Adderley said:

"The first step taken by the Government of the Confederation had been to sweep away all differences of tariffs, raising the rate of customs duties from 10 to 15 per cent.; by which, of course, Nova Scotia considered herself hardly hit, and was proportionately irritated. But after that first step every single measure that had been taken consulted the interests of Nova Scotia."

While we can but deny the latter statement, we see that he admits, as every one must, that the first act done under Confederation was to

raise the tariff of this country by fifty per cent, and after having put those enormous taxes on Nova Scotia, Mr. Adderley and the Canadian Government ask us to come in and see what modifications can be made, not in the scheme itself, but in some of its details. Then we had a covert attack upon the people of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and a reference to the visit of "Ben. Butler" to the former Province. I think, in the present state of affairs, with Great Britain watching the struggle that is going on, leaving those Islands with their own constitutions and self-control, it hardly looks well to see the threat held out that Prince Edward Island will be coerced into the union by the Dominion Government. The hon. member asked who could imagine reciprocity being allowed with one Province alone, and went on to say that the Island would be made the *entrepot* of smugglers. I do not think that the people of the Island will thank him for that remark. So far they have refused every bribe and inducement, and they stand to-day with a free constitution above their heads, holding fast the liberties granted them by the Imperial Government. We next heard an elaborate calculation about militia officers, and the large sum which Nova Scotia would save under the new Militia Act. If time permitted me I could shew the matter in a different aspect, but the facts are patent to all. We know what Nova Scotia has done, and is willing to do, in defence of her own soil. When Mr. Cartier, in the House of Commons, introduced the bill including an oath that would have made our people swear fealty to the Dominion, public opinion was raised to such a pitch that he had to withdraw that part and insert the ordinary oath of allegiance. What do we see to-day? The new Militia Law does not come into operation until October, but influences are at work to entrap our militia-men into volunteering for service, and into accepting the money voted for volunteers. What is the object of this? That the moment they get the ranks filled up they can say:—"Here are these Nova Scotians, who are said to be hostile to the union—the answer comes—volunteering to protect the Dominion and its flag and receiving its pay." I do not think that the bait is going to take in Nova Scotia, and if it has taken to any extent when the question is aired, and the people understand the position, they will know well how to act. We have heard so much of the blessings of Confederation that I will not weary the House by going over all that has been said upon that subject, but a remark was made in reference to the mail service between Halifax and New Brunswick and the Southern shore. On that one point I will make a remark. It is well known that this summer the Dominion Government advertised for tenders for that service, and when tenders were made, as they were by Mr. King, the mail contractor, of Halifax, and Mr. Fleming, of St. John, those gentlemen received the following reply:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,  
Ottawa, 4th July, 1868.

Gentlemen,—

In reply to your letter dated the 26th ultimo, offering to place a steamer on the route between Halifax, Nova Scotia, and St. John,

New Brunswick, I am directed by the Postmaster General to say that, while thanking you for your offer, he has no authority to enter upon such a contract as you propose.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

WM. WHITE,

Secretary.

Messrs. JAMES KING,  
Mail Contractor,  
Halifax, N. S., and  
GEORGE FLEMING, St. John, N. B.

So that after advertising for tenders they positively declined to accept any of them. The hon. member, after going through an elaborate calculation, came to the conclusion that by Confederation we had saved \$739,000 in a single year, and yet he concluded by saying that he did not expect a single member to believe him. Could he wonder at any intelligent man declining to accept such a statement? I admire the fertility of the genius of those gentlemen who get up the confederation literature of this country, and I have no doubt that in future days, when we shall have left this arena those who shall succeed us in coming on some of these calculations will arrive at the conclusion that in these days Baron Munchausens were as thick as blackberries, and that every confederate thought himself a calculating machine of no ordinary power. If the hon. member could only show, as I challenge him to do, that Canada is not taking out of this Province one half of that amount every year, and that she is not impoverishing us, I will go with him in his argument. Having thus gone through the leading points of the hon. member's speech, let me now turn attention to another view called the conciliatory. The conciliation dodge is another creation of the celebrated intellects at Ottawa. Sir John A. MacDonald is anxious that by seeking assistance from Canada we shall accept the situation, and thus rivet the manacles upon our hands and feet more firmly than they are to-day. What does he tell us in the despatch laid on the table to-day? That despatch is a threat sent here under the authority of the Dominion government, saying to us "be careful how you legislate, take care what you are doing, you are only a small municipality, your acts have to come under the review of our Cabinet, and we claim the right to lop off the branches of your legislature, and to disallow whatever we dislike." This is told to us while we are listening to the argument that our rights were sufficiently guaranteed by the British North America act. Does not the Dominion government in that despatch claim the full right to exercise supervision over every act of legislation which we may carry on. This is its language:—

"The undersigned begs to submit for the consideration of your Excellency, that it is expedient to settle the course to be pursued with respect to the Acts passed by the Provincial Legislatures.

The same powers of disallowance as have always belonged to the Imperial Government, with respect to the Acts passed by Colonial Legislatures, have been conferred, by the Union Act, on the Government of Canada. Of late years Her Majesty's Government has not, as a general rule, interfered with the le-

gislation of Colonies having Representative Institutions and Responsible Government, except in the cases specially mentioned in the instructions to the Provinces, or in matters of Imperial and not merely local interest.

Under the present constitution of Canada, the General Government will be called upon to consider the propriety of Allowance or Disallowance of Provincial Acts much more frequently than Her Majesty's Government has been with respect to colonial enactments.

In deciding whether any Act of a Provincial Legislature should be disallowed or sanctioned, the Government must not only consider whether it affects the interest of the whole Dominion or not, but also whether it be unconstitutional, whether it exceeds the jurisdiction conferred on Local Legislatures, and in cases where the jurisdiction is concurrent, whether it clashes with the legislation of the General Parliament. As it is of importance that the course of Local Legislation should be interfered with as little as possible, and the power of Disallowance exercised with great caution, and only in cases where the law and general interests of the Dominion imperatively demand it, the undersigned recommends that the following course be pursued:

That on the receipt, by Your Excellency, of the Acts passed in any Province they be referred to the Minister of Justice for report, and that he, with all convenient speed, do report as to those Acts which he considers free from objections of any kind; and if such report be approved of by Your Excellency in Council, that such approval be forthwith communicated to the Provincial Governments.

That he make a separate report or separate reports on those Acts which he may consider—

1st. As being altogether illegal or unconstitutional.

2nd. As illegal or unconstitutional in part.

3rd. In cases of concurrent jurisdiction as clashing with the legislation of the General Parliament.

4th. As affecting the interests of the Dominion generally.

And that in such report or reports, he give his reasons for his opinions. That where a measure is considered only partially defective or where objectionable as being prejudicial to the general interests of the Dominion, or as clashing with its legislation, communication should be had with the Provincial Government with respect to such measure, and that in such case the Act should not be Disallowed, if the general interests permit such a course until the Local Government has an opportunity of considering and discussing the objections taken, and the Local Legislature has also an opportunity of remedying the defect found to exist.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

(Signed)

JOHN A. MACDONALD."

Under that fourth class let us suppose that the Ottawa Parliament thought it for the interest of the whole Dominion to take possession of our coal fields—would that be one of the cases in which they would exercise this power as affecting the interests of the Dominion generally. Before one of our acts reaches them they send down a despatch to caution us how we exercise our functions. I think that

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the sooner we tell them that we intend to pass what legislation we please, irrespective of their authority, the better. If they want to brow beat and to carry on coercive measures they will find that Nova Scotians are not so tractable as they imagine.

We have taught them a good many lessons since the 18th of September,—we have taught them that the opposition in this country is not the mere handful of dissatisfied people spoken of by the Confederates. We will go on step by step teaching them that Nova Scotia has no intention of accepting the situation. From one other remark, made by the hon. member for Inverness, in quoting from the Attorney General, I must dissent, and that was in reference to the United States. The commercial interests of Nova Scotia to-day are far more intimately connected with that country than with Canada, and I believe that our policy should be by all possible means to open up trade relations with a country without whose trade Nova Scotia would not be what she is. By commercial treaties and the interchange of commercial products our country may be built up. The United States stand to-day a union of thirty States, covering the whole extent of territory from the Rio Grande to the Saint Croix, peopled by the same stock as the British Islands, and forming the great sources into which the European crop overflows. Are we to turn our backs on that country? to forego our commercial prospects then for the visionary idea that at some future day the back country of Canada may afford us a market? Can that back country afford us to-day a market for a ton of coal? When I saw the Albion Coal fields the other day—the millions of capital that are locked up there for want of a market—I felt that there was no cause to wonder at the people of Pictou county feeling as strongly as they do on the subject of Confederation. We find there, connected with the mining operations, numbers who have embarked their capital in those fields—men imbued with enterprise, who have been accustomed to see the country making commercial arrangements and developing its resources independent of Canada. Why is it that all this has been changed,—that at the eleventh hour we are asked to forego the advantages of closer commercial relations with the United States? Why is it that the power has been put into the hands of Canada to shut us out from those relations, and to prevent the development of the resources which are lying in the heart of the country. Whatever may be said of this great question there is one evident fact which no one can deny, that in the American Union there are thirty millions of English speaking people almost of one nation with us, like us in laws, manners and religion, studying from the same books and seeking at the same fountain for literature and everything that can make a country truly great. In looking at that noble country, in remembering the stand which its people took in gaining their independence and in maintaining the integrity of their constitution in defence of which they poured out money and blood like water, we cannot but feel that it is not a nation to be sneered at, but as one that is making its power felt throughout the whole world. When we see the Western States developing their vast

resources by the Pacific railway, which is to tap the trade of the Eastern hemisphere, is it wonderful that trodden-down and oppressed as we are by this grievous Scheme, we should turn our eyes for sympathy to the people of the United States? As our resolutions declare we call upon the civilized world to look upon the struggle which we have commenced. When the people of Nova Scotia have taken the stand which they occupy to-day, we may well allow those who choose to taunt us with being annexationists. Such people may attempt, if they please, to wound us in the dark, but they cannot prevent the mind of our people from running in the direction in which their interests and liberties lie. While they love and venerate the institutions of their fatherland,—while their is hardly a disloyal man in Nova Scotia to-day, they turn, in the hour of danger, for sympathy to those who can sympathize with them. If the time has come when the people of this country can no longer appeal to the old feelings of attachment on the other side of the Atlantic—when between us and our Queen stands the Dominion Government, the Colonial Secretary and Dominionists of all shades—then indeed Nova Scotians must look for sympathy elsewhere. I say this in all sincerity, and in bringing my observations to a close, I have to thank the House for the patience with which it has heard me. I have spoken warmly because my heart is in the cause; because I am determined to fight the battle through. No power, no influence, no coercion, shall ever cause me to abandon the position I have taken to-day. As long as the eighteen Counties stand as they do, there is not a man here in public life who will dare to mention compromise with Canada. When it comes to be well understood that we have taken this stand, and when the ruinous nature of the whole scheme comes to be understood in England, we hope to regain what we have lost. In the meantime let the people take courage, and in carrying on the struggle let them remember how many dark hours and days in old England's history and in the history of the thirteen Colonies, occurred before the gleam of triumph shot athwart the country. Let them look at the history of the world, and see that the men who backed down from the position which their patriotism had led them to take, were craven cowards, lured by the false light held out for their destruction. Let us be cautious and guarded, yet firm and determined in our solemn resolve to restore this country to her original proud position, and may God help us in the struggle.

Mr. BLANCHARD expressed his surprise that a despatch which had not been asked for had been laid on the table in order to furnish material for the speech which had just been concluded, while the Report of the Delegation, asked for and requisite for the debate, had not been brought down.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL said that the papers alluded to had been found more voluminous than was anticipated. They would be ready in a day or two.

MR. SMITH'S SPEECH.

Mr. SMITH said: In view of the position that I have so recently had the honor to occupy, as one of the delegates from the



and to co-operate with those gentlemen that might be sent to convey copies of these resolutions to the Imperial Government. In the discharge of the duty which devolved upon us we had nothing to do but to lay the *petition* before the Imperial Parliament, and present copies of the resolutions and address to the Government of England. As it has been already remarked by the hon. member for Annapolis, on the 10th June, 1868, not only were the resolutions brought before the House of Parliament by the government, but the address and all the papers connected with the question. So that in a short time after our arrival in England, both the Government and Parliament were in possession of all the facts and documents with which we were charged, and which had any connection with the subject. The hon. member has likewise stated that we exceeded our authority—that we were only directed to seek for Repeal of the British North American Act. Let me here direct the attention of the House to the resolution under which we were delegates:

*Resolved*, That the delegates so to be appointed are to urge upon the Imperial Parliament the strong feelings of this House and the people of Nova Scotia upon the question of Confederation; that they are to ask for the restoration of the constitution of this country, as it existed previous to the passage of the "British North America Act;" that they are not to accept any alteration of, or amendment to such act, and that they are hereby authorized, if necessary, to retain counsel learned in the law to plead the claims of Nova Scotia at the bar of the House of Commons, and to take all such necessary steps for carrying out the resolutions of this House as may be deemed advisable."

So that there appears nothing in these resolutions of a restrictive character, except that we were solemnly charged not to accept "any modification or alteration" of the Act in lieu of the Repeal which we were ordered to attempt to obtain.

I can only say to this House and to the country at large that in no one instance did any gentlemen with whom I was associated that I am aware of, intimate to the Colonial office a desire to accept any "alteration or modification" of the act, and when the hon. member tells us that we did not ask for Repeal in England, and thereby failed to perform the duty devolving upon us, he is entirely mistaken. At the very first moment in our power we placed ourselves in communication with the Colonial Secretary, and brought to his notice, all the facts and circumstances connected with the question, and pressed upon him in the strongest manner the dissatisfaction that existed among the people of this country, and the desire of this Legislature to have a repeal of the British American Act so far as Nova Scotia was concerned.

The hon. gentleman likewise said that no man in the Houses of Commons or Lords could be found to lay the resolutions before those bodies. Has he thrown himself again into the arms of the *General Rumour* whom he has declared to be so good a leader? or has he in this instance pinned his faith to the files of the *Colonist*? When I seek to offer infor-

mation to this House I shall take care to refer to authority which is undeniable; and when he attempts to bring charges against men entrusted with such grave and important duties I feel he should be prepared satisfactorily to substantiate them, or retract them if he finds he is unable to do so. We found in England, among all classes, a strong feeling of sympathy in behalf of the people of Nova Scotia, and we did not receive a single denial from any gentleman to whom we applied to present our petition; and I can say to this House that Mr. Bright, on no occasion, expressed any disinclination to press the demand of this House upon the Commons if we thought it necessary to do so; but, as it has been already stated by the hon. member for Annapolis, we were placed in a peculiar position. We had to contend with difficulties which must be encountered to be understood. In the first instance, we had to meet the cold indifference which settles on Colonial matters on the other side of the Atlantic. We had to meet a government that had already made up its mind on the subject, and whose judgment was influenced by a quarter which we can readily understand. We had to deal with a Parliament which was grappling with a question of a most momentous character, touching Imperial interests, and involving a struggle for power. We had to encounter the influences of *Canadian jinnese* operating upon the British Government, and endeavouring to mislead the people of England. When we arrived in London we were obliged to rest upon our oars for weeks, and why? Because the documents which were necessary to be received before we could place ourselves in communication with the Colonial office, had not arrived. They had to pass through the hands of the Canadian authorities, and His Excellency the Governor General did not see fit to forward them as speedily as he could have done, because it was thought necessary to wait until the Canadian agent was prepared to leave Canada soil simultaneously with the documents. It was not until Dr. Tupper arrived in England that we were able to communicate officially with the Colonial Minister. On the first occasion we had an opportunity of doing so, we were told enough to satisfy us that the minds of the British Government were settled on the subject. It has been said that the decision arrived at was not the mere opinions of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, but the views of the British Government. I believe, sir, that they were not entirely the sentiments of the Government, but were mainly a reflex of the opinions of the Canadian authorities. At the very first interview we had with the Colonial Minister an incident occurred of a somewhat singular character. When we were permitted to enter the office of the Secretary of State for the Colonies another gentleman who had preceded us in our interview had just retired from the room, and we had scarcely passed through the doors of His Grace's sanctum before the foot-lights of the Canadian agent were dying away from another entrance; and when we opened the discussion it was evident enough to us that not only was Repeal to be rejected by the Government of England, but we had to encounter and confute the arguments and assertions which had been time and again refuted in the press,

in the parliament, on the hustings, and on the stumps of Nova Scotia.

The hon. member also tells us that we were not authorized to ask for a Commission of Enquiry. I do not know whether we exceeded our authority or not, but all I can say is that we did what, under the circumstances, we thought most advisable for the interests of the people of this country. As I said before, Sir, Mr. Bright never did refuse to ask for a Repeal of the Union Act; but knowing that it had been so recently passed—the difficulties we had to contend with—the influences which were operating upon the British Government, the pressure of Canada operating upon the Colonial office; knowing that the Government might call to its aid the Gladstone and Cardwell contingent in debate and on discussion in the Commons, Mr. Bright, as a matter of prudence, as well as his friends with whom he consulted, thought it best, before asking for Repeal, to demand a Commission, composed of impartial English gentlemen, to enquire into the feelings of the people of Nova Scotia, and to report to Parliament thereon. Fortified as we were by the result of the elections of 1867—strengthened as we felt ourselves by the decision of this House, and the unanimity with which it had acted previous to our departure—believing as I did on the integrity and manly honesty of the Commons of England, I never thought for a moment that so reasonable a request should have been refused. Such, however, proved to be the case.

The hon. member told us that it was not known that Mr. Bright made the application with the consent of the delegates until after the decision of Parliament was known. Again I do not know where the hon. gentleman derives his information—probably he received it from the same authentic source from which he draws his usual inspiration—but I may say to him that he is entirely inaccurate.

The resolution which Mr. Bright presented to the House of Commons met with the entire concurrence of the delegates. I was with that gentleman at the time the resolution was prepared, for the delegates associated with me happened to be out at the time when Mr. Bright desired to communicate with us. It was presented with the approbation of the delegates, in view of the difficulties we had to encounter; and knowing that the Government had sufficient confidence in us that we could do nothing but what the best interests of the country demanded, we consented to its being submitted to the House of Commons. Our concurrence was not only known to Mr. Bright but to the Government itself, for His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, the moment the motion was made in the House of Commons, was induced to ascertain whether such a proposition had come from the delegates; and he put himself in immediate communication with one of them and received an answer in the affirmative. If it were not known to the people of Nova Scotia it was no fault of ours. I do not feel that it was incumbent upon us to inform the hon. member for Inverness or his friends. We discharged our duty conscientiously and did what we considered best under the circumstances surrounding us. As long as I have the approval of the Government and of the gentlemen around these

benches, I care little for what is said by the garrulous outside.

The hon. gentleman, in the course of his speech, undertook to indulge in some political theories. He propounded the idea, that it was the "height of radicalism" for any one to assert that this Legislature was not the only place in which the question could be dealt with. I am surprised to hear the hon. member, who has been so long connected with the Liberals of this country, undertaking at this late hour to say that the Lower Branch of the Legislature does not fully represent the voice of the people. According to the leader of the present Administration in England, in some instances the lower house does not represent entirely the views of the people. A serious question has been agitating the public mind in that great country, and what is the position taken by the government? [The very government who have asserted that the people of Nova Scotia cannot receive consideration at their hands—that the Legislature had the technical right to destroy our constitution and annex you to Canada—declare through the mouth of Mr. Disraeli, that although the Parliament has the *technical* right to deal with a question like the dis-establishment of the Irish Church, yet they have not the *moral* power to touch it without leaving it to the people to decide upon; and Mr. Gladstone has virtually recognized the principle because he has not attempted to introduce a bill to carry out the purport of the resolution which he has been able carry by a majority of the House of Commons.

The hon. member has noticed the speech of Mr. Bright to prove that the public and Parliament of England knew that the people of Nova Scotia were opposed to Confederation. From our knowledge of the subject, and from conversation with gentlemen who have given the question some consideration, I have no hesitation in asserting that the opinion was prevalent in England that the people of this province were in concurrence with the acts of the Legislature; and if the slightest idea had been entertained that such a feeling of antagonism existed to the passage of the act, the Parliament of Great Britain would certainly have hesitated to make it law. It was believed universally among gentlemen who were acquainted with the colonies that there was a feeling in favor of Confederation, and in proof of that I shall refer to a passage in the very opinion which has been referred to, and which the hon. Attorney General has promised to bring down. We have, indeed, the most satisfactory proof of the fact in the very preamble of the Act itself; but it may be said that the opponents of Confederation have placed a false construction on the preamble of the Act—that the opinion of the Attorney General in respect to the validity of the Act itself may not be sustained; but in this connection let me read to the House the following extract from the opinion of the eminent Counsel spoken of by the hon. member for Inverness:

"In our opinion the Imperial Parliament did not assume to extinguish the existing constitution of Nova Scotia, or to impose upon it a new form of government without its consent. To have done so would, in our opinion, have been an extreme exercise of its legal

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powers. The preamble of the Act, 30 Vic. Cap. 3, shows that in fact the English Legislature proceeded on the assumption of a *real and substantial consent* by the Province of Nova Scotia."

So that it will be seen that it is the deliberate opinion of these learned and distinguished lawyers that the British Government did not intend to confederate this country as it has been done, except with the "*real and substantial assent of the people*." Therefore I may be excused in saying that the hon. gentleman is as weak on that point as he is on all others he has endeavored to urge.

Now the hon. member, in speaking of the difficulty of getting the voice of the people on this question, said that the popularity or unpopularity of a government prevents a correct decision, and therefore it would have been inexpedient for the late administration to have submitted Confederation to the people at the polls. I take it that no difficulty whatever would have occurred in taking the opinion of the electors on this question. He tells us that the votes of large numbers of the electors in September last were given in connection with the School Bill—that that measure, in fact, largely influenced the result. These remarks were intended to have effect elsewhere than in this house; they are for the Canadian and English atmosphere, for we had to encounter similar assertions in our communications with the Colonial office. Does not every gentleman around these benches know that no better test of the feelings of the people on the question would have been given than was afforded by the elections? I know nothing of the influences that operated in other constituencies, but I can speak for my own county, and assure the House and country, as I have assured others elsewhere, that I do not believe that the question of the School Bill influenced ten votes one way or the other, in the County of Queen's. In corroboration of this assertion, I may say that the gentlemen who opposed the present member of Ottawa—a gentleman who sat long on these benches, a shrewd, sagacious, practical man—claimed confidently the suffrages of the people, on the ground that he had voted for the School Bill. I ask the hon. gentleman how he came here himself, if that question influenced the elections; for he supported the Tupper Government on this question. It is idle to talk in this manner, but frivolous and absurd as it may appear, I am sorry to say that such assertions were seriously entertained at the Colonial office, and deliberately urged by gentlemen holding prominent positions in England, and therefore it is that I have presumed to occupy so much of the time of the House in dealing with the subject.

The hon. member next turned solemnly to the House and declared that he now intended to address himself to the serious portion of that question, and when he had done I must confess I was still ignorant when the seriousness commenced, and when the frivolity terminated. He turned with a great deal of self-confidence to the files of the *Colonist* in order to make it appear that one of these resolutions, which have been laid on the table, was not only based upon a fallacy, but was absolutely false. He quoted against the Attorney General the position which he laid down a few days ago, that

when one of the premises is false, the deductions must be false also. I now ask the hon. member to apply that principle to himself. I think I must have satisfied the House as well as the hon. member that the statements he made with reference to the conduct of the delegates were unsupported by proof and inconsistent with facts, therefore if his premises are untrue, every deduction that he drew must be necessarily incorrect. It is hardly necessary for me to occupy much time in referring to that part of the subject, for it is evident that the resolution as given in the *Colonist* is in direct antagonism with the resolution as given in the official journals of this Assembly. I take it that when a gentleman hopes to influence the minds of others in this House he should be able to support himself by some better evidence than is to be found in the columns of a provincial paper. I have carefully perused the journals of the House, and I did so for the purpose of ascertaining whether that resolution was correct or not, and I found it was accurate in every particular. I found that the resolution does not mention the word "Confederation" at all, but simply refers to the "Union of the Colonies." As it is very important that the gentlemen around these benches should not commit themselves to the adoption of a resolution chargeable with inaccuracy, let me direct your attention to its language, in order to show that the hon. member is entirely incorrect:

"Resolved—1st. That the reverse of the assertion in the despatch of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham is the fact, the word 'Confederation' never having been named in any resolution moved for adoption in the Legislative Assembly of this Province previous to 1866, although the subject of Colonial Union had been from time to time discussed in this House in general terms, without affirming the desire of the Province to become a party to a Legislative or a Federal Union of the British North American Provinces until the passage of the aforesaid resolution of April, 1866, which was a surprise to the people of Nova Scotia."

In making the references I do, it must not be supposed that I am reflecting upon the character of the *Colonist*, further than as a subject of authentic reference. The hon. member says that I was accustomed in former times to swear by the *Colonist*, but I cannot help thinking when I remember his recent assault upon the *Chronicle* that there was a time when he believed that that journal contained all that was admirable—and was prepared to swear by it also. The hon. member referred to the speeches of Mr. Howe, Mr. Johnston, and Mr. Young, in reference to a Union of the Colonies, and I could but smile when he spoke of the political sagacity of Judge Johnston, whom he had been accustomed to oppose and obstruct throughout his entire political career. It is certainly a singular fact that it is only in the year 1863 that the hon. gentleman has discovered the superior judgment and political sagacity covered by "the gre. hairs" of the former leader of the Conservative party in this province.

The hon. gentleman then directed our attention to some of the advantages which we were deriving from Confederation. Now, sir, as I have already remarked, all these arguments are so entirely hackneyed, and so frequently

refuted, that I feel I am trespassing upon the time of the House in alluding to this part of the question at all; but I cannot understand, and have never understood, why we could not have free trade between the Provinces without Confederation. I may have been wanting in the political sagacity and experience of the hon. member, but I believe there would not have been the slightest difficulty in establishing reciprocal free trade between the provinces by which we could derive all the necessary commercial advantages without having our constitution destroyed and our freedom taken away from us.

The hon. member has also brought forward a number of figures to show that, under this system of Confederation, the people of Nova Scotia have had so far the advantage of Canada. I do not intend to occupy the time of the House with "boxing figures" and making ingenious calculations; the subject of finance comes properly within the Province of the Provincial Secretary, but I may say that it is noteworthy that so confused is the condition of our monetary affairs that neither the agent of the Canadian Government, the hon. member for Inverness, Mr. Jones, nor Mr. McLelan have been able to give the people of this country an accurate and detailed statement, comparing one with the other, of the real financial condition of the country under Confederation. The hon. member tells us that he differs to the extent of half per cent. from Mr. Tims—the actual difference is one per cent.—but we can account for half per cent. as the amount required for exchange. But the fact is, we have now the spectacle presented to this country that no one, not even the Finance Minister, can give us any satisfactory information respecting the finances of the country; and I believe I am perfectly correct when I say that that officer has made the debt due by Nova Scotia to Canada nearly a quarter of a million more than Mr. Tims asserts it to be.

Mr. BLANCHARD—Where is your proof?

Mr. SMITH—I will not furnish the same description of proof that the hon. member generally gives us. I only hope and trust that the sagacity of the Provincial Secretary will be able to unravel the difficulty, and bring down to the table, when he comes forward with the Estimates, such a statement as will enable us to form a correct idea of the actual state of our affairs.

The hon. member says that we should be grateful to Canada for the advantages that we derive from connection with her—that Canada and Nova Scotia now are one. I cannot understand it to be so, when Canada has the entire control of the purse strings of the Dominion, and has a majority of the House of Commons, backed up by a pliant Senate, and when we have had the spectacle presented to us during the first Session, of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada exercising the power for the advantage of her own people. I would be egregiously at fault to form such a connection in the ordinary transactions of life. I may have a capital of five millions of dollars. I go into partnership with another person having the same capital; but would I give him the entire control and management of my business, with the power to set me at defiance? I think, in all probability, I would

soon come to the conclusion that a partnership so conducted had little community of interest and ought to be terminated as soon as possible, so far as my individual interests were concerned.

The hon. member referred to the fisheries of the Province, and asserted that we had to be grateful to Canada for having had the license fee raised to \$2 a ton. I ask the hon. member who first gave the Americans the right to fish in our waters at all. Was it not the Canadian Government who pressed upon the Colonial office the necessity of coming to the arrangement, and in that way forced Nova Scotia to agree to it? Did not the Premier of the Administration in 1867 come down to this House and say that it was the Canadians who induced the British Government to coerce us into allowing the Americans to fish in our waters for 2s. 6d. a ton. I have under my hand an extract from the Minute of Council, in which the Government of this country expressly stated their dissent from such a policy, and admitted that it was a disastrous one forced upon us by the Canadians. Now, I ask, what is the advantage of this 10s. duty? Is it a bargain, indeed, for which our fishermen should be proud and grateful; they should look upon it, doubtless, as a concession in the piece of the bounty which they were to receive, according to the statements published previous to the last elections. Every Confederate in the country, it will be remembered, kept declaring from day to day that the fishermen would receive a bounty under Confederation. I believe that the Minister of the fisheries was even on his way to Nova Scotia to make some preparations to give an air of probability to these statements, but now, instead of a bounty, we have this license fee of 10s. imposed upon American fishermen, who are to have free access to our waters.

The hon. gentleman also came forward as the advocate of Mr. Adderley. It was my privilege—nay, rather say misfortune, to listen to the hon. Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies when he made that celebrated speech in which he attempted to talk down the liberties of the people of this country. It was my misfortune to hear that gentleman, with all the zeal and freedom of an advocate, endeavouring to press upon the gentlemen in the House of Commons that if they would only vote the motion down the difficulty would soon be settled. The impression made on the minds of his audience by such statements was well calculated to induce the great majority to vote in the manner in which they did; for it was naturally supposed that the assertion made by Mr. Adderley, that the people of Nova Scotia were in progress of being reconciled by the concessions made by Canada, was perfectly correct. I ask this House and country was it true? We know perfectly well that the people of Nova Scotia at that time were prepared to meet any concessions from the Canadians in the true spirit of freemen; they were not so blind as not to understand the object any concessions were intended to achieve. But what are the real facts? When the Dominion Parliament first met, how were the interests of the maritime provinces respected? Sir John A. Macdonald brought up his Upper Canadians, and Sir George E. Cartier his Lower Canadians, to

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vote down the maritime representatives who felt that the tariff was most injurious to the interests of these respective provinces. Where was the conciliatory spirit then? The maritime representatives might solemnly denounce such legislation, but the pliant majority of the Canadian leaders paid no heed to their appeals, until delegates were on their way across the water to ask for a Repeal of the Union from the Imperial authorities. Then the Canadians were quite ready, or at all events asserted they were, to make concessions to the maritime provinces—to protect interests which they had previously ignored. Then, and not till then they thought it advisable to take off the tax on flour and corn meal, on cordage, and abolish the light-house duties. We are likewise told that the people of Nova Scotia have also been favored in respect to Militia duty. This subject has been already referred to by the hon. member for Annapolis, and I need not dwell on it at any length. It can scarcely be believed that the people of the Province are so simple as to be gulled into supporting this Confederation by the offer of five shillings a day. We are agitating this question from the conviction that to "accept the position" would be to fasten the scheme irrevocably upon us. The present Government may be the most virtuous in the world. It must, however, pass away; others will take their places who may be more open to influences that may be brought to bear, and we will awake to find that all hope of recovering our privileges has been lost. The members of this Assembly believe that under the old condition of their constitution they had better security for their rights than can be given by concessions from Canada, made even at the instance and pressure of the Imperial Government.

The hour for adjournment having arrived the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned.

MONDAY, August 24, 1868.

#### Morning Session.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL presented a petition from the Bishop, clergy, and magistrates, and others, of all denominations in Arichat, in favor of the establishment of denominational schools. In doing so he stated that the petition was very numerously signed, but in the present condition of legislation, and at so advanced a period of the session, it was not probable that any steps could be taken immediately on the subject. He thought it would be well for gentlemen to inform themselves on the subject of such vast importance. The petition did not ask that the present school bill should be interfered with, but simply wished that it should be modified and amended so as to meet the wishes of the petitioners.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL introduced another petition on the same subject.

Mr. BLANCHARD was glad that the Attorney General had presented a subject of such vast importance to the House, and asked that it should be seriously considered. The present petition, he noticed did not ask for what was demanded by some gentlemen some years ago in the Legislature; this was far more reasonable in its request. Mr. Blanchard also alluded to

the propriety of having the report of the Superintendent of Education on the table.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN explained the object of the petition for the information of the House.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that he presumed that the object of the Attorney General, in bringing forward the petition, was to obtain the opinions of the members, and to take it up at another session. At the present stage it was hardly practicable to deal with the question in the way that its importance demanded, and as to meet the wishes of the people at large. It was very desirable that the matter should be proceeded with cautiously.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that the petition was not from any particular denomination, but from people of all classes of religious opinions. He thought it would be as well if the petition was printed.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN thought it was quite competent for the House to deal with the matter at its present session; for it simply asked to legalize what was already in existence. It was stated in the speech at the commencement of the session that some amendment would be made in the School Bill, and that fact had gone to the country and originated the present petition. He was himself in favor of having the question submitted to the Committee on Education.

The Petitions were finally sent to the Committee on Education.

Mr. BLANCHARD, from Committee on Private and Local Bills, reported up a bill to amend the act to incorporate Mire Bay Harbor Company; also, the bill to incorporate the Royal Coal Mining company; also, a bill to legalize assessments in the district of Shelburne.

Hon. Mr. TROOP presented petitions relative to railway appraisalment.

The House then went into Committee on Bills and passed the following:—

To incorporate the Gardiner Coal Mining Co.

To incorporate the Scotia Coal Mining Co.  
To incorporate the Montreal Gold Mining Association.

To amend the Acts of 1860 relative to Stipendiary Magistrate and Police Constables in the town of Pictou.

To amend the Act incorporating the Mire Bay Harbor Company.

To incorporate the Royal Coal Mining Co.  
The Committee adjourned and reported.

#### Afternoon Session.

The House resumed at three o'clock.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSSON introduced a bill to incorporate the St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons.

Dr. MURRAY presented the petition of the Officers of the Temperance Societies connected with the Wesleyan Churches in Halifax, in behalf of an Inebriate Asylum.

The order of the day was then taken up.

MR. SMITH'S SPEECH CONCLUDED.

Mr. SMITH then resumed as follows:—I have no doubt that the House will be glad to learn that I have no intention of inflicting upon them any lengthy remarks in continuation of the address which I was unable to conclude when the hour of adjournment arrived on Friday last.

I was then on the point of referring to that

portion of the remarks of the hon. and learned member for Inverness in which he told the House that that portion of the Minute of Council touching the Reciprocity Treaty was not correct—that notice of the termination of that treaty was given two years before the Confederation Act was passed. Now his memory has failed him on this point, for it will be remembered by the House that the Confederation Act was framed at Quebec in 1864, whilst the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty did not take place until 1865. It may be reasonably supposed that the Americans, knowing little of our provincial politics, thought that the Quebec scheme at that time was actually acceptable to the people of this Province. I also on Friday last turned the attention of the House to another part of the hon. member's remarks in which he stated that among the manifold blessings we had derived from the Dominion Government was the imposition of two dollars instead of fifty cents a ton upon American fishing vessels. I then stated that so far from this country being on that account under obligation to the Canadian Executive; in point of fact it was the Canadians who forced our own Government in the first instance to agree to the license system of 2s. 6d. a ton, and thereby threw open our waters to foreign fishermen. I have now under my hand the Minute of Council in which the Government of this Province expressed the reasons that had influenced them in taking the course they did; it will be seen to corroborate the statements that I have made. At the conclusion of the document we find these expressions used:

"It is not, however, necessary now to expand the numerous objections entertained in this Province to the proposed *Canadian policy*. Suffice it to say, that the Council, entertaining the opinion that that policy would be most disastrous in its effects upon British interests, felt it their duty respectfully to submit their opinions for the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government."

"So this House will readily perceive that it was the Canadians who were responsible for the system at the very commencement. And it is a very simple thing—a fact indeed of some significance—that so strong must have been the pressure at that time brought to bear by the Imperial authorities in consequence of the action of the Canadians, that our Government, in violation of the statute which expressly forbade American fishermen from fishing within the marine miles of our coast, under forfeiture of their vessels, agreed to allow them the freedom of our waters and enjoy our fisheries for a paltry sum of two shillings and sixpence a ton, which has now been raised, as we are told, to the enormous amount of two dollars. I think unless the hon. member can adduce better evidence of the advantages of Confederation, he must have a very poor cause indeed, and one that can scarcely be recommended to the feelings of our people.

The hon. member, most chivalrously, undertook to appear on the floors of this House as the advocate of Mr. Adderley, and I think I have effectually disposed of that portion of his remarks in which he asserted that the people of this Province were in progress of being

conciliated. I ask the hon. member whether he will venture to stand up before this House and stake his reputation as a public man in the face of the people of this country, and assert that the statement made by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies with respect to the elections of 1863 was literally correct and susceptible of being substantiated? On that occasion I had the opportunity of listening to the hon. gentleman, and I must say I blushed to think that there was an Imperial statesman, a man occupying a position of influence in the Councils of the Empire, who could make announcements so utterly unfounded. Mr. Watkin—whose equally extraordinary statements of a previous Session has been so justly denounced in this country—modestly fled the scene and was not prepared to face the delegates; but what did we find Mr. Adderley did? Dressed in official authority he rose and made the extraordinary statement that the reason why in 1863 the question was not discussed before the people was that it had been so universally known, so entirely accepted by them, that there was no necessity to leave it to them or mention it at all. Now I ask the hon. member whether he is prepared to substantiate a statement like that, so utterly at variance with the facts? Is it any wonder then that the delegates failed to accomplish their object when they had to encounter difficulties so unexpected and statements of a character like that—when they found the Government opposed to them, and parties on both sides of politics, in fact, committed to the measure at its inception. The hon. member is not deficient in the pluck necessary for leading up a desperate cause in this House, but I think he will hardly venture, with all his daring, to defend a statement so untenable as that.

The hon. gentleman has referred in passing that we were deriving advantages under Confederation which we would not otherwise enjoy. The Finance Minister of Canada, for instance, had obtained money in England to build the Intercolonial Railway for 3½ per cent. Does the hon. member think that gentlemen around these benches do not read for information as well as himself? Let me tell him all the money was not obtained for 3½ per cent.—they have only got a guarantee from the Imperial Government for £3,000,000, and as for the money they have borrowed on that faith they got it for the sum mentioned, but they had to pay nearly 5 per cent. for the million they were obliged to borrow on their own account and credit.

Mr. BLANCHARD—They borrowed three for 3 per cent. but add all together, and it will give 3½ per cent.

Mr. SMITH—This cannot be if they pay 5 per cent. on the extra million. The impression left on the minds of the delegates was that we might have accomplished the mission with which we were charged, had it not been for the prevalent belief in England that it would offend the Canadians were our application entertained. In more than one instance we were asked by gentlemen in high positions—by members of the Lords and Commons—"If you get repeal of the Union, what will become of the Canadian difficulties? If we restore your constitution, the Canadians will be again embarrassed." Thus was it rendered perceptible to

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member whether before this House a public man in country, and as by the Under- colonies with re- vases literally or- substantiated? opportunity of his- and I must say was an Imperial a position of in- e Empire, who so utterly un- equally extra- ous Session has this country— as not prepared at did we find an official autho- ordinary state- 63 the question people was that wn, so entirely was no necessity it at all. Now he is prepared that, so utterly it any wonder to accomplish encounter diffi- cements of a ey found the and parties on mitted to the on. member is ary for leading use, but I think I his daring, to as that. red in passing ges under Con- otherwise en- of Canada, for n England to ay for 3½ per think that gen- o not read for ? Let me tell ined for 3½ per guarantee from 3,000,000, and rowed on that mentioned, but cent, for the rrow on their owed three for r, and it will if they pay 5 The impression s was that we ion with which n for the pre- would offend iction enter- ous—we were ous—by mem- —“If you get begins of the fore your con- again embar- perceptible to

us that the idea prevailing among public men was that Union was absolutely necessary to allay Canadian difficulties—to prevent change after change of the administration, and to avoid injurious and continually occurring deadlocks in the government of the country. In fact, as was observed by Mr. Galt, in order to settle the political difficulties of Canada, and enable her to carry on the government of the country, it was necessary to bring the Maritime Provinces into this Confederation, and for this we have been sacrificed. England knows the position of Canada well—remembers the trouble she has given her—that she is contiguous to the American frontier, and that there is a greater proclivity to annexation in that country at the present day than there is to be found in the Province of Nova Scotia. With these facts before her she has thought it safer to offend 330,000 Nova Scotians than incur the animosity of three millions of Canadians, whose sympathy with the American people is greater than our own. I was told by Mr. Adderley himself—“If we agree to this resolution what will be the result. We have done nothing more than has been done by your Parliament,—the Legislatures of Canada and New Brunswick have asked for this Union. Now, if we were to grant you a commission of enquiry, after assisting to Confederate you, we may satisfy the people of Nova Scotia; but would incur the displeasure of the Canadian Government.” In short, Mr. Adderley’s opinion was that the matter was out of the hands of the Imperial authorities, who had no right to meddle with it. The hon. member for Inverness tells us that England declines to interfere, and assures us that we must fight out this question by ourselves—that we must go to the Canadians and settle our difficulties with them—that if she were now to interfere she would embarrass the whole Confederation. Well, Sir John A. MacDonald came here and visited a Convention composed of members of this House. What wonderful concessions did he offer? He tells you, “If you send gentlemen to Canada to arrange your financial difficulties, we shall endeavor to come to some satisfactory conclusion—we shall try to arrange this complicated machinery so far as to press as lightly as possible upon you.” But he is answered that this is not all the people demand. There is something stronger than the mere question of finance or trade sustaining the opposition to this Confederation; that there is a sentiment lying deep in the hearts of the people—so deep that all the cajolery, artifice and seduction of the Canadian intriguers can neither overcome or circumvent it. The people of Nova Scotia feel that their constitution has been atrociously destroyed, and that they have been placed entirely and substantially under the control of the Dominion Parliament, who not only have usurped the purse strings, but hold imperious command of every thing a people value, and what has hitherto made Nova Scotia prosperous. Nova Scotians feel there is an insult resting on their manhood—a stigma tarnishing their honor, which they owe to their dignity as freemen to resent and wipe away. Even the threat of British coercion, nor the temptation of Canadian distinctions, shall not alarm the people at their posts, or allure their representatives from their duty. Come what may sir,

for the sake of the reputations of themselves and their children; the people of this country, so long as they have a drop of Anglo-Saxon blood remaining in their veins,—will never, like the spaniel in the street, lick the hand of the master that lashes them, will never fall down and worship the brazen idol these political tyrants have set up.

The hon. member told us we were “too proud” to ask for a settlement of the difficulties which oppressed us. Finding ourselves, as we do, literally dwarfed into insignificance by this repulsive act—dismissed from the doors of Downing Street, and sent back to the Canadian Government, we would be lost to all sense of what we owe to our dignity and independence of character were we to acknowledge Canadian supremacy, or to ask from them a single concession except what would place us in the position that we formerly occupied. But does not the hon. member himself feel a sense of indignation—a feeling of deep humiliation, when he regards his own altered position on these benches, when he looks at the circumscribed character of this Legislature—with its powers stripped from it? Within the past few days a despatch has been laid upon the table which communicates the fact that we are no longer to enjoy the favour of the assent of Her Majesty to our legislation—that our acts must pass under the surveillance of our Sovereign the Minister of Justice, and unless they meet with his approval, they will be disallowed. The Lieutenant Governor also does not escape; he is no longer to be called “His Excellency,” simply “His Honour;” possibly before long they will only style him “Esquire.” Even your Legislative Councillors henceforth will not be entitled to the dignity of “Honourable;” the Executive or Government of the country, according to this precious order of precedence,—concocted, no doubt, in Canada,—must rank below a member of the Dominion Parliament. Soon a Nova Scotian will be entitled to no position whatever until he dignifies his nature by setting his foot on Canadian soil. It was once supposed to be an honour to be a member of this House—at least a stamp of respectability that no constituency would elect representatives to these benches unless they were entitled to respect; yet now they are shorn of every semblance of honour, and placed at the very tail of the list.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—It is the same with New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec.

Mr. SMITH.—I am now speaking of Nova Scotia. Perhaps the hon. member may feel proud of his position, but at all events I can only tell him that I rejoice to be unable to entertain a similar sentiment. We cannot help feeling that Nova Scotia at present occupies to some extent the position of a shuttle-cock between two battle-doors—the Imperial Government toying us from them on the one side and the Canadians on the other; and they will indulge themselves at the game just as it may suit their purpose. But now, sir, let us enquire what of the future. I have no hesitation in asserting calmly and deliberately in my place to-day—in the face of the Imperial authorities and the Canadian authorities—that the people of this country will never recede one jot or tittle from the position that they have taken, and that they have only to be true to them-

selves, and I believe their representatives will be faithful to them. We have unhesitatingly and sternly performed our duty thus far. We have the interests of the people and the prosperity of the country in our hands, and I appeal to the gentlemen around me that, while on the one hand we legislate with a view to an enlarged and extended sphere of Provincial usefulness, that we should not on the other be unmindful of the sentiments of the constituencies we respectively represent. The representatives of the people of Nova Scotia are now occupying a delicate and responsible position, and the duty which lies before them is of no trifling or unimportant character. Side issues, personal feelings and party leaders have for many years decided elections, and determined the fate of governments: and gentlemen have been returned to this House according to their popularity or the side they have supported. But, sir, every gentleman who is a member of this Assembly to-day has been chosen to reflect and express the views of the electors on this trying question of Confederation. They cannot depart from the pledges they have made with honor to themselves or the people who elected them. The man who would "accept the situation" must retire from public life, and would not dare to face his constituents for a single hour.

Now, it may be asked, what do we propose to do? The hon. member for Inverness has enquired if we intend to continue agitating the country for all eternity. Now eternity is a very indefinite period—it commences and terminates nowhere. I believe that the people of this country will agitate this question with the same determination of purpose that they have ever done, and unless they are forced by coercion or a power they cannot control, they will never submit themselves to the Canadian Government, or until they are placed in a position they can accept with a true regard to the best interests and independence of the people. When the Canadian Executive are prepared to come down and submit such measures as can be entertained for a single moment by the representatives of the people, or by the Government of this country, then I am quite ready to take my share of the responsibility involved in the question. If such a proposition should be made, and entertained by the government, I, for one, will never assume the onus of determining it except it be submitted to the people at the polls, and the responsibility thrown upon them. Our constitution has been assailed, our institutions have been despoiled, without the wishes of the people having been consulted. We contend that this was their undoubted right, that they should have decided their own destiny; and, therefore, it is that no man sitting here can accept any concession emanating from the Canadian Executive, unless the whole question is at once submitted to the House, who must take deliberate action upon it, and then refer it to the people. When the electors, dispassionately and solemnly, decide to accept any concessions that may be offered to them by Canada, then I am prepared, and not till then, to abandon the private opinions that I entertain, and accept any proper share of the responsibility devolving upon me as a humble member of this Legislature. But I tell the hon. member that I occupy this

position before the country. Believing as I do that the people of Nova Scotia are a law abiding and peaceful people—that they are averse to bloodshed and anarchy, which must necessarily follow the violation of an Act of Parliament, and place them in antagonism to a force which they may not be able to resist, I would restrain intemperance of action, and be content to abide our opportunity a reasonable time. The Duke of Buckingham, in his despatch, has told the Canadian Government that they must do something to reconcile the people of this country. He has told us that the Canadians are ready to do so. Nay more, he has stated that the people of this country are prepared to accept such concessions. I anxiously await the fulfilment of his pledges! But I have faith, sir, in the future yet. This question is being thoroughly ventilated in the mother country—it is engrossing the attention of the masses of the people—it is being thoroughly discussed in the press; and I believe no future government will be sustained in England unless they grant the prayers of our petition. On the one hand, we are told by the present British ministry that the matter has passed out of their hands. Sir John A. Macdonald tells us deliberately, on the other hand, that the Canadian Government can do nothing to touch our political constitution, but that it must be done by the Imperial Government. We are told by the Canadian Premier that our battle-ground must be on the floors of the House of Commons of Canada, where our representatives, it has been already proved, is unequal to the protection of our rights and interests. Such are some of the difficulties of our position; but nevertheless I believe that there is a sufficient love for fair play among the people of England which will, sooner or later, operate upon the British Government and force them to grant us what we ask as our indubitable and inherent right. But, sir, if nothing is done within a reasonable time to satisfy the feelings of the people, and relieve us from an alliance so repugnant to Nova Scotians, then comes the pregnant question, so often reiterated: *What then?* It is not for me to give the answer; but the answer will be found. Whatever may be the issue, depend upon it that the people of Nova Scotia will have shaken off their shoulders the responsibility. They will have placed it upon the men who have brought confusion on their country, and on the Imperial authorities who have cast the die by denying us redress. The pages of history are rife with lessons of Imperial folly—of the sad results proceeding from hasty and wanton legislation, and of the fatal consequences to even a powerful nation like England, when injustice or indifference exasperate the feelings of a high spirited people. God grant that we may not live to see a repetition of the errors which cursed the policy of Lord North. Well would it be for the British Government of to-day to recall the warning language of the noble and patriotic Chatham, who in his dying hour protested in solemn and prophetic words against the consequences of a policy which deluged the old colonies with blood, and lost to the British Empire the finest possessions on this side of the Atlantic.

The people of this country, on the 18th September last, gave a verdict which cannot be

misunderstood. The most powerful of the masses like tyrants have not been the hon. member's attention to this country of the people last. This reference to Cumberland

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misunderstood—these lessons which the most powerful statesmen can be taught when the masses of the people suffer from anything like tyranny or oppression. In theory they have not been undervalued by the friends of the hon. member. Let me here call his attention to the sentiments of a public man of this country, when portraying the significance of the popular voice, previous to September last. This is the language of Dr. Tupper in reference to the elections which occurred at Cumberland and Victoria about 1860 :

“Cumberland and Victoria have recorded a verdict that will never be forgotten—that in this free country there is no power that can withstand the voice of the people and despoil them of their rights; that it will not do for men to attain high office by means which degrade the position they occupy.”

May we not regard this language as prophetic? Little perhaps did that hon. gentleman think then that the time would come when he would ignore the glorious sentiments that speech contained.

In conclusion I may say that it is impossible for any one of us to predict what may be the result of the agitation which is now abroad in this country; but, sir, we may reasonably hope that the time is not far distant when the people will be restored to the freedom and independence they have lost. On that day when the decision of the country was given for the first time, with unheard of unanimity on the question of Confederation, the people erected their own standard—nailed their colors to the mast, and wrote “no surrender” upon their folds. The veil which hides the secrets of the future from our understandings we may not draw aside; but as sure as there is Majesty in truth—invincibility in justice, so certain must the people triumph, and “victory perch upon our banners.” Still, sir, it may not be so. The machinations of our enemies may defeat us—our efforts may be foiled. But triumph is not the only recompense patriotism can claim. Time strides on with rapid and resistless step. This legislature shall pass away—this generation shall follow in its course. Other public men will occupy our places—other generations shall perpetuate our names. The chronicles of our country’s history shall bear the record of our public acts in the conflict we are engaged in; and our children shall point to them with pride. The same chronicles will portray the imperishable story of the men who assassinated the constitution of their country, and struck down the liberties of the people. Their children and posterity shall point to them only with the finger of derision and of scorn, and the grass upon their graves shall be unmoistened by the tears of their countrymen; whilst those who have stood foremost in the struggle for freedom and justice, will, though they have nothing else to leave behind them, be enabled to transmit to their children the noblest of all inheritances—the memory of their patriotism, and the tribute of a people’s gratitude.

#### SPEECH OF HON. PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.

Hon. PROV. SECRETARY said:—After the eloquent and lengthy speeches which have been made in this debate, I should have felt satisfied to have allowed the resolutions to

pass with my silent vote had not the hon. member for Inverness, in the course of his remarks, gone into some statistics in connection with financial matters. By doing so he has made it incumbent on me as the financial officer of the Government to take some pains, not only to set his figures right, but to shew the House and country the fallacy of the statements made here and elsewhere by leading Confederates and Confederate journals, to the effect that Nova Scotia has been a pecuniary burthen on Canada. In occupying a short time upon this question, I shall make use of figures handed to me by the Auditor of the Dominion Government. The hon. member for Inverness told us that a great many financial statements had been put before the country on both sides of the question, but that very few of them agreed. It occurred to me that he went on to refute his own argument, for he showed us first a calculation by Mr. Tims and then one by himself, and they arrived at nearly the same conclusion. It seems to me to be more than possible that he is indebted to Mr. Tims for the figures which he has laid before us. He certainly could not have prepared himself as he did without being in communication with the Dominion office, for although I have given a great deal of time and pains to the matter, it was not until a few days ago that I was able to arrive at anything like certainty in my calculations. My statements of last winter were made to shew that by taking the Canadian tariff and placing it on the importations of 1866, the amount of between four and five hundred thousand dollars would have been taken from Nova Scotia. While those statements were made up to some extent on speculation, we shall find them borne out by the facts of to-day. As it has been so often said that we are a burthen on Canada, I want the House and country to understand the true position of things. The following is the first calculation which I shall submit :

#### STATEMENT A.

*Abstract of Expenditure of the Dominion of Canada, in Nova Scotia, from 1st July, 1867, to 30th June, 1868.*

Interest on Public Debt, in Nova Scotia,	\$92,971.33
Charges of Management in N. S.	179.99
Redemption of Debt do.	55,000.00
Civil Government,	20,945.84
Administration of Justice,	19,700.00
Penitentiary,	13,616.25
Legislation,	96.00
Militia,	105,065.08
Statistics,	5,014.30
Quarantine and Immigration,	5,111.49
Marine Hospital,	329.50
Pensions,	4,800.00
Public Works and Buildings—Light House Construction,	22,645.29
Ditto—St. Peter’s Canal,	22,109.30
Ocean and River Steam Service—Subsidies,	1,900.00
Light House and Coast Service—Maintenance Humane Establishments, Fog Trumpets, Buoys and Beacons,	42,526.40
Steamer “Druid”—Repairs,	9,937.93
Do. Maintenance,	4,555.26

Schr. "Daring,"	4,911.90
Sable and Seal Islands,	6,591.89
Fisheries,	231.45
Indian Fund,	107.25
Savings' Bank,	18,390.00
Printing—Miscellaneous,	138.95
Distressed Seamen,	1,396.45
Indians,	750.00
Signal Station,	1,335.88
Railway Construction,	193,000.00
Gratuities—to widows of deceased officials,	240.00
Customs—Salaries and Contingencies,	79,186.48
Customs—Returned Duties,	10,339.48
Excise,	4,175.01
Do. Returned Duties,	158.58
Post Office,	73,039.13
Stamps,	237.75
Railway Maintenance,	250,030.95
Province of Nova Scotia—Subsidy Account,	323,581.00
Ditto—Due June 30, 1867, charges to Public Debt of Province,	860,887.70
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	\$2,265,233.84

THOS. FRED. KNIGHT,  
Acting Auditor.

Finance Dept. of Canada,  
Auditor's Office, Halifax,  
August 15, 1868.

## STATEMENT B.

*Abstract of Receipts of the Dominion of Canada, in the Province of Nova Scotia, from 1st July, 1867, to 30th June, 1868.*

Customs,	\$1,070,138.02
Light duty,	12,756.21
Excise,	18,655.21
Post Office,	41,466.00
Casual Revenue,	890.62
Marriage Licenses,	2,291.86
Bank Imposts,	891.48
Fines and Forfeitures,	1,525.12
Stamps,	4,766.48
Railways,	248,660.16
Quarantine,	281.03
Fisheries Licenses,	12,611.85
Penitentiary,	873.50
Marine Hospital,	123.92
Sick Mariner's Fund,	2.96
Cape Race Light,	9.32
Sable Island,	490.59
Signal Station,	556.70
Distressed Seamen,	1,064.87
Savings' Bank,	16,000.00
Militia,	79.74
Sales of Public Works,	368.50
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	\$1,434,504.14

Province of N. Scotia—To credit of Public debt of the Province, 116,204.05

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\$1,550,708.19

Finance Dept. of Canada, Nova Scotia Branch,  
Audit Office, Halifax, August 15th, 1868.

THOS. F. KNIGHT,  
Acting Auditor.

I proceed now to remark upon some of the items in this statement. The importations of 1867 and '68 it will be remembered were effected by a variety of circumstances. The Repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty; the cessation of the

war in the United States; the Confederation Act, and the general depression of business all over the world, caused a large falling off, and there would of necessity be a corresponding decrease in the Revenue. As to the light duty the hon. leader of the opposition remarked that that had been swept away—that I consider one of the hardships of the new system, it is removing the tax from those that are able to pay, and placing it upon the poorer classes. The duties were put on to furnish a fund for the erection and maintenance of lighthouses. A great part of it was realized from foreign vessels, and was therefore clear gain. It is true that a part of it was paid by our shipowners, but I must say, though I am interested in shipping myself, that no class of people are so well able to pay such taxes as they are. The duty was so light as not to effect our trade, and yet it furnished a considerable sum of money. It has been taken off, not because it was felt oppressive in Nova Scotia, but because it did not suit the lake trade of Canada to have such a tax imposed there. Referring now to the item of the Post Office, I find that in 1867 the expenditure in the Department was:—\$86,127.14; Income, \$69,040.99; Deficit, \$17,116.15.

Last year, under Dominion management, the expenditure was:—\$73,039.13; Income, \$41,466.00; Deficit, \$31,573.13. We are charged in the Dominion accounts with \$105,000 expenditure of last year for militia services. I find that in the year 1865 the amount expended was only about \$80,000, and I ask the House if that is not enough for this country to contribute to its defence? I ask if \$50,000 is not enough? In 1866 there was spent \$140,000, but I think that \$60,000 of that was spent uselessly. In consequence of the Fenian alarm the whole of our revenues were placed at the disposal of the government, and the expenditure was, I think, somewhat reckless. For my own part I do not believe in making an expenditure except for the training of officers and sergeants, and for that \$50,000 would be ample. It has been said that by the five days training we spent \$200,000 for defence. If so, we should from this time forth save the greater part of that sum. The charge for light-house and coast service seems to me to be \$20,000 above a reasonable sum, and the charge for the expenses of the *Druid* is likewise excessive. As to the item of railways, it is well known that before the Tupper government went out of power they increased nearly every man's salary on the railroad—the totals of the calculations which I have submitted are

Receipts,	\$1,550,708.19
Expenditure,	2,265,233.84
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	\$714,525.65

Now, I have made up a statement of the amounts which should not appear in the calculation at all. \$55,000.00 has been charged for redemption of the debt, and has been for the calling in of Province notes. But the notes have only been replaced by Canadian notes, which I am informed have been put into circulation to the amount of our own withdrawal. Then the arrears of St. Peter's Canal were to have been met by the issue of debentures, and we would therefore not have had to have pro-

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Confederation of business, all falling off, and corresponding to the light duty (the latter remarked) — that I, consequently, new system, be that are able poorer classes. A fund for the lighthouses. A foreign vessel. It is true our shipowners, interested in shipping are so well are. The duty, trade, and yet of money. It was felt because it did not have such a thing now that in 1867 the deficit was — \$86,000. Deficit, \$17,000. management, \$9,133; Income, \$13,000. We are at with \$105,000 militia service the amount \$50,000, and I ask for this country ask if \$50,000 spent \$140,000 that was spent Fenian alarm placed at the end of the expenditure. For making an arrangement of officers \$50,000 would be the five days reference. If so, we have the greater for light-house to be \$20,000 charge for the use excessive. well known went out every man's of the calculation. 50,708.19 65,233.84 14,525.65 ment of the ar in the cal- been charged has been for. But the notes Canadian notes, put into circulation withdrawn. annual were debentures, and to have pro-

vided for that amount, and the same is true of the charge for the Pictou railway.

Mr. BLANCHARD—I only charged the interest on the two latter sums and omitted the former in my calculations.

Hon. PROV. SECY. continued.—They have not been omitted from some of the calculations which have been given to the public. The deducted items are as follows: Redemption of Debt \$55,000; St. Peter's Canal \$54,914.31; Pictou Railway \$193,000; Windsor and Annapolis Railway \$391,390.75; Arrears proper \$434,691.70. Total \$1,430,996.76.

It will be seen that I have made a deduction for arrears which were charged. When the Union Act went into operation if our debt exceeded eight millions the Dominion Government were still obliged to pay it and only the interest on the excess was chargeable to us. The whole amount of arrears paid up to this time is \$434,691.70. Now suppose we had not gone into Confederation, many of those claims constituting the arrears would not have been presented for payment. In the settlement of a man's business, when his accounts are advertised for, as a matter of course, all his debts are sent in, and so it was with us when the change took place. If we had not gone into Confederation not more than half the sum would have been called for, and that would be striking off \$200,000. But if we had had to meet it all we should have issued debentures, or if we found ourselves at the end of the year \$400,000 in debt, we could have raised the duties and paid it off. Under any circumstances it should not have been put into the account, because the Dominion Government can never be called on again for it. Add these amounts together and they appear thus:

STATEMENT C.	
Redemption of debt.....	\$55,000.00
St. Peter's Canal — arrears —	\$34,805.01
Present year.....	22,109.00
	56,914.31
Pictou Railway.....	193,000.00
W. & A. R. R.....	391,390.75
	584,390.75
	696,305.06
Arrears.....	434,691.70
	1,130,996.76
Total amount which might have been provided for by issue of debentures.....	\$1,130,996.76
Revenue received by Dominion Government.....	1,550,708.19
Am't paid out.....	2,255,233.34
From which deduct the amount we would issue debentures for as above.....	1,130,996.76
	1,134,237.08
	\$416,471.11
Deduct from above balance the interest we would have paid on debentures.....	30,000.00
	\$386,471.11

That is precisely the way in which the accounts should be made up, and yet we find the facts misrepresented every day. Why could

not the Dominion officers give a true statement of the finances? The hon. member for Inverness may ask me "where are the eight millions?" It is well known that we were allowed to go into Confederation with a debt of that amount, and that Canada was allowed to take in sixty-two and a half millions. But our debt was represented by assets, consisting of railroads and public property to the value of every dollar of the amount. The debt of Canada, on the contrary, was made up of annual deficits, and there was nothing in the shape of tangible property to show for the liability. The Canadian debt was actually seventy-eight millions, but the two provinces were allowed to assume the difference and to deduct the value in public property. What kind of property did they take? There can be no doubt that they took the paying and left the unpaying. In view of all the facts they have no more right to charge a dollar of the interest of our debt against us than to charge it against New Brunswick. The hon. member for Inverness came here last winter and said that the result of five months operations was that we had incurred a debt to Canada of \$600,000.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—The Prov. Secy. is mistaken—I did not say so.

Hon. PROV. SECY. continued.—This is the language of his speech as reported in January last: "What are the facts? I undertake to say, again repeating, that if wrong, the Government will be able to contradict me, that the Dominion Government have spent in Nova Scotia, for Nova Scotia purposes, \$600,000 more than they received." That is just the language which I attributed to the hon. member, and the House can judge of its accuracy. As to the debt there may be one or two items that require further explanation. We had \$622,000 of province notes in circulation, that we have not had for forty or fifty years to pay a dollar of interest on. That was thrown into the eight millions, and the Dominion Government got the benefit of it, and if our debt exceeded by that amount the eight millions, we are charged interest at five per cent. Then we had the benefit of the Savings Bank; and that too is transferred. A large amount of money was lying there, on which a dollar of interest had not been paid for five years, and possibly a large portion of it will never be called for. Then as to the Railway—suppose the Intercolonial Road were built to-morrow—the Truro road, the cost of which goes to a large extent to make up the eight millions, will form a part of it, and therefore instead of being charged with the interest on its cost we should get credit for it. It will be found that there is no deception in the calculation which I have made, and I only desire that they should be clearly understood.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—Does the Provincial Secretary mean to say that if we paid in debentures the arrears and other items which he has put down as payable in that way, interest is not to be allowed?

Hon. PROV. SECY.—If we deduct the interest payable this year we have still a balance to our credit of \$386,471.11. I will now pass on to make a few observations on the position which we occupy in view of the results of the delegation. It will be remembered that the

leader of the opposition and the confederates ridiculed the idea of sending a delegation to England. They said that the delegates would be told that Nova Scotia was not known or recognised at the Colonial office. I think the facts as stated by the delegates shew pretty plainly that those gentlemen were not only heard but were very patiently heard, and very courteously treated. They were told that notwithstanding the Imperial Parliament could not repeal the act so soon, yet every effort would be made to make the position satisfactory. Mr. Adderley, in explanation of the course pursued by the British Government, said:

"The proposition for a union of some kind of all the North American provinces had been a leading topic in Nova Scotia for 14 years, and was first initiated by the two leaders of the opposite parties in that province. In 1861 a unanimous resolution of the Nova Scotian Parliament in its favour stated that the subject had been mooted from time to time—this subject which in 1863 was said to take that province by surprise. The election of 1863, instead of supporting the case of the hon. gentlemen, went really the other way. The hon. gentleman said the topic of confederation was not made a party cry at that election, and seemed to think that that was in his favour; but the fact of the subject not having been made a party cry was a convincing proof that no strong feeling against the proposition existed. Had such a feeling existed the question undoubtedly would have been made a party cry, and would have been brought forward at the hustings. The fact was that all parties were agreed upon the subject, and, therefore, it would have been simply ridiculous to have raised such a question at that election."

Was ever such arrant nonsense heard from an English statesman before? Mr. Adderley takes it for granted that the scheme was acceptable to the people because the question was never raised at the polls! How could the people pass on a measure which was never mentioned to them? If any government had ever tested the question on the hustings or in the House the result would have been different. Mr. Adderley goes on to say:

"Now, what he had already said about the elections of 1863 fully disposed, in his opinion, of the hon. gentleman's argument on that point, for all parties were so unanimous on the question of confederation that it was not even raised on the hustings. But he would deal with the hon. gentleman's proposition of an appeal to the people on such a question on grounds of abstract principle. The hon. gentleman had quoted the right hon. gentleman at the head of the government as having laid down the principle that an existing Legislature was not to deal with a great constitutional question without an appeal to the people. But had not the hon. gentleman himself, he would ask, repudiated that principle in the case of the question of the Irish Church this very session? (No, no.) He would appeal to the right hon. gentleman the member for South Lancashire, who he was certain had repudiated that principle in the debates on the Irish Church; for he had quoted, and very justly, a speech of Mr. Pitt on the union with

Ireland, in which he said that a principle so outrageous and democratic struck at the root of the foundations of all government. The Irish union furnished a precedent against it; the Scotch union furnished a precedent against it, Commissioners being appointed on both sides to draw up terms, without an appeal to the people. Again, in the case of the Canadian union in 1832 an appeal to the people was proposed and rejected; but, perhaps, the best precedent was that which was furnished by Mr. Howe himself, who in 1863 passed a great Reform Bill, reducing the constituencies of Nova Scotia by one-third, without ever deeming it necessary that an appeal to the people should be made. On the contrary, the change occurred immediately after his election, and he repudiated the making fresh appeal to the people on the subject."

Every one knows that that Act was passed at the end of the session, and the only reason why it did not become law was that it was burked in the Upper House. Mr. Adderley proceeds:—

"And when the hon. gentleman talked of the old Constitution of Nova Scotia; and said that if care were not taken the people of that province would secede back to that Constitution, he would beg him to remember that the old Constitution of Nova Scotia was simply, after all, the gift of the Crown. The Governor who was sent out from this country had a commission which authorized him to summon an Assembly, and that was the extent of the liberties of the province. There was no charter for Nova Scotia and no foundation for a constitution beyond that which he had just mentioned before the present constitution was granted."

This is just the language used by the Attorney General last winter in reference to our constitution. If that be the case why should the Imperial Parliament attempt to deviate from the doctrine by annulling the constitution that had been given us by the crown? Mr. Adderley maintained that it was proper to abrogate our constitution without an appeal to the people, but what does Mr. Disraeli say when speaking upon the Irish Church question? He said:

"Although we have not done all we could have wished, we have at least secured *this* for the *people* of this country, that their constitution shall not be subverted without an appeal to them, so that if there is to be a great and lamentable change in the institutions of the United Kingdom, it shall be by the *people* of the United Kingdom, and not by the machinations of a party of politicians, who have seized a favorable opportunity of carrying their revolutionary designs."

There we find the doctrines of two Imperial ministers clashing. It is to be feared that on such points they are about as unreliable as the statements of public men on this side of the Atlantic. We find, however, that when the question of the Irish Church came up Mr. Adderley departed from the views of constitutional matters, which he took in reference to Nova Scotia. Surely if any people had a right to be consulted we had on a question of such transcending importance. The question has been asked time and again "why is there so much discontent in Nova Scotia? What

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are the people complaining of?" I will state what the people complain of. The first complaint is that a government, backed up by a few supporters, bartered away the rights of the people contrary to their wishes. In the next place they complain that those men, after doing, so tried to make the people swallow the idea that this was the best thing that could happen for this Province, bringing financial statements forward to shew that the country was in the worst possible position, and to shew that our only salvation lay in annexation to Canada. When the question had been sent to the polls and decided against them what did these men say? Soon after the eighteenth of September the *Colonist* published this language:

"Thank God the Union is safe beyond the reach of Howe and his treasonable pack. The Union party are, after all, victorious—they have done their work faithfully, and can afford to laugh at the puny efforts of the adversary. Standing on the high ramparts of Union, we hurl defiance at the ignoble faction which gropes and gobbles and gnashes its teeth around the base. We smile at their numbers and their rage and challenge them to do their most—they can do nothing. The Dominion of Canada will remain and flourish while the British Empire lasts, and that we fondly trust will be for ever."

The SPEAKER said that it was out of order to quote from newspaper articles.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y.—If gentlemen were allowed to read low and abusive language on one side the example would be followed on the other. The people complain that they have been sold like so much marketable property, and in a way in which no free and intelligent people would submit to. These are a few of the reasons why this agitation is being continued to the present day. The Duke of Buckingham gives us to understand that an effort will be made to satisfy our people, and when I heard that members of the Dominion government were coming to visit us, I thought that a desire would be shewn on their part to remodel the scheme, or that we should be placed in a position to say to the people "here is something tangible for you to consider." But what are the facts? If I understood the leader of the Dominion government, he said that if it could be shewn that on a proper adjustment of the accounts Nova Scotia was not receiving as much money as she should, the Dominion government might modify the scheme that far.

But it happens that the financial difficulty is only a small part of the matter. There can be no arrangement made unless we can get at the foundation of the scheme. We might get a \$100,000 more for a year or two, but the addition of one or two per cent. to the tariff would take it all off. When the Ottawa Cabinet come before us with a proposal that will give us sufficient money to carry on the local government and public works, and will remodel the scheme so far that the interests of Nova Scotia will be safe hereafter, I for one will say, "here is something that the people should pass upon," and will endeavor to place it before the people. If they should be disposed to accept the situation then I should not have a word to say. From what I have seen, however, I believe that there is no desire on the

part of the Dominion government to make any such offer. They desire inch by inch to fasten the measure upon us, and if by giving us a small amount now and then, they can fasten us in, they will have accomplished all they desire. Why could they not come out in a fair, open, manly way and say, "we will improve the scheme, we will advance you further supplies for your local wants, and we think that you should accept confederation,—we cannot give you repeal, but we guarantee that the House will remodel the system when it sits." That would give the people the alternative of saying aye or no, and the responsibility should then rest with them. But it is said we have not told the Canadians what we want. Did they give us the opportunity? Last session when our representatives at Ottawa asked the government to consider and enquire, they were found voting alone. Have they not sent an agent across the Atlantic to frustrate our wishes, and yet they ask us what we want. For the last year we have been telling the Canadians in this country, and telling their friends in England what we want, and yet they pretend not to know. The people want repeal, and will not be satisfied until every constitutional means has been tried to gain it. The Dominion government may as well know this now as hereafter, and may as well understand that they need make no offer which cannot be put before the people for their acceptance or rejection. The Canadian Premier was in communication with gentlemen from five or six counties, and had a good opportunity of finding out what the feeling of the country is, and he must know what I have stated to be the fact. If it be true that Nova Scotia is only an expense to Canada, why not give us what we want, and place us in the position we occupied before the act was passed. If they were going to save from \$400,000 to \$600,000 by the operation, they would not be slow in granting us repeal. Having the whole control of the revenues, the Canadians know that if they can induce us by granting small favors to remain in the union, they can make up the amount afterwards by an additional tax, and so the whole matter will blow over. As I said before, all we ask is to be relieved from Confederation. It is said what would you do with your debt of eight or nine millions if you got repeal? "I reply that we would be in a position to provide for a debt of ten millions. The way in which our revenues have gone on increasing for the last twelve years, makes it only reasonable to suppose that with a slight increase of tariff we should have no difficulty in meeting the interest on such a debt. We have built the Windsor railroad, and we have since then given a large sum for the extension to Annapolis. The effect of thus extending the road will be to make the Windsor end pay. We have dragged through the hard times, and now that our property is about to pay, it is passed over to others. The same is true as regards the Truro road, which will probably pay much better in consequence of the Intercolonial railway being built. Taking all these facts into consideration, I do not see any difficulty in Nova Scotia paying the interest on her debt. When the amount of the provincial notes lost and destroyed, together with difference of currency is deducted from our debt, I

do not think it will cost eight and three-quarter millions, or the amount of repeal we could in three months. I suggest matters so as to meet the interest without putting Canada to the trouble or expense of managing our affairs.

Thanking you, Mr. Speaker, and the members of this House for the patient hearing you have given me, and with a word or two in reference to the New Building I shall resume my seat. As to the Provincial building, some difference of opinion seems to exist as to its actual cost and ownership. Upon this question I will quote the authority of Dr. Tupper. He said last year:

"I shall now refer, in conclusion, to the remarks made by the hon. member in respect to the debt with which we shall enter Confederation. I can only say should the debt exceed \$8,000,000, by \$500,000 it is provided for. There is a clause in the Imperial Act which will at once relieve the Province from any charge in connection with the additional amount. This clause provides that in case the debt of any Province exceeds the amounts stated in the Act that Province shall be charged 5 per cent. by the General Government on that portion of the debt in excess of its proportion; but on the other hand, it is provided that the assets represented by the debt shall belong to the Province. For instance £50,000 will have been expended in the erection of the Provincial Building opposite, and if our debt exceeds the \$8,000,000 by the amount required for that building then it becomes our own property. If the General Government used it for a Post Office they would have to pay the rent into the treasury, thus relieving the Province from the charge of a single dollar."

Now if the Dominion Government are satisfied, as the hon. member for Inverness intimated, to pay us rent for the property, why did they not come forward, candidly and say "the building belongs to you and we are willing to hire it from you." On the contrary the ownership was disputed on the ground that a part of its cost had been paid before the Act of Union went into operation. Notwithstanding that there is every desire on the part of the Government to appropriate that building to the uses for which it was intended, from the contracted view taken by the Canadian Government we have been unable to do so. When the ownership is settled it will be time enough to talk about the occupation.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I doubt, Sir, that the Canadian Government know how to act honorably. They have not come forward like men and, acknowledging the building to be ours, agreed to rent it, but they have endeavored, in an underhand manner, to get us to let their officers into the building and afterwards they would turn around and refuse to pay the rent. I move the adjournment of the debate.

The debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned.

TUESDAY, Aug. 25, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

The following bills were read a third time:—  
To incorporate the Montreal Gold Mining Association.

To incorporate the Scotia Coal Company.

To incorporate the Miramichi Bay Harbor Co.

To amend the Act relative to Stipendiary Magistrate and Police Constables in the town of Picton.

MR. NORTHUP presented a petition in reference to school matters, and another from Oldham in reference to a road.

DR. BROWN presented two petitions relative to railway appraisalment.

MR. DICKET presented a petition on the same subject.

MR. EISENHAUER presented a petition of W. Tobin in respect to a grant of land.

MR. BLANCHARD reported up several bills from the Committee on Local and Private Bills.

HON. PROV. SEC. introduced a bill in respect to the study of Anatomy.

Also laid on the table the petition of W. Handley, with respect to Crown Lands.

Also the Report of the Repeal Delegates.

Also despatches from the Duke of Buckingham with respect to titles and order of precedence.

HON. MR. TROOP reported from Committee on Laws an act with respect to the Supreme Court and its officers.

The order of the day was then resumed.

#### Debate on the Repeat Resolutions.

MR. KIDSTON'S SPEECH.

MR. KIDSTON said:—In rising to address the House on the question which is now agitating the country from centre to circle, I do so with the conviction that, placed in the position I am, it is my duty to speak out fearlessly what I believe to be the predominant feeling in this province. I shall endeavour to meet the leader of the opposition in the same spirit in which he has come before this House. I desire nothing more than that the British Government and the whole civilized world should understand our present situation, and the feelings which predominate through the length and breadth of the Province of Nova Scotia. When addressing this House in the first part of the session, I believed that this House felt, with the exception of the hon. gentleman for Inverness and one other member, that a great wrong had been perpetrated upon the people of this country through the misrepresentation of five or six gentlemen in whom the confidence of this country had been placed. I felt that when this fact was brought home fairly and fully to the British Government, they would not hesitate at once to redress these wrongs, but we have lived to meet again, and I am sorry to say that to the wrongs perpetrated upon Nova Scotia they have added insult; but so far from the people of this country feeling for one moment that they must accept the situation, I believe, from the depths of my heart, that they are and will remain dissatisfied until they have rid themselves of this accursed connection with a people with whom they are utterly at variance, and whom they have commenced to hate. This feeling did not exist before, but it is growing upon the people, and daily increasing in intensity.

The hon. member stated at the outset that "it was hard to kick against the pricks." Well he gave us a quotation worthy of him,

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and I was better satisfied with that than with his former ones when he only quoted from Blackstone and his own favorite authors. In the present instance he quoted from one who is far above all human authority, be they poets or philosophers; but did he feel the full force of that quotation—that on the 18th September last the people had surrounded him, with one exception, with a circle of these political pricks who represent the wishes of the people here. Did he feel that it is only a physical material that he is dealing with, or the pricks of conscience that troubled his mind when he lays down at night upon his bed, knowing that he was fighting against a righteous cause which must eventually succeed? If he appreciated the moral weight of that quotation then it would be better for him. Surrounded as he has been with the baneful influences of the capital, he has been brought into this great vortex swept down against all his conscientious convictions to oppose the whole people of Nova Scotia. An open acknowledgement, it is said, is good for the soul, and I assume that he intended his quotation as such. May we not go a little further back and ask that gentleman if he will follow out the same authority? I ask him if he has not a precedent prior to the one he gave, for we read far back in history that when the Israelites were in bondage they found a deliverer, who, although he had enjoyed all the honors of the Court of Pharaoh still at the expiration of fifty years came forth a true man and a patriot; and when he saw his countrymen beset by the Egyptian he took part with whom? With his countrymen. May I contrast this act with that of Sir Fenwick Williams when he held the reins of power in his native country. He had enjoyed the honors of the Court of St. James, and he was sent to this Province to sell his country. But the hon. member may follow me a little further in these quotations and recall the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. The rich man was clothed in fine linen and fared sumptuously every day, but Lazarus was a beggar and the dogs came and licked his sores, but by and bye a change took place. The rich man died and found himself in hell, but Lazarus awoke in Abraham's bosom. The rich man wanted a little water, and seeing Lazarus afar off implored him to let him have a drop of water to cool his tongue. Lazarus could not help him, but what more. The rich man said—I have five brethren, oh, that one rose from the dead and told them the state that I am in. What was the answer? If they will not believe the very man of whom I have spoken, Moses, and the Prophets, they will not believe me, although he rose from the dead. Sir, this contrasts badly for the conduct of the five lawyers and one doctor who have sold their countrymen, who will go down to the unfathomable depths set apart for all evil doers—a lawyer or a doctor. A story first went the round of the papers a few years ago, and I am sure the Speaker will excuse me for quoting from such a source after the hon. member for Inverness has been allowed the same privilege. He brought up the *Colonist* as the very foundation and strength of all he had to urge to this House, and yet at one time, in 1850, the very same gentleman characterized these papers

as "dirty rags." I read in the papers some years ago that a foreign potentate visiting the Court of St. James asked Her Majesty in what consisted the strength and glory of the Empire, and thereupon she took up a Bible and handed it to him as her reply. So I say my quotations are not to be despised by Her Majesty in the case of Nova Scotia, and, moreover, we will find that whilst the learned member from Inverness may endeavor to back up his position from such authorities as Blackstone, yet he will find the majority of his countrymen has such common-sense views of common things that they will upset all his subterfuge and all the extracts he can adduce and cut and carve to suit his purpose. If he will read Blackstone, and turn to the pages where he speaks of the wrongs of the people, I will defy him to produce any thing that will clash with divine truth.

Before going strictly into the discussion of these resolutions before us, I would wish to answer some observations of the hon. member. I am here for a first time as a representative of the county of Victoria; I am fresh from the people, I have had no experience in those influences which may sway some gentlemen and induce them to stray from the path of political duty, but I take my views from this standpoint. I contend that the farmers, fishermen, labourers and mechanics are the bone and sinew of your country, and when you mature a measure that will do a wrong to those people you are perpetrating an act which no one can defend in the face of this country. I believe if the hon. member had continued to live in the county of Inverness, instead of the capital, he would defend the very same cause that I am advocating at this moment, and he would run no risk in presenting himself before any constituency in this province. What I mean is this: that there are certain influences constantly operating in this city which one from the country finds it difficult to resist. The capital is the centre and heart of the whole province, and if you paralyze the extremities death will reach that heart. If the Confederates are to be found in numbers in this city, before twelve months have passed they will feel the consequences of their mistaken policy, and in the course of my speech I will explain why this will be so.

The hon. gentleman referred to the *Colonist*, and I believe he found a mare's nest. I shall show before I have done how entirely mistaken the hon. member has been.

Hon. SPEAKER—Every gentleman has a right in this House to make extracts from speeches of members, as reported, but not to read editorials.

Mr. KIDSTON—I do not intend infringing the rules of the House. I purpose to read from the journals. The hon. member gave us some extracts from a speech of Mr. Johnston, as reported in the *Colonist*, and I intend bringing forward resolutions moved by that gentleman in 1850, to the following effect:—

"And whereas, secondly: As regards the Legislative Council. The construction of the Legislative Council is inconsistent with the harmonious working of the present mode of government and its useful influence as a Legislative Body. With a majority created by the government of the day for securing party

measures, the Legislative Council is, for most essential purposes, but the subservient instrument of the Provincial Government. The same majority, on a change of parties, would make it an obstructive Body opposed to the existing administration and the wishes of the people, as expressed by their Representatives in this House."

I feel that I am in a better position to quote the remarks of Judge Johnson, for I was never in this arena fighting against him. Now read the second resolution, with reference to the remarks of the hon. member respecting the Legislative Council. I blush to think that any one could stand up here and assert that that body, as at present constituted, represents in any way the sentiments of the people of this province. We find that they swept away the Legislative Council in Ontario, and in P. E. Island they had it elected by the people. Why have we not a representative Legislative Council? If they thought proper to sweep away the Council in Canada, then are we in a better position to follow their example. I will tell you why. It must be in the recollection of gentlemen around these benches, some years ago, when the representative body had transacted all the business of the country and were ready to return home, they were told by the Legislative Council that unless they received pay and expenses, the same as the members of the House, they would not agree to allow the latter anything. In this way they forced the House to pay them for their attendance, and to pass an Act which ought not to have been passed without reference to the people. My doctrine on this point is that these gentlemen having put their hands into the public purse and helped themselves to the people's money, they ought to be in a position, as an honourable body, to say that they would henceforth go to the people for their seats. My remarks, I must add, only apply to such of them as perpetrated this act, and not to those who have come in subsequently, and had nothing to do with this dishonourable act. It is our duty, as a representative body, to have these wrongs righted. What now becomes of the argument of the opposition, that because the resolutions and address of last winter were not submitted to the Council, therefore they were unconstitutional and null? The hon. member is adrift upon the political sea without a single plank to stand upon. A man to have influence now in this country must have something substantial to urge, before he can carry conviction to the minds of the people; he must not depend on mere subtleties that can be swept away like a spider's web by the first breath of public opinion.

When some of the members of this House, addressing it on the subject of Confederation last winter, happened to insinuate certain remarks in connection with the judges of the land, the hon. gentleman professed to feel a great deal of indignation, and asserted that we should not drag those high functionaries into the debates of Parliament. Yet now he takes hold of remarks of the hon. Judge in Equity, as given in the *Colonist* in 1850, and quotes them with a view of influencing the House and country. I am very loth to notice the names of the judges of the land in our debates; but the time has come when no man in Nova

Scotia (to use a homely expression) can afford to be "mealy mouthed." Now I find one of the judges recently using such expressions as the following to a Grand Jury in this country:—

"His Lordship spoke of the great future in store for Nova Scotians, of the commanding position that Nova Scotia must take under the new Dominion, and of the new and glorious era about dawning upon the Province. He wished that Nova Scotians would no longer consider their present happy and prosperous condition with narrow-minded views and prejudices, but that, on the contrary, they would take advantage of the present favorable opportunities, and view their position upon a broad and liberal basis."

Is this the position our judges are going henceforth to occupy? If I were addressing the same Grand Jury, I would say: "Gentlemen of the Jury, I am most happy to meet you again. You must take a broad and liberal view of this great question which is now agitating the country from centre to circle; you must not expect that a nation is to be built up in a day. It is true, we are allied to a body that has neither legs or arms; or, in other words, is without an army or a navy. These things cannot come without money; but what difference does it make whilst I am benefited to the extent of £200 a year. If you lay an additional tax of fifty per cent. upon the masses of the people; if we tax newspapers, printing material, and impose stamp duties, it will be all right, and you must not mind it." Here I am reminded of a story told of what happened in a theatre. At the close of the performance, a clown came on the stage, with his pockets well filled, and said—"We are very much obliged for your countenance and patronage this evening; and while you have had all the fun, we have had all the cash." So the farmers, the fishermen, the mechanics and laborers have to pay for all the fun that these gentlemen are deriving from this Confederation. Such statements as those I have quoted will never go down with the class in this country who have to earn a living by honest industry.

Now, I come to consider some of the fallacious remarks of the hon. member, and I believe they are all of this class. He contends that the Confederation is a positive blessing to us; it has been paying money for us to an extraordinary amount, and I could not help smiling when he referred to the Inman line of steamers. Does the hon. member mean to assert that we would have had no steam communication with Britain without this act of confederation. Gentlemen who have travelled on the Cunard steamers say that the former were preferable in every respect. Before confederation was thought of, we had what I may call a link of adamant connecting the province of Nova Scotia with Great Britain. But before the Inman line was created, that line was destroyed by traitors that bound our hearts closer to the British throne. When we sent our delegates to England, we were in hopes that that link would be restored to us, but how were we met? By kindness, no—but by insult. I wish to be fully understood on this point. The people of this country feel that they have been grievously wronged—that it had been betrayed by men in whom this people had placed confidence, and who had sold and

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betrayed them, and taken away their civil liberty. Thereupon we sent an accredited delegation to England to represent the feelings of the people on this question, and endeavour to obtain a redress of their wrongs. We were told by the hon. member for Inverness that the delegates did not discharge their duty, or, in other words, went contrary to our instructions; but those gentlemen have fully and faithfully explained their part, and as a member of this House I am perfectly satisfied with their explanations. If they did not do the very best thing, in view of the difficulties they had to face, they did the best they could to promote the interests of this country. I for one will never forget until I go down to my grave what Mr. John Bright did for the cause of Nova Scotia so fearlessly and ably. The Under-Secretary met him and following in the track of the notorious Watkin perpetrated a greater fallacy. Many of the speakers in the Commons said that they knew nothing about these colonial questions, but we trust to this gentleman who must be assumed to be better acquainted with such matters, and if what he says is true, that the Government are preparing to take such a course as will settle all the difficulty, then we are satisfied. The House took this view of the question and voted down Mr. Bright's resolution. If the sentiments propounded by Mr. Bright had been allowed to have weight, and the House had not been misled by the representations of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, we would have had liberty to-day and would be out of Confederation. I cannot compare these statements anything better than by relating an anecdote. A mercantile agent arrived at an inn in the North of England, and being very hungry ordered a dinner. A quarter of lamb was set before him. So hungry was he that he polished off the whole quarter and left the bones. The landlord, astonished at the voracious appetite, after his departure, tied up the bones, and labelled them, hanging them over the mantle-piece as a memento. Some time the next year the same agent came to the same inn, and seeing the bones labelled ordered the same dish, and when he had finished, he carefully wrapped the bones in his handkerchief, and putting them in his pocket took his departure. No sooner did the waiter discover the disappearance of the quarter of lamb, bones and all, than he ran to his master, saying: "Here, master, there's been a man who has beaten the other all hollow, for he has eaten meat, bones and all." So the Under-Secretary of State has beaten Mr. Watkin's all hollow, for he has swallowed Mr. Watkin's statement and something more. I wish to call attention to some of the most extraordinary statements made by Mr. Adderley, and show how he has contradicted himself:

"That dissatisfaction existed could not be disputed, and he had no doubt that the House would deeply regret with him that it should exist."

Immediately afterwards he says:

"He would endeavor in the first place, briefly, to shew that those allegations were erroneous and without foundation."

So you will see that in one breath Mr. Adderley told the House of Commons that dissatisfaction existed, and that the House must

regret that such was the fact. What would be thought of a man making such a statement and afterwards coming up and saying that it only existed in fancy and would soon be swept away; and this is actually, as you see, what Mr. Adderley stated. We may answer Mr. Adderley on another point in this way: Suppose any hon. member delegates me as his agent to purchase a farm—suppose that the opposition has a farm to sell. We canvass the whole matter, but because I have done so am I to be considered having effected the purchase. Could the opposition say it was a bargain and sale, and gain his cause in a Court of law? The representatives of this country were entrusted with the constitution of the people. Is there any guarantee for Mr. Adderley or any one else asserting that they had a right to sell it without consulting its owners at the polls.

A great question often asked is this: Are you loyal? The time was when the people would have laid down their lives—would have shed their life's blood in defence of England and her honor. Can I say that to-day, and discharge my duty faithfully to the people and the Queen? I cannot say conscience would not allow me to do so, and how is this? We believe the Monarch of England, King or Queen, when ascending the throne make an oath, that all their subjects will be protected in their civil and religious rights. I ask after appealing to the British Government, and being turned like dogs, what has become of our civil liberty and political rights. We believe that the relations between the state and the subject resemble the relations between the parent and the child. If one of my children comes to me as a parent and asks me to listen patiently to his prayer, will I hurl him from the door and tell him that I never wish to see his face again; that I have handed him over to an elder brother to be dealt with as the latter may think proper. What would be the effect of such conduct upon the child? The child would rise in his indignation, filial affection would be destroyed, and the child would seek his own rights elsewhere. Moreover, I say this, that I apprehend unless the British Government have their eyes opened and appreciate the position in which we are placed,—unless they will do something to soothe the wounded feelings of the people, our people will be, like the Israelites of old,—they will look across the Bay of Fundy for deliverance out of the House of Bondage. I say, as far as the island of Cape Breton is concerned, we would rather have annexation with the United States than be confederated with Canada, and an election might be successfully carried on that issue. I am not here to conceal facts; it would be wrong for me to do so. I am no office seeker. If the Canadian Government came to me to-morrow and offered me place or position I would drive them from me. I would not be persuaded from an honest discharge of my duty.

Sir, this is an important season for countrymen; but I know that this question is of such transcendent importance that every one should willingly sacrifice his time to give it that full consideration it requires. I am fully prepared to sustain the resolutions laid on the table by the government. I do not intend to take the lofty flights of the hon. member for Inverness,

in respect to financial matters, but, like the swallow, I can descend and skim the surface and collect the feathers, which will afford warmth to the rest of the generations that are to come after me. I think I will be able to adduce some financial points of greater importance to the people of this country. Does the hon. member take in at one glance the taxes which the people have to pay. Add to the increased duty upon imports, the newspaper postage, the county rates, the education tax, and what an enormous burthen the people have to bear. We have now to pay fifty per cent. additional upon what we eat and drink, under this precious system of Confederation. Then there is the stamp duty, which led to such unfortunate results last century. Take all these things into consideration, and then the hon. gentleman will realize our position. The poor people have to bear the burthen of these taxes, and they feel them every day. They feel them whenever they buy a pound of tea or take their newspaper out of the post office. I have thought over this subject since last winter, and have come to the conclusion that the Canadian policy must be strictly protective. I contend that if Reciprocity with the United States is to be of any use—whatever the hon. member may say to the contrary—to the lower provinces, it can never take place as long as we are connected with Canada. How did the Americans build up their country? They commenced by a protective policy—protected their manufactures and everything necessary; and when they had attained a certain position, they could compete with the world, and were satisfied.—Now, the Canadian policy being protective, they have imposed 15 per cent. on all imports; but the danger does not rest there. What guarantee have we that the duties will stop at 15 per cent? Will they not go up much higher? I will show you why these duties must be largely increased. Go down to the steamboat wharves, and you will see large numbers of emigrants passing from us daily. As the number of consumers decreases, our revenues must decrease; and it is the policy of Canada to drive every man they can out of the province. Why is it that emigrants by hundreds are going into the United States from our province? Simply because they wish to leave countries where they are highly taxed, and where trade and labor is depressed, and seek homes where these burthens will be less, and the opportunities for amassing wealth greater; where wages is equal with taxes. The best immigration office you can establish in a country is mining companies. Every factory, every mine, every ship-yard, brings in and employs consumers, and additional consumers assist the revenues. As the country, however, becomes depopulated, your revenues must decrease.

I have under my hand the Estimates for 1868-9, as presented to the Dominion Government by Mr. Rose. Our revenues go into the funds of the Dominion, and it is presumed by the opposition that a certain sum comes back to us; it is even attempted to be shown that we have actually received more than we gave. I defy the hon. member to put his finger on a clause in the Dominion Act where, unless the majority of the Commons and Senate wish it, they need give us a single dollar back. Why were not our interests better guarded? Pro-

bably when they have taken all the marrow out of our bones we may get our country restored to us. One extraordinary feature of these Estimates is, such items as a sum paid to the Harbour and River Police of Montreal. What have we to do with that? Yet it is a general charge of \$100,000. We find again paid to pensioners, \$117,525; then there are fish ways and oyster beds; salaries and contingencies, cullers of timber. Does not the hon. member know that this is a charge that would have to be provided by the Sessions in our own Provinces? Yet they are paid out of the general revenues of the Dominion. Here is an amount for "unforeseen expenses" of \$100,000; subscription to the Canadian "Gazette" \$8,000, postage of the same paper \$1,200; shipping master's office at Quebec \$1,200; expenses connected with Confederation and Imperial legislation thereon \$93,912.44; Confederation Medal (who has seen it, is it leather or silver?) \$2,000. I bring these items forward for the purpose of showing how our money is taken away and expended. The leader of the opposition may laugh, but there was a poet who said that a man may smile, and smile and still be what he should not be; but when I see the hon. member, himself a native of this country, smiling and smirking at hermist's tunes I blush for him, and leave him in the hands of his indignant countrymen.

I shall now give my reasons for supporting the resolutions laid on the table by the Government, and I must say, candidly, that whilst I fully endorse them and assist in their passage to the extent of my humble ability, yet I feel that they are somewhat behind the feeling of the country. I believe that the country would have gone much further than these resolutions,—that the people, at this moment, are prepared to take such measures as will relieve them at once from the bondage and power of the Canadian Dominion. No clause pleases me so well as the last:

"Resolved, That the Representatives of the people of this Province, loyal to their Sovereign, but confident of the justice of their cause, feel bound to use all [constitutional] means for the restoration of their liberty, peace, and prosperity as a colony of the Crown, and in their behalf invoke the sympathy and support of the people of the adjacent Colonies and the lovers of freedom in every part of the civilized world."

If the country is ready to strike out that word "Constitutional," we cannot be blamed; but whilst I heartily assist the Government in using all legitimate means to obtain Repeal, I do so on these grounds. It has been declared in the House of Commons and Lords that measures were being taken to satisfy the people of this country; therefore we must possess our souls in patience for a month or so, to see if the promise is fulfilled. If it is not carried out, and we live to meet in these legislative halls, what may be the result? I do not know, but the country will be far ahead of us. Certain it is that the people will never consent to remain connected with a country like Canada; let their verdict be given at the polls, and I am positive that not a single Confederate will see the inside of these walls. Our rights have been taken away from us, and the dignity of this House lowered by the Canadians, in league with traitors calling themselves Nova Scotians. Would

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largely interfere with our prosperity. But supposing it was the fact that this agitation is interfering with the business of the country, is that sufficient reason that after twelve months we should abandon the only constitutional means by which we hope, eventually, to restore this Province to her former position of freedom?

It has been truly said that agitation is the apprenticeship to liberty, and that a dozen years in a nation's life are less than as many minutes of individual duration; and if we are in earnest, in this struggle, if we are determined to be free we must not only agitate, but we must be prepared to make some sacrifices. If we turn over the pages of English history, we will find that all the liberties Englishmen now enjoy, were obtained only by the greatest sacrifices and the most persevering efforts, from Magna Charta down to the present extended franchise. And even in our own day was not this Province convulsed with agitation from its extremities to its centre, before we obtained Responsible Government? And shall it be said because those who placed us in our present difficulty are now crying out that agitation for Repeal is ruining the Province, we will quietly part with the free Constitution we have hitherto enjoyed, without at least making a manly and determined effort to preserve it? I trust not. The more I have considered and reflected on our position, I must confess the more my hopes grow stronger in our ultimate success, and that we should not despair or give way to gloomy apprehensions.

How much brighter are our prospects in this struggle to-day than was that of the Catholics of Ireland, when at their first meeting, organized by the great O'Connell in the metropolis of that country, he could not muster a dozen—who did he give way to despondency and despair?—no, but he persevered until that small number swelled to millions, and with the aid of his giant intellect he wrung from an unwilling Parliament the rights and privileges of the British Constitution for the enslaved and insulted Catholics of Ireland. And I believe that the people of this Province will yet, by a vigorous and strictly constitutional agitation, obtain from a British Parliament the severance of this hated and forced connection. As regards myself, I have but one course to pursue consistent with my own convictions and the obligations I owe to those I represent—that is, to agitate this question until I am honestly and sincerely convinced that agitation is useless; and should that time arrive, and those who elected me are not of the same opinion, then I will resign the trust I hold into the hands of those from whom I received it, rather than violate the solemn pledges I have made, and betray the confidence reposed in me.

#### MR. MORRISON'S SPEECH.

MR. MORRISON:—In rising to address the House on the subject under discussion, I must express my regret that I am not possessed of an ability commensurate with the importance of the enquiry. But I feel that being here and having a voice,—if I were not to raise that voice at such a crisis in our history, the very stones would cry out in judgment against me. The hon. member for Inverness has told us that I have spoken here so loudly that my voice might have been heard across the Atlan-

tic. I regret that it was not heard there,—that it did not awake that slumbering ministry in England, but it seems that it has not done so, and here I am again to try its strength. Though my voice may not reach the other side of the Atlantic, I trust it will ring through the length and breadth of Nova Scotia, and though its tones may not be as charming as those of the member for Inverness, although I may not be able to speak in such rounded periods as he, and though I may speak in a much louder tone, it is because nature gifted me with a stronger lung, for he has a better will to speak loud than I. Before I come to the question at issue between the people of Nova Scotia and Canada, let me turn for a few moments to the speech of the hon. member for Inverness. He told us that we had got an answer from the highest authority, and that that answer tells us that the act is constitutional, and must be obeyed. I have looked carefully at the despatch, but can find no such language in it. Now let us look at the facts. The act of union was brought upon us by the rump of a Parliament, and by a ministry that had already been condemned throughout the length and breadth of the land. And we have got our answer from whom? From the rump of a ministry in England, already condemned by the voice of the people. We have no right to despair,—I for one am not content to submit until the answer comes from the people of England themselves. After an election has taken place, my impression is that we will have a different reply,—if we do not it will be time to take a different course from the one which we are pursuing. I deny that there is such an assertion in the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham as that the act is constitutional. What the Duke says is this: "I am advised that the Act of Confederation was duly and lawfully passed by the Imperial Government." He does not tell us that the act is constitutional and binding, and who has ever denied what he asserts: that the bill went through the legal forms in its passage, but that is a very different matter from its constitutionality. What we contend is that the British Parliament has no right to tax the people of Nova Scotia while they have a legislature of their own, and that therefore they have no right to establish another Parliament with the right to tax us, and in which we are not adequately represented. The Duke tells us that in similar cases there has been no appeal to the people, but he has forgotten that there were two appeals to the people of New Brunswick? Has he forgotten that the people of Prince Edward Island were appealed to, and that even the Seal fishers of Newfoundland were allowed rights which were not allowed to the intelligent people of Nova Scotia. The statements of the noble Duke shew that he has a very slight acquaintance with what is passing in British America. But does he tell us that we must obey the act? On the contrary, he says that the Dominion government must come down and reconcile our people. The Duke knew we had asked for Repeal—and that we had said that we would take nothing short of it—therefore, the Duke has virtually said to the Canadians that they must go the length of consenting to a Repeal of the Act, when he says they must reconcile us. He told us also in a triumphant

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Mr. Mo ber makes his correc clares that for the rig ple of No ons wron and brou no one es fellow-co the hon. federatio vast maj ed to it, majority be found cause. no right was the rive at it, people l question I hold a trine t change the pec eigu p and er off men It is to how an right t go do and pr be so House Street were the o press that I if any spran been not wish tion the of th bers pres ber had they poti our bel pec Go as tis

tone that there was not a man in England that could be found to present our petitions. Was he passing a compliment on the men of England when he made that statement? Has it come to this that no man in England has the moral courage to present a petition praying for a redress of our grievances? If any English statesman had been listening to the assertion they would not have thanked him for the statement which, as it has turned out, is not strictly true.

Mr. BLANCHARD:—What I said was that no man could be found to advocate repeal.

Mr. MORRISON continued: The hon. member makes his statement very little better by his correction. In an exulting tone he declares that no man could be found to stand up for the rights of his native country. The people of Nova Scotia are laboring under a grievous wrong and it is sad to see any man born and brought up within the Province exult that no one could be found in England to assist his fellow-countrymen in this struggle. Whatever the hon. member may have thought of the Confederation Act at first, when he sees that the vast majority of the people are greatly opposed to it, he should bow to the opinions of that majority instead of boasting that no man could be found in England that would advocate our cause. He told us again that the people had no right to be consulted,—that the Legislature was the proper channel through which to arrive at the sentiments of the country. If the people have not the right to speak on such questions why do we go to the polls at all? I hold a different doctrine from that: the doctrine that the Legislature has no right to change the constitution without an appeal to the people, because the people hold the Sovereign power. The people make Parliaments and crowned heads, and they take the heads off men that are crowned when they do wrong. It is to the people that crowned heads have to bow and yet we are told that they have no right to be heard. I ask the hon. member to go down to any one of the eighteen counties and proclaim such a doctrine. He would not be so bold there as he is on the floors of this House, backed by the influence of Downing Street and Ottawa. But I would ask him were the Parliament that passed the measure the only Parliament that had the right to express the opinions of the people? I deny that that Parliament had the right to do so at all,—if any had the right it was the House that sprang from the people after the question had been discussed at the polls. Why then does not the British Government yield to the wishes of the Legislature elected on this question? Why should they take the opinions of the Canadian agent rather than the opinions of the Local Parliament and the sixteen members of the Dominion House of Commons representing Nova Scotia. Then the hon. member told us that the Confederation delegates had not deceived the people of England. If they did not do so then no greater act of despotism was ever perpetrated than that done to our people by the British Parliament. But I believe that those delegates did deceive the people of England, and I am sorry that the Government of that country should be so silly as to listen to the deception which were practised on them. They were told that the sub-

ject had been at the polls in 1863, and having no authority to contradict the assertion it had a great deal to do with the passage of the Confederation Act. The statement, therefore, that deception was not practised is not in keeping with the facts. The hon. gentleman told us also, in quoting from the speech of the Atty. General delivered in 1854, that he would go heart and hand with that gentleman in sweeping away the Local Legislatures. As if the present degradation of the people was not enough he designs to humiliate us still further. He is not satisfied with having told the people virtually that they are not as competent to judge of the way in which their business should be conducted as men living 800 miles away from them,—that men speaking a foreign language in Canada who never saw Nova Scotia, who do not want to and never will see Nova Scotia, knew more about our affairs and had a better right to govern us than we had ourselves. When I allude to men speaking a foreign language am I not right? Mr. Cartier controls a phalanx of fifty men, speaking a foreign tongue, whom he can whip into line in a moment,—he controls the Canadian Parliament to-day, and compared with him Sir John A. MacDonald is but a cipher. Not content with giving these men the power they already possess the hon. member would bring them down here to legislate away our road money, our mines and minerals, and everything that concerns our interests. I hope that when he comes to face the people and solicit their votes he will tell them of this new project. His constituents would soon tell him that they had had enough of his services. He next told us that the resolution for a Union of the Provinces was solemnly put before the people in 1854.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I did not say so; I said that the resolution had been before the legislature.

Mr. MORRISON continued.—The hon. gentleman may have meant the legislature, but he said the people. I will, however, refer more particularly to this remark when I come to speak of the Duke of Buckingham's despatch. He also went on to complain that the local government did not state our grievances to the Dominion government. The members of the Dominion Cabinet knew what the people of Nova Scotia had asked for, and it was their duty to have come to us with any proposition. We would have been humiliated by making any complaint to them; for let me tell you, that the financial part of the difficulty is the most simple part of all. I care not for the pounds, shillings and pence; for while the Canadians have our constitution, they can make these just what they please. The power must be wrested from the hands of the Canadians, or their promises are not worth the paper they are written on; for while they are putting into the treasury with one hand, they can be taking out of it with the other. Then we were told that Nova Scotia had gained \$750,000 a year by the act of confederation.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I did not say so; I said that she had gained \$750,000 last year.

Mr. MORRISON continued: I am willing to take the corrected statement from the hon. member's own lips. I am not going to descend into the complications of figures; for he knows that

all who understand these calculations can so box them as to make them read whichever way they wish; but we will touch upon some of the leading points of this part of the question. Before confederation we paid ten per cent. duties on most of the goods imported into the country; we had no stamp duties or newspaper tax, and yet we could give \$280,000 a year for the road and bridge service. The Canadians paid twenty per cent. on their importations; they had taxes on bills and notes and on newspapers; and the two Canadas united could only give \$170,000 per year for the road and bridge service. How has it been since confederation? The people of Nova Scotia have had to pay fifteen per cent. on importations, and to submit to taxes on newspapers, bills and notes of hand, and have only been able to give \$100,000 a year for the roads and bridges. Canada, on the other hand, has lessened her duties by twenty-five per cent., and instead of \$170,000, has a million and a half more for local purposes than she ever had before. These are facts which cannot be denied, and yet we are told that we have been largely the gainers by confederation. But there is another feature that should not be forgotten—the act binds us to take eighty cents per head for 400,000 people; and supposing our population were to increase to two million? The increase of population always brings an increase of demand for local purposes; the population have to be educated and provided with travelling accommodation. And supposing also that our revenue should have increased to \$10,000,000. I ask the hon. member to take such a peep into the future and to see that the act of union would be taking millions of dollars from us that we stand in need of. So that, not only is the scheme bad now, but it is likely to become worse and worse. That is the system which the hon. member boasts of having assisted in creating, and to which he even yet declares himself attached. Let him go to the people of Nova Scotia and preach the doctrine that he preached here, and I tell him that there is not one county of the eighteen that would give him five hundred votes. Having gone through my notes of the hon. gentleman's speech, I will now turn to the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham. We had three answers from England to our address: in the first place, we had the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham; then we had the answer of Mr. Adderley; and in the third place, we had the conciliatory mission from Canada. If the British people or ministry, or the Canadian ministry or people, expect us to be satisfied with these answers, they must expect that we are more or less than men. The people of Nova Scotia are as truly loyal and as truly alive to their constitutional rights; as truly alive to a sense of justice, and love as dearly the institutions of their native land, as the proudest duke or earl, knight or lord that stands behind the British throne. We know our rights; and knowing them, we dare demand them; and demanding them, we will be content with nothing else.

I must characterise the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham as a most singular document. It is filled from centre to circumference with Tupperisms, and is composed of mystifications, illogical reasonings, and mistatements. It is just a reflex of the sentiments which went from

the friends of union on this side of the water. The Duke tells us that he hopes that a different view of this matter will be taken by the Nova Scotia people after a proper examination of the subject. I defy any man to tell precisely the meaning of that part of the despatch, but he tells us at any rate that an examination will be made. Have we had any? Did the House of Commons consent to our having any? No sir, the whole power of the British ministry was brought to bear to prevent an examination of the question,—they would not submit to the enquiry whether we had any wrongs or not. They were afraid of examination, and therefore brought their whole weight to bear against it. The Duke goes on to say that Nova Scotia was the first to move in the project of Confederation. I deny this most emphatically. The project was never before us until 1866. To shew this let me go briefly into a history of the question. In 1854, it is true, Mr. Johnston moved a resolution relative to a Union (not a Confederation) of the Colonies. He made a lengthy speech on that occasion, and was followed on the next day by Mr. Howe, who took a very different view from the mover, and carried the House with him to a large extent. On the third day Mr. Young, now Chief Justice, followed with a speech in which he differed from both the others, not one of the three agreed, and then it was that the present Attorney General delivered his speech, in which he likewise differed from those who preceded him, and made fun of them all. That resolution of 1854 was adjourned from day to day for ten days, and all the eloquence of those who had spoken would not induce a single man to continue the debate. What then became of it? Let me tell the House that it may reach the ears of the people and the Duke of Buckingham. It was voted down in this House, and was not to have been taken up again. But by some manoeuvre Mr. Johnston got it on the floors again, and then its consideration was adjourned to 1855. In '55 the magnates of the day had to go down to the people for a new lease of power, and no man had the moral courage to debate the question in 1855. Not one dared to raise his voice in favor of a Union of the Colonies, and thus that resolution died a natural death. There is the true history of that resolution, and I ask any gentleman who desires to be correctly informed, to trace it for himself. The Duke of Buckingham says that the subject was again taken up in 1858. How? By a Minute of the Council that Mr. Johnston led, and that gentleman associated Mr. A. G. Archibald with him in a delegation by which the matter was discussed by the Colonial Minister. The delegates came back, and in their report they made use of the following language:—

“Mr. Labonchere's own opinion we learnt to be that while he doubted whether the Union of Canada and the Lower Provinces might not embrace too wide a circle for convenience and efficiency, he believed that the Union of the Lower Provinces would be highly beneficial, and tend greatly to improve their position and assist their progress. This declaration of the freedom of the Colonies to decide this important question for themselves seemed to be all that could be desired from the Government, while as yet neither the Legislature nor the

people of Nova Scotia desired authority to a final Secretariat Scotia desired

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peoplo of Nova Scotia had given an expression of opinion on the subject, and when we had no authority to answer the enquiry of the Colonial Secretary whether the people of Nova Scotia desired the change."

That was the action taken in 1858. The next year the election came on, and Mr. Johnston dare not revive the subject. In 1861 a resolution is said to have been unanimously passed, but not a man dare debate it. I said that if any member rose to discuss it I would oppose it and turn him out of court. It passed by silent assent, without a voice being raised in its favor. The leader of the government stated that he wanted to put the question at rest. He discussed it in Canada, and came back and informed us that its consideration was premature, that nothing could be done until the railroad was built and commercial relations established. That was the history of the question down to 1864, and notwithstanding that the Duke of Buckingham declares that Nova Scotia was the first to move in favor of Confederation.

The hour for adjournment having arrived, the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, Aug. 26, 1868.

#### Morning Session.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Some conversation took place with respect to a motion made by Mr. Kidston, that Messrs. Purdy and Dickey be added to a select committee appointed last winter to investigate the expenditures and over-expenditures on roads in Victoria County.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table the Report of the Superintendent of Education.

Mr. KIRK presented a petition from Wine Harbor for aid for a road, and urged the favorable consideration of the prayer of the petition.

Dr. MURRAY said that there were special cases where special grants should be given; for instance, to facilitate communication with gold fields.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that at the present rate of the presentation of petitions it would be difficult to find all the money required.

Mr. DESBRISAY presented a petition from the inhabitants of the west side of St. Margaret's Bay, asking for relief from the sectional school tax.

The House then went into Committee and took up the following Bills:—

To amend the Act incorporating the Union Marine Insurance Company of Nova Scotia.

To incorporate the Albion Lodge of British Templars, Horton.

To incorporate the Hants County Temperance League.

To incorporate the Crown Coal, Brick and Pottery Company.

To incorporate the Steward Gold Mining Company.

To incorporate the North St. Lawrence and Mount Uniacke Gold Company.

To incorporate the Caledonia Gold Mining Company.

To incorporate the Victoria Coal Mining Company.

To incorporate the Strawberry Hill Mining Company.

To incorporate the Chicago Gold Mining Company.

The Committee then adjourned. The Bill to amend the Act incorporating the Block House Mining Company was read a second time, after which the House adjourned to three p. m.

#### Afternoon Session.

The adjourned debate was resumed.

Mr. MORRISON continued: When the House adjourned last evening I was about to show that the Duke of Buckingham had in his possession the evidence that the contents of his despatch were incorrect. That evidence consisted of two letters from two Canadian gentlemen who had some difference with the Colonial office as to the position in which their names had been placed on the roll of titled gentlemen. With the permission of the House I will read an extract from those letters to prove what I have said. The first is a letter from Mr. Cartier to Lord Mounck, asking him to lay his complaint before the Duke of Buckingham, and is dated 2nd July, 1867. He says:

"My Lord,—I beg that you will be kind enough to allow me to express to your Excellency my most sincere feelings of gratitude for the honor so graciously conferred on me by Her Majesty, in the selection of myself as one of the Companions of the Bath, in connection with the Federal Union of the British North American Provinces, now forming the Dominion of Canada, and the expression of my grateful thanks."

Here he was claiming that he had received the title of Companion of the Bath in consequence of the part he had taken in promoting Confederation. Then he goes on to say:

"The Government of August, 1858, of which I had the honor of being the Premier, and which lasted nearly four years, adopted, amongst other things as their principal policy, the measure of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. In the fall of 1858, the hon. Mr. Galt, and the hon. Mr. Ross, my then colleagues, and myself, have had the honor of going to England to press, amongst other matters before the Imperial Government, the favorable consideration of the question of Confederation. I have never ceased to advocate and to urge the necessity of the Federal Union of the British Provinces, with the view of making them stronger, and at the same time with the view of binding them more closely to the monarchical rule of England. I have had more than any public man to contend in allaying the sensibilities of a large class of Her Majesty's subjects in Lower Canada, in reference to the question of Confederation; in fact I jeopardized on that question my political position, and in Canada as well as in England, I did not spare labor and trouble to bring the scheme of Confederation to successful issue."

"I have also to observe to your Excellency, that while applauding to the honor conferred on my two esteemed colleagues, the Hon. Mr. Howland, and the Hon. Mr. Macdougall, I fail to understand and appreciate why, in the list of the Companions of the Bath, their names should have precedence of mine."

Here the writer claims that he was one of

the first men who, as early as 1858, had moved in the matter. Again in the second letter he says :

"As this letter very likely will be the last one I will have the honor to address to Your Excellency respecting the late distribution of honors in Canada, I would be wanting in my duty towards Your Lordship, if I did not take this opportunity to express to your Lordship, for your own information, and for the information of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, that the *inhabitants* of the Province of Quebec, *formerly Lower Canada*, of all creeds and races, feel deeply that *justice* was not awarded to their political leader in that distribution of honors. I am further bound to state to Your Lordship, that the feelings of *one millions of French Canadians*, of whom I have the honor to be the *Representative man*, have been *deeply wounded* not only by the position assigned to me in that distribution of honors, but also by the *omission* in it of the name of my worthy Colleague, the Honorable Mr. Langevin, and that those *wounded feelings* will, I am afraid, for some time to come, be transmitted from generation to generation. I must also express, in conclusion, to Your Lordship, that the late distribution of honors will always be remembered, throughout the Dominion, as an *unfortunate incident* in the inauguration of our new political system."

This is what Mr. Cartier says in 1867 to the Duke of Buckingham, and here let me remark that this is one of the gentlemen who are desirous of keeping us in this Confederation. When his name does not receive the distinction to which he thinks it is entitled he flies in the face of the Duke and threatens him with the enmity of a million of French Canadians, declaring that the affront will go down from generation to generation. That is the feeling aroused on the subject of the title of a Canadian gentleman but the constitution, the revenues and the rights of 400,000 Nova Scotians are swept away and they are expected to be as silent as dumb dogs, and yet we have a man in Nova Scotia who can stand up and justify all this. Now we will turn to Mr. Galt's letter in which he says :

"I was the first Canadian Statesman who brought this subject before our Parliament, as a means of reconciling the conflicting interests of Upper and Lower Canada and at the same time of uniting the disjointed elements of British power in North America.

"Shortly after, in 1858, I joined the administration formed by Mr. Cartier as Premier, having as the basis of our policy, Confederation. The same year, Mr. Cartier, Mr. John Ross and I were Delegates to England, and pressed the subject unavailingly on the Imperial Government, then, as now, under my Lord Derby. The following year, being again in London alone, it was once more brought by me under the notice of the late Duke of Newcastle, the Colonial Secretary under Lord Palmerston, but with the like ill-success. Without having ever ceased to form the ultimate policy of the Government, it slumbered until the political difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada culminated in such repeated failures to form an enduring administration, that some remedy had to be sought. By the suggestion and agency of two Members of our

Parliament, Mr. Alexander Morris and Mr. John H. Pope, negotiations were opened with Mr. George Brown, the leader of the Upper Canada liberal party, and at conferences held by that gentleman with Sir John A. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier and myself, a coalition was formed on the basis of Confederation."

The noble Duke had all this information in his possession when he wrote the statement that Nova Scotia had been the first to move in the project, he had been told that the Canadian Government had been formed on the basis of the Union, and that those two gentlemen claimed their titles as the originators of the Scheme. I think I have already read enough to turn the Duke out of Court on that point, but there is another point which is rather suggestive. Where is the Confederation medal that cost two or three thousand dollars. If Nova Scotia was the first to move in it why did they not come here? They have gone to Canada where all the good things go. The Duke then goes on to say :

"As soon as that Scheme was unanimously adopted by the Delegates from the several Provinces, the Secretary of State remarked that the project should be submitted to the several Legislatures."

Was that scheme submitted to this Legislature? Never, although the government referred to it in ten several paragraphs of the Governor's speech no action was taken to carry it forward, but on the contrary a resolution was moved and carried without a dissenting voice, that the scheme for the union of the Maritime Provinces should be taken up again and the Premier declared the Quebec scheme so impracticable that it must be abandoned. That was passed in 1865.

The Duke says : "It does so happen, however, that after the present measure had been introduced into the Imperial Parliament, and its terms made public, it was cordially approved of by both Houses of the Legislature, in their Addresses to the Governor at the opening of the session in 1867." What does all this amount to? How did the members of this Assembly know what shape that bill would be in when it came out of the House of Commons? They only shewed a reckless desire to go for the bill whatever it might be and exposed their own ignorance in the matter. The Duke's reference to this action was a poor compliment to those who were concerned in it. The Duke goes on to say :

"The Provincial Governments and Legislatures in the present case, after the terms had been substantially settled, with the knowledge and approval of all, looked to the Imperial Parliament to accomplish their union. This has been done exactly in the manner requested. The neighboring Province of New Brunswick had entered into the union in reliance of having with the sister Province of Nova Scotia, and its obligations, political and commercial, have been already contracted on the faith of a measure so long discussed and so solemnly adopted."

Now it will be remembered that the elections were nearly over in New Brunswick before the resolution passed in Nova Scotia, and therefore New Brunswick accepted the scheme without reference to any action of ours,—but what was our legislature led to believe when it

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passed the resolution? That Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were to be included in the Union, and therefore if Nova Scotia is to be held because New Brunswick expected her to be there, she has a right to be free because Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were not included. There is not much therefore in that branch of the argument. The Duke recommends the people of this country to remain quiet, and intimates that the Canadians must come down and reconcile us. He casts us off from England, and hands us over to the tender mercies of Canada, to the very men who concocted the whole scheme and were undermining our interests. We have been robbed of our revenues and have been held in an unconstitutional way,—we have applied to the British ministry as to a court of justice, and what have they told us? To go to the robbers and ask justice from them. If a man prosecute a thief for entering his premises, and the judge tells him to go to the criminal box to make up with the robber, what would he think? Where is the morality of the man who accept such advice? We have impudently these men in England, and I think we will see the matter out. Go to Canada to get justice! One might as well expect grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles.

With these observations I pass from the Duke's despatch to the speech of Mr. Adderley, and I must say of this likewise that it is a rehash of Tupperism. Mr. Adderley, the mouth-piece of the British Government, has also made himself the mouth-piece of Tupper, C. B., of Nova Scotia. He tells us that if a feeling had existed against Confederation it would have been made a party cry in 1863. Did any one ever hear such a doctrine? Who had advocated Confederation before that? He might as well say that if the people of Nova Scotia had had a feeling against the crime of murder it would have been made a party cry in 1863, and because it had not been so made we were all in favor of the crime. That is the doctrine of a statesman of England. He expects the people to pass on a matter which was never before them, and yet the hon. member for Inverness expects us to believe that the English people were not deceived by these Tupperisms. Then we are told that we were not taken by surprise. The Government came down in 1866 with a Governor's speech, in which the subject of Confederation was not mentioned, and the scheme was not revived until a few days before the passage of the resolution. The people, therefore, had not time to get up a remonstrance against it, and were taken by surprise. Mr. Adderley says that nothing was done in England until in 1866 a resolution favorable to the scheme had been unanimously passed in all the colonies. I want to know if that is the truth. Was the resolution of 1866 unanimously passed here? Nothing of the kind. In the first place, a resolution was passed for a maritime union,—after the conference at Quebec a resolution was unanimously passed declaring confederation with Canada impracticable. In 1865 out of a House of fifty-five members only twenty-two could be got to support the scheme, and one of them was in the chair; but in 1866, after a year of scheming, the government brought in a resolution, with a few day's notice, and car-

ried it by a majority of twelve. Now, I am not here to impute motives but to state facts, and I will allow every man, woman, and child to draw their own conclusions. What became of that majority of twelve? Three of them have seats in the Legislative Council, three others have seats in the Senate at Ottawa, a seventh was made Attorney General of this Province with a salary of £400 a year, the eighth was made Commissioner of Mines and Works at \$2000 a year, the ninth was made Secretary of State with a salary of \$5000, the tenth was made Stipendiary Magistrate of Halifax at a salary of £500, the eleventh was made a light-house keeper, and the twelfth, poor sinner, was deceived; he was promised that his farm should be bought for a model farm, and that he should be the keeper of it for life, but the government failed to carry out their promise, and he is so poor and dejected in consequence of their failure, that he shaved his whiskers off the other day, and cast them to the winds. There is a piece of history for the ear of Mr. Adderley and the Duke of Buckingham. But I am not done yet. Let us now go to the other end of the building, where the resolution passed by a majority of eight. What became of that majority? Six of them went to Ottawa to fill Senatorships, which at that time were supposed to be worth \$4000 a year, the seventh was made Collector of Internal Revenue at £500 a year, the eighth became Treasurer of the Dominion at a salary of \$5000 a year. Yet we are told there was no corruption, no surprise. I do not stand here to say that those men were corrupt. I state the facts, and let every honest man draw his own conclusions. It is not too much to say that the people should have taken the prime movers in that Act, and crucified them heels upwards, scattering their ashes to the four winds of heaven.

Mr. Adderley undertakes to lecture us for not having half the electors of Nova Scotia in our favor, and tells us that only 25,000 out of 48,000 voted for the Anti-confederates. What does this prove? Just nothing at all. Sir John A. McDonald sits as Premier of the Dominion, although he had less than a third of the votes in his district; Mr. McGee had a little over one-third; Mr. Cartier had only a few votes over one-third; and so with the whole Canadian Parliament—only three members having a majority of the votes in their district. Mr. Adderley goes on to say, that measures have been taken to conciliate Nova Scotia, and that the tariff was reduced to fifteen per cent. with that view. I do not think it was a very conciliatory process to reduce the tariff twenty-five per cent. in Canada, and to raise ours fifty per cent. But they took other modes of conciliating us. When Mr. E. M. McDonald moved a resolution asking the House of Commons to go into committee to examine into the complaints of Nova Scotia, how was he met? His motion was voted down, and out of 147 members from Canada, only three could be induced to vote with our representatives. The next attempt at conciliation was the sending of Charles Tupper, C. B., to England to thwart the views of the Nova Scotia delegates; and the Ottawa government took good care that our addresses did not reach the Colonial office before he was there to oppose them. Did the

Canadians, in choosing as their agent the man most universally condemned and hated in Nova Scotia, except Adams G. Archibald and Jonathan McCully, show a desire to conciliate our people? I think not.

Another conciliatory move was the refusal to make the subsidy of eighty cents a head a preferential claim on the revenues of the Dominion. They thought they might want to borrow money to deepen the canals and build railroads, and if the pittance to Nova Scotia was made preferential, they would be hindered in borrowing. There is nothing to this day that enables us to claim the eighty cents a head. Another conciliatory move was the list of precedence, by which the very man who sold his country, because he has a seat in the Senate, takes precedence of the Prime Minister of Nova Scotia when they go to government house. Still another attempt was that contained in the despatch tabled a day or two ago, in which we are plainly told that we must not expect to get our bills sanctioned as often and as easily as when they were sent for the sanction of Queen Victoria. The next step will be to inform us that we will save much useless legislation by first sending our bills for the inspection of Sir John A. MacDonald, just as an English act required that bills should be reviewed and approved before their introduction in the Irish Parliament. When the despatch was read I could not help thinking of the Dutchman who first cautioned his boy that he would be thrashed if he did not behave well while his father was from home, and then came to the conclusion that it would be better to administer the thrashing first. So the Canadian Premier thinks it well to give us a suggestive caution before we have sent any bills to him at all. But if he claims the right to control our legislature, what is to become of our mines and minerals, and our roads and bridges? Are the reservations in the act of Union worth the paper they are written on? Certainly not; and my opinion has been that when the Canadians want a little more money they will take our subsidy and control our mines and minerals.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—That is constitutional law, is it?

Mr. MORRISON continued: Yes, that is constitutional law. Numbers it seems make constitutional law, or we should have had a different answer from England. If the hon. member for Inverness can justify that despatch let him go before the people and tell them so, and if I mistake not he will not go fifty miles in any one county without being taken back feet foremost. When we are told that attempts have been made to reconcile us, those who make the assertion are bound to come forward and substantiate it by proof. I come now to a matter in which my duty requires that I should be personal. The gentleman placed at the head of the Revenue Department, or rather financial department of the Dominion here, is a personal friend of mine, but was he the man to be appointed to such a position? No; he was unfortunate in business, and I believe became a bankrupt.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—That is entirely incorrect.

Mr. MORRISON continued:—Perhaps so, but another gentleman was placed at the head of

the Internal Revenue Department who was, if my memory serves me, also unsuccessful in business. These are the only steps which have been taken to conciliate us, and I ask sir if they are calculated to do so. The next answer to our address was the visit of the Canadian government. I had not the pleasure of an introduction to those gentlemen, and can only give rumour as my authority for what I am about to state, but confederates say that they had three or four senatorships, and two or three commissionerships, with fat salaries in their pockets to try and seduce some of our men from our cause. I think they did not stir a man in Nova Scotia, and I trust they went back wiser men. It is said that the Ottawa government will make some propositions for a compromise, and that we should accept them, but are we in a position to do so? We have passed resolutions instructing the delegates to accept only unconditional repeal, and after that can we stultify ourselves by a compromise? By taking our present position we have thrown on England the responsibility of keeping us within this union by coercion. Let her stand before the nations of the earth bearing the honor of having managed and handed over 400,000 subjects as loyal and intelligent as are to be found on the globe, to the domination of the government at Ottawa,—to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Canadian people. When Canada was in rebellion, Nova Scotia stood true, and when Canada got into difficulties, Nova Scotia as a reward for her fidelity is to be sacrificed to the necessities of Canada. Do the Canadian people expect that we are going after that to be true and loyal to the Dominion? They need not expect it,—we cannot and will not be loyal to Canada,—never, never, never! We will stand shoulder to shoulder and fight our battles in a constitutional way, until patience ceases to be a virtue, and only when loyalty ceases to be righteous will we look elsewhere for redress. But never let it be said that we are going to accept a compromise. If this House were to accept a compromise the people would come down upon us and not leave one stone upon another of this building, and out of its ruins they would establish an altar, on which they would bind every living representative, and offer them up as a meat offering to the shrine of liberty and the rights of Nova Scotians. It may be that we have lost the object of the mission to England, but even so, all is not lost. We have within us a high sense of duty, and a determination to discharge it. We have still the unconquerable will and determination to resist. We have a firm purpose,—a resolution to adhere to principle. Maintaining these, our success is certain. Let us then rally round our standard, and prove to the world that we are worthy of the privileges of free men.

Mr. BLANCHARD enquired what the intention of the Attorney General was as to the final reply in the debate.

Hon. ATTY GENERAL answered that the reply belonged to the government.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that in the debate last winter he had been debarred the right of reply when it was properly his. He could obtain it on the present occasion by moving an amendment. The reply on the resolutions did not

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MR. PURDY'S SPEECH.

Mr. PURDY said—Feeling that this question demands from every man an expression of opinion I must ask permission to trespass for a few moments on the patience of the House. We have no right to vote silently on a question of such vast importance but should plainly express our determination and convictions so that the people may understand the position that we occupy. I believe that this question has already passed beyond the limits of debate—that it is now unnecessary to urge argument after argument—that the people have fully made up their minds on the subject. Although that may be the case yet the people throughout the country will feel a satisfaction in knowing that their representatives are determined to carry out their opinions. I shall not occupy the time of the House with referring to the past policy on this question, neither shall I detain the House at any length with any review of those points which have already been touched upon and so fully answered. With respect to old speeches on the question I can only say that they should have no influence upon our present action. Opinions may have been entertained by public men in years gone by but since then they have learned useful lessons and bowed to public sentiment. If their opinions at that time are not now the opinions of the people I do not think they should be quoted as binding on us in any way. At present the argument seems to be narrowed down to a very small point. The Confederate party tell us that Repeal is hopeless—that the British Government will never agree to our proposition—that we must accept a compromise and stop agitation. They draw these conclusions from their own sources. They seem to give us a fact what lies in the minds of the British Government and people, and therefore we should treat their statements as prophecies. In order to estimate the value of these prophecies it is only necessary to consider similar statements made by the same individuals in the past, and consider how many have been verified. I would ask then, where do you get the information that the British Government will not give us Repeal? They may say that the British Government has heretofore denied us what we asked, but can they therefore declare that the same government will be hereafter in power—that the ensuing elections in England may not bring about changes most important as far as we are concerned. These same persons have never substantiated their declarations in the past, and we cannot now put any faith in their present prophecies. During the months previous to the elections of September last we found various prophecies, advanced but time has proved them to have been entirely inaccurate. It was said that we would not have the Canadian tariff under Confederation, but the issue has proved that statement false. Manufactures, again, were to start up in this country, but time has shown that this Province cannot manufacture against Canada because that country has water-power far superior to our own, and has a large and gaining population. Our trade was to increase, and we were to

have Reciprocity immediately as one of the results of the Union. Well, our trade has actually decreased, and we have not yet obtained a new Treaty.

Again, it was declared through the length and breadth of Nova Scotia that the Canadian Parliament would not attempt to extend to us an act of such injurious tendency as the Stamp Act, but time has proved that, like every other statement advanced twelve months ago, to be entirely false. Therefore, I assert that the people of this country have no right to place confidence in the statements of the men who have been proved to be such false prophets during the last two years. Another argument—one that bore some appearance of probability—was that since the Upper and Lower Canadians were certain to be always at variance, Nova Scotia would be able to possess the balance of power, and thereby actually control the administration of public affairs. That argument was advanced whenever we asserted that the small Provinces must be crushed and governed by the greater, in the Canadian Parliament. Time has shown us what we asserted to have been perfectly correct, and I need only refer the House to the fact that when the tariff was under consideration, and our interests were at stake, the Canadians combined to inflict a great injury upon our trade and commerce, and the almost unanimous votes of Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers combined had no influence. I might go on and enlarge the list of false prophecies, but I feel that it is altogether unnecessary, and that the House well appreciates the value that should be put on any statements emanating from the Confederate party in this Province. But there is one matter that should be noticed in this connection. When this Legislature met six weeks ago, it was constantly asserted that there were no principles to bind us together—that there would be nothing but a scrambling for office, and that no determined effort would be made to obtain repeal. Well the result has proved the very reverse—we have argued the principles which we have been sent here to sustain, by every means in our power, and have advocated the cause of the people's rights. Of course it is not difficult to understand the reason why these statements are made,—they are only a part of the political moves of our opponents on the political chess-board, to make the people distrust their representatives and leaders, and cause despondency. Our position heretofore has been one which has fully shown the fallacy and absurdity of the arguments of our opponents. Our Delegates proceeded to England, and set their case fairly and fully before the Government, Parliament, and people of England. That case has gone through the length and breadth of England, and is having its influence on the minds of the people. They will learn what position we are in, and as time passes they will be brought to exercise influence upon the new Parliament and new Government in our favor.

Heretofore the argument on the Confederate side has been mainly that we have no wrongs to redress; that the British American Act has given us all the privileges that we had a right to expect. So far as that argument is concerned we have gained our point, for now the

Confederate party and press acknowledge that we have been wronged, and that they are ready to rectify these evils, and compromise. If there were no wrongs, why should there be any compromise or concessions necessary? By the delegation to England presenting our case fairly, we have forced them to concede that we have wrongs, which ought to be conciliated by their redress. Twelve months, in short, have brought about a change in our favor both here and in England, and we should feel encouraged with respect to the future. If we continue to exhibit the same spirit of determination for twelve months more, I have no doubt that our cause will make great strides, and we will obtain what we ask, as our right. It is true we have been denied to a certain extent what we asked from England. We were bound, however, to make this appeal with a regard to our honor and self respect. We have thrown upon the British Government the responsibility of investigating our wrongs, and they have, in their turn, devolved it upon the Canadian Executive. They say that they will use their influence with the Canadian Government to have our wrongs rectified. As far as the mission of the Canadians to this Province is concerned, it shows clearly that they have been forced to make a show of conciliation. Now, if they had been desirous of acting fairly and honestly they would have come boldly forward, made their propositions, and expressed a desire to put the question before the people and to decide upon their votes. That is the shape in which it ought to have been placed. It is true, in order to conciliate us, they have lowered the tariff from what they passed at the first session; they have given considerable sums for general purposes, and performed other acts, in order to soften down the feelings of the people. All this is done to cajole us to accept Confederation, but it must be remembered that what they have done may be undone at any moment they please. The impression which prevails in my mind is that there is too large a power centralized in the Dominion Government, and we must be always powerless on that account especially.

I shall not weary the House with any lengthy observations respecting the feelings of the people. Everybody knows that they are as determined as they were twelve months ago; every one of them is resolved on having the restoration of their rights as they were enjoyed previous to the passage of the Confederation Act. They see clearly and fully that no compromise can be made which will restore to them their former rights, and therefore they will be satisfied with nothing else but repeal. Our duty at the present time is clear and simple. It is not so much to argue this question over and over again, as, by strong and determined action on our part to show our resolution and determination to be free; that we have not changed a jot or tittle in our opinions. We have asked the British government for repeal, and it has been refused; but we should wait patiently until the new elections have taken place in England, and then go to the new government, which will probably be formed; then I feel sure we will succeed. If refused again, what must we do? It is our duty still to prosecute this matter—to say to the British government: If you think confederation is necessary for our

defence—which is apparently the leading idea on the other side of the water—then we are willing to pass a resolution, clearly showing that we will assume our own defence, but will not be taxed to build fortifications and defend Canada; and if the British government are of opinion that they are expending too much money here and draining the British treasury by keeping troops among us, then we say—Withdraw them; we do not require their services. More than that, we are willing to contribute of our revenues, and our men will volunteer to the defence of the surrounding colonies, should they be attacked, provided we think it necessary. They may declare this Dominion a neutral power and withdraw their troops; and if they do not, upon them rests the responsibility of any bloodshed that may result from such a course. We must discharge our duty faithfully and fairly, with a view of obtaining our release and a restoration of our rights. If the British government continue to refuse, still we are not powerless—we have the means within ourselves to resist; the people will form trade leagues, buy nothing Canadian, support native manufactures, or band together for smuggling. We have the means of defeating the operation of this act, so far as Nova Scotia is concerned; and if the people will do it, they can effectually defeat the plans of the Canadians, and destroy the harmonious action of their government. The people of this province must have their rights restored to them, and will prosecute their designs to the bitter end, until they succeed.

#### MR. DESBRISAY'S SPEECH.

Mr. DESBRISAY said: Mr. Speaker—In the early part of the session, previous to the adjournment of the House, I entered at some length into the discussion which took place upon the question of Confederation, a question which was then, and still is, the all engrossing topic of the time. I have seen nothing since to change, but very much to confirm, and strengthen the opinions which I then expressed, as to the injustice to which we had been subjected. I entertained a confident hope that justice would be done to Nova Scotia by the British Government and Parliament; but, sir, I regret to say, that a Government that could send a General, surrounded with all the "pomp and circumstance of war," to conquer in the fastnesses of Abyssinia, a savage king, because he held in captivity two or three British subjects, refused a moment's enquiry into the wrongs of the inhabitants of one of the finest countries under the sun, a people noted always for the fealty they had borne to the British Crown. I thought that the large measure of injustice which had been dealt out to Nova Scotia, would have sufficed, without this last additional wrong. The more the subject is examined, the more apparent becomes the gross outrage that was perpetrated upon this people. It was one of the most disgraceful acts of the present century. Nova Scotia was to be made tributary to Canada. It could not be done openly, and therefore dishonorable means were resorted to. Confederation has been often likened to a marriage, but the only marriage to which, in my opinion, it bears the slightest resemblance, is that described by Shakespeare, when, in reply to the pertinent

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question, "What is wedlock forced," he calls it "an age of discord and continual strife." It was a marriage to which we were not consenting parties, and for us it must be followed by a divorce, *a vinculo matrimonii*. The main wrong, overshadowing every other in this controversy, is, that the people of Nova Scotia were treated as serfs, while their fellow colonists were dealt with as free men. Why was this? No answer can be given, except we find it in the necessities of the Canadians, and those of a few self-seeking politicians in this Province. The hon. and learned member for Inverness said that the Legislature was the only legitimate exponent of the popular will. Then, sir, a few public men who choose to be corrupt themselves, and corrupt others, can destroy the rights and liberties of between three and four hundred thousand people. This is one of the most monstrous doctrines ever propounded in any Legislature on earth. The hon. and learned gentleman also asserted that the delegates to England had violated their instructions. The charge has been fully answered, but I thought it came with very bad grace from him, he having been a supporter of delegates who so far departed from their instructions as to betray the dearest interests of those in whose behalf they were appointed.

How little do English statesmen understand the true position of affairs in this colony, when they assert that the feeling against Confederation has been lessened. The Canadians who were here recently, saw and heard enough to tell them a different tale, and I rather think that when they left Halifax they knew just how far a policy of conciliation would go in Nova Scotia. I only know, sir, of one way to undo a wrong, and that is, to abolish the wrong, or the effects of it altogether. That is exactly what we want, a full restoration of the rights and privileges of which we have been unjustly deprived. Canada must give up her ill-gotten gains; she must see that a mere union on paper, and which is not cemented in the hearts of the people is in reality no union. She is in the position of him of whom we read in history, who was obliged to be less than sole Emperor of the Romans, because, in the words of the historian, and which largely apply to our case, he found it impossible "to secure the obedience of those who were separated by irreconcilable differences of interest and language." It is very amusing to read portions of the last debates on this question in the British Parliament. The Earl of Carnarvon said "English statesmen have said to the Colonies. As long as you continue true in your allegiance, as long as you desire to retain your connection with this country, so long will we mention with this country, so long will we stand by you, no open aggression shall be made upon you, and not even the breath of insult shall pass over you." If the treatment Nova Scotia has received be not the grossest insult, with the largest amount of injury added, then I confess I do not know what the word insult means. We are now coolly told "you should settle down, accept the situation, and make the best terms you can." To this I reply, we were not elected for any such purpose, and if we were to follow the advice, we would be traitors, and classed with those who, in a previous House, betrayed the trust reposed in them. I apprehend we are here, because we shared the opin-

ions of those by whom we were sent. To recede now from the position we have assumed, would be just as if having advanced on the battle field, and I contend we have advanced, we were to surrender everything into the hands of the enemy, and in this case how great the surrender—the rights of the people—rights we were chosen to defend and preserve. If this House and the Government were swept away to-morrow, is any man insane enough to suppose that the agitation would cease, or that the people would continue in a position from which they are determined to be free. They will struggle against it as against death, because they know it to be death to many of their dearest interests. This House has been cautioned in confederate kindness as to its course of action. I think, sir, that we understand and will perform our duties fearlessly—duties which I have not seen better defined than in the words of an able man who in the session of 1789, addressed the then House of Assembly. He said: "This House is the guardian of the rights and liberties of the people." He told his fellow Representatives to think of "the magnitude of their office," and said they "ought religiously to watch that the liberties of the people should be inviolably preserved, and obstinately defended."

This is no time to speak with "bated breath and whispering humbleness." The people are in earnest, and are moving straight to the goal of their deliverance from a bondage, which they feel to be little less than Egyptian. Let England and Canada prevent future trouble, by saying, as they can say with truth, a great wrong has been done to a high spirited, intelligent, and loyal people. Nova Scotia shall be released, and placed in the situation she was in before. This would be only simple justice. We are told that our severance from Confederation would interfere with the Railway guarantee. But, sir, such matters could be adjusted, and if they could not, the fact would furnish no argument for the maintenance of a Union accomplished in the manner this was. Otherwise the maxim for which Englishmen boast their love, and which is inscribed on the walls of the temple of justice, "*Fiat justitia ruat coelum*,"—let justice be done, though the heavens fall—is only a hollow mockery, a mere sound without meaning. It is futile to say that Canada will redress our grievances. How much like redress does that despatch now on our table, from Sir John A. McDonald, touching Legislation, look, revealing as it does that tyrannical spirit, which seems to have its head quarters in the Dominion Government. They say in effect in this despatch,—your Legislature shall pass only such laws as suit Canada; in other words your Parliament shall be subservient to our will. Then look at that table of precedence originated in Canada, and sanctioned by the Duke of Buckingham, under which the Upper Branch of this Local Parliament is in the future to be composed, partly of "Honorables" and partly of "Esquires." Did anybody ever hear of such a farce. Is Sir John A. McDonald mad enough to suppose that Nova Scotians will pass under any yoke he may choose to make. No, sir. They were born and nurtured in freedom, and they loved and admired the institutions under which their country had prospered, and they themselves

were happy and contented, and they will never bow to Canadian dictation.

Canadian offices have been left open, in order to seduce Nova Scotians from the right path. Not one has been yet accepted. But it is said, "division is already in your ranks, and some of your leading Anti-Confederates have left you." The statement is untrue, but sir, if there are any who, in their hearts, have deserted the side on which they have hitherto fought in this battle, let them do it openly, let them enter the Dominion service, wear its gilded trappings, which would be to them the livery of disgrace, and when their term of office expires, pass to their dishonored graves,—the people of Nova Scotia will maintain their integrity; and never cease their exertions, until they are crowned with complete success.

Much has been said as to this House not having gone far enough in this matter. Looking at the fact that when our last Petitions were presented to the British Parliament it was rapidly approaching dissolution, that public questions of great moment had been for some time, and were then engaging almost undivided attention, and that we have good grounds, as I think, to hope for a more favorable issue to another application, strengthened as this opinion is, by the increased share of public attention given to our cause in the parent country, I have, after the fullest discussion on the subject, and with an earnest desire to do right, arrived at the conclusion that it would be criminal in the Government, or the House, to take a step, under these circumstances, which would lead the people into unnecessary trouble.

My position with regard to the noble country I have the honor here to represent, and to the people of Nova Scotia, is this—If the Canadians, though we cannot expect them, judging from their past conduct, to be moved by any such sense of justice, express their willingness for Repeal, they can speedily end the difficulties which now beset them, but there are no other proposals they can make which I will, for a moment, entertain, until the people first come in, between this House and the Dominion Government, and accept, or reject, their offers, whatever they may be. I believe I rightly estimate the views and wishes of the people of the Province, when I say that they are for full, unconditional Repeal. The inevitable destiny of Nova Scotia is separation from Canada.

The people's "voice is heard from sea to sea,"  
The sons of Nova Scotia "must, and shall be free."

#### MR. LANDERS' SPEECH.

MR. LANDERS said, Mr. Speaker, if I believed that Nova Scotia by her own act or by the voice of her people had placed herself in the unhappy and depressed position she now occupies under the Dominion of Canada, then I should say that we ought to submit and bear the evils which we suffer with patience.

But, believing as I do, that we have been robbed of our constitution, cheated out of our revenues, and deprived of the privileges enjoyed by our predecessors, I think we ought to resist with all the powers we possess. I remember when I was a little boy and sent to school we had very few books in the school, I

think the whole catalogue would not exceed five,—and in one of those books there are several very pretty pictures, as we little folks thought it that time; and one of those pictures which is now very prominent before my mind was the representation of a loaded waggon, and a little below the picture on the same page there was a reading lesson, I think it was called a fable, and when read was something like this:—"As a waggoner was driving his team his waggon sunk in a hole and stuck fast, the poor man immediately fell on his knees and prayed to Hercules to take the waggon out of the hole again." Hercules replied, "Thou fool, whip the horses and put thy shoulder to the wheel, and if thou shall call on Hercules he will help thee." Now, sir, I was in my own mind comparing Nova Scotia to this loaded waggon. We have had unskilful teamsters, and they have driven us in a hole; and we have stuck fast, and we Nova Scotians have gone on our knees, and we have prayed to Hercules, not the ancient, but the Hercules of Great Britain. Now I do not know that this modern Hercules has called us fools, but I presume he thinks we are fools, for he says: "Stay where you are, Nova Scotians, it is a good place for you. The Dominion Government want your revenues; they know how to spend money up in Ottawa; they also want your Militia to fight off the Fenians and the Yankees if they should come across their borders."

But, sir, I do not feel willing to adopt the advice of this modern Hercules, but would prefer the advice of the ancient Hercules. I would put my shoulder to the wheel; and what I mean by that is, I would take possession of all the goods and chattels belonging to Nova Scotia. I would whip the horses; and what I mean by that is, I would whip every mother's son out of office who prefer working for the Dominion than working for Nova Scotia. I know it is said by some that they will bring the soldiers out, and that they will point their bayonets towards us, but I do not believe that would be done; and if they did do so, it is an old saying, "one might as well die by the sword as the famine." I think of the two, I should choose the former. I can see nothing but famine for Nova Scotia in her present position. I have always been loyal, and I should wish to be loyal still; but I believe that loyalty and protection are twin brothers; that there is a sort of connection between the Siamese twins, and that one cannot exist without the other. The good book informs us that faith without works is dead, being alone. So I think loyalty without protection is dead, being alone. If not already dead, it will soon die.

The debate was adjourned, and the House then adjourned.

THURSDAY, Aug. 25.

The House met at 3 o'clock.  
Several bills were read a third time and finally passed.

Mr. NORTHRUP introduced bills on the following subjects:—

To incorporate the Mulgrave Mining Company.

To amend the Act referring to Pretty Offences, R. S.

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To amend Chap. 45, R. S., of County Assessment.

To amend Education Act with respect to City of Halifax.

With respect to street expenditure in the City of Halifax.

The bill to amend the act incorporating the Windsor and Annapolis R. R. Co., was read a second time on the motion of Dr. Brown.

Mr. PURDY introduced a bill to amend chap. 72, with respect to Commissioners of Sewers, so as to apply to country at head of Missisquash River.

Mr. BLANCHARD introduced a bill to incorporate the Carnarvon Gold Company.

Hon. PROV. SEC. introduced a bill to amend chap. 136 R. S., for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors.

The same hon. gentleman moved the second reading of the bill respecting the study of anatomy.

Mr. MORRISON opposed the bill as it gave medical men the right to dissect poor men who might have the misfortune to die in the poor-house.

Mr. RYERSON also spoke against a bill so honorable to one's feelings, and characterized it as a relic of the dark ages.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that it was rather a relic of the dark ages to oppose such a bill, which only allowed dissection under certain restrictions. It was in accordance with the practice of other civilized countries. He did not see what difference it made whether a man was cut up by the doctors in the cause of science, or eaten by worms.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. did not think there was sufficient reason for the introduction of such a bill. The human body should be treated with respect, after the soul had left it, for it was a candidate for the resurrection day. Men should do with others as they would be done by.

Dr. BROWN said that the bodies of animals were not sufficient to enable a young man to study anatomy. He was of opinion that some such act would be legalized sooner or later in this country.

Mr. MORRISON said that if it were proposed to pass such an act, let the House commence with themselves instead of the poor. He moved that the bill be read that day three months.

Hon. PROV. SEC. asked why should the young men of Halifax be placed in a position different from the students of other countries, and not enabled to study anatomy in Halifax.

Mr. NORTHRUP referred to a visit he had paid to the Paris Morgue to show the care taken of the bodies of the dead. The House should be careful not to pass such a law without sufficient cause being shown as to its necessity.

Mr. RYERSON again urged his objections to bill, and seconded the resolution moved by Mr. Morrison.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that with every hospital was connected a dissecting room, and that the present bill emanated from the faculty connected with Dalhousie College.

Hon. Mr. TROOP could understand the necessity for such a bill in cities where there were large and well established Medical Colleges. When the city of Halifax was sufficiently able to support such an institution, would be the time for such a bill.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that the bill was in-

tended to promote the objects of an institution now in operation in the city, and would prevent anything like "body snatching."

Mr. KIDSTON said that he opposed the bill because we were not sufficiently advanced to require it, although he acknowledged the great benefits of the study of anatomy.

Mr. DICKEY thought it would be unfair to shut out the bill at that stage and proposed that it be sent to Committee, when the petitioners could be heard in its favor.

Dr. MURRAY saw the bill for the first time and was not favourable to all of its details, while he admitted some Act should be passed with regard to the subject. He thought it would be best to send it to Committee, that it might be better considered.

Mr. BLANCHARD approved of the suggestion made by Mr. Diekie as only fair to the promoters of the Bill.

Mr. PINEO thought it would be arbitrary to shut out the bill at that stage, though he was not prepared to say he would support it in its present shape.

Mr. CHAMBERS thought that one half of the persons engaged in dissecting were only influenced by an idle spirit of curiosity.

Hon. PROV. SEC. urged that the bill should be sent to Committee.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN never heard of such a bill existing in the United States or in England.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that there was not sufficient field in the city for such an institution; the tendency would be to create quacks.

Mr. MORRISON would agree to the bill if they amended it, and added a clause that nobody should be dissected except he died worth £500.

On a division Mr. Morrison's motion was carried 20 to 11.

*Yeas*—Doncette, Eisenhauer, Chambers, Cochran, Smith, Purdy, Landers, Kidston, White, Ryerson, Northup, Attorney General, Troop, Morrison, Copeland, Campbell, DesBrisay, Johnson, Freeman, Balcan.

*Nays*—Townsend, Diekie, Joseph McDonald, Flynn, Murray, Provincial Secretary, Blanchard, Pineo, Ross, Brown.

Mr. SMITH, as Chairman of the Committee to whom was referred certain petitions respecting railway assessment, reported in part, recommending that steps be taken for the appointment of Commissioners to give due consideration to certain persons therein named.

Mr. DICKEY asked the Government to lay on the table, for the information of the Committee of Public Accounts, accounts and vouchers of the Province, for the 9 months previous to July, 1867.

Hon. PROV. SEC. would enquire on the subject, but he had never seen them. They must be in the possession of the Dominion authorities.

Dr. MURRAY did not understand this spiriting away of public documents, and hoped they would be forthcoming.

Mr. BLANCHARD did not think such remarks called for, for the hon. Treasurer had full access to all documents, and had been in communication with Mr. Tins.

Mr. RYERSON said that all such papers belonged to the Province, and not to the Dominion.

Mr. SPEAKER would ask permission to state that among the charges against his county was one in connection with a bridge where a chip had never been added; he wished to know if the money had ever been expended, but had not been able to obtain full information on the subject.

Mr. KIRK had on that account asked the government for certain information on a previous day; on looking over the papers, however, he could not find the returns for the bridge in question, the clerk in the Treasurer's office could not find it, but the money had certainly been paid.

Hon. PROVINCIAL SECRETARY said it was strange that this should be the only paper missing.

Dr. MURRAY would like to know why members of the House should be obliged to call upon Mr. Tims and other Dominion officials for papers that belonged to the Province.

Mr. PURDY asked the Government for account of advance to Cumberland, debt due to Bank of Nova Scotia, and also accounts and vouchers connected with Palmerston bridge.

The House then went into committee, and passed a bill to incorporate the North American Mining Company.

Then the committee rose and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, 28th August, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL introduced a bill to amend chap. 171 R. S. of the administration of criminal justice, and stated that it only went to assist the Attorney General in the prosecution of criminals in the city of Halifax, and does not interfere with Queen's Counsel in any part of the province. Also, a bill to amend chap. 85, of the inspection and regulation of lumber, hay and other merchandise, and enabling the Court of Sessions to fix the fee on the weighing of hay. Also, a bill with respect to railway damages.—Large quantities of land he stated, had been taken for railway purposes in Pictou County, and which had to pay heavily therefore. Now the eastern counties were largely benefitted by the railway, and he considered it only just that they should contribute something for the expenses. The bill accordingly provided that Pictou should pay one half, and that the remainder be distributed among the counties lying to the eastward.

Mr. BLANCHARD hoped the government would make the last a government measure, as he would soon rally enough support to defeat them.

Mr. WHITE supposed that Counties of Cape Breton were left out.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. could not deprive them of the pleasure of having a small share.

Hon. PROV. SEC. thought that Prince Edward Island should also pay.

Mr. NORTHUP would ask the House to relieve Halifax in the same way.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said he could not, he found, make P. E. Island pay her proper share without invading her.

Mr. RYERSON said that the Dominion might take any ground they chose for a depot as the share of the city for the debt owing the province.

Dr. MURRAY urged that the bill was just, inasmuch as the County through which a railway might pass, might not be as much benefitted as the Counties indirectly interested.

Mr. WHITE would move that the bill be deferred till that day three months.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. hoped the House would not agree to any such innovation and departure from the usual courtesy.

Mr. BLANCHARD said such a course was exceedingly unusual, and he hoped it would not be persisted in, much as he might be disposed to oppose such a bill.

The motion was not pressed, and the bill was read a first time.

Mr. BLANCHARD introduced a bill respecting cattle going at large.

Mr. YOUNG introduced a bill to annex the Township of Uniacke to West Hants.

On motion of the Provincial Secretary, Thursday next was made the last day for the receptions of bills.

Mr. BLANCHARD made some explanations with respect to a matter that had come up on the previous day. He had the pleasure to inform the House that the papers asked for by the Committee of Public Accounts had never been in the possession of the officers of the Dominion. These accounts, previous to the first of July, had never been removed from the Province Building, and had only that day been found and handed to the committee in question. Some few papers in connection with the settlements of arrears since the first of July, had been left with Mr. Tims, by the Treasurer; but they had never been called for, although ready to be handed over at any moment.

Mr. DICKIE said that what the Committee particularly wanted was the accounts of Roads and Bridges.

Hon. PROV. SEC. had not had any knowledge of the accounts in question, and only learned since yesterday that they were in the Treasurer's office. The truth, was, if the accounts had been anywhere, they had been in the hands of Mr. DeWolf.

Mr. RYERSON said it was high time the House had possession of all the papers it wanted, in order to obtain accurate information respecting the public finances. It was time that the House adjourned.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON said that all the papers connected with the Mining Office would be ready on Monday.

Dr. MURRAY wished that all the papers and vouchers belonging to the province would be accessible to the House at any time.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that if any papers were deposited with the Dominion officers by the Government, it would only have been courteous to have sent for them. They had never been asked for and never refused. Mr. DeWolf might have had some papers in his possession whilst arranging the affairs of his office, but he had never been a Dominion officer.

Hon. SPEAKER had called on Mr. DeWolf for a certain paper, but had never been able to obtain it.

Mr. BLANCHARD was not there to defend Mr. DeWolf, but simply to make certain explanations, which he considered called for after the remarks that had been made on a previous day.

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sary in the adjustment of the accounts, that the papers should be passing from one office to another. As respects the appointment of a commission, it had been deemed necessary and proper to obtain the services of disinterested persons to report on the state of the public finances. He also stated that the estimates would be probably ready by Monday.

The hon. gentleman then laid on the table the report of the Commissioners for the Provincial Building, and subsequently a later report from the same persons.

Hon. Mr. TROOP reported from the Committee on Law Amendments, a bill amending the Act to incorporate the Windsor and Annapolis Railroad.

Mr. KIDSTON asked the Government for some papers he had enquired for on a previous day respecting the Registrar of Probate in Victoria County.

Hon. Prov. SEC. had not been able to find any, but would again enquire.

Mr. KIDSTON said that the Registrar had professed to have resigned his office previous to running the election, and he wished to know under what authority that individual was now acting.

A message was received from the Legislative Council stating that they had agreed to the bills incorporating the West Lake, Scotia, Chicago and Montreal Mining Co's.; also, to bills amending the act incorporating the Mrs. Bay Harbour Co., and amending the act incorporating the Union Marine Insurance Co.

The debate on the repeal resolutions was then resumed.

## REMARKS OF MR. YOUNG.

Mr. YOUNG said: I intend to say very few words on a question which, it is quite clear, has already been exhausted. I shall vote in support of these resolutions although I would have preferred them had they been more emphatic. I was up in my county a few days ago, and many persons told me that they would take matters into their own hands unless we did our duty. I feel I would have great difficulty in restraining men so determined. It is impossible now to speak as to the state of the revenue, when Canadians are inundating the country with goods. Things have got into that perplexing position that it is impossible to know how we really stand. In New Brunswick I understand that the casual and territorial revenues bring 141 cents per head, whilst they are only 91 cents per head in Nova Scotia. As respects the future I may say that, perhaps, when we shall send the next delegation it will be for separation from the mother country altogether. Suppose we had a larger union—one stretching from the Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. It would not suit me very well, but, nevertheless, there are a great many in favor of such a scheme. I must speak my sentiments freely or I would prefer keeping perfectly quiet. In Europe there are always difficulties and jealousies arising out of the desire to preserve what is called "the balance of power." We know pretty well by this time where the balance of power in this country lies. Would it not be better for us to be under one large government in America, provided the British Government would allow it? They say that

they are tired of us, and that we are only a bill of expense to them, and surely we ought not to be so mean-spirited as to be under obligations to any one? The time has come when the effete and worn-out governments of Europe should cease to rule this country. The Confederates tell us that Great Britain is very powerful, and that we could not resist her power. That, however, is no argument why we should tamely submit to have our liberties taken away from us by Canada. It must be admitted, however, that the people do not care so much about Confederation as about the manner in which it was carried. Suppose Prince Edward Island had been confederated with us just as Nova Scotia has been with Canada, and she came to us and asked to be released, would we be so tyrannical as to try and keep her against her will. I am certain we would not; and Canada ought to act in the same way, unless her people are too mean-spirited. As respects the public building to which reference has been made, it is one of the few things left us, and we had better keep possession of it under all circumstances.

## MR. DICKEY'S SPEECH.

Mr. DICKEY said: I beg leave, Mr. Speaker, to congratulate the hon. member for Inverness on the change of his time since the former part of the session. In his first addresses to the House he assumed a brow-beating air and threatened to skin us all alive, but at the present time he seems disposed to give us the treatment due to gentlemen. I am pleased that such is the case, having no personal quarrel with the hon. member, and not desiring any. I could not help remarking the readiness with which he promised to go heart and hand with the Attorney General for a Legislative Union, which he described at the same time as a thousand times worse than the present one; I feel that if those were his views he must be heartily dissatisfied with the present union, for he was willing to go from the frying-pan into the fire, even though the fire were a thousand times hotter than the pan. I admire the talents of the hon. gentleman, and when I see him bringing those talents to bear on this subject with a zeal worthy a better cause, and at the same time expressing dissatisfaction at his present position, I cannot help wishing that he would join us in our struggle to relieve Nova Scotia from her present deplorable condition; he might render us valuable assistance. I may say at the outset of my remarks, that I heartily approve of the Minute of Council and of the resolutions; they set forth the views of the people in a fair, straightforward and candid manner, and in such a way as not to be misunderstood by the British authorities, and will meet with the hearty approval of the people of this Province. In viewing this question I do not intend to go into the constitutional point, but looking at that point as it has been debated here and in the press, I think it may be narrowed down thus: There are three ways in which a people may lose their constitution—by conquest, by confiscation, and by voluntary surrender. It has not been pretended that we have been conquered by Canada, or that we have done any overt act whereby our constitution became forfeited, but it is said that we have surrendered it, and this is where the dif-

ference of opinion lies. We say that no legislature elected to guard the constitution and to legislate within its scope have the right to sweep that constitution away. I cannot help being greatly confirmed in this view when I look at what has occurred in England. What was said in the Imperial Parliament when it was explained that Mr. Watkin's statements were untrue? Was it said that it was of no consequence whether the question went to the people or not? No, but they say, "if it did not go to the people it was because all the leading men of the country gave in their adhesion to it, and no party could be found to oppose it. The preamble to the Act shows that the consent of the people lies at the foundation of the whole fabric, and I believe that when we shew to the Colonial Secretary and to the British Parliament that fundamental error and the untruths of the statements that steps have been taken to conciliate us, and that we have approved of the legislation of the Dominion Parliament at its last sitting, I think they will say that we are entitled to a different answer. If we do not receive a different answer it will be time for the people to ask—"What next?" and to follow up their words by such acts as will show to the world their determination to be free.

I now come to some of the statements of the member for Inverness respecting the finances. He told us that he had proved last winter that Nova Scotia had received \$400,000 more than she had paid, and no gentleman had contradicted him or shown he was wrong. In turning, however, to the report of his speech I find he made the assertion that we had received \$600,000 more than we had paid, he afterwards qualified it by saying that we had received 450,000 and would, in a few days, receive 150,000 more. I must congratulate him on having reduced the figures of last winter from \$600,000 in five months to \$385,000 in twelve. In a short time, at the same rate, the balance would be in our favour. At that time I disputed the correctness of the hon. gentleman's calculations, and referred to Hon. Mr. Rose's statements of December, 1867, and showed that by reducing that statement to current account, by deducting from the debit side of the account the interest and subsidy charged and put in its place the interest of \$8,000,000 for 5 months and five months' subsidy—take from it also construction account and arrears of '66-7—and the Dominion had received from Nova Scotia \$152,400 on current account, more than she had paid, and the hon. member did not attempt to show that I was in error. But the hon. member did not mean to refer to the current account, but to the cost of the whole services. We find by Mr. Rose that—

The Revenue was for five months	\$769,689
The Expenditure " "	550,414
Leaving a balance to our credit of	\$219,275

We were told that there was a large disagreement between the calculations of Mr. Jones, Mr. McLelan, and myself. I have not been able to get that of Mr. McLelan, but I take it for granted that the difference arose in this way: there was a tariff of 1866 and one of 1867 in Nova Scotia, and there was a Dominion Tariff of 1867, and

another of 1868, each one differing from the other, and if you calculated at the same time under different tariffs, or under a different tariff at a different time, there would be a considerable variation, such as that between Mr. McLelan and Mr. Jones. As to my statements I am prepared to-day, in the light of our present information, and from the stand point I then took, to prove every iota of them to be correct. If the balance which the Dominion Government holds to-day from Nova Scotia is smaller than I made it, what is the reason? That Nova Scotia imported less goods from outside quarters and more from Canada, and while having done so we have not been as much benefitted as if the importations had been made from other countries and the duties paid. It is not surprising then that a discrepancy should exist. What do we see in looking over the country? Every country store is beset with runners trying to force Canadian goods into the market, recommending them in the highest terms, and I only wonder that they have not sold more than they have.

The hon. member for Inverness now tells us that the Dominion government had paid up to July, 1st, 1868, \$385,000 more than they had received on our account; current account I presume he means. He gives as his authority Mr. Tims, and as he has appealed to him, to him will we go. Before doing so, however, I may say that I hold in my hand a statement from Mr. Tims' office, which only requires to be compared with that of Mr. Rose to shew that one or the other is in error. But as we are to try the case by Mr. Tims' rule, we will take his version of the accounts. He shews that the Dominion government has paid out on what he calls Nova Scotia account, to 1st July, \$2,265,233. Now I will make such deductions as are required to make this an account current. So far as I am able to understand the account, and I must confess I do not fully understand it, and only make such deductions as I feel certain should be made, and if I omit anything the result would be against myself.

Mr. Tims says that the Dominion has paid	\$2,265,238
and includes what I now deduct,	
namely:—	
Redemption of Debt,	\$55,000
Public Works and Buildings,	22,645
St. Peter's Canal,	\$22,109
" "	34,805
" "	56,914
Steamer Druid,	14,492
Bal. of Savings Bank,	2,390
Pictou Railway,	193,000
Windsor and Annapolis Rail-	
way,	391,391
Arrears,	434,692
	1,170,523
	\$1,094,708
Mr. Tims says the Dominion has received,	1,550,708
Balance to credit of Nova Scotia,	\$456,000

I will now explain the principle on which I have made these deductions. The redemption of the debt certainly should not go into the current account, and particularly in this case in which they have merely taken up \$55,000 of

our Province greenbacks, Works and the principle down to post cost, and I h As to the sta fair to charg nary. I ha our propert house and th portion. Th out on the s the debt. cannot be o the cost of way. The is to shew a But if I hav hon. memb received by account, I and find in Received in Nova Scoti England in Decem

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Transient poor.....	5,000
Deficiency for breakwaters and wharves, 1866-'67.....	40,000

Making the inadequacy of the sum required for local wants..... \$379,807

If we had provided for all the services as we had done in 1867 we would have been that much short, and that is what I told the House last session. It is said that if we curtail the services and keep within bounds we will have money to spare—but can we do it? We have kept them down to the lowest point and by crediting the arrears we find we have only \$22,000 over. And what state are our roads and bridges in? Some counties have not a dollar to spend, and in some it will take even next year's grant to repay the advance of last year, spent by the members of the late Legislature, in many cases, to aid their elections. If we have the mere matter of \$41,000 for our local wants the roads and bridges must go down. Education takes nearly one half the revenue, or \$163,000, and will be nearly \$200,000 next year at the same rate of increase.

The hon. member for Inverness said that we were losing \$1000 per month by keeping the new building idle, but does he know how the Dominion government look at that matter? This is their view: "On the 1st of July we owned the building as it then stood; what you have paid since we are willing to refund." But that only amounts to \$50,000, so that we only lose \$250 per month at the most, and I for one would sooner see the building in ashes to-morrow than see the Dominion government take it on such terms, namely for \$50,000, it having cost us some \$214,000. We were told that Canada had sought to conciliate us by taking the duty off flour, but he forgot to tell us that five per cent. was put upon iron, which amounts to more than the flour tax, to say nothing of rice, coal oil, and other articles. But what is the question of dollars and cents in comparison with the principle of the thing,—in comparison with the liberties we enjoyed under our former free and independent government. It is as the dust in the balance and goes for nothing. Mr. Bright said, "the scheme must break down if the people will it." I believe that statement,—I believe that the people do will it, and that the scheme will break down. If Britain means to act fairly let her withdraw her troops, and we will soon try the question out with Canada. I believe that I am speaking the sentiments of thousands of Nova Scotians when I say that I would sooner spill my blood in defence of the liberties of my country than allow her to remain in the degraded position in which she now is.

#### SPEECH OF MR. PINEO.

Mr. PINEO said: I intend to occupy but a very small portion of the time of this House on the resolutions now before it. Even if I had the ability to make a long speech I would hesitate to do so at the present time. The public business ought to be attended to, but it must be retarded whilst this discussion is going on. I must express my gratification that the Government have agreed to carry on the business of the country even under protest, and I

wish they had adopted that course last winter. If they had done so, many of the Mining Companies only now incorporated, would have gone into operation ere this, and thereby largely benefited the country. I hope, however, now that the government have altered their policy, they will vigorously prosecute the public business, so that we may get home as soon as possible. I shall not enter into the general question of Union at the present time. It is not really before us; the resolutions introduced by the hon. Attorney General merely announces the policy of the Government, and the manner in which this question has been discussed. The hon. gentleman, in laying the resolutions on the table, made a lengthy speech in order to shew why he brought them forward, and in the course of his remarks adopted a system of logic. He took up the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham, and said he would prove that the Duke was entirely wrong, if well known rules in logic were applied to his statements. Now, I will read the following extract from his speech:

"Now I call particular attention to these two grounds of reasoning, because so far from being conclusive, they have the effect of completely establishing our emancipation. Now in reality he propounds such a syllogism as this: 'The Imperial Legislature has the power to pass an act to alter the constitution of Nova Scotia with the consent of the people of that province.' This is his first proposition. The second proposition is: 'the people of Nova Scotia have given their assent'; ergo, the constitution which was passed, entitled, 'An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick,' is constitutionally legal. It is a rule in logic, that if either of the propositions of a syllogism be false, the conclusion must be false also. I, that be true, we deny the second proposition. The first proposition is perfectly sound—the Legislature of England has the power to alter the constitution of the Province with the consent of the people. But, the second proposition, that the consent of Nova Scotia was given to the alteration of our constitution, is absolutely false; and therefore his conclusion is false also, and we are entitled to be set free."

It is on these grounds that the people have a right to be freed from this Confederation. His first proposition is that "the Imperial Parliament have a right to pass an act to alter our constitution with the consent of the people." The second proposition is that "the people of Nova Scotia have given their assent." He admits that the first proposition is true, but denies the accuracy of the second, which, he says, is the question before the people. How or where are we to get information upon the constitutional question? The Duke of Buckingham has himself spoken plainly on this point, but that is not all. The Delegates themselves engaged the services of Counsel learned in the law, and obtained their opinions on the subject. Now, whom are we to believe? These eminent Counsel or the Attorney General? I believe the people will agree with me that the hon. gentleman must be in error, and that they would do wrong to continue this agitation. The hon. member for Annapolis has adopted in his argument another syllogism

and it is this. Repeal agitation first, the major to agitate for people not having House was justification. Now that admit,—that the House was but I cannot that the people subsequently this statements Nova Scotia from end to kinds of stories. They were to American A believed it were sold by they credited revenues were and expence such statement.

They were be taken to nians, and detected. T inserted, wou try was to and other ruined. U induced to Repeal fr atrocious c now a yet our produ the Canada than it h young m likely to that the more m taken o head has to unde possible al. No second quently anything is a che land a such st be very got up branch lains e Camb Great navy, hon. ciliati they Mr stoc M Wh Prin Buc the the and

and it is this. He urges the continuance of the Repeal agitation on this ground. He says that, first, the majority of the House were elected to agitate for Repeal; and secondly the people not having changed their minds since, the House was justified in keeping up the agitation. Now the first proposition I am ready to admit,—that at the last elections a majority of the House were returned to oppose Union; but I cannot agree to the second proposition,—that the people had not changed their opinions subsequently; and I will tell you why I make this statement. During the time of the elections Nova Scotia was in a state of excitement from end to end. The people were told all kinds of stories, and believed most of them. They were told, for instance, that the British American Act was unconstitutional, and they believed it was so. They were told that they were sold body and soul for 80 cents a head, and they credited it. They were told that all their revenues were to be taken away from them, and expended on Canada, and they believed such statements.

They were told that our young men were to be taken to Canada to fight against the Fenians, and Nova Scotia was to be left unprotected. The tariff of the Dominion, it was asserted, would be the tariff of Canada; the country was to be run down by Canadian butter and other produce, and the farmers were to be ruined. Under these circumstances they were induced to return men pledged to obtain them Repeal from a Union fraught with such disastrous consequences to Nova Scotia. But now a year has passed and we find, instead of our produce being driven out of the market by the Canadian article, it is actually higher now than it has been for the last three years. Our young men are not taken away, nor are they likely to be at any time. It has been proved that the Dominion Government have spent more money in the Province than they have taken out of it. The story of the 80 cents a head has lost its tenor as the people have begun to understand it better. We learn on the best possible authority that the Act is constitutional. Now I contend that these facts prove the second proposition to be unsound, and consequently the conclusion to be false also. If anything more is wanting to prove that there is a change going on, I would refer them to the speeches of the hon. members for Cumberland and Colchester. If any cause requires such strong language to bolster it up it must be very bad. The hon. member for Colchester got up and denounced the majority of both branches of the last Legislature as being villains and traitors, and the hon. member for Cumberland rose in his place and called upon Great Britain to take away her army and navy, and leave Nova Scotia alone. Then the hon. member for Queen's referred to the cancellation party of Canada, and declared that they came here with money to buy—

Mr. DICKIE—The hon. member misunderstood me—I said if money were the question.

Mr. PINEO—Oh, that's about the same. What could be more natural than for the Prime Minister to come here? The Duke of Buckingham, in his despatch, suggested that the Dominion Government should investigate the nature of the grievances of Nova Scotia; and if it were possible redress them. What

could be more natural than for the Prime Minister to come here to see into these grievances. Was he told the nature of these grievances? The only reply they gave was—we must have Repeal. Then, was the answer; if you want Repeal you must go to the Throne; but if there are other grievances that we can redress we are prepared to do so. The Government have denounced the idea of taking any part in the administration of Canadian affairs, and yet here is Nova Scotia at this moment acting under the Dominion. We are working upon it. At the present moment we already see the consequences of this improper agitation in the fact that whilst very important matters are under consideration Nova Scotia is not fully represented at the Council Board of the Dominion. For instance, there is the route of the Intercolonial Railway in this Province, and again the Reciprocity Treaty. By an arrangement between the British and Canadian Governments no treaty will be entered into, except with the approbation and concurrence of the Dominion. Yet we have not the voice we ought to have in that Government, on account of the Repeal clamour. I cannot believe, when the people look calmly at these things, but they will see how they are injuring their own interests by lending their countenance to this agitation. Repeal cannot be ever obtained, and it is the wisest policy to accept the situation, and work out the Union Scheme fairly.

#### MR. CHAMBERS' SPEECH.

Mr. CHAMBERS said: I can assure the House that I have no desire to occupy time in this debate, knowing as I do the orical of criticism through which we must pass in the opposition press. I expressed my views last winter in my own way, stating that I made no pretension to oratory, and with that explanation I think I might have been exempted from ridicule, but it was not so. That portion of the press put words into our mouths which we never expressed—when we used a plural verb they made us use a singular one—when we used the nominative case they made us use the objective, and even put into our mouths two negatives which we never used. The official reporters certainly deserve thanks for the way in which they fixed up our little speeches. Some of us certainly got credit by their means which we did not deserve. When I saw mine I was reminded of the story of the Irishman who had his hair cut because he admired the short hair of his companion, and having told the waiter to call him in the morning early, looked in the glass when he awoke, and swore that the waiter had called up the wrong man. I thought that my speech was some one's else. I have listened with some surprise to the speaker, Mr. Pineo, who has just sat down. He tells us that we should not waste the time of this debate. I could not help thinking with this debate, they must be a very smart set of people, and very economical of time. What is time in comparison with the importance of this question which is agitating the country from centre to circle, and in comparison with the rights and liberties of the people? When he sees what has been done in other countries by agitation, what O'Connell accomplished by calling the people together, lighting

the bonfires on one hill after another, what the thirteen colonies accomplished by agitation and eventually by resorting to rebellion to gain their independence, would he call that a waste of time? If we can only accomplish the object we have in view, our children will rise and praise us for what the hon member calls mis-spent time. He says that we should not agitate the country. I do not wonder that the Confederates do not want agitation—that they should wish us to settle down quietly. The offices and salaries of many of them are at stake, and they fear that they will lose them if the agitation is continued. He said that the feelings of the country had changed. I acknowledge that they have changed largely, but not in the manner which he speaks of. The feelings of the people have gone from the positive to the comparative, and from that to the superlative degree. The feelings which were strong have grown stronger still, and we who were once positive have become more positive, and are now most positive that we are right in agitating to recover the liberties of the people. If the feelings of the country have changed, I should like to ask him how he would like to go back with us and offer ourselves for re-election to the intelligent people of Nova Scotia? He would then find whether the feeling had changed or not. The feeling, as I have said, has largely changed against Confederation. Those of our friends who might have been wavering and troubled with qualms of conscience are now convinced that we have pursued the proper course. The people are not following us, they are driving us, and we are rather backing down and shewing ourselves unwilling to be driven. The hon member for Cumberland also found fault with my colleague for using strong language. I do not wonder that Mr. Morrison used strong language. The Confederates have not pluck enough to do so, or else they conscientiously doubt that they are right in advocating the opinions which they hold. I do not wonder that they wish to settle down quietly and hush the whole thing up. If we speak boldly it is because we feel that we are right. *Such a man has a bad cause in hand he is willing to be quiet and to seek solitude, but with a good cause he is not afraid to speak out.* I feel that it is my duty on this occasion to make my sentiments known. When I reflect upon the way in which the Confederation scheme was carried in this House and in the other Branch of the Legislature, when I remember that gentlemen who one day used vehement language against were found voting for it the next, I feel that it is our duty to express our opinions and let the country see that we act conscientiously, and vote the way we talk.

My colleague told us yesterday what became of the majority that carried the scheme, they were all provided for but one, and he was so disappointed that he cut off either his hair or his head, I forget which. I should not like that to happen to any of us, as it might, if we copied the example of our predecessors. The confederates tell us that we cannot make any converts; but I would ask the hon. member for Inverness how long he would expect to talk before he could make a convert? He talked four hours the other day, he talked a great deal more in the early part of the Ses-

sion, and I would ask him if he thinks he has begun to make a convert? If he had a good cause he should have made a few after all that he has said. When the Confederation delegates went to England we had fireside talks and talks at the street corners, and we found that whenever the confederates attempted to argue on the question they would break down, but they used to tell us that when the delegates returned they would show us the advantages of the scheme, use up their opponents, and carry the day at the hustings. But they did return, and they held meetings, and what was the result? Did they make converts? No, at some of their meetings they would not approach the subject because they knew that they would only injure their cause. The most they would do would be to talk about what they had done in order to excite sympathy in their favor, while in their private canvass they would say "do you want money, sir, if you do it is at your service." We, on the other hand, talked boldly against Confederation, and our confidence in the result grew stronger, until on the 18th of September all our expectations were realized. I do not intend to go into the subject at any depth, because my ability is not equal to the task. Public speaking is not the business in which I was trained, and I find it somewhat difficult, unpractised as I am, to approach the discussion as I could wish. Were it not for the justice of the cause in which we are engaged, I would not make the attempt to engage the attention of the House. In passing through the country, instead of hearing people tell of the advantage of Confederation, I hear them saying: "Oh, Confederation is a pest," and they describe to me some of the pests which it has inflicted upon them. I will not name all these pests, but will advert to one or two which came to my notice since my arrival in Halifax. A Way Office keeper in Colchester, a friend of mine, sent a request that I should endeavor to get his salary increased. When he took the office there was but one mail a week, and he received \$8.00, afterwards two mails a week were established, and as the business was largely increased he naturally sought an increase of remuneration. In former times, when we controlled our own affairs, we could have such a matter investigated on the spot, but now we must go to the office of the Postmaster General where we are informed that there is no Postmaster General of Nova Scotia now, but the matter is listened to very courteously by a gentleman who tells us that he has no power in the matter, but that our request must go to Ottawa. I found that it would be nearly three months before we could get an answer, and I hope that in the meantime we may get out of this Confederation. I will now mention another evil: last year we bought newspapers by the dozen, and some members by the hundred when there was anything interesting which we wished to communicate to our constituents, and we of course sent them free of postage. So with our letters, this year we have the same kindness extended to us as to our letters, but strange to say newspapers are not included in the regulation, and the postage on them must accordingly be paid. Now what is the result of this? If we had control of our affairs we could make the necessary arrangements in ten minutes, but as it

is the publisher not the gratification of friends, and of information which some general day, and this \$3.00 a day envelopes, it is charged to the

Hon. SPEAKER confine himself

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is the publisher cannot sell his papers, we have not the gratification of sending them to our friends, and our friends lose the valuable information which they might have. Last session some gentlemen mailed as many as 150 a day, and this would now cost them for postage \$3.00 a day. We could enclose them in envelopes, it is true, but the postage would be charged to the Province.

Hon. SPEAKER asked the hon. member to confine himself more directly to the question.

Mr. CHAMBERS continued:—I do not know that I could speak more directly to the question than to describe the pests of Confederation. This charge of postage on our letters makes a part of the \$700,000 which we are told Canada has to pay for us. If we were not confederated it would not cost the Province a cent, but now it does because it is charged to the Province as cash. The hon. member for Inverness had a measure of comfort the other day, when Dr. Murray presented a petition for the incorporation of the potteries of New Glasgow; he told us that while the company had to pay ten per cent. to send their wares to Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, they would be able under Confederation to send them duty free to New Brunswick, and perhaps supply the whole Dominion. Confederates always speak to us of the prospects, and use a great many "ifs" and "ands," but I will show you how I will deprive him of his grain of comfort. A gentleman built a large foundry in Amherst, which he supplied New Brunswick largely.

He was anxious, however, that his stoves should go in there duty free, and he was accordingly a strong Confederate. I can hardly blame him for that, because I might not trust myself were I in his position. However, by the time we had Confederation a foundry was built in Sackville, conducted on a more extensive scale, and instead of the Nova Scotian manufacturer sending his wares, as he fondly anticipated, to New Brunswick, the New Brunswick stoves came into competition with his, and he lost customers even in his own county. If we had not been confederated, he would have had a duty of ten per cent in his favor, and would have had all his own county to sell to at least. I do not say that this competition is not a good thing for the country, but I am showing how some of the Confederates were disappointed, and how their sins have found them out. The same probably will be the result with the hon. gentleman's potteries. He will be met in New Brunswick with earthenware as good and as cheap as he can produce it. Neither probably will he be able to send it to Canada, from the fact that the freight from Liverpool to that country is merely nominal on such goods, while the first cost is so very low in Staffordshire the duties will be no barrier. The hon. gentleman told us that in order to conciliate the Dominion Government had taken off from the Provincial Secretary told us the other day that the ship builders were well able to pay a small tax, and surely it would be better to leave the duty on them than make the poor man pay three times as much on his cotton warp. He told us, also, that the duty had been taken off flour and corn meal. I would ask why that duty was put on? We had not had

that duty for eleven years. Previous to the Reciprocity Treaty we had a duty of a shilling sterling per barrel on flour, and when the treaty was annulled, who put the duty on again?—Were they the friends of Nova Scotia? No! but the Canadian party, who had their own self fish motives to serve. The Nova Scotia party in this house tried its best to keep that duty off.

Now I will ask, why this duty was taken off flour and corn meal? the answer is plain. New Brunswick having a tariff of from 15 to 17 per cent. had nothing to complain of, but not having any duty on flour or meal previous to Confederation this tax was likely to drive them into open rebellion, and in order to restrain that Province as well as Nova Scotia, Mr. Tilley, the Customs Minister, was obliged to take it off; therefore, it was not out of any love for us but from fear of losing both these two Provinces. What wonderful conciliation!

When the hon. member told us about the tax being taken off breadstuffs and ship-building material he forgot to state that three times as much was at the same time put on other goods. Rice was an article which, I think, always came into Nova Scotia duty free, but a duty of fifteen per cent. was put on it after Confederation. They also taxed literature at the rate of five per cent. and put a duty of fifteen cents a gallon on burning oil, when we only paid seven before. Who will talk about the tax on shipbuilding material when the poor man's bible and light are taxed? The hon. member has often told us that we get more money than we pay. Suppose we do; but I do not admit the fact. Are we to become paupers and beggars to take money from the Canadians that does not belong to us? I despise such a thing; we can live without their gratuity. We have made level roads through the Province, paid for education, and have had all the improvements of our own matters again I had full control of our own matters again I have no doubt but that we could continue to meet all our expenses under a much smaller tariff than the Canadians can. We can meet our expenses as well as they, and if we can again do business on our own account and they theirs I will guarantee that their tariff will always be largely above ours. If we have a revenue of two millions we can live on it; if only one we can suit our circumstances to our wants. A little with happiness is better than a great deal with misery. Look at Prince Edward Island, she has plenty of money for roads and bridges,—the poor are supported by charity, there are no county taxes, and the government is carried on by a 7½ or 10 per cent. tariff. She owes only £50,000, and I would ask any man whether Prince Edward Island is better out of Confederation or in? She is so strongly opposed to Confederation that she will go into no union at all. If we were in the same situation it would be better for us.

The hour for adjournment having arrived, the debate was adjourned, and the House adjourned to Monday at 8 o'clock.

MONDAY, Aug. 31.

The House met at 3 o'clock.  
Mr. WHITE introduced a bill to extend to Sydney Mines the jurisdiction of Commissioners of Streets.

A message was received from the Legislative Council that they had agreed to a bill to incorporate Gardener Coal Company; a bill to incorporate the Crown Coal, Brick, and Pottery Company.

Mr. NORTHUP introduced a bill to incorporate the Casco Bay Copper Company; also, a petition for a number of persons against the bill of the Corporation respecting Education in the city of Halifax.

Mr. SMITH, from the Committee to whom were referred petitions respecting railway damages, reported up a bill to appoint Commissioners to appraise damages by railway in the county of Annapolis.

Mr. KIDSTON presented the petition of C. R. McDonald, a School Inspector, in Victoria County.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table the report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the condition of our finances.

Also, the fourth annual report of the Board of Agriculture.

Mr. KIDSTON presented a petition numerously signed, relative to the establishment of a house of refuge in some part of Victoria County.

Mr. TOWNSEND introduced an Act to legalize the revisors lists of electors for the County of Yarmouth.

A message was received from the Legislative Council, stating that they had passed the following bills:

To incorporate the Stanwix Gold Co.

To incorporate the Royal Gold Co.

To incorporate the North St. Lawrence and Mt. Uniacke Co.

To incorporate the Hants Co. Temperance League.

To incorporate the Albion Lodge of Templars, Horton.

To incorporate the North American Mining Association.

To incorporate the Strawberry Hill Co.

The adjourned debate was then resumed.

#### CONCLUSION OF MR. CHAMBERS' SPEECH.

Mr. CHAMBERS then continued his speech as follows:—I was discussing on Friday evening last, when the House adjourned, the question, what the future had in store for Nova Scotia. Man, we all know, is susceptible to change, and certainly matters are taking a very peculiar turn in this province, the bigotry in favor of Britain and British institutions is fading away, while the prejudice against democratic or republican form of government is growing less. Our ship of state is water-logged, and refuses to mind the helm, and unless she be again manned with Nova Scotians must go to the bottom. As far as I can see the people are commencing to turn their eyes to the far west, where, instead of three millions under Confederation who will take nothing from us but our gold, we would have thirty three million customers, who will take our coals, in abundance, who want our grindstones, our plaster, our wood, our fish and potatoes, and our butter and eggs, if you like, and, in fact, everything we have to spare will there find a ready market and good prices, paying us in cash, in breadstuff, and manufactured goods, the latter, which on being received here duty free, would surprise the most penurious at their cheapness.

Already, is it declared, that if we accept Annexation in preference to Confederation, our country must soon grow up with great rapidity,—that Sydney must soon become a Boston.

Hon. SPEAKER—This session has been already protracted to a great length, and I must ask gentlemen to confine themselves to the subject before the House. The hon. member is not speaking to the resolutions.

Mr. KIDSTON—The hon. gentleman, I submit, is speaking to the point.

Hon. SPEAKER—I don't think so. I have a duty to perform and must discharge it.

Mr. BLANCHARD—I hope when I address the House again I will be permitted to follow hon. gentlemen when they have been allowed to wander so far from the question. It gives me a good deal of pleasure to hear these extreme sentiments propounded.

Mr. CHAMBERS—I was attempting to show the feelings of the people in consequence of the manner in which Confederation has been forced upon them. Perhaps it was wrong in me to have done so.

Hon. SPEAKER—It is the duty of the Speaker when a gentleman is speaking to a resolution, to confine him to the subject before him. If he introduces new matter, he should conclude his speech with a motion.

Dr. BROWN—I cannot see that Mr. Chambers is out of order; he is asserting what he believes will be for the benefit of the country; he thinks that Annexation is preferable to Confederation.

Mr. KIDSTON—I think the eighth clause authorizes the hon. member to speak his sentiments freely.

Mr. RYERSON—I am not aware that there is anything to prevent anybody making an Annexation speech. We have come here to discuss our position.

Hon. SPEAKER—You are, however, not in order and had better sit down.

Mr. CHAMBERS.—So far as I understand the business before us I am speaking strictly to the question. I was showing you that if Confederation were pressed on us what might be the result. I was going on to observe that our country would improve. Sydney, Cape Breton, would grow into a Boston, New Glasgow and Pictou a Philadelphia, and other towns accordingly; that Halifax would be a new New York, and instead of the sprinkling of shipping now about the wharves, the whole harbor would be studded with sail; and instead of the few dingy steamers plying about, we would have floating palaces moving in all directions, and large ocean steamers arriving from and departing for foreign ports every day. With the additional population capital would follow in abundance. Our mines would be developed, our streams, now running idly over the rocks into the sea, would be made to turn myriads of wheels, setting all kinds of machinery in motion. Our taxes would be light when compared with the resources we would have to meet them; and instead of having to keep up defences we would have nearly all North America for our friends.

However, notwithstanding this bright future, we are willing yet to sail under the old flag, and whatever may occur in the future the

Canada party not the people be the formation upon us tate a commvince. The nextation are now only a these resolu them, but country wh these resolu They wish country on now made never rest the object would take rail roads, had the rig and asse They can force com she should govern t now agre having be not under I should Hon. S ing me; Mr. Ch other da I will re of peopl as we. ites, and word co have ta night; k steal th determin der to themse They d king y Promis ject. I into bl drink a cred. frogs, ered h Not s land t they s next thund —nex in th thoug afflict ly inc term ple, I got s as th land had the "co Rep mar

Canada party and the British Government, and not the people, will be responsible; for it will be the former who have forced the Confederation upon us. It is a dangerous thing to irritate a community, much more a whole province. The men who are driving us into Annexation are responsible and not we. I have now only a few words to add with respect to these resolutions. I suppose we must adopt them, but I have seen some people in the country who tell me that they would prefer these resolutions if they were much stronger. They wish that Nova Scotia should have their country once more. The people's minds are now made up on this question. They will never rest satisfied until they have obtained the object in view. Many expected that we would take possession of our revenues, our rail roads, our post offices, and all that we had the right to control before Confederation, and assert our independence of Canada. They cannot believe that England will by force compel us to obey the Canadians; and if she should, they would like to know it and govern themselves accordingly. We shall now agree to use constitutional means, but not having been long engaged in politics, I may not understand how far we can go; however, I should like to please you, Mr. Speaker.

Hon. SPEAKER.—Don't think you are pleasing me; what satisfies the House satisfies me.

Mr. CHAMBERS.—We were referred back the other day to fifty years before we were born. I will refer you a few years further, to a race of people who were held in bondage the same as we. Such was the nationality of the Israelites, and their concert of action that the watchword could have been given, and they could have taken their departure under cover of night; but they were too spirited a people to steal themselves away, and consequently were determined to use constitutional means in order to obtain an unconditional surrender of themselves, their little ones and their substance. They determined that they would make the king yoke his horses and drive them to the Promised Land. Thus did they effect their object. In the first place, they turned the rivers into blood, so that when the king came to drink out of his vessel he found it all discoloured. Next, they filled the whole land with frogs, and when that did not succeed they covered his majesty and his courtiers with lice. Not satisfied with this, they sent flies into the land to devour them. As this did not succeed, they sent darkness throughout the land as the next constitutional move. Now they sent thunder, lightning and hail to destroy the crops—next, locusts to eat up the little that was left in the country. Having gone so far, they thought they would go a little further, and afflicted the Egyptians with boils. These nearly induced the king to let them go, but he determined to keep their cattle. This proud people, however, determined not to go until they got an "unconditional surrender," and so they, as their last move, sent Death throughout the land. Now, the latter "constitutional means" had the desired effect—of making the king let the people go. If we can only use some such "constitutional means," we must soon get Repeal. We must work shoulder to shoulder, man to man,—we must whip up our horses,

put our shoulders to the wheel, and then, if we do not succeed, we must look for assistance elsewhere. We must help ourselves before looking for help from others. If we but act with energy and spirit, and perform our duty solemnly and faithfully, then a Moses may rise up and carry us safely through the Red Sea, and a Joshua may take us over the River Jordan to the land of promise.

SPEECH OF MR. RYERSON.

—Mr. RYERSON followed and said:—In rising to make a few observations on the Minute of Council and resolutions laid on the table of this House by the Government, and having listened with much attention to the speeches made by Mr. Troop and Mr. Smith, two of the delegates, I feel there is not much left for me to say, as they have given a correct statement of their mission and the many rebuffs and difficulties they had to contend with in laying their papers and resolutions before the British Parliament, and feel pleased at the result after they were discussed. He thought that John Bright and the noble 85 men who voted in our behalf gives us great courage to persevere and prove a straightforward course of agitation, and for the members of this House to persevere, and with the support of the people of this Province we will be sure of Repeal of the Act of Confederation that applies to Nova Scotia. After a new election in England, I think the British Government will take a favorable view of the situation, seeing that our constitution has been taken away without our consent and handed over to another people; but should Repeal be still refused we then will have to take the matter in our own hands, and look in another direction for assistance. Mr. Speaker a good deal has been said about the financial affairs of this Province, and the hon. member for Inverness made some very wild statements on the floors of this House last winter. He stated that Canada paid about \$900,000 more than they received from Nova Scotia, and now he makes another statement reducing it down to \$300,000, and if the hon. member for Inverness make about two statements more I think he will come very near the mark. For him, and for his information I have a statement, made by Mr. Knight, of the Dominion office, which we take as being correct, and which is as follows:

Revenue and Expenditure from July 1, 1867, to June 30, 1868.

REVENUE.	
Customs,	\$1,070,138.02
Light Duty;	12,766.21
Excise,	18,955.21
Post Office,	41,468.00
Casual Revenue,	890.62
Marriage Licenses,	2,291.86
Bank Imposts,	891.48
Fines and Forfeitures,	1,525.12
Stamps,	4,766.48
Railways,	248,660.16
Quarantine,	281.03
Fisheries Licenses,	12,611.85
Penitentiary,	873.50
Marine Hospital,	123.92
Sick Mariner's Fund,	1,239.26

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Capa Race Light,	9.32
Sable Island,	490.57
Signal Station,	556.70
Distressed Seamen,	1,064.87
Saving's Bank,	16,000.00
Sales of Public Works,	368.50
Militia,	79.74
	<u>\$1,434,504.14</u>

Province of N. Scotia—To credit  
of Public debt of the Province,

116,204.06

Total, \$1,550,708.19

## EXPENDITURE.

Interest of Public Debt,	\$92,971.33
Charges of Management,	179.99
Redemption of Debt,	55,000.00
Civil Government,	20,945.84
Administration of Justice,	19,700.00
Penitentiary,	13,616.25
Legislation,	96.00
Militia,	105,065.08
Statistics,	6,014.30
Quarantine and Immigration,	6,111.49
Marine Hospital,	329.50
Pensions,	4,800.00
Public Works and Buildings—	
Lighthouse Construction,	22,645.29
St. Peter's Canal,	22,109.30
Ocean and Steam Service Subsidies,	1,900.00
Lighthouse & Coast Service: Main-	
tenance Humane Establishment,	
Fog Trumpet, Buoys & Beacons,	42,526.40
Steamer "Druid," (Repairs),	9,937.93
Do. Maintenance,	4,555.26
Schr. "Daring,"	4,911.90
Sable and Seal Islands,	6,591.89
Fisheries,	231.45
Savings' Bank,	18,390.00
Indian Fund,	107.25
Indians,	750.00
Printing—Miscellaneous,	138.95
Stamps,	237.75
Distressed Seamen,	1,396.48
Signal Station,	1,385.88
Railway Construction (Pictou),	193,000.00
Gratuities—to widows of deceased officials,	240.00
Customs—Salaries and Contingent expenses,	79,186.48
Customs—Returned Duties,	10,339.48
Excise,	4,175.01
Do. Returned Duties,	158.56
Post Office,	73,039.13
Railway Maintenance,	250,030.95
Subsidy Account,	333,581.00
Province of Nova Scotia—Charged to Debt of Province,	860,887.70
Total,	<u>\$2,265,233.84</u>

The amount of property charged against  
Nova Scotia accounted for in the debt of eight  
millions, as per agreement:—

St. Peter's Canal,	\$22,000.00
Provincial Notes Redeemed,	55,000.00
Purchase and Repairs Steamer Druid,	9,937.93
Running Expenses Do.	4,555.26
Cost Schr. Daring,	4,911.90
Cost Pictou Railway,	193,000.00

Windsor and Annapolis Railway,	391,390.75
St. Peter's Canal,	34,805.00
Arrearages paid,	434,691.94

Amount paid out Dominion Gov. \$1,150,292.78  
2,265,233.84

Amount received from N. Scotia, \$1,114,941.06  
1,550,708.19

Amount Dominion Government  
has received from Nova Scotia, \$435,767.13

Now, Mr. Speaker, the report has been widely circulated by the Confederate people that Canada has lost heavily by Confederation with Nova Scotia, to the amount of some \$600,000, and, I think we will be prepared to prove that we have payed into the Dominion of Canada \$435,767, and by referring to the statement above you can see for yourself.

In the first place, they charge us with redeeming \$55,000 of our Province paper, of which amount they have paid with their own Canadian notes, and have not yet returned the bills so taken up, cancelled or not, to the proper officer to receive them, and they may still be afloat in the country.

The next charge, \$9,937.98, cost of steamer Druid, and running expenses, \$4,555.26 for the same, also charged to Nova Scotia, with loss of the Daring, amounting to \$4,911.90.

Now, Nova Scotia is charged with the whole cost of the Dominion Navy, for, I believe, it is all they own at the present time, and we have about as much to do with it as the government of France or any other power.

The next charge is \$193,000, cost of Pictou Railway, which amount is included in the eight millions of our debt.

The next charge is \$22,000 for St. Peter's Canal, which is also included in the debt. We are then charged with Arrears proper, amounting to \$860,887.70 which amount is made up of the following items: Windsor and Annapolis Railway, \$391,390.75; St. Peter's Canal, \$34,805, and the balance called Arrears proper, \$434,691.94.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when we get the amount and the debits and credits in their places, I think I can clearly show to the member for Inverness, if my statement is correct, that Nova Scotia has paid into the Dominion government \$435,767. Now, when we have Repeal, and when you look this fair in the face, Canada has made a good bargain out of Nova Scotia, and we would like to have our own Province restored back to us.

The hon. member for Inverness goes on to tell us how much we have saved to Nova Scotia by the light money being taken off ships. He says it is a saving of \$30,000. In Canada they never had any light money on their ships, nor duty on ship's materials, and Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, how is this money saved? It has to be paid by the labouring class,—raising the duty on sugar, tea, coffee, and all the articles they require,—in order to relieve the wealthy ship-owners of this Province. That, gentlemen, is Canadian Legislation,—to oppress the multitude, and relieve the wealthy, and I hope my hon. friend from Inverness will make

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this statement plain to his constituents when he goes among them.

The hon. member gives us another statement of Canadian Legislation. He says that he granted \$10,000 to run a steamer from Halifax to Yarmouth; but I will now tell the hon. member for Inverness it was not granted, for if it had been I was one that was prepared to put the steamer, with others, on the route; but, gentlemen; this was Canadian kite-flying, to blind the eyes of Nova Scotians, and when they found there were people going to get the boat, they cut the line and let the kite fly, and the government went with it. That ends the steamboat grant as far as concerns Nova Scotia.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I now wish to say a few words about our trade with Canada at the present time. We have nothing that we can ship to Canada that will pay, and never will have, and to-day you cannot load a vessel of 50 tons with manufactured articles in this country and ship them to Canada; but in the United States we have a good market for all our products, even at a moderate rate of duty. And situated as we are, our trade is all with that great and prosperous nation that is within 300 miles of this Province. And Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I see by the papers that the two Governments are about making a new Reciprocity Treaty, and I believe it to be our interest, for this House to appoint a delegation to meet with the Government at Washington, and also to ask the Governments of P. E. Island and Newfoundland to join us in endeavouring to secure such a treaty as would be to the interest of the three provinces, and negotiate any other business which might be of advantage to us at the present time.

#### SPEECH OF DR. MURRAY.

DR. MURRAY spoke as follows: In rising to address the House at this late period of the debate, after so much has been said, and so well said, on the subject, I must confess that I feel a considerable degree of embarrassment, not so much perhaps on account of what ought to be stated, as on account of what ought not to be said. Still, I feel that I would not be doing justice to myself were I to give a silent vote on this important question of Confederation. I may say in going into this question that I do so with feelings somewhat different from what I entered upon it last winter. Then I entered upon it in being a subject of the British Empire. I felt proud that I belonged to a country, the greatest in the world; to an Empire whose colonies are scattered all over the globe; an Empire on which the sun never sets. But I felt prouder still in believing that I belonged to an Empire every subject of which, however humble, had certain rights and privileges guaranteed to him. One of these privileges, which I estimated above all others, was the sacred right of petition. I believed, and was always led to believe, that every subject belonging to a colony of Great Britain, had a right to petition, when he was suffering under a grievance, from the Colonial Legislature to the Imperial Parliament, and from that to the foot of the Throne. I believed that the humblest individual of the most distant colony in the Empire could petition

and receive as much consideration as the noblest Duke or Lord that walked the streets of London, Edinburgh, or Dublin. If he had wrongs or grievances requiring redress, all he had to do was to state their nature, and they would not only be investigated but redressed if they were found real. But I must say since I have seen the manner in which Nova Scotia has been treated by the Imperial Parliament—that Parliament which I always considered as the very fountain of honor and justice—my feelings have undergone a considerable change. What position are we in now? Here is Nova Scotia, one of England's noblest colonies, not merely one of the most loyal, but the most loyal—peopled by the race that inhabit the British Isles—Scotchmen, Irishmen, and Englishmen—and by loyalists from the old thirteen colonies. When the people of this colony had found that their constitution had been swept away, in a very high-handed manner, by a fraud and a surprise, they went to England and entreated that their grievances should be investigated. But our petitions and remonstrances were unheeded, and the people, through their delegates, were treated with the utmost contumely, and refused that investigation which could not have been refused to the veriest criminals. On this account my feelings have changed considerably from what they were last winter.

I am not going over all the arguments adduced by the hon. members for Inverness and Cumberland; but before referring to the great luminary, I must direct attention to a few remarks made by the latter (Mr. Fineo). That gentleman stated that there was no doubt that the feelings of the people of Nova Scotia had vastly changed of late. In reply, I say if he believes this to be the case,—if the Confederate party, if the Canadians, if the British Government entertain the same opinion,—if it is, as stated by the Duke of Buckingham, that the feelings of the people have changed,—if they are honest in their assertions, why not put the question before the country at the polls, and see what is the actual sentiment of the people on the question, and let the question of repeal or no repeal rest on the result, and the question will soon be settled. The hon. member went on to say that the question of the constitutionality of the Act had been decided by eminent lawyers in England, and that accordingly there ought to be no further agitation on the question. He asked which should we believe, the law of the Attorney General or the law of those eminent English counsel. In reply, I would say that the people of Nova Scotia are not bound to take either the law of the Atty. General or the law of the British counsel, provided that it is contrary to common sense and reason. Now, what are the facts? Let us look for a moment or two at the law of those English lawyers. The Delegates propounded to Sir Roundell Palmer and Mr. Vernon Harcourt the following query:—

"I. Has the Imperial Parliament the right to legislate away the constitution of a colony, granted by Royal Charter, and developed into a Responsible Government, as was the case in regard to Nova Scotia?"

To this the following answer was given:

"I. As a matter of law, properly so called, we are of opinion that there is no limit

authority of the Imperial Legislature over a Colony in the situation of Nova Scotia?"

If this be the case, I would like to know the position which we are in. I should say that as a matter of injustice—as a matter of tyranny—as a matter of properly, so called, despotism—the Imperial Parliament had the power to do so. These men had not the hardihood to say that it is a just law. Now, sir, who is Sir Roundell Palmer? If I have not been misinformed, this is the gentleman who was Attorney General when the Act of Union passed the Imperial Parliament, and was the cause of the preamble being added to that Act, which declared that the people of Nova Scotia wished to be confederated, and was committed to the Act. A gain: question three was to this effect:

"3. How is the validity of an Act of Parliament affected by the fact that the statement in its preamble, on which it professes principally to proceed, is based upon entire error?"

"ANSWER.—The recital in the preamble is very important, as evidence that the Imperial Legislature did not, in fact, intend or assume to exercise its extreme rights, but founded itself on the supposed consent of the Colony. This may afford a valid argument for the repeal of the Act, if the fact of the consent should be disproved; but such a recital not being essential to the foundation of the authority of the Legislature, which is supreme and independent, cannot affect the legal validity of the statute."

I appeal to the members around these benches and to the people of Nova Scotia, if it was the fact, that the consent of the people was given to the passing of the Act of Confederation. If the answer is in the negative, if consent was not given, as it assuredly was not, then it was according to the opinion of these English lawyers, an *extreme exercise of the rights of the Imperial Parliament, and affords a valid argument for the Repeal of the Act*. With these few remarks I shall leave the hon. member for Cumberland, and turn my attention to the hon. member for Inverness.

The hon. member went into a long array of figures to shew that Nova Scotia had been benefitted very largely by the Act of Confederation. Now I perfectly agree with the hon. member from Colchester (Mr. Morrison) when he said that it was a very easy matter to box figures in such a way as to make them show anything you please. And the hon. member from Inverness has illustrated the truth of this, if such was required. In the first place he gave us a financial statement made by Mr. Jones (member for Halifax); next a statement made by Mr. Lelan, of Colchester, largely differing from the first. Then he went on to give us a statement made by Mr. Tims, whom he highly lauded for his great ability as a financier; and this one also largely differed from the other two. Now one would have thought that he would have stopped here. Not satisfied, however, it would appear, even with Mr. Tims, whom he praised so highly as being not only a most respectable man, a man of the utmost reliance, and an accomplished financier, he went on to give us a calculation of his own, largely differing from the other three.

Mr. BLANCHARD—How much?

Dr. MURRAY—Very considerably. The hon. member went on to shew that Nova Scotia had already, in the very first year, benefitted by Confederation to the extent of \$700,000.

Mr. BLANCHARD—No, no.

Dr. MURRAY—But yes, yes. Now, sir, the hon. member has been too long a practitioner at the bar, not to know that it is quite possible for a witness, when he goes into Court to prove too much. And when he does so, to use a legal phrase, he is ruled out of Court. Now let us look at this matter for a little. The hon. member says Nova Scotia has benefitted by Confederation the first year some \$700,000. Mr. Tilley, in a financial statement made by him some time ago, says that New Brunswick has gained some \$300,000 or \$400,000. And even Canada, which had been running into debt previous to Confederation at the rate of from one to two millions of dollars every year, is also largely benefitted, and Canadians say, has at last a large surplus revenue. If these things be true, the Confederation must indeed be a perfect Elysium, so far as financial matters are concerned. If we only look, however, at the matter in a common sense point of view, its utter absurdity will be seen at a glance. And it will also be seen that the hon. gentleman proves too much, and should, as a consequence, be turned out of Court.

Let us look at this matter in another light. The year previous to Confederation the revenue received in Nova Scotia amounted to \$1,226,000. This sum was found quite sufficient to carry on the government of the country—pay the interest of the railway debt, and give to the road and bridge service of the country \$274,000. For the ten years preceding Confederation our revenue had increased very largely—actually trebled in that period of time. We have no reason to doubt that under ordinary circumstances the revenue of Nova Scotia would not have continued to increase at the same rate. This amount of revenue was raised by a tariff of 10 per cent. But how do we stand now? We have gone into Confederation, and our tariff has been raised 50 per cent, which if added to our revenue of the year preceding Confederation would give us an addition of \$650,000 more. Then we have a stamp act imposed upon us, and producing a revenue of considerable amount. And in addition to this we have a postage upon newspapers, &c., to add to our burthens. Now after all this additional taxation laid upon the people of Nova Scotia against their will and without their consent, the very first year of Confederation, we are only able to give \$100,000 to the road and bridge service of the country; and all the other services of the country are in an embarrassed condition. These are facts patent to all, and it requires no great mental acumen or skill in figures to understand them. These are facts that can be well understood by the farmers and mechanics of the Province, who really have to pay and bear the greater part of the burthen of this additional taxation, while they are following their ordinary avocations. Now, sir, I maintain, and cannot be successfully refuted by any person, that if we still had the control of our own revenues, the ordinary increase of our trade, judging from the increase of the ten years previous to Confederation, would give us

ample money for the country, provided we allowed an account of the railroad, pay the interest of the proportion of the without adding a tariff. The fact of the 50 per cent of the thing of the upon us, will the interest of build the Interfore, gets her thing. And tion is a cap that Canada motives of t

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The hon. member for Nova Scotia benefited \$700,000.

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another light. n the reve- nted to \$1, ite sufficient e country— t, and give e country eding Confed- very large- od of time. under ordi- f Nova Sco- crease at the ue was rais- how do we o Confederat- 50 per cent. the year pre- us an addi- have a stamp ng a revenue addition to spapers, &c., er all this ad- eople of Nova out their con- sideration, we the road and d all the other embarrassed to all, and en or skill in these are facts e farmers and really have to be the burthen of ey are follow- Now, sir, I ally replied by e control of ncrease of our of the tea would give us

ample money to meet all the requirements of the country, pay the interest of the money borrowed on account of the Halifax and Pictou railroad, pay the interest of the money required to build the Annapolis railroad, and our fair proportion of the Intercolonial. And all this without adding one single per cent. to our tariff. The fact is as we now stand, the addition of the 50 per cent. made to our tariff, to say nothing of the other modes of taxation imposed upon us, will be more than sufficient to pay the interest on the whole money required to build the Intercolonial railroad. Canada, therefore, gets her share of the road built for nothing. And yet we are told that Confederation is a capital thing for Nova Scotia, and that Canada only wishes to keep us in it, from motives of the purest love and philanthropy.

Now, the hon. gentleman made some reference to the Legislative Council, and dubbing men Hon. I thought his friends in that body might well exclaim "to save them from their friends." I thought he might well desire to let the remembrance of certain appointments made to that body drop into oblivion. It is well known that when the act of confederation went into operation, there were six gentlemen elevated to the Senate from the Legislative Council, and their places filled up by others. I have not a word to say with regard to the position or character of any of those gentlemen; but the manner in which they were appointed was an insult to the people of Nova Scotia. I believe that the act was illegal and unconstitutionally done. Their appointment bears date 28th June, 1867. Now the 28th June was a public holiday all over Nova Scotia, and on such days the public offices are all closed. It is not likely, therefore, that their appointment took place at that time. And besides the record of their appointment is only a printed slip pasted on the minutes of the Council Board instead of being written in with the pen; and signed by the Governor as was his usual custom; but the fact of their appointment was kept a profound secret until after the elections were held in September, and were not gazetted until the 23rd day of October, and then only by the sole authority of the late Governor, Sir F. Williams, on the eve of his departure from the Province. His then (Hill-Blanchard) executive council appear not to have been consulted in the matter, or if they were, shrank from the performance of such an unpopular act as the gazetting of these gentlemen, who evidently received their appointments for the very purpose of obstructing the popular will. It has always been a wonder to me that those men should have accepted their appointments, coming as they did not only in such an illegal and unconstitutional, but in such an extraordinary way. Where I appointed in such a way, not for one moment would I have accepted. Even the hon. member for Inverness himself has never attempted to defend the act, and indeed he stated in the former part of the session that he had nothing to do with it. Thus being the case, I think the time has come when the Legislative Council should be made elective.

It has been asked, how long is this question to be agitated. I would reply—suppose the hon. member for Inverness owned a large estate, and it was taken from him by a fraud,

and a surprise, and handed over to parties who had no right to receive it, would he not appeal from one tribunal to another. Would he not agitate whilst there was the least chance of getting it back? What would he say to any one who would come to him and state, "Are you going to keep up this agitation long? It is doing the present occupiers a very great deal of damage." My belief is that this agitation will and must be continued until Nova Scotia obtains her freedom.

I have already referred to the fact that the British Parliament has not considered the interests of Nova Scotia. And I will now prove it by a reference to some of the speeches delivered during the debate in the House of Lords. The Marquis of Normanby said: "The petition was one of so extraordinary a character, having been signed by nearly all the members of the Local Legislature of Nova Scotia, that if he had simply considered the interests of the Nova Scotians, he should not hesitate, however much he might regret such a decision, to vote for a repeal of the Union. But it was not the interests of Nova Scotia which their Lordships had now to consider." I think that was very strange language to use in reference to a petition coming from the Legislature of Nova Scotia, especially from a noble Lord who had been at one time Governor of the Province. Was not the interests of Nova Scotians? Then I should like to know whose interests they were considered. It must have been that of the Canadians. Lord Lyveden said: "Now while thinking that if our North American Colonies choose to separate from us, they should be allowed to do so amicably; he had no wish that they should throw themselves into the arms of the United States. He regretted that the noble Duke (Buckingham) had not uttered a word of consolation." Such is the treatment that the people of Nova Scotia have received from the House of Lords, for noble lords got up one after the other and gave expression to similar sentiments. In fact the Duke of Buckingham said that the grievances of the people of Nova Scotia had been completely removed. He made use of the following language: "He omitted to notice a fact which it is right should be brought under your notice. It is, that the grievances strongly dwelt upon in the petitions first presented to this House arose from the action of the first Canadian Parliament, and they have been entirely removed by the action of the succeeding Parliament." Now, sir, is this the fact or is it not? Have the grievances of Nova Scotia been removed? If so, in what way? It is true that the Dominion Parliament at its last session removed the duty they had imposed on corn meal and flour. But what followed—an additional tax was put on to petroleum oil, rice, tea, tobacco, &c., more than counterbalancing the duty taken off the other articles. Thus, I apprehend, will always be the case whenever complaints of a serious nature are made of any one article being too highly taxed, the duty will be lightened on it, and imposed upon another. The Duke of Buckingham has proved himself at least to be a very illogical reasoner. In his speech in the House of Lords he says, that all the grievances of the people of Nova Scotia have been removed, but in his despatch to Lord Monck he admits we have

grievances and trusts that the Dominion Parliament will redress them. It has been said by the hon. member for Inverness that the Canadians were sent here to conciliate us, and we would not tell them what we wanted. Here he contradicts the Duke of Buckingham when he said we had no grievances.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I said that the Attorney General had stated that they had come down to conciliate us. I did not say so myself.

Dr. MURRAY.—The hon. gentleman did say so, as I took the words down when he uttered them. But it is of no great consequence whether he said so or not, as I presume that the hon. gentleman will not now deny that such was the object of their mission here. "We would not tell them what we wanted." I should have thought that they might by this time of day know pretty well what we wanted. In what position, I would like to ask, would our Local Government have placed, not only themselves, but the people of Nova Scotia, in, had they gone in a supplicating way, and put themselves in communication with Sir John A. McDonald and his Canadian friends, and asked their assistance to redress our grievances? They would have been in a most humiliating position; and I rejoice that our executive had manliness enough not to do so. It was the duty of the Canadians, when they came down here—knowing that the people of this Province were excited as never before; requiring all the prudence and tact of their representatives to prevent an outbreak—knowing, as they did, that the British Government had laid on them the duty of conciliating us—to have brought forward some definite proposition, and laid them before the Government and people of Nova Scotia. But when brought into communication with a Committee of the Convention, which was lately held in this city, what did they do? They said they were not in a position to offer any definite terms of compromise or plan of conciliation; they were simply prepared to take into consideration some matters of a financial nature, provided some financier from Nova Scotia would go up to Ottawa to meet them there; but as to the constitution itself—of which we complain the most—they were not prepared to make any alteration; in fact they said they could not do so. So cautious, indeed, were they—in fact, so dishonest I believe—that they would not put anything in writing as requested, so as to shew the people what they were disposed to do. The financial aspect of the question is very important, no doubt, but I maintain there is something underlying and far overstepping that subject; there is a principle of liberty which is far superior to all other considerations. When the celebrated John Hampden resisted the 20 per cent. ship money, did he do so on account of the amount? No, by no means, for he was a wealthy man, but he resisted because the tax was levied, illegally, by the King. Even if they offered us terms, which we might look upon as favorable in a financial point of view, we would not be safe in accepting them; as under the constitution of the present Confederation Act, they might be withdrawn from us at any time. But permit me to say that no mere money considerations will satisfy the people of Nova Scotia. They have been insulted and robbed in the most

audacious manner of their constitution, and are now contending for freedom—contending, sir, for the very principles for which "Hampden fought and Russell died."

Now, sir, I intend offering a few observations on the speech of Mr. Adderley as delivered by him in the House of Commons. This speech is only remarkable for three things, viz., ignorance, stupidity, and impudence. Ignorant as to the state of affairs and grievances of Nova Scotia, stupid as to the means to be employed for the removal of those grievances, and impudent, inasmuch as he threatens to use the troops of Great Britain to compel us to remain in the Confederation. I would not waste the time of this House in referring to this speech at all, if it were not that I desire to read a few extracts from it, to let the people of Nova Scotia know, at least those of them who may not have had an opportunity of seeing the speech itself, the treatment they have received at the hands of the Colonial minister, I fear much that if Mr. Adderley is long permitted to hold the position he now does, the Colonial Empire of Great Britain in North America will soon fall to pieces. When Mr. Bright asked for a commission to inquire into the grievances of Nova Scotia, Mr. Adderley said: "That proposition in itself was so startling and dangerous that nothing but the strongest reasons should induce the House to assent to it." Now, sir, I would ask you, I would ask the people of Nova Scotia, if there be anything very "startling and dangerous" in the people asking for an investigation of their grievances. Admit, for the sake of argument, that the people have now no grievances; that they are altogether mistaken,—how is this to be known without an investigation? And if she has none now, yet she may have at some future time. And are we to be told that it will be "startling and dangerous" to ask the Imperial Parliament to investigate our wrongs? Again he (Adderley) said: "That at the general election in Nova Scotia in 1863, the proposition with regard to the Union of the Provinces was not a part of the election cry. But the fact that it was not made part of the election cry showed that no party in the Province was opposed to such Union." All parties were agreed on the subject, and therefore it would have been ridiculous to raise on the hustings a cry for a measure, on which they were all unanimous. Therefore the remarks of the hon. gentleman founded on the election of 1863 were altogether refuted." Now, sir, who ever heard such doctrine, such arrant nonsense, as that preached before. Suppose some hon. gentleman was to move in Parliament to have a law passed to legalize forgery. And when it was opposed, a similar reply was given, viz., that the people were all in favor of it, as it was not made a party cry at the election. Would not the mover be booted out of the house. Further on he says: "The delegates met at Charlottetown, and any one who read an account of the banquet and ball that were given on the occasion, must see that there was no foundation whatever for the assertion that Canada came there unwelcome." No one ever said that the Canadians were not welcomed by the delegates at Charlottetown. What we said was, that they were not

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asked to come there. He says that all the Legislatures of the Provinces passed the Act of Confederation unanimously. Here again he is astray, for in the Legislature of Nova Scotia there was a considerable minority who opposed its passage.

Again, he says, "When Mr. Howe passed the great Reform Bill of Nova Scotia, reducing the constituencies by one third of the whole number, he did not think it necessary to appeal to the people." Now, the cases are by no means parallel. If the "Reform Bill of Nova Scotia," as he calls it, did not prove acceptable to the people, the very next session of the Legislature might repeal it. Not so with the Confederation Act. Again, he says, "The first step taken by the Government of the Confederation had been to sweep away all differences of tariffs, raising the rate of customs duties from 10 to 15 per cent; by which, of course, Nova Scotia considered herself hardly hit, and was proportionably irritated. But after that first step, every single measure that had been taken consulted the interests of Nova Scotia." I wonder if taxing our newspapers, passing a stamp act, &c., was consulting the interests of Nova Scotia? "He (Adderley) implored the House by their decision to show that they were determined not to insult the Colonists by bringing up the question on a commission of enquiry." Granting a commission of enquiry could not be an insult to Nova Scotia, as she asked for it; therefore it must be the Canadians who would be insulted, the very parties who dragged us into Confederation, all going to show that where the interests of Canada and Nova Scotia come in contact, those of the latter must give way to the former. Now, sir, I shall give you one other extract from Mr. Adderley, and then I have done with him. He said, "It was now incumbent on the Government to see that the measure passed by the authority of the Imperial Parliament was fairly carried out, and to bring our military force to support it, if that should prove necessary." Now, I am aware that Mr. Adderley subsequently came forward, and denied over his own signature, that he made use of such language at all, or was ever in favor of coercion; but on making enquiry of the Delegates, I learn that he was distinctly heard to make the assertion. His denial, therefore, goes to prove two things; first, that he is unworthy of all confidence; and secondly, it shows that the feeling in Great Britain was so strong against coercion, that he was forced to come out and deny that he either used the words or intended to use coercion for a moment or two. Do Mr. Adderley and his Canadian friends expect to make butchers of British soldiers—the soldiers of liberty—the friends of freedom? Do the Canadians and their friends here expect British soldiers to protect them, should continued coercion bring upon them the just indignation of an injured and outraged people? Do they suppose that men of honor, as British soldiers are, would violate their obligations to their country and their God, and imbrue their hands in the blood of their kind and condescending brothers of Nova Scotia, to gratify the Canadians and their tools here? Surely British soldiers, the champions of British liberty, are unfit to perform such work as this. Surely the men whom our gracious Queen has

sent here to protect us from foreign aggression will not desire to abridge our privileges. Their rights are ours—their history our history. We acknowledge one common origin—our fathers worshipped in the same temple. Do they believe that there is a single British soldier who would disgrace his name, and the regiment he belongs to, by increasing the widows and orphans of Nova Scotia, for such a cause? I believe, sir, that if one drop of blood was shed on the soil of Nova Scotia, for the purpose of keeping us in this Confederation, it would create such an excitement—such a furor on the continent of America, that the whole power of Britain could not withstand it. The battle, sir, is not always to the strong—it is to the active, the vigilant, and the brave. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, who defends the weak and oppressed, and who will, I believe, if necessity requires it, raise up friends to fight our battles for us.

Now I wish, before closing, to state plainly and succinctly some of the reasons why I, as a Nova Scotian, object to this Confederation, and why the people should strive for its repeal. First of all, this Confederation was forced upon us by Canada for Canadian purposes—on account of the difficulties in carrying out the government, and on account of her public debt, which her revenues alone were inadequate to meet. It is well known that the Queen of Canada, previous to Confederation, was much below par; but now she can sell her ventures above par. The Maritime Provinces enable her to meet all her liabilities. I oppose Confederation because the whole act is so framed as to give preponderance to Canadian powers and interests. I oppose it, because the Queen's name has been used, only to give binding force to her act; but all real power is vested in the Dominion Parliament and Government. I oppose it, because we have only 19 members in the House of Commons against 147 Canadians, and 12 against 48 in the Senate. Any person can, on a moment's reflection, perceive that no country placed in such a position can be said to be free. I oppose it, because the Nova Scotia Senators are appointed by the Governor-General without nomination or recommendation by Nova Scotia Government or Legislature; and therefore do not and will not properly represent the interests of the people of this Province. I oppose it, because the Lieut. Governors are not appointed by the Queen, as formerly, but by the Governor-General, whose dependents they must always be. I oppose it, because of the difference between Canadian and Nova Scotian interests, as to their commerce, fisheries, manufactures, &c. The Dominion Parliament, where Canada is so predominant, will direct all such matters with a view to Canadian interests, and to the prejudice of those of Nova Scotia. I oppose it, because all officers of Revenue, Post Office, Light Houses, all Judges of Courts in Nova Scotia, and all other Dominion officers are appointed by Dominion Government without nomination or approval by Nova Scotia Government. I oppose it, because the local laws of this Legislature must be revised by the Dominion Government; and local taxation deemed necessary by ourselves may be denied us, to favor Dominion taxation. I oppose it, because the Do-

minion Parliament has taken control of our Banking system. The Dominion notes are made a legal tender for payments the same as gold and silver, but the notes of the Provincial Banks have not that advantage, and therefore the Dominion notes will lessen the circulation, and probably eventually altogether supersede and destroy the paper currency of the Provincial Banks. This will be one more of the injuries to Nova Scotia from Confederation. The Dominion notes should not have been made a legal tender. Even the notes of the Bank of England, the best paper currency in the world, are not in many cases, if at all, a legal tender in place of the standard coins. I oppose it, because the Confederation act provides for a Court of Appeal at Ottawa, which is another mode of benefitting the rich man, who alone could make use of such a tribunal. The foregoing reasons, and many others, show that Nova Scotia's interests and freedom would always be as they are now, subject to the will and power of Canada. No alteration in the terms of the act would secure the rights, liberties and interests of Nova Scotia, while the representation in the Dominion Parliament remains as it is. Repeal, therefore, is the only mode for the relief and freedom of Nova Scotia. But I oppose Confederation for another reason, and that in my opinion is the most cogent of all. And it is this: I believe most firmly that the *real* meaning of Confederation is *Annexation*. And I should like the people of Nova Scotia to ponder over, and consider it well. I do not think the people of Nova Scotia have any desire, if they are not driven to it, to separate from Britain.

Now, sir, in the House of Lords it was openly stated that Confederation was looked upon there as a step towards independence and separation from Britain. Lord Stratheden said: "That Confederation was gone into as an extrication of Canada from the difficulties which beset it, and as a preparatory step to the future independence of a great part of the North American possessions." Further on in his speech he says, "They (Nova Scotians) could not, therefore, without much time, and some negotiation, be transformed into an acquiescent and harmonious portion of a system framed, it was admitted, in some degree at least, with a view to a separation from the Empire." This appears to be pretty plain speaking, and was not contradicted by any member of the House of Lords. If the British Parliament are really desirous of getting rid of the colonies, better far to say so at once, and permit us to elect for ourselves, and not force us into a hated union with Canada, who could not, if we were declared free to-morrow, defend either themselves or us, if attacked, by the only power (the United States) who could attack us, for one forty-eight hours. Already has this Act of Confederation created a feeling most inimical to the interests of Great Britain in this Province. If it be true what the Confederates say themselves, any person can see how we stand, I will take them at their word. They say that the anti-Confederate party are disloyal and Annexationists; then if that be true, nineteen-twentieths of the people of Nova Scotia are annexationists. Now, who ever heard of a disloyal man being in Nova Scotia previous to Confederation. It is re-

ported that Mr. Sanfield MacDonald, when recently in this city, stated that if the people of Nova Scotia were anxious for annexation they should unanimously agree to Confederation, for he believed that Confederation, sooner or later, led them into connection with the United States.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I would like to hear the authority for such a statement.

Dr. MURRAY.—I give it as a common report, and one which I have every reason to believe is correct. Now, we should clearly understand the position in which we are placed. Here is an attempt made to build up an independent power by coercing Nova Scotia into it, and keeping her there against her will. It has been said that Great Britain wishes to get rid of these colonies on account of the expense they entail upon her. If that were so, then we could not prevent annexation. But I must confess, Mr. Speaker, I am not yet prepared to give up my loyalty, even after all that has been done. I was born and would wish to die under the British flag. But then no attempt must be made to coerce us into a Confederation that we detest. We must have our liberty, our freedom, our rights restored to us, and that very speedily, or else the loyalty of every man, worthy the name of Nova Scotian, will be a thing of the past. Indifference to the rights and feelings of the colonists, and the attempt made to carry out coercive measures were the very means which, when used in Canada, led Lower Canada to rebel and caused a great deal of bloodshed there. Allow me to read a short extract from a speech delivered by Lord Brougham at that time when coercive measures were proposed. Lord Brougham said: "they set all consideration of sound policy, of generosity, and of justice at defiance; are wholly subversive of the fundamental principle of the British constitution, that no part of the taxes levied on the people shall be applied to any purpose whatever without the consent of the Representatives in Parliament." I maintain that this is the very position in which we are placed. Can tax us as much as she pleases, for we have no guarantee for our liberty, being in a helpless minority in both Senate and Commons. Lord Brougham went on to say:

"Those proceedings, so closely resembling the fatal measures that separated the United States from Great Britain, have their origin in principles, and derive their support from reasonings, which form a prodigious contrast to the whole grounds, and the only defence of the policy during latter years, and so justly and so wisely sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament in administering the affairs of the Mother country. Nor is it easy to imagine that the inhabitants of either the American or European branches of the Empire should contemplate so strange a contract, without drawing inferences therefrom discreditable to the character of the Legislature, and injuries to the future safety of the state, when they mark with what different measures we meet to six hundred thousand inhabitants of a remote Province, unrepresented in Parliament, and to six millions of our fellow citizens nearer home, and making themselves heard by their representatives. The reflection will assuredly arise in Canada, and may possibly find its way

into Ireland, to the most worthy, and the so policy, may be demands of the personal intercal fears, and while all men have found course towards vince, which suffer to be p siderable bor impression w dangerous to minion, that trust the po preme auth selves.

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into Ireland, that the sacred rules of justice, the most worthy feelings of national generosity, and the soundest principles of enlightened policy, may be appealed to in vain, if the demands of the suitor be not also supported by personal interests, and party views, and political fears, among those whose aid he seeks; while all men perceiving that many persons have found themselves at liberty to hold a course towards an important but remote Province, *which their constituents never would suffer to be pursued towards the most considerable borough of the United Kingdom*, an impression will inevitably be propagated most dangerous to the maintenance of colonial dominion, that the people can never safely entrust the powers of Government to any supreme authority not residing among themselves."

That is the opinion of one of the greatest Constitutional lawyers that ever spoke in the British Parliament. The people of Nova Scotia are placed just in the position which he described, and the same measures are being carried out towards us, as he denounced, by the Parliament of Great Britain. I do not say by the people of Great Britain, because I believe that when the brave Englishman, the sturdy Highlander, and the kind hearted Irishman, come to understand our position, they will rise in their majesty, and, on hearing the refutation of the Duke of Buckingham's despatch, will give us our liberty. If they do not, they will be maintaining the same course which lost them the thirteen finest Colonies that the sun ever shone upon. Although, as I have said, I was born, and would wish to die under the British flag, I feel that there is a limit to forbearance and a time when loyalty ceases to be a virtue, and that, if these measures are carried out, the loyal feelings of Nova Scotians will be completely alienated from the Government of Great Britain. It may be asked, What is the duty of the hour? It is to stand firm and determined, shoulder to shoulder, demanding our rights in a constitutional way, until we find constitutional means fail, and then it will be time enough to ask, "What then?" We have only been one year agitating yet, and what great measure has ever been carried in so short a time? Look at the Reform Bill, at Catholic Emancipation, at the Abolition of Slavery. All these required a great many years of strong and earnest agitation. The result in every case has been that the right prevailed and knowing, as I do, that the people of Nova Scotia are right, I trust they will persevere, and in due time they will obtain their liberty, get back the Constitution so fraudulently taken away from them, and be once more a prosperous, happy, and contented people.

## SPEECH OF DR. BROWN.

DR. BROWN said—This great question has been so long and so ably discussed, not only in this House, but throughout the country—it has been so often turned over and viewed on every side and aspect, that I do not expect to add anything new or interesting in itself, or that would give additional weight to what has been already said. Still as it is a subject of the very highest importance, involving the future destiny, I may say, the very existence

of this people and country, I feel called upon to say a few words on one or two points connected with the resolutions before the House. I am opposed to this Union with Canada on several grounds, but I will confine my remarks chiefly to two. First—I consider it is injurious to our interests, and to prove this assertion, I do not deem it necessary to go largely into calculations, or to produce a long array of figures, to show how much Canada gains or how much we lose. The fact that Nova Scotia pays 15 per cent. duties in place of 10 per cent., while our available revenue is less; the fact, that the General Government is, as has been amply proved, and is conceded by all a most extravagant and corrupt establishment; the fact, that we are about to be compelled into a partnership in building extensive fortifications in Canada, in purchasing the Northwestern Territory, in which we can have no interest. The fact, that we are to be compelled to support a considerable army and navy to sustain this ill-fated Dominion—all these things go to prove that Nova Scotia is a loser; while the very fact that Canada is anxious to retain us, and continue the Union, at all hazards, is the best proof that she is the gainer.

But another and the principal ground of my opposition is, that it is injurious to our honor, and offensive to us as freemen. This connection has been fastened upon us contrary to our will, and against our consent, and in this we are made an exception to the rules applied to all the other colonies of British America. The privilege of legislating on our future constitution, our laws, and our rights, has been forcibly taken from us. Like rats in a trap the lid has been shut down upon us with the purpose of confining us forever. But, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe this agitation will end here. Small as our country is, there can be no doubt, if her spirited and intelligent sons continue to act as they have commenced, they will achieve their freedom. It is true that nations and tribes of inferior grades, and low in the scale of civilization, have been enslaved, and have worn their fetters in silence; but those who have been born free, and have tasted the delights of civil liberty, will never submit to the yoke. I would be ashamed of my countrymen if they were to give up this great cause as hopeless. Shall we be content to lie down in the ditch and say there is no help? No, sir, we will continue to agitate until we regain our right and recover our lost position. Nor do I think there is any ground for discouragement. Twice have we approached the British Throne and Parliament with our petitions—petitions that will be memorable in the future history of Nova Scotia—and twice have we been sent empty away. But the circumstances attending the refusal have been widely different. While in the first instance only half a dozen members could be found to pay the least attention to our application,—in the second no less than eighty-six out of a house of two hundred and seventy, or nearly one-third, were found voting in our favor; and a large number of able speeches supported the vote. Of these by far the ablest is Mr. Bright, who seems to understand our case quite as well as ourselves. Now I think, sir, this is rather the reverse of discouraging, and when Mr. Bright arises into

power, as it is highly probable he shortly will, we have every thing to hope.

It is also encouraging when we consider the close similarity of our case to that of our western neighbors about a hundred years ago. Like us, they were taxed against their will like us they resisted, and carried their complaints in vain across the water; and like them we are bound to succeed. It is often asked what next? How are you going to proceed? Now I have no hesitation in answering, I don't know what next;—no man can exactly determine what will or ought to follow in the chain of future events. Like a skilful general, who conducts his campaign according to the ground, the obstacles, and the enemy he may meet—so we shall adopt our measures to the events and incidents of the future. And if we determinedly adhere to this our faith, and fight out the good fight manfully, allowing no dissension to disturb our ranks, there is no doubt we shall, in the end, win the race and gain the victory.

The debate was adjourned. The House adjourned.

TUESDAY, 1st Sept., 1868.

The House met at half-past two o'clock. The adjourned debate was resumed.

MR. NORTHUP'S SPEECH.

Mr. NORTHUP addressed the House as follows: Although this subject has been already fully discussed, and feeling that I cannot say anything new upon it, yet, as one of the representatives of the County of Halifax, in these trying times I think I should not give a silent vote. As has been well said this question overshadows all others. We have been driven into Confederation by corruption and force, and if kept there it must be by the same influences. I was in the House of Commons when Mr. Bright made that elaborate and manly speech in behalf of the rights of the people of this country, a speech founded on facts which are incontrovertible. I wish that every member of this House, and every man in Nova Scotia, had also been present to have heard that able vindication of our cause, and that they had also heard that lame and impotent reply of Mr. Adderley, based entirely on false premises, but which nevertheless induced the House of Commons to deny us what we asked. I now purpose to read a few extracts from that speech to show some of the misrepresentations with which it is replete. Mr. Adderley says:

"The allegations were simply that Nova Scotia had been drawn into this union by surprise, and that the House was induced to sanction the act of last session by a fraud practised upon them. Those allegations he entirely denied."

Now I ask if that be true? Is it not a fact that we were drawn into this Confederation by surprise? I think you will agree with me that every point of importance in Mr. Adderley's speech is based on equally false premises. He goes on to say:

"The hon. member had stated that Canada came in unexpectedly. On the contrary, Canada was invited to join in the conference, and the rejoicing which took place showed that Canada was not unwelcome."

Is that true? Was Canada asked to join the conference at Charlottetown? Did not she come unasked? Next he says:

"The election of 1863 disposed of the question of appeal. An appeal was made in 1863, and a cry on that subject was raised on the hustings."

It is well known that this question was never mooted or thought of.

Again he says:

"The hon. member had talked of the ancient constitution of Nova Scotia, and had intimated that they might subside back to the ancient constitution. Now, what was that ancient constitution? It rested simply on a commission given to the governor to call an assembly together. There was no charter, and that was the constitution which it was said they might fall back upon from the constitution which they now enjoyed—a constitution as free as that enjoyed in this country (hear, hear.) The hon. member for Birmingham having failed to show that the legislature of Nova Scotia was against the union had at least this ground to go upon, that the recent elections, since the union, had resulted in a triumphant majority against the union. Now, what were the arguments used in the election addresses? They were divided into two heads—opposition to the government for their past misdeeds, and fears of possible injury which might accrue to Nova Scotia—fears which were quite visionary."

We want to go back to the constitution, swept from us by Confederation, which is similar to that of England, unwritten, and which could be altered to suit the exigencies of the situation. Every means, I am persuaded, will be used by the people of this country to get that constitution restored to them. It is well known that Confederation was the great and all-absorbing question at the elections. Again he says:

"We had recognised self-government of the most ample kind in that colony."

If so why did they not listen to the appeal of the people—to our petitions signed by upwards of 31,000 people. Again he says:

"If we were to send out a commission of inquiry we should take upon ourselves the responsibility of the general government of North America; we should be assuming the burden of their maintenance and of garrisoning the colonies with our troops (hear, hear.)"

Here is an intimation of what this Confederation was expected to assume. We have not heard so much about the "new nation" of late, because a little reflection has shown the utter absurdity of the idea of that "Skeleton of a Nation" as the late Mr. McGee aptly styled it. Again he says:

"As far as Nova Scotia was concerned, so far from its having no influence, it appeared to have dominant influence, and to rule the policy of the Dominion parliament. Every single act that had been passed was in favour of Nova Scotia. Take the first act of the parliament—which he admitted, however, was a necessary one—to sweep away all the different tariffs which were mutually destructive, and to pass an average tariff, which had the effect of raising the customs dues of Nova Scotia from 10

to 15 per cent forward by N and a force p that their int larger inter tective policy free trade what had be the Dominio duties on flo The duties o had drawn t dian trade ( one after au that, far f power in th power. So Canada ove va Scotia th liament had taxation, so va Scotia a benefiting Canada wit 'dominant' cised by th bers were kind of bo fifteen per trade polic there is no creased to was forme not be ex pment in fortificatio removal session t been pr be reim efforts to Ottawa Province early par divisions was dese whom t in the pe from be duty on per lb., merly \$ about \$ to \$2.5 terest c duty on Thus y we an out, a to im to Can will s article very u entire was fo all qu now r cents sible that h small mane

to 15 per cent. The fears of the federation put forward by Nova Scotia were undue taxation and a force put upon their local government; that their interests would be oppressed by the larger interests of Canada; and that the protective policy of Canada would override the free trade policy of Nova Scotia. But see what had been done. One of the first acts of the Dominion parliament was to take off the duties on flour, grain, and meal of all kinds. The duties on sugar were also reduced, which had drawn to Nova Scotia a portion of the Indian trade (hear, hear). He might go through one after another of these instances to show that, far from Nova Scotia having a slight power in the new parliament, it had really all power. So far from the protective system of Canada overriding the free trade system of Nova Scotia the reverse was the case; for the parliament had reduced the amount of indirect taxation, and were raising revenue from direct taxation, so that the union of Canada with Nova Scotia and the Maritime Provinces were benefiting this country by inflicting protective duties on the principal of free trade." The "dominant influence" is certainly not that exercised by the people of this country. Our members were utterly powerless at Ottawa. Strange kind of boon, raising our duties from ten to fifteen per cent. If this is Mr. Adderley's free trade policy we want none of it. But, sir, there is no doubt the duties must be further increased to twenty or twenty-five per cent. as was formerly the case with Canada. She can not be expected to exist upon less than she has spent in past years, more particularly if the fortifications spoken of are to be built. The removal of the duty on breadstuffs was a concession to New Brunswick, where they had been previously "duty free." It will be remembered that the most strenuous efforts to remove this duty were made at Ottawa by the representatives of that Province, supported by our members, in the early part of the session, when, on repeated divisions, Mr. Tilley, the Minister of Customs was deserted by all his followers, save one, for whom a snug retirement has since been found in the post office. The duty on sugar, so far from being reduced, is largely increased; the duty on refined sugar was formerly two cents per lb., now it is three; on Muscovadoes, formerly \$1.50 per 100 lbs.; it now varies from about \$1.60, on low refining grades, to \$2.25 on \$2.50 on grocery qualities,—while in the interest of the wealthy refiners of Montreal the duty on Melado has been reduced considerably. Thus you will see the finer qualities, which we are accustomed to use, will be shunted out, and our merchants will be compelled to import the lower grades, and send to Canada to sell to the refiners, and they will supply our market with the refined article. On molasses the change will operate very unequally, excluding the better qualities entirely from consumption. While our duty was formerly fixed at five cents per gallon on all qualities, the duty by the Canadian tariff is now made to range from six and half to ten cents per gallon. Again he says: "Was it possible the hon. gentleman could tell the House that he gravely considered it possible for a small colony like Nova Scotia to remain permanently disunited from its neighbors. It was

clear one of three things must happen—either it must rest upon this House for its support and defence—and here he must remind the House that there were at the present moment 12,000 regular troops in the colonies supported out of the funds of the British tax-payer—or else they must, as the hon. gentleman said, annex themselves to the United States; or the third and only remaining mode was what they were now doing, to consolidate their power by Union among themselves."

Here we have another intimation of support and defence. Great Britain can keep her troops as cheaply here, within ten days sail of home, as in any other part of her Dominion; but, sir, we remember that during the late revolution in the neighboring Republic, Great Britain sent eminent engineers to report upon the feasibility of defending Canada, and that subsequently a debate came off in the House of Commons, and I believe it was generally conceded that the gentleman who took the ground that Canada could not be successfully defended against the United States (which had then a million of men under arms) had the best of the argument. I cannot but think this "new nation," by which the British Government perhaps desire to be in a position that they may or may not be compelled to defend it against such a neighbor; and now, sir, I would ask, is it advisable that the Dominion, now taxed so heavily, should further overload themselves with debt, to build fortifications, under these circumstances, which may be useless when completed? Several gentlemen have spoken strongly on the despatches relative to precedence and disallowance of bills, and I quite concur with them. We have now in this Province a Governor whom we all most highly respect, and is deservedly popular, and who has managed to please all parties, an unprecedented event, and who has always evinced a most ardent desire to promote the best interests of this country, but who is now completely shorn of most of the functions he formerly possessed. His successor must be styled "His Honor," and will, I fear, be a very different kind of person. If not out of order, I would ask the Government to lay upon the table of this House a copy of his commission, that we may see what his powers are. We are told that the Canadians came here to make overtures to us—to make such concessions as would reconcile us. Have they evinced any desire to deal justly with us? Now, the first act the Dominion Government did, when they learned that we had sent home a Delegation, was to despatch Dr. Tupper to England to oppose them,—the man most universally detested in this country—the very prime mover of the scheme. Was that a step calculated to conciliate us? The Delegates knew very well the influences they had to contend against in England. One gentleman, who spoke in the House of Commons in our favor, was almost word for word what Dr. Tupper said to him, and there is perhaps little doubt, that wherever a Member of Parliament was known to be favorable to us, Dr. Tupper got access to him, if possible, and endeavored to prejudice him against us. The Canadians were instructed to come here by the Colonial Secretary, to endeavor to get us to accept the situa-

tion. Suppose we did, could we afterwards go to the British Government and ask for redress? No; we would be entirely in their hands for all time to come. The people of this Province own between four and five hundred thousand tons of shipping, carrying freight to all parts of the world, and are now protected by British Consuls, who see that their interests are cared for. These Consuls represent a nation whose influence is all potent; but let this "new nation" be set up, and its Consuls would not bring respect to their office but would be mere men of straw.

Something has been said in this debate about the Reciprocity Treaty. I think Dr. Murray proved last winter that it was mainly owing to the action of Canada that it was abrogated. The hon. member for Inverness has never successfully combated the argument.

MR. BLANCHARD.—I showed its fallacy six months ago.

MR. NORTHUP.—Perhaps so. I never heard of it. I contend, that so far as the Maritime Provinces are concerned, we would have had reciprocity ere now had we been free of Canadian influence. I have in my hand a correspondence which I think is very conclusive on this point, and ask permission to read it.

I now read from a letter of Sir F. Bruce to Lord Monck:

W. SHINGTON, 5th June, 1866.

MY LORD,—

I have had a conversation with Mr. Morrill, Chairman of the committee on Ways and Means, at Mr. Seward's request, with a view of such a reduction of duty on fish, or its total abolition, as would enable the fishermen of the North American provinces to frequent with their cargoes the ports of the United States. I found Mr. Morrill disposed to be contented with a ten per cent. duty, which he considers necessary to compensate for the heavy taxes imposed on articles used by the United States fishermen. He was also willing to accept the fifty cents duty on American fishing vessels per ton. But he stated that the fifty cents license should gain admission to the fishing grounds of all the provinces, and that it would be too heavy a burden were each province to impose a similar tonnage duty as a condition for fishing within its waters. Indeed he seemed hopeless of carrying a reduced duty through Congress unless this arrangement could be made. I should like to know from your Lordship whether such an arrangement would be agreed to by the provinces generally. The Tariff Bill comes on, I believe, this week. I have, &c.,

(Signed)

FREDERICK BRUCE.

Now what is the answer to this comparatively liberal offer made by the government of the United States? Lord Monck, under date of Ottawa, 19th June, 1866, by the advice of his Executive Council, approves and transmits the report to Sir F. Bruce, from which the following is an extract:

"The Minister of Finance recommends that His Excellency Sir Frederick Bruce be informed that Canada would not be prepared to enter into any engagement with the United States, relative to the rights of American fishermen to fish in Canadian waters, if such

an arrangement were only connected with the question of duties to be levied by the United States upon Provincial caught fish. That Canada will be prepared to consider the propriety of making concessions of the right of fishing in her own waters, in connection with the whole subject of the commercial relations between the two countries, but she could not consent to come under any stipulations with regard to the fisheries, apart from an agreement upon the other points covered by the late Reciprocity Treaty."

You see by this that the Americans were willing to allow our fish to enter at a duty of 10 per cent., but they were not desirous of having anything to do with Canada. Canada, however, had full control of us, and would not agree to such an arrangement which would shut out her products. The argument of the Americans seemed fair enough—that the American fishermen had to pay a duty on salt and other articles used by them, and therefore it was necessary to impose a small duty to put that class on a fair footing. Otherwise, they contended, the trade would not be reciprocal. What a boon would it have been had we had this trade ere this? We all know the distress that was prevalent among our fishermen during the past winter. There have been many parties to whom we were obliged to send provisions to keep them alive; who, had their fish not been taxed in the States, would with the difference of price have been enabled to have got bread for their families, and thereby avoided the humiliation their manhood suffered, and had the American government been met in a proper spirit, we should likely very soon have had a renewal of the treaty, embracing almost every article desired.

Nova Scotia at this moment, as we all know, is in a most unsatisfactory position. The circulation of money is not perhaps more than a third of what it was three years ago, and this, I think, is in a great measure owing to Confederation, because persons who have means are not disposed to embark in any adventure, feeling distrustful of the future. In viewing the resources of other countries during my recent visit to Europe, I thought a great deal about Nova Scotia, and was led to believe that she will compare favorably with any other country, when we take into account her mines and minerals, her fisheries, and her marine. The amount of money brought into the country as the earnings of her ships is very large, and in addition to the resources which I have named, we have agricultural products, lumber and plaister. If Nova Scotia were then in a position to manage her resources no country could have better chances of prosperity. If we look at Belgium, already successfully competing with England in some of her manufactures, we see what may be accomplished by a nation governing itself, and managing its resources to the best advantage. An old gentleman accompanied me in a part of my journey, who had been residing for fifty years in the United States, and who went to visit Germany, his native country. He said that he found there that in the small states which were obliged to contribute to the large ones, the people were so poor that he was heart-tickened and he was glad to return. Although the crops were good, the taxation was so oppressive that the farm-

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ers had to hand them all over to meet their debts. I fear that something like this will be the result of Confederation. During my tour, I passed through twelve counties of Ireland, and of course took every opportunity of getting information. Not a man did I speak to who did not feel that an injury had been done to his country by England. "A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind," and I could not help feeling a sympathy with that people. I went into some of their huts and stood on their earthen floors, and asked why the people were in that condition? The answer was invariably the same, that the union was the cause of all the evil. I also went into the Parliament house in Dublin, and there I saw the money changers,—and my mind reverted back to the time when a Canadian Bank had money changers in this building. I hope we will never see the time when this Parliament house will be converted to such a use. Mr. Bright, in referring to the injustice of England to Ireland, says, "We ask forgiveness of Ireland, and promise justice on the part of England." But I fear that we shall never have justice done to us from Canada, her necessities are so great that she would hardly be in a position to do so. The Duke of Wellington once said that Ireland had broken up more administrations than all other public matters put together, and I think it will be found that Nova Scotia will break up more Dominion governments than any other question. I may say in conclusion, that I hope we will yet regain our resources, and become, as there is every reason to expect, one of the most wealthy and independent countries on the face of the earth.

## REPLY OF MR. BLANCHARD.

MR. BLANCHARD then rose and said: I am once more called upon to address this House under circumstances which I hope will never occur again, when I shall be obliged to speak on any question of importance. I am called upon to meet an array of some sixteen gentlemen who have occupied the past fortnight with their speeches. I have sat here as patiently as any man could and listened to sixteen gentlemen coming up, one after the other, and launching their eloquence at me. One consolation, however, is that I am in very good company—with the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Adderley, Lord Carnarvon, and Dr. Tupper. I do not mean to say that there was anything personal or offensive in their remarks. Having got the fine-edge off in the winter session, and having come here in the balmy summer, gentlemen feel more disposed to spare a man who, they see, is not after all as bad as he was represented. These sixteen gentlemen have gone into a great variety of subjects, we have had Shakespeare, and even the Bible quoted. All the despatches for years past have been brought forward; we have had the wrongs of Ireland detailed to us; we have been taken to the Red Sea and the River Jordan; we have heard of Moses and Joshua, of Dives and Lazarus; we have been among the Israelites and the Egyptians. I have been only surprised, when the gentlemen brought up so many quotations from the Bible, and referred to so many Scripture characters, that they should have forgotten one—I mean Balaam's ass—who only spoke once. Now these gentle-

men, not satisfied with referring to such authorities, have even condescended to quote me, and in doing so have given me cause for complaint. I read from the speeches of the Attorney General in the authorized report of the debates of this House, bearing the signature of the official reporter. Yet I have been told that I uttered these sentiments as my own. I have been told that the resolution was never introduced into the House as I have quoted it; yet I took it from the best authority that I could find. When I stated that the Attorney General said that the true exponent of the will of the people was the Legislature, I was told by the hon. member for Colchester that that opinion was heterodox. If it be so, let these gentlemen talk to their own leader, and not to me. I only quoted his statement. I am prepared now as then to defend the Attorney General on this point. I say that under the British Constitution such an idea, as going to the polls to enquire what the wishes of the people may be, is entirely unheard of. I proved last winter to a demonstration—that it was unconstitutional and unprecedented for a government, able to carry on the business of the country, having a majority on every subject to appeal to the people on any great question.

I am told that this is a case needing no precedent, that it is of too monstrous a character to require any. The hon. member for Colchester declared that if I were to utter such a doctrine in the face of the people, I would be carried home feet foremost. Even if I were uttering heterodox opinions, let him not slander the people. The hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Chambers) yesterday expressed annexation sentiments most boldly, yet am I to tell him, as his colleague stated, that the people of his county would do him personal injury, if he should presume to repeat his declaration in their presence? No; the peace loving people of Colchester would listen to him patiently, even though, as I am sure they would, abhor his sentiments.

I have been told that when I agreed to the doctrine of Legislative Union, I was advocating what was most obnoxious. Now I shall not be content with the remarks of the hon. Atty. General in 1854; I shall give what he said last winter:—

"The Provinces have now four governments instead of three. If they were really united they would be stronger, inasmuch as the whole is stronger than the parts, they would *have one head, one legislature, one revenue, one set of laws, one tariff.*"

HON. ATTY. GEN.—That was always my doctrine,

MR. BLANCHARD.—I am glad to hear the hon. Attorney General say so. I am not ashamed to say that I agree with him. Now, I ask the members around this House whether the present system of Union is not less obnoxious to them than a Legislative Union, which would wipe out the Legislature altogether? Then we would have only one general legislature for all the Provinces, one tariff, one set of laws, one government. Now the complaint is that all our rights and privileges have been taken away from us—that this Legislature has been shorn of its powers. How would it be under the system the Attorney General advo-

cases? Now we have many important duties to discharge—we have the full contr. of the laws relative to civil rights. We can pass any law to-morrow with regard to the civil rights of the people, by which the courts of this country will be bound. Let me not be told that Legislative Union would not deprive us of such privileges. No one pretends to say that the present system is a union perfect and complete, but I hope in the course of time, if I live to a good old age, to see the Legislative Union of which the Attorney General so highly approves.

In 1854 the hon. gentleman told us that a Legislature composed of fifty-five men was most contemptible, and I do not know but he was right. When we can sweep away all the local legislatures, and have all our affairs managed by one legislature and government, we will have made great progress. At present we have but “the skeleton of the nation,”—a phrase of which the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Northup) evidently did not understand the full force. The United States, when they started on their career, was but a “skeleton of a nation.” If we can put sinews and muscles and flesh on the skeleton, we shall become a great nation.

The hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Troop) took occasion to say that I had laboured, and struggled through a four hours' speech, and congratulated me on having successfully passed through the throes. It was unfortunate that the hon. member should have made that remark in the commencement of his speech. With 35 gentlemen opposed to me, it might be expected that I should occupy a little longer time than others. At all events, I must give my congratulations to the hon. member for Annapolis that he managed to get rid of the incubus which was weighing him down, *in half an hour longer than myself*. He should learn to practice what he preaches, and not imitate himself that which he so severely reprobated in me. Had my speech been such a failure as he declared, there would have been no necessity for him to have struggled and worried, and plodded through a four-and-a-half hours' speech, containing the most dreary platitudes that I was ever compelled to listen to—then to be followed by some sixteen others, many of them occupying nearly as much time as himself. I will give you a quotation from Shakespeare, which I think most accurately describes the speeches delivered in reply to mine:

“They spoke an infinite deal of nothing. Their reasons are two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff: you seek all day ere you find them, and when you have them they're not worth the search.”

Now I will endeavour to discourse whether or not there was any wheat among the abundance of chaff in that speech which it took four hours and a half to deliver. I had said, in the opening of the session, when a very puny puny resolution was introduced that it was not worth my while “kicking against the pricks”—in other words, bringing down upon myself the wrath of the House by debating such a resolution. I asked for the Report of the Delegates—for the opinion of the English Counsel, and as respects the last. I was told that it was none of my business—in fact, it was not admitted that there was such an opinion,

and I was charged with believing general rumour in connection with which the Attorney General gave me and the house a very stale and flat joke. Subsequently, however, the Report of the Delegates, and even the opinion mentioned, were laid before us, not because the Attorney General wished to do so, but because I presume his colleagues dare not refuse it. Now I am told that I should not kick against such an array of documents. It is urged in the organs of the government that I have been taking up the time of the House unnecessarily, but I have only taken four hours to sixty or more hours occupied by gentlemen on these resolutions. Certainly there must have been something more than “platitudes” in what I said, since gentlemen consumed so much time in answering me.

The hon. member for Pictou took especial notice of my hon. friend from Cumberland (Mr. Pineo) and I think that the latter's speech, when placed alongside those of others, will have its proper effect for its clear and logical arguments, and for its manly and sensible utterances. It is easy for the hon. member for Annapolis to swim with the tide, to sail before the wind, and to float on, cheered by his excited followers, but it is another thing to be placed in the situation in which I am, to stem the torrent of misrepresentations with which it is attempted to crush me, and to have the pluck to do battle against such odds. It has even been hinted because I had stated that it was hard to kick against the pricks, therefore I had accepted the situation, and would no longer resist this Repeal movement. Sir, I would be a miserable poltroon if I had, under these circumstances allowed these resolutions to pass *sub silentio*—however well such a course might have suited the tactics of some. The hon. member for Annapolis indulged in a good deal of strong language, which it is hardly worth while noticing. He said that “a man was a coward and a traitor who deserted his country in the hour of her direct necessity.” I am not aware that I have deserted my country—neither have my constituents done so. If there are any persons who would desert their country, they are those, like the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Chambers) who would take “the lane with the westward turning.” Not to support and defend a measure fraught with innumerable advantages to Nova Scotia, such as Union is, would be cowardice in me, and I trust I shall never be amenable to such a charge in respect to that question; but to pursue that measure as the hon. gentleman has done, is indeed not only deserting but obstructing the best interests of Nova Scotia. Now the hon. member has been across the ocean, on a most important mission, and should have been satisfied with the rapidity of his promotion. He spoke with an amount of excitement that seemed rather to spring from impulse than from a desire to wound any one's feelings. He said that England had treated us with “stupid indifference” and “bungling neglect.” Ought such language to be used? Why, he himself told us a few moments after that the delegates were received everywhere with the most marked attention; that their case was most kindly entertained; and yet he has used such language as I have quoted. The hon. member says that he may

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let the law point go; yet it was considered of great value last winter. Upon that point—the illegality and unconstitutionality of the Act of Union—it was last winter contended the whole question hinged—let that point go—as the hon. member says he is content to: and where is he? Not a leg to stand on. He said that I belonged to a profession which is accustomed sometimes “to make the worst appear the better reason.” Why that remark comes home equally to himself (the Attorney General) and the hon. member for Queen’s. Now what is this law point?

We were told last winter by the Attorney General that we were not, had not been, and never would be, confederated. He argued that we were not confederated because the law had never been constitutionally based, and was not therefore binding upon us. I must here complain that the report of the delegates, containing the opinion of learned English Counsel, was not laid on the table before I commenced to speak; for the hon. member for Queen’s actually quoted from it, while I had never had an opportunity of seeing it. I am not aware that the report was ever put before the Convention recently held in this city. (Atty. General. It was not.) Mr. B. continued: Why was it not submitted? How was that Convention to form its opinions? Now we learn, however, that the law of the Attorney General was incorrect; even the great constitutional lawyer, the hon. member for Colchester, (Mr. Morrison) is at fault—he who could teach the Duke of Buckingham in half an hour more constitutional law than ever he knew. How dare Sir Roundell Palmer or Mr. Vernon Harcourt contradict the great constitutional luminary, the hon. member for Colchester! If they had dared to assert such opinions before the hon. member, who would answer for the consequences:

Mr. MORRISON—I would knock them down.

Mr. BLANCHARD—Probably the hon. gentleman would with one of those magnificent shouts of his. (Laughter.) We are told that Sir Roundell Palmer was the late Attorney General, and assisted in passing the Confederation act through Parliament. So he was, but who selected him to give an opinion on the case of Nova Scotia? Why, the Delegates themselves; they engaged the services of what they assert was the best Counsel, and paid them handsomely too; for I know from my own experience such men will not give an opinion under 100 guineas.

Mr. RYERSON.—It’s not worth it.

Hon. SPEAKER.—Allow me to say that I hope the House will listen patiently to the hon. member, and not interrupt him, as he has a long task before him.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN.—I am not aware, sir, that such an intimation is necessary.

Hon. SPEAKER.—The hon. member must excuse me if I do not take his opinion. It is my duty to preserve the honor and decorum of this House, and when I fail then it is for the House to intimate that I am not equal to the discharge of my duties.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN.—Whilst I know my duty as a member of the House, I shall express my opinions freely. I may not know all the rules, but—

The SPEAKER.—Then you should learn them.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN.—I will not allow you to interfere with my rights, and I take the liberty of saying that you have frequently interfered with the debates of this House in a manner that you should not have done.

Hon. SPEAKER.—I must call you to order at once.

Mr. RYERSON.—I will have something to say about this.

Hon. SPEAKER.—Order, sir. Mr. Blanchard I must ask you to have the galleries cleared, that we may settle this matter.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I think it would be as well would the House exactly understand its duties in debate. The rule is—“When any member intends to speak, he must rise uncovered, and address himself to the Speaker, and no member, whilst speaking, will be interrupted by the Speaker, or any other member, unless on a question of order.”

Mr. BLANCHARD resumed: Perhaps this law point is of no consequence; yet it required this Legislature to pass resolutions on the subject. It was of sufficient consequence to require that a delegation be sent across the water, to obtain the opinions of Counsel on the subject, and by whom we are told that there “is no limit to the authority of the Imperial Legislature over this Colony.” We were told that this was a monstrous doctrine, which would not be entertained for a single moment. Do not gentlemen see that we are as a son in a father’s house, bound to obey his behests? England defends us, and whilst she makes us practically free, yet at the same time she reserves for herself certain rights over us. The hon. Attorney General even brought up a case last winter, which he declared to be actually in point, but he has been proved nevertheless entirely wrong. How long is it since the British House of Commons passed Acts relative to this country? Does not the British Merchants’ Shipping Act apply to us to a large extent? Only a few years ago the British Parliament passed an act taxing our shipping for a lighthouse at Cape Race, but who ever said that that act was unconstitutional? Where are we now? You have given up the law point, and have therefore come down to the naked facts respecting the benefits to be derived from Confederation. The hon. member says that the people of England have never had their attention called to this matter fairly, until he and the other delegates visited the mother country. What a compliment to Mr. Howe, Mr. Annand, and Mr. Hugh McDonald! Yet Mr. Howe deluged England with pamphlets—the press was filled with articles on the question,—still nothing was done until the hon. member went across the water!

In the course of my remarks, I warned the House, having made one mistake, not to be drawn into another. I spoke moderately, and yet I am visited with such a denunciation from the hon. member as this: “Is this hon. gentleman the custodian of this House—the custodian of our rights and liberties? Does he mean to dictate to the members around these benches?” Surely nothing that I said called for such an ungenerous and unfair reply; mine was only the language of caution. I never dictated to the House; I simply warned it.

Then we are told about "court dresses and burnt stumps." I wish that Nova Scotia would show as many burnt stumps as Canada. I have seen the stumps standing in the streets of Canadian cities where, a few short years before, the forest waved. I wish that our own country would show as many evidences of rapid progress as I have seen in Canada. Then comes the reference to court dresses. I presume the hon. member visited the court—

Hon. Mr. TROOP.—I am happy to say I did not.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—It was a piece of marvellous neglect on the part of Her Majesty's ministers that they should not have so honored a gentleman like the hon. member, clothed with the authority of the Legislature. This is but another instance of the stupid indifference of which he complained so severely. Why did he not have an opportunity of wearing the court dress of which he speaks so mournfully? The hon. member referred to the powerful aid I had behind me, but I am not aware of any, except the justness of my cause. The hon. gentleman is himself a member of the government, and therefore acquainted with all its secrets; he has been across the Atlantic, and no doubt, like the hon. member for Halifax, stood on the mud floors of the "poor Irish." He referred to the wrongs of Ireland; and certainly I think it is a great pity that the hon. member does not represent some Irish constituency, so that he might depict the grievances of that country in his elegant strain. No doubt, were it so, they would be redressed immediately. The British Parliament and people would then be favored with speeches—unlike the one to which I now refer—containing something more than *chaff*. He says that had it not been for the sale on College Green, we would not hear of such grievances as the Irish Church question. Is he so ignorant that he don't know that the Establishment existed long before the time referred to; the sale on College Green had nothing more to do with the establishment of the English Church in Ireland than it had with an established church in the moon. (Laughter.) Next we are told, if the people were not law-respecting, something terrible would have happened ere this. "If the sky were to fall we would catch larks." Sometimes there is such a thing as telling a people not to do something in such a manner as to induce them to do the very reverse. This reminds me of an anecdote of an Admiral who was about leaving this port some years ago. The sails were all loosened, the anchor was ready to be heaved, the flag was hoisted, and all the men were on board; but, to the surprise of all, the Admiral suddenly ordered the sails to be clewed up; the men were all ordered aft, and the Admiral referred to the fact that a sailor had been killed a few days previously in one of the upper streets, and added: "Now I am going to let 700 of you ashore; I don't wish you to kick up a row; don't pull down the house where your comrade was killed; at all events you must all be on board by four o'clock, for we sail in the morning." The result was, that not a stick of the building was left standing. So the hon. member speaks a good deal like the Admiral. Be quiet, boys, don't do any harm. We had then a little annexation sentiment from the

hon. member for Annapolis—not boldly like the statements of the member for Colchester—but nevertheless it was easy to see what he meant when he said, "Our eyes will be turned in another direction unless we get redress." In what direction? Is it "Eyes front," "Eyes left," No, "Eyes right," that is the direction to which the hon. member would turn the attention of this battalion. Look to the "lane with the westward turning;" that is what he means. He told us that Sir John A. Macdonald came here with commissions in his pocket. I am entirely ignorant of what the hon. member speaks about. Did Sir John A. Macdonald come to the hon. member and offer him a judgeship, if he would accept "the situation?" That must have been the case, or else he would not speak so confidently.

Now, some remarks fell from one or two hon. members respecting what I said about Judge Johnston. I have as much respect as any one in this House for the Judiciary of this country, and would be the last to bring odium upon them. All I did, however, was to quote a gentleman who, before he was Judge in Equity, spoke in this House on the question of Union. And am I to be told that I cannot quote from the debates of this House because one of its members happens to be elevated to the Bench? Why, we had pages quoted from the late Lord Brougham yesterday. But while the hon. member rebuked me for quoting from a speech made by one of our judges when a politician, he took especial pains to refer to Judge Wilnot. Why, we hear it stated that a gentleman, who stands foremost for his reputation as a judge, a man of integrity and strong Christian principles, had been bought with a Governorship. Because, as a constituent of the Dominion, and not as a judge, he had expressed himself in favor of Union, therefore he had been given the Governorship of New Brunswick. Sir, if my conduct was reprehensible, how much more so is that of the hon. member himself?—if my language was censurable, how much more so is his on that point?

The hon. member for Annapolis, and others, thought it very proper to have a fling at the Legislative Council. I think such remarks are not always in good taste, and it would be well if they were avoided. What has the Legislative Council done? How does the hon. member know that the Council might not adopt these resolutions if submitted to it? It is quite time enough, when they have obstructed the Governor, to refer to it in the terms used by hon. members. Is the Council to be a mere echo of the House, and endorse all its actions? It is necessary, under the British Constitution, that there should be an upper branch, to operate as a check upon the popular body. How are you going to get rid of that body, in case you wish it? By an Act of this House, or by an Act of the British House of Commons. Otherwise you cannot abolish it.

We had next a very lengthy disquisition on Geology from the hon. member, but it was so obscure that I could not understand it at all. Then he gave us a dissertation on the rebellion in Canada; when Papineau and the Canadians were rebelling, Nova Scotia, said he, was upholding the flag and power of England. I will show him, sir, what will be doubtless sufficient authority to him and his friends, that the Cana-

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dian militia did good service in those days,— that in fact it was they who preserved this country to the British Crown. Some four or five years ago Hon. Joseph Howe addressed letters to this same Mr. Adderley; it was at the time of the "Trent" difficulty, when there was a prospect of a war between the United States and England. Mr. Howe then wrote:

"I have promised to prove to you that upon all trying occasions the North American Provinces have not shrunk from the perils or the costs of war. When the old Colonies revolted, every effort was made to induce the Northern Provinces to declare their independence. The few persons who were disaffected were insufficiently active. A slight demonstration was made upon the common of Halifax, and the standard of rebellion was raised by a few thoughtless young men in the County of Cumberland, but these disturbances were promptly put down, and the Maritime Provinces remained firm to their allegiance.

"In 1775 the British Government had but one weak battalion in Canada, numbering not much more than 500 men. The Republicans, under General Montgomery, invaded Canada in the direction of Montreal, preceded by proclamations offering the most tempting inducements to shake the loyalty of the inhabitants. The Canadian militia rallied to the support of the Royal authorities on every point of the frontier. At Fort St. John, Chambly, Sorel, they did duty with the regulars, and might have successfully defended this part of the Province had not Sir Guy Carleton's strategy been seriously at fault. Of the 1600 bayonets that confronted Arnold and Montgomery's forces, 1400 at least must have been wielded by the strong arms of the Canadian militia. Four simultaneous attacks were made by the combined Republican armies, gallantly led and directed by Arnold and Montgomery. At every point the enemy was foiled and driven back by these sixteen hundred men, four-fifths of them being those raw Canadian militia, whom it seems to be the fashion in this country, just now, to depreciate and undervalue. This time, at all events, the Province was saved by the steady valor of the Canadians, as it was impossible for the British Government to send any efficient succour till the spring. A few regiments were raised in the Maritime Provinces. Their militia was organized, and some drafts from the interior were brought in to defend Halifax, whence the expeditions against the French Island and State of Maine were fitted out. Canada alone was invaded in force."

"General Smith describes the behaviour of the Canadian militia in the few but weighty words that become a sagacious military chieftain pronouncing a judgment on the facts of history. In 1812 the Republicans attacked Canada with two corps, amounting in the whole to 13,300 men. The British troops in the Province were but 4,500, of which 3,000 were in garrison at Quebec and Montreal. But 1,500 could be spared for the defence of Upper Canada. From the capture of Michilimackinac, the first blow of the campaign, down to its close, the Canadian militia took their share in every military operation. French and English vied with each other in loyalty, steadiness, and discipline. Of the force that captured Detroit, defended by 2,500 men, but a few hundreds

were regular troops. Brock had but 1,200 to oppose 6,300 on the Niagara frontier. Half his force was Canadian militia, yet he confronted the enemy, and, in the gallant action in which he lost his life, left an imperishable record of the steady discipline with which the Canadians can defend their country. The invading army of Yeomen sent to attack Montreal were as stoutly opposed by a single brigade of British troops aided by the militia. In the only action that took place the Canadians alone were engaged. The enemy was beaten back and went into winter quarters.

"In 1813, Canada was menaced by three separate corps. The Niagara district was for a time overrun, and York, the capital of the Upper Province, was taken and burnt. The handful of British troops that could be spared from England's European wars, were inadequate to its defence, but in the struggle of the campaign, disastrous or triumphant, the Canadian militia had its share. A French knight with equal gallantry in the Lower Province. At Chateaugay, Colonel DeSalleberry showed what could be done with those poor undisciplined Colonists, who, it is now the fashion to tell us, can only be made good for anything by withdrawing them from their farms and turning them into regular soldiers. The American General had a force of 7,000 infantry, 10 field officers, and 250 cavalry. DeSalleberry disputed their passage into the country he loved, with 1,000 bayonets, beat them back, and has left behind a record of more value in this argument, than a dozen pamphlets or ill-natured speeches in Parliament. Of this action, General Smith says: 'The affair upon the Chateaugay river is remarkable, as having been fought on the British side, almost entirely by Canadians. The Republicans were repulsed by a very inferior number of Canadian militia and of troops raised in Canada, thus affording a practical proof of the good dispositions of the Canadians, and the possibility, to say nothing of the policy, of improving the Canadian militia so as to be fully equal in discipline and instruction to any American troops that may be brought against them at any future opportunity.'

"But why need I multiply illustrations. It is apparent that but for the steady discipline and gallant conduct of the Canadian militia, who are now held so cheap, the small British force which the mother country, fighting Napoleon on the continent, could safely spare, would have been overpowered, and that Canada would have been lost before Waterloo was won, as it would have been before the arrival of the British troops in 1775, but for the gallant defence of Quebec.

"I have shown you that her (Canada) untrained militia has twice saved the Province, and I have shewn you that on the very latest occasion when Great Britain appealed to their patriotism, every man responded to the call."

These quotations, I think, will sufficiently refute the slanders so oft retailed about the want of Canadian loyalty. Doesn't Mr. Howe prove beyond all question that but for Canadian loyalty Canada would have been lost to England, and Nova Scotia would be left surrounded on all sides by hostile people.

No Nova Scotian was ever disloyal we are told. Why, sir, the map is not very long in

his grave, who was brought in chains into Halifax for his complicity in raising the flag of rebellion in Nova Scotia. When I hear references made to Canadian rebels I will tell gentlemen to remember that there was once an Attorney General of Nova Scotia who had been charged with the crime of rebellion. Does not Mr. Howe write as he might write to-day? Here we find him standing up and arguing the claims of the Canadian militia to consideration; urging that the people of Canada were always true to England, and never shirked in any way the defence of their country. Yet we are now told that Nova Scotia alone upheld the British flag. We look it will be recollected, the power to send the militia at that time to Canada, but we did not do so.

Several references have been made to General "Rumour" in the course of this debate. It will be remembered how indignantly the Attorney General referred to Rumour in the previous part of the Session. I will adopt his doctrine for the present and say that I am bound to believe that Rumour, when uncorroborated and without authority, is incorrect. We are told now that Sir John A. MacDonald and other gentlemen came here from Canada to conciliate us, and yet at the same time they were going to sell a portion of our railway to a foreign company. I believe that statement to be entirely unounded. I have some idea of what the gentleman means; it is in connection with the Windsor and Annapolis Railway, a matter that was before the government of the country of which I was a member, and before the Dominion officers knew anything about it.

It will be remembered that on the second day I addressed the House, the Lieutenant Governor of P. E. Island did us the honour of visiting the House. It is asserted that I then took an opportunity of insulting Prince Edward Island. Is it at all likely? I never wished to do so. I never dreamed of talking about coercion; I simply told the people that the idea of Reciprocity with a single colony was absurd—that it would only be had in conjunction with all the Provinces, with the consent and approval of the British Government. And yet my language is so perverted, when being quoted, that I am made to express a threat. Sir, I ask is this fair? Is it manly? I had almost said is it decent? Surely there must have been more than "platitudes" in my speech when members, in order to have a fling at me overlook and run away from my arguments, and put words in my mouth which I never used. They do not even stop there but they even pitch into me, and attribute as mine, language which I quoted from the Atty. General's speech of 1854. This is the way in which I have been met. We were next told that our militia men were about being entrapped by the bait of the Canadians. "I tell you so, I the member for Annapolis." This is, of course, absurd, as the people will see at once. No attempt has been made to deceive or gull them into supporting Confederation—the hon. member is, as usual, haunted by the images he is constantly conjuring up in his very fertile but diseased imagination. At this very moment one of the sons of a member of this House, a Colonel of Militia, is calling out his regiment to drill, and doing his best to secure volunteers.

Next I was told that I was entirely wrong about the \$10,000 grant. The hon. member brought up here a letter from some Dominion officers declining an offer—but it was an offer, I found, for mail communication between Halifax and St. John. That has nothing to do with the question of steam communication from Halifax to Yarmouth. If I am not much mistaken, at this moment, negotiations are going on for purchasing a suitable steamer and putting her on the line.

Then we had the despatch concerning the veto paraded here—it was an insult to this House and country. I must complain that such a paper should have been furnished just in time to give the hon. member material for his speech, whilst I had not even access to papers that I had asked for. I wanted this same despatch to-day and could not get it when I asked for it. Now what is that celebrated despatch? These gentlemen only quote a few words of it. All that is said, is, that when an act is unconstitutional in itself the authorities of the Dominion will claim the right of vetoing it. When it interferes with the rights of the Dominion, then it will not be allowed to become law. Why the British Government have always possessed and exercised the same power. We passed, not long since, through this Legislature a bill to appoint Commissioners in the United States to take testimony in connection with cases before our Courts; but the British Government disallowed it because it was considered contrary to British constitutional usage. Now the necessity for exercising strict supervision over the acts passed by the Legislature is greater than ever. We have now legislatures in each of the provinces, and a general government, all having different powers, and it will be necessary to see that these powers do not conflict. We have at present a bill before the House which, I believe, we have no right to pass. The General Government reserve to themselves the power of managing the criminal procedure, whilst, on the other hand, the civil procedure will be left in the hands of the local parliament. Now the Attorney General, a few days ago, introduced a bill providing for relieving the Chief Crown officer of the criminal business in Halifax—a very necessary measure; but I believe it is out of the sphere of this Legislature. I think if the hon. Attorney General will look at the act defining the respective powers of the Local and General Parliaments, he will see it is as I have stated.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—It is a little obscure, but I think the hon. member will find he is wrong.

MR. BLANCHARD.—It may be so, but at all events I call attention to this bill to show that cases may occur requiring careful consideration. The hon. member for Annapolis said that the Dominion may veto acts referring to our coal mines, but surely he knows all the mines are under the control of the local government. Such statements are at the merest rhodomontade. Then we are told, "we have taught the Dominion Government a humiliating lesson." Yes, that we, the Nova Scotia delegates, backed by the great Government of Nova Scotia, have brought the Canadians on their knees to concede us. If that be true then the Canadians are at our mercy instead of

our being at their mercy. It proves that we are not oppressed when we are not oppressed by the Canadians such as we are.

I shall now move the resolution (Smith) and I think that that hon. member is in the House in a good infinite credit to his strong hon. member cannot only respond was under around these possible been the do and his friend first to repute member in manner in This House through the cers. He these gent instructions and did no verment of proceed General to but he had lution of knew of the else did, u own Rep their insti interview w say, "W in the lin Repeal of They a that their repeal, and therefore admit the keep wi Then w delegate grant an vinces. duty or taken of A great duties. dollar p has bee ters. T reduce tration ten to t individ they h the la afford into t donald the ho things propos Canada as wo such

our being at theirs. If that be true then it proves that we are not in danger of being oppressed when our local government can teach Canadians such a "humiliating lesson."

I shall now turn to some of the remarks made by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Smith) and I do so with the acknowledgment that that hon. gentleman always addresses this House in a gentlemanly style which does him infinite credit. His language may have been at times somewhat warm, yet we may attribute it to his strong feelings on the question. The hon. member laid down one doctrine that I cannot consent to—that the delegates were only responsible to the government. Now I was under the impression that gentlemen around these benches were only willing to be responsible to the people at the polls; that has been the doctrine all along inculcated by him and his friends, and yet we find him among the first to repudiate it entirely. Surely the hon. member is responsible to this House for the manner in which he has discharged his duties. This House appointed the delegation—that is, through the government, its recognized officers. He complained that I had stated that these gentlemen had departed from their instructions when they agreed to a Commission, and did not ask for Repeal. He said the Government knew and approved of their course of proceeding. Not content was the Attorney General to send them home to press Repeal, but he had them specially instructed by resolution of this House. If the Government knew of the action of the delegates nobody else did, until the protest was published. Their own Report shows that they departed from their instructions, for referring to their first interview with the Duke of Buckingham, they say, "We kept, at this interview, strictly within the limits of our instructions, asking for a Repeal of the Union."

They acknowledged at that interview that their instructions obliged them to ask for repeal, and nothing but repeal. My argument, therefore, is corroborated, for they, themselves, admit that only at the first interview did they keep within the limits of their instructions. Then we are told that not until the repeal delegates left for England, did the Canadians grant any concessions to the maritime provinces. The hon. member is mistaken. The duty on canvass and cordage certainly was taken off before any delegation was thought of. A great deal has been said about the stamp duties. Gentlemen must not forget for every dollar paid into the treasury for stamps, there has been a corresponding reduction on the letters. The postage on every letter reduced from five to three cents, and the registration fee of every money letter reduced from ten to two cents. I will undertake to say that individuals have saved more in this way than they have paid for stamps, excepting of course the large monetary institutions which can afford to pay. Then we got a little insight into the secret history of Sir John A. Macdonald's mission to this city—especially from the hon. member for Queen's. Among other things he said that Sir John A. Macdonald proposed that they should send a delegation to Canada to make such financial arrangements as would relieve our burthens. I think that such a delegation would perhaps be a wise one,

but the advice was not taken. "Does not the hon. member feel humiliated by the veto dispatch?" enquire the hon. gentleman. I can not see why I should be humiliated in any way. Until we are an independent power, the veto must be exercised by some one. I was glad, however, to hear the hon. member for Queen's—and the hon. Provincial Secretary say nearly the same—that whenever Canada was prepared to offer such propositions as, in their judgment, ought and could be accepted, they were ready to take the responsibility of accepting them, and recommending their adoption.

Hon. PRO. SEC.—Oh, no, the hon. gentleman is incorrect.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—True, it was a good deal mixed up in the speeches of the hon. members. One moment they would say, "I would take the responsibility," then, "I would submit it to the people." It was evident, however, that they would not be unwilling to listen to some reasonable proposition. I am quite ready to give them credit for good intentions. I hope and expect the time will come when the Provincial Secretary and others will be prepared to listen to some propositions, and having heard them and found them worthy of acceptance, will recommend them to the favorable consideration of the people. Much has been said about what Sir John A. Macdonald states—the General Act cannot be touched by any Legislature in this country—the Parliament that originated can alone alter and amend it. If any changes are made, it must be in England—by the Houses of Parliament and Her Majesty. If Sir John A. Macdonald was to come here and offer to take out every obnoxious clause, he would be offering what was not in his power to perform. Therefore all he was in a position to do, was to offer to make any financial concessions as might be shewn proper and necessary.

The hon. members for Colchester and Victoria (Mr. Morrison and Mr. Kidston) are alike and yet very different. They are alike in the purity of their diction! in their fervid style of address, in the splendor of their eloquence! and the volume of their voices! In what do they differ? One says, "I am a laborer, and make my living by the sweat of my brow."—the other declares, "I am a great constitutional lawyer!" They differ again, inasmuch as the one levels his artillery, and hurls his biting sarcasms and furious invective at the judges and myself; in the other we see the thunder preceding the storm. The one contents himself principally with ordinary men like myself; the other goes much higher, and strikes at the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Adderley, and Earl Carnarvon. The hon. member for Colchester will hardly condescend to come down to this humble arena and contend with small folk like myself; he told you that he could teach the Duke constitutional law. I remember perfectly well when all of us thought Mr. Johnston a very dangerous opponent in debate, but the hon. member from Colchester made that gentleman the constant object of his attacks. Now he has gone far higher—nothing but Dukes, Earls, and Lords will satisfy his aspirations. He has proved them to be the merest tyros in constitutional law in comparison with himself. Surely they should come to

Nova Scotia and go to the school of the hon. member in Londonderry, in order to learn a little of his extensive knowledge in that branch of political science. There is a certain amount of rivalry, too, between these two gentlemen; who is to judge between them? There is nobody but myself and the hon. member for Cumberland who can properly decide. To whom, then, should we give the palm?—To the dramatic action! the excited tone! the magnificent peroration of the one,—the remarkably affecting way in which he could sink into his seat, exhausted, and wipe his burning brow, after having made use of nearly all the law words in Webster; or to the splendors of the eloquence, the remarkable good sense! or self-sacrificing spirit! of the other? They have given us a most vivid picture of the wrongs of this country. Some of the remarks of the hon. member for Colchester actually brought tears to my eyes—perhaps I was especially affected by the fact of his *close* proximity.

The hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Morrison) went into a lengthy tirade upon the Duke of Buckingham and other gentlemen, through which it is impossible and unnecessary for me to follow him. He said that all the men who had voted for and carried Confederation had received their reward, and of these he gave us a lengthy history. Does he mean to say that all the men who voted that way were influenced by promises of office and position? He surely cannot mean it. He was not content with telling us of those who got Senatorships, he came down to the local departments, and referred to the Attorney Generalship. I can stand here and say that if I was Attorney General, it was not because I supported Confederation. It was the peculiar position in which I was placed—all those with whom I had been associated would not take the office. If the hon. member wishes to attribute motives to any one, let him look a little nearer home. Are we to be told that because a man supports a particular policy, and is afterwards chosen to fill some position, therefore he has sold himself? I will give him a piece of history also. Have gentlemen in this House, connected with the Government, adopted the policy they support simply with a view to office and emolument? The Attorney General got his position by opposing Confederation. The hon. Mr. Anand got a seat in the Legislative Council, and the Treasurership of the Province, besides a very large sum for public printing; was he paid to oppose Confederation? The hon. member might just as well say that these gentlemen got their rewards by way of bargain and sale. We see the Provincial Secretary holding an office of emolument—the hon. member for Annapolis a member of the Government and a delegate; and the hon. member for Colchester *himself* occupying the position of Emigration Agent. Was that his payment? Was that his price? No one would be more ready than myself to defend the hon. member from such an insinuation, but certainly he should seriously reflect before bringing such rash charges against men who, there is every reason to believe, are just as disinterested as himself. The hon. member said, "he would not say that those who had received offices and positions from the Confederate party had been bought;

had received their price; he merely stated facts and let all honest men draw their own inferences." Then I say that the hon. gentleman himself has received an office with a pretty decent salary attached to it for doing nothing. I state what is an absolute fact, and I too say let all honest men draw their own inference as to why and wherefore he got it. Looking at the course he has pursued, and the position in which he now stands, I think he is as clearly chargeable with having received his price as any body I know of. The next time he dares to cast imputations, and give currency to unfounded slanders, I sincerely hope, for his own sake at least, that he will look carefully at home and satisfy himself that nothing he has ever said or done leaves him open to suspicion of having been bought. These slanders are probably inspired by the Minute of Council. Let me refer to Hon. John H. Anderson, one of the most superior men from end to end of the Province, and ask if his advocacy of Confederation was bought by a Senatorship? Look at Thomas D. Archibald, a man who for upright and pure conduct was unsurpassed in the liberal party to which he belonged, a man entirely above corruption, and yet we have the mean assertion that he got his Senatorship by the sale of himself to the support of Confederation. I will not go over the names of others because I think I have already sufficiently repelled the insinuation who and what are these men that they venture thus to speak of their betters. The hon. gentleman told us that I had lashed myself into a fury,—I do get warm occasionally, and it is necessary that, situated as I am, I should sometimes hit pretty hard in order to get fair play, but it was the unkindest cut of all for that hon. member to talk about lashing oneself into a fury. Anything that I can say in comparison with his outbursts, is but as the whisperings of the softest breeze compared with the loud howlings of the wildest gale of wind, or the lashing of the "rolling billows" on a rock bound shore. (Laughter.) He told me that the people could teach me a different lesson, and he also referred to my advocacy of a legislative union, but he forgot that I was merely quoting from a speech of the hon. Attorney General. He also referred to a matter that has been much commented on in the press and in the Minute of Council; that is as to the eighty cents a head, making it the gravamen of his charge against the constitution that the allowance does not go on to increase after our population arrives at 400,000. Until the last four or five months no print of any condition undertook to say that this was an objection to the scheme. Let us see how it works. If the delegates wanted the allowance to be made, \$1.50, I believe they could have got it.

Mr. MORRISON.—Hear, hear.

Mr. BLANCAARD continued:—The hon. member says hear, hear, but I will show that in doing so, and he would probably would have done it, they would have committed a serious blunder. Upper Canada, bear in mind, is increasing in population at a prodigious rate; make the subsidy \$1.50 per head, and what is the result? Canada will, in a short time, sweep away the whole revenue in the *per capita* and leave nothing for general purposes. Therefore it was necessary that the

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amount should be kept law. The hon. member told us that not one of the eighteen counties would give me more than 500 votes. I think that is not so bad after all, he must have formed an exaggerated idea of my abilities if he supposes that in each of the counties I could get that number. I believe there are some members sitting here with less than 500 votes. Some of the brightest ornaments this House ever had, sat here with only 150 votes at most, and some have sat here for his own county with a smaller number than he mentioned. If I could in each county poll 500 votes I should deserve credit.

Then we are told that because Mr. Cartier and Mr. Galt said that in Canada they had been great advocates of Confederation, therefore Confederation did not begin in Nova Scotia. That is not a sequence at all,—he must know that on this floor Confederation was first started and promulgated. There is no use in trying to prove the reverse. But then he went on to talk about what should be done to the authors of Confederation, and said that they should be crucified heels upward, their bodies burned, and their ashes scattered to the winds. I almost sunk under that denunciation. Parliament, let me tell him, long ago abolished those cruel tortures. A great constitutional lawyer like himself should have known that it was contrary to British principles for a man to be both hanged and burned,—but he was like the Irishman who was determined that the man should be both "killed and murdered." I know that these are all figures of speech, and that if he had Dr. Tupper on the mountains of Londonderry to-morrow, he would not lift a finger to crucify him. He means that he would remedy his reputation, and he does his best to accomplish that. He, with other gentlemen, declared that the general legislature could control our mines and minerals. If he can put his hand on any Act which authorizes such interference, I will be content, but until then I will continue to maintain that that legislature has no such power. Sir, I defy him to do it. The only restriction made in the Act of Union is the prevention of an export duty, in case an emergency arose, and the local Parliament were mad enough to resort to that method of raising money. I was sorry to hear the hon. member make one observation, which had better not have been made. He used the term "bankrupt" in reference to the head of the Finance department. A term like that is very offensive. Some of the best men that have walked the streets of Halifax,—some of the merchants that have conferred on the city its greatest blessings, and have done more to advance its general prosperity than many who have hoarded fortunes, have been unable to pay a shilling to the pound, and yet their character has stood exceedingly high. It is well known that the great house of Cunard was at one time on the verge of serious embarrassments—

Mr. NORTHUP.—It is hardly in good taste to mention the names of persons who are not public officers.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued.—The hon. member for Halifax should hardly complain; last winter he undertook to read to us an account of a lawsuit, to affect the character of a certain party.

Mr. NORTHUP.—That was in reference to public officers.

Mr. BLANCHARD continued.—I desire only to speak in terms of praise of the house to which I referred. I believe that no man ever conferred such blessings on this country as Sir Samuel Cunard, but it would have been no disparagement to him if he had been unsuccessful in business. The next who addressed the house was the hon. member for Victoria, Mr. Kidston. He and Mr. Chambers both thought proper to give us a dose of Scripture history, and referred to all sorts of Scripture characters. There is a quotation from Shakespeare which I will give them, and it runs thus:—

"An evil soul producing holy witness,  
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek,  
A goodly apple rotten at the core."

It is many years since I read it; I thought I had forgotten it; but seeing them quote Scripture at such a prodigious rate brought it back instantly to my mind, and I now give them the benefit of it. I give it as a return for some of the quotations which have been applied to me. The member for Victoria described me as turning up my sleeves and rolling my eyes to the gods in the galleries. My style may jar on his refined sensibilities and on the nice sense of grace!!! which he displays when he addresses the House, and I do not wonder that he felt it so. Such a style as mine does offend the well-trained ear, accustomed to naught but most harmonious sounds, except when he hears the echo of his own voice—of that polished orator—a gentleman who holds thousands hanging on his words! and carries his constituents by storm; but I think that that was the least tasteful part of his speech. The same hon. member talked of the address of the Chief Justice or of Judge Johnston to the Grand Jury, and told us that the Judge should have said, "gentlemen, Confederation should be carried because it puts £200 a year into my pocket." Is that not very like the expression of a high toned! and refined! gentleman? When he makes such an insinuation against either the Chief Justice or the Judge in Equity they fall pointless and harmless; but not in that light are they regarded in the country, because they are calculated to depreciate the Judiciary in the eyes of the people. When a gentleman can be found, returned by any constituency, who insinuates that a mere increase of the salaries of the Judges makes them politicians, it is time for every one to cry shame. Shame, say I, upon any man who could be guilty of such an act. They are scarcely worth the time which it takes to refute them. He said that when I talked of the Inman line being a blessing to this country I should have known that the Cunard line was far better. Who disputes it? I did not speak of the relative value of these steamers. He must have been unable to comprehend my argument which was, that communication by means of the Cunard line was ended. The British Government withdrew the subsidy, and the Cunard firm asked an enormous price for an inferior class of boats, and then the General Government stepped in and paid the half of the £650 sterling per trip to secure the calling at Halifax of the Inman line. If it were not for that we would have been without a boat to carry our mails; and

yet the hon. member stated that I said it was a blessing that we had the Inman instead of the Cunard line. This affords another striking proof of that gentleman's comprehensive! as well as the acuteness of his intellect! Then we had from him another laudation of the United States, with the phrase of "turning our eyes to the westward," but I leave those remarks until I come to answer the hon. member for Colchester. He told us that if the issue, "Annexation or Confederation" were placed before the people of Cape Breton, they would go for the former. I do not believe it, notwithstanding the great experience which he told us he possessed. What was this great experience? His experience as a Custos! Perhaps we should not have known that he held that office unless he had taken the trouble to tell us. He said that part of the policy of the Canadian Government was to drive the people out of this country, and that they were every day leaving for other countries, on the principle which induce people to leave highly taxed and go to lightly taxed countries; and they were going where? To the United States, where of course they will have no taxes to pay! We were then told that the hon. member's sentiments were "war to the knife." I trust that this also was a mere figure of speech, and as such I pass it by; if it were anything else he ought to be ashamed of it. We have heard a great deal of language like that, but it reminds me of the Irishman who, when his friend talked about spilling his blood, answered, "be gor, you'll be called to spill the blood of your relatives before you spill your own." Should that time unhappily arrive, I rather suspect that some who talk so strangely will put their constituents in the front and themselves in the rear, if they will possess courage enough to be able to march at all.

I pass on now to the hon. member for Lunenburg, and I again have an opportunity to congratulate the hon. gentleman on a speech characterized by good taste, care and skill, and I am only sorry that I cannot oftener use the language of approbation. Perhaps hon. members will say that it matters very little what I think, but it pleases me when I have the opportunity to pay a well deserved compliment. My notes are too full to allow me to dwell on the arguments of the hon. member, and I pass to the hon. member for Annapolis, Mr. Landers, and I can only express the wish that all the speakers were characterized by as much jollity as he. He gave us a short and respectable speech, and without further remark I pass on to the speech of the hon. member for Cumberland.

Hon. SPEAKER explained, in reference to Mr. Northup's call to order, that members had perfect freedom of speech as regards persons outside the House, their own good sense being the only guide, and the only method of holding them accountable being by motion for libel.

Mr. NORTHUP.—I am quite sure that the hon. member for Inverness would not make a statement which he knew to be incorrect. The firm he referred to never made a composition with their creditors.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I never said anything of the kind. I merely said that it was believed at one time that they were embarrassed,

Hon. ATTY. GENL.—The hon. member for Halifax must have misapprehended the hon. member for Inverness, as he (Mr. Blanchard) spoke in terms of the highest praise of the late Mr. Cunard.

The debate was adjourned as the hour for adjournment had arrived, and the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 2, 1868.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. introduced a bill to amend Chap. 25, R. S.

Hon. Mr. TROOP, from the Committee on Law Amendments, reported following bills:—

To amend Chap. 152 R. S.

To amend Chap. 171 R. S.

To amend Chap. 85 R. S.

Also introduced a bill respecting the Supreme Court and its officers.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented a petition from Yarmouth, the purport of which was not heard.

Mr. WHITE introduced a bill respecting harbor masters at Sydney.

Mr. BLANCHARD, from the Committee on Private and Local Bills, reported—

To incorporate the Carnarvon Gold Co.

To incorporate the Sabbath School Association.

To incorporate the Intercolonial Iron and Steel Co.

Respecting Street Curbing in the city of Halifax.

To incorporate St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons, Sydney.

To incorporate Mulgrave Gold Mining Co.

Respecting Trinity Church, Halifax.

To incorporate the Board of Western Mission of Baptists.

Mr. KIRK presented a petition from the British Order of Good Templars, in favor of the establishment of an Inebriate Asylum.

A Message was received for the attendance of the House in the Council, when his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor was pleased to assent to 33 bills.

On the return of the House, the debate on the Repeal Resolutions was resumed.

MR. BLANCHARD'S SPEECH CONTINUED.

Mr. BLANCHARD then continued as follows: When I had the pleasure of addressing the House yesterday afternoon on the important subject under consideration, I had occasion to reply to a good many speeches on the opposite side with what ability I could command. I feel it is impossible for me to call attention to a title of the arguments adduced, on account of the want of time and perhaps want of ability. I would like to refer, for a few moments, now to the observations of the hon. member for King's, (Mr. Dickie) who comes next in order. He thought proper to congratulate me on my changed tone. Having opened this debate with moderation, having brought before the House and country the circumstances in which we are placed as moderately as I was able, it would have been as well if he had not made any reference to what occurred during the first period of the session, in the heat of debate. I shall not reply to him on this point, further than to say that when I forgive a man, when I consent to bury the hatchet under any circumstances, I am careful not to take

it up again. that if I w terms such and possibly then went duties—which last year, as son for that this country and goods pressing the keeper in t his partner portion of t I could m Canadian every cor gentleman site to wh the most c as an agen ly announc Canadian federation goods, can fore, and from the fore becau per cent. member Confeder the reas 1862 to s had to m and that year cent. Is secret s How is this city past year engu gen peal agi difficult of thing tious l possible report shall de to refer Secreta hon. m differer and C the ac have b tie. Mr. broug Mr. thing do I b exhib well c charg It is will addre the s The e Scoti the p could Conf

it up again. The hon. member well knows that if I wished it I might reply to him in terms such as he might not easily forget, and possibly read him a valuable lesson. He then went on to refer to the diminution of duties—which I had stated at \$100,000 below last year, and gave a very extraordinary reason for that decrease. The reason was "that this country was being inundated with Canadian goods—that owners from Canada were pressing their merchandize on every shop-keeper in the country." He said that he and his partner had been even induced to buy a portion of these goods. There is nothing that I could more rejoice at than the fact that Canadian manufactures are to be found in every corner of the country. Let the hon. gentleman go across the street directly opposite to where I stand and he will find one of the most determined Antis in this city acting as an agent for Canadian Tweeds, and actually announcing his place as "The Depot for Canadian Tweeds, &c.," and which since Confederation has removed the duty from these goods, can be sold here much cheaper than before, and considerably less than if imported from the States. They never came here before because they were met by a duty of ten per cent. I give the statement of the hon. member as a strong argument in favor of Confederation. Will the hon. member tell us the reason why the revenue diminished in 1862 to such an extent that the Government had to meet the House with a large deficit, and that in order to provide for the wants of that year our taxes had to be increased 25 per cent. Is there any one able to tell us of the secret springs which often influence trade? How is it that the dry goods merchants of this city have found it so difficult during the past year to sell their goods and meet their engagements. With the exception of the Repeal agitation and the Reciprocity Treaty it is difficult to determine the cause of this state of things. As to the hon. member's calculations I will pass over them, because it is impossible to go into them without the printed report of his speech before me, and because I shall deal with the same subject when I come to refer to the remarks of the hon. Provincial Secretary. But I may ask how is it that the hon. member undertook to put \$5000 as the difference of exchange between this Province and Canada. He must have known that all the accounts of the province up to this time have been kept in the currency of Nova Scotia.

Mr. DICKIE—I found it so in some reports brought down.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I have seen no such thing in papers submitted to this House, nor do I believe that any of the papers submitted exhibit such a charge. The hon. member, as well as others, spoke about the impropriety of charging the province with the steamer *Druid*. It is incomprehensible to me that gentlemen will so misrepresent the argument that I addressed to the House; that they cannot see the stand-point from which I have spoken. The steamer *Druid* was the property of Nova Scotia alone previous to Confederation. Now the position which I take is this: "In what condition would the Province have been if Confederation had never taken place?" If it

had never occurred, the Province would have been obliged to repair and use that steamer. The late member for Yarmouth, (Mr. Killam,) Mr. Coffin, and another gentleman, were appointed a committee to examine a number of vessels in order to select one for the protection of the fisheries. The "*Druid*" was accordingly purchased under their report, and became the property of the province. She was taken possession of by the Dominion Government when the provinces were confederated. She has been engaged in visiting our light-houses and Sable Island, and I may say that last year she paid her cost in saving goods from wrecks at the latter place. She is used for purposes for which the Local Government would have been obliged to have used her. Is it not fair then, to charge the steamer as I did, when arguing to show the position we would have occupied had we not been confederated. The hon. member next stated that our stock had gone up in England since Confederation. I am glad to hear it, for it is an illustration of the benefits of Confederation, and the belief prevailing abroad in the stability of the Dominion. Previous to Confederation we had to pay 6 per cent. for money borrowed in England, and now we can get it on far more favorable terms, the interest on the Intercolonial Railway loan being only 3½ per cent. Our debentures were lying idle a long period in the hands of Messrs. Baring Bros., and we were obliged to pay them a large sum of advances they had given as the faith and guarantee of the bonds. On account of the state of the market our financial agents could not sell them, and blamed the Government for injuring the public credit by trying to do so. Now I am glad to hear from the hon. member that these debentures are at a premium.

I shall now pass from him to the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. Chambers), who never rises in this House without saying something extraordinary—that no one else would venture to say. He told us that the official reporters gave him a speech which he knew perfectly well he could never have made. Now, I feel that the reporters do me injustice—they do not report my ungrammatical expressions. Certainly there is one thing that they cannot report, and that is the style and manner of some gentlemen. They must fail entirely in reporting the shouts which his colleague (Mr. Morrison) occasionally favors us with. The hon. member next referred to the foundry at Amherst; he told us that Mr. Robb had become a great Confederate because he believed there was money in it. The hon. member said he would have been a Confederate could he have made money out of it. I am sure every one who knows him will believe the sincerity of that statement. So the hon. member goes on this principle—a man having a foundry supported Confederation, believing it would bring him money, and found he was wrong; whereas the hon. gentleman and his friends opposed the measure, on the same grounds, and found they were right. Now, a large foundry had been established at Amherst. I had often visited that town, and seen the customs' officers standing on the corner watching every one coming across the New Brunswick border, and if an unfortunate man brought ten yards of cotton in his waggon, from Sackville, he was immedi-

ately pounced upon. Now, under Confederation this state of things has disappeared. Mr. Robb was a man of enterprise, and not afraid of the competition that he knew must arise out of Confederation. Another foundry was established at Sackville. The enterprise of these men has been rewarded as it ought to be. But if it was true that Mr. Robb was ruined by being compelled to largely reduce the price of his stoves, then the people of Nova Scotia are benefitted—they get their stoves cheaper than before, so I think his argument on behalf of the people operates against him. The hon. member went on to talk to us about "little pests," and certainly he found some which were so insignificant that he did well to designate them "little." One was, that he could not get the salary of a way-office keeper increased. Now, the late Postmaster General had never the power to increase the salaries of anybody in his department; a petition must have been presented to the Government, and it would never see the light unless they approved of it, or they might submit it to the House, and send it to the Post Office Committee, to report thereon. Now all the hon. member has to do is to apply to the Dominion Government, and precisely the same course will be pursued as was followed by our Government under the old system.—Now we come to "pest No. 2." "He could not frank a ploughshare, or send his shirts home to be washed!" He could not frank his newspapers! He forgot to tell the House that every member was allowed \$2 for newspapers, so he could send a hundred, as many as he could want, to his constituents. Then he complained that the Bible was taxed, which he declared was an irreligious act! Yet that country to which all his aspirations tend—that country to which he would fain lead us—and under whose control he would be delighted to have us, taxes the Bible 20 or 25 per cent! Next we are told that they pay no poor rates in Prince Edward Island. It may be so; but if we look to the records of the Legislature last year, we shall find that, like ourselves, they were obliged to provide means of subsistence as well as seed grain for the poor. They will not unite with any country!—happy people! Does not he remember what his friend, Mr. Howe, once said at Onslow?—"If Prince Edward Island would not fall in, they would send a steamer, tow her up to Lake Superior, pitch her in, and she would not even raise the tide." He said that the ship of state was waterlogged. I am surprised to hear that from a supporter of the Government. To say that the Attorney General could ever be waterlogged is something that nobody will believe (great laughter). The hon. member next went on to describe the benefits of annexation. Our harbors would be filled with steamers and shipping—Sydney would become a Boston and Halifax a New York—our forests would be cut down, our mines developed—the streams that are running from the rocks to the sea would turn a thousand mills.

Mr. CHAMBERS.—I simply stated what the people thought and wish.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—Where did the hon. member learn that? How dare he perpetrate such a slander on the loyal people of this country? If it were so and he did not agree with such sentiments, why did he not show the peo-

ple their folly? That annexation would be one of the greatest curses ever inflicted upon this country. Why does he refrain to raise his voice, sit in sullen silence like a coward, and allow the people to keep marching on to such an awful fate. We want reciprocity with the United States, but not intimate political connection, and if our loyalty is to be the price of closer commercial relations with that country, even though it would bring greater prosperity, the man is a black-hearted monster who would accept it at such cost. The hon. member said that the taxes of the United States were light. Now let me call attention to what the New York "Herald" says on this point—

Mr. CHAMBERS.—I said the people had great resources to bear taxation, and under annexation it would be comparatively light.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—Notwithstanding the immense resources, how are they taxed? Despite their tropical region producing cotton and sugar; despite their wide domain abounding in wheat, corn, and minerals, they are overwhelmed with taxes. The "Herald" says:

"OUR HEAVY TAXES—WILL THE PEOPLE BEAR THEM?—The people of the United States are more heavily taxed than any other people in the world. Even in England, where there is a stupendous national debt and one larger than ours, and where there is a costly system of royal government to support, the taxes are not so great or so burdensome. We speak only of national taxation. But if we take into account our local taxes, in addition to those imposed by the federal government, to our State, county and municipal taxes, the burden is enormous beyond anything known or borne heretofore. The patient submission of the American people is surprising. No other people have the same liberty and suffrage and free election of those who make the laws and govern the country would submit to such overwhelming and unnecessary taxation. But will the American people continue to bear it? We think not, for to do so would be contrary to all experience and to human nature. One of these things must happen; either the taxes must be greatly reduced or repudiation in some form or other will be resorted to for relief."

That is a picture of the country to which the honorable member directs the attention of the people of Nova Scotia for the purpose of showing them the blessings of annexation. Even men like the honorable gentleman, who thinks that loyalty only consists in the amount of money it affords, must see that annexation cannot be preferable to confederation. I will read from Kent (one of the highest of American authorities), on the subject of Federal and State taxation. He lays down unequivocally the doctrine that the power of taxation by Congress or the General Government is supreme—restricted only by two rules, viz: uniformity and apportionment, and that the local government can only supplement it by direct taxation. Kent, 1st vol., page 428, says: "When the Constitution of the United States was under the consideration of the State Conventions, there was much concern expressed on the subject of the general power of taxation over all objects of taxation vested in the National Government, and that it was supposed that it

would be in the discretion, to despoil the power of taxation to deprive them of their own taxation might by Federal—or Government—taxes, duties, lay the same burden on the same subject. is the tax imposed by Government—whether it be sure carriages and prosperous obliged to lay ties; the doctrine of the United States first satisfied "But would to declare to the time that they not, as paid, and increases stand is collected State tax of the doctrine federalist his

Doesn't t come so bas our allegian ted our an adoption, a brase of the this Local l be very mu from what the ignoran some peopl constitution sings, etc. principles. tors rising the attempt be the gual subvert our would mi abettor of s point. I better bef timent, must say think I h that ann sure." tween of States, b country, have bec in order hon. men tions w people office w he does is he go to the the rev enubin statute pired i

would be in the power of Congress, in its discretion, to destroy in effect the concurrent power of taxation remaining in the States, and to deprive them of all means of supplying their own wants. All the resources of taxation might by degrees become (i.e. subjects of Federal—or General Government—monopoly. The States must support themselves by direct taxes, duties, and excise, and Congress may lay the same burden at the same time on the same subject. Suppose the national tax—that is the tax imposed by Congress or the General Government—should be as great as the article, whether it be land, or distilled spirits, or pleasure carriages, for instance, will conveniently and prosperously bear, and the State should be obliged to lay a further tax for its own necessities; the doctrine is that the claims of the United States would be preferred, and must be first satisfied." \* \* \* He says further: "But would not the United States have a right to declare that their taxes were liens from the time they were imposed? and would they not, as of course, be entitled to be first paid, and must not the State collector in all cases stand by and wait until the national tax is collected before he proceeds to collect his State tax out of the exhausted subject? Upon the doctrine of the Federal Courts, and of the federalist himself, this must be the case."

Doesn't this prove that if we were to become so base, and unprincipled, as to cast off our allegiance to that country, which protected our ancestors in this the land of their adoption, and throw ourselves into the embrace of the United States, that the power of this Local Legislature over local subjects would be very much narrowed down and restricted from what it now is? Sir, I am ashamed at the ignorance which is so often manifested by some people when speaking of the American constitution; they prate glibly about its blessings, etc., without knowing any one of its principles. We have heard about our ancestors rising from their graves. If they knew of the attempts made by gentlemen, professing to be the guardians of our rights and liberties, to subvert our loyalty, I believe in my soul they would raise from their graves to point the finger of scorn at the dastardly authors and abettors of such a move. But, enough on this point. I trust that hon. gentlemen will think better before they again give utterance to sentiments, which, as subjects of Great Britain, I must say reflects great discredit on them, for I think I have said enough to convince them that annexation is but a "delusion and a snare." Comparisons have been drawn between our constitution and that of the United States, but what have we seen of late in that country. The government and legislature have been obliged to override the constitution, in order to obtain liberty for the people. The hon. member went on to say that the resolutions were not strong enough, and that the people expected that the revenue and post-office would be taken possession of. I believe he does the people a great injustice; but how is he going to manage it? By walking down to the custom house and taking possession of the revenues? But there would be no law enabling them to collect the revenues—the statute under which they were collected expired in March, 1867. Suppose, when you

had seized the revenues, a merchant would set you at defiance, and refuse to pay any duties. How could you force him? Suppose the Judges are applied to, and wish to repudiate the law of the Dominion. They would nevertheless be obliged to confess that there is no law in force except that of the Dominion relative to customs and excise duties. Let anybody but try this experiment, so much spoken of lately, and he will find himself in a most unpleasant position. Force must be brought forward to resist force. Would the Attorney General not be obliged to have recourse to all the power at his command to suppress any attempt of the kind? Let a riot take place in this city, and a number of buildings be destroyed by fire, no one could recover a single dollar of insurance, for there is a clause in every policy providing that it becomes void in case of civil disturbances. So much has been said on this subject that it is quite time the people should understand their real position, and the folly of such rash and ill-advised threats.

The hon. member declared that he did not know what the word "constitutional" meant. If he did not then he ought not to be here. He is entirely unfit to act in the capacity of a representative, if he is so ignorant. Clearly, however, he did not. He said that the Israelites resorted to "constitutional" means. Is this his knowledge of the Bible of which he has spoken so much? It was not the bravery of the Israelites that got them out of Egypt, but a higher power that enabled them to bring these plagues upon their enslavers. The Israelites were a very ungrateful people, for after all that had been done for them, they grumbled and were punished. They were like the hon. member—he has been brought into a land of Canaan, under Confederation; but he does not know it, and turns wistful eyes to the wilderness, and wishes to get back to the flesh pots of Egypt—to return to our former state of isolation. He has been thinking large and talking loudly of the land of Goshen to the west, and I advise him to go there as soon as possible—this country will prosper without him or any of his calibre—and see how he will enjoy their taxes. He wanted boils to come upon the lawyers and the delegates. How would his friends, the Attorney General and the hon. member for Queens and Annapolis, relish the infliction, because they are lawyers? I hope the doctors in this House will be careful not to bring upon themselves the ire of the hon. member.—(Laughter.)

I now come to notice the remarks of the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Ryerson) who, I must say, addressed the House in a very moderate manner. I must say that he must be under some mistake respecting the \$10,000 granted to a steamer to run between Halifax and Yarmouth. I immediately telegraphed to Mr. Mitchell, the Minister of Fisheries, after the remarks of the hon. gentleman, after the remarks of the hon. gentleman on a previous day, when he said that a telegram had been sent from New York to Ottawa, and a reply received that there was no such grant. Mr. Mitchell replied to me as follows:

"OTTAWA, Sept. 1st, 1868.  
I made no telegrams of any kind on the subject.

PETER MITCHELL."

Mr. RYERSON.—I said Mr. N. K. Clements telegraphed to me from Ottawa.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—I did not so understand the hon. member. I distinctly heard him say that the telegram came from Mr. Mitchell, and had to assure him that the money is ready at any moment whenever a suitable steamer is offered for the service. Now another gentleman (Dr. Murray) made a reference to a report of some remarks made in this city by Sir John A. MacDonald, and thereby I telegraphed to him, and received this reply :

OTTAWA, Sept. 3rd, 1863.

To H. Blanchard.—

You asked me if I stated to any man in Halifax that if he wanted Annexation he should sustain Confederation. I made no such statement; and the assertion that I did so is entirely incorrect.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Mr. MORRISON.—It was Mr. John Sandfield MacDonald to whom allusion was made.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—That gentleman is not a member of the Dominion Government—but Attorney General of the Ontario administration; he did not visit this city in connection with Dominion business; and the Dominion Government are not answerable for anything he may have said. Now with respect to the remarks of the hon. member for Richmond (Mr. Flynn) I have but to say that he addressed the House in a moderate, gentlemanly style that does him credit. He stated that the Repeal agitation had not interfered with the trade of the country. Now the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Northup) who is better acquainted with trade than either of us, told the House that on account of this agitation and the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, there was not so much money, by one-third, in circulation. Therefore I let these two gentlemen settle the matter between them. The hon. member now says that he has hopes, when a new Government comes in after the elections in England, and they have seen the action of the House, they will grant Repeal. He says that he did not expect it last winter; yet I remember hearing him *confidently* express the opinion that the Parliament of England would not fail to grant the Legislature of Nova Scotia what it asked, and I am sure he is as much in error now as then.

I am sorry that I cannot give much attention to the remarks of the hon. member from Pictou, as the time I promised the Attorney General I would occupy is drawing to a close. The hon. member said that "the law is no good when opposed to common sense;" but that is not the general impression in the country, where it is believed that the very reverse is the fact. I agree with the hon. member—good law is generally common sense. What is the common-sense view of this subject? He don't agree with the law of Sir Roundell Palmer because he considers it opposed to common-sense. Now the common-sense view is—that whilst Nova Scotia is a colony of Great Britain, she must be more or less subject to the authority of the mother country or her Parliament. The colonial connection could not exist unless such were the fact. He went on to assert that I had given \$700,000 as the sum Nova Scotia had benefited

by Confederation. I did not say \$700,000 was the loss to Canada. I gave \$380,000—and added \$700,000 by adding the contingent in indirect advantages of Confederation. He agreed that Mr. Jones, Mr. Dickie and Mr. McLelan differed from one another—that they were all astray in their calculations; and went on to say that Mr. Tims and I differed. But he knows the difference between us amounts to nothing, and occurred for the reasons I gave. We were told that Canada was going into debt one or two millions every year, but if he looks at the real facts of the case he will find that in 1866 Canada spent one million dollars on account of the Fenian Raid, and devoted two millions to the reduction of her funded debt, and yet the cry is Canada is going in debt. The great country spoken of by the hon. member for Colchester has increased her enormous debt by thirteen millions in a month, and that partly because the Republican party, anxious to go to the people with as plausible a story as possible, lessened the taxes on some articles, the result of which was as I have just stated. I will again quote Mr. Howe's letter of 1862 to show you the history of the debt of Canada—how it was created by the construction of important public works necessary to promote the growth of that country. He said :

"The debts of Canada were incurred for the construction of canals and railroads, of the highest Imperial and Provincial importance. They were designed to attract through British territory a large portion of the trade of the great West. When the Interoceanic Railway is finished we shall not only control the telegraphic and postal correspondence of the Western States, but secure to the people of Great Britain at all seasons a steady supply of breadstuffs; should, unhappily, the Atlantic ports of the United States, in war, be closed against them. Who then will venture to assert that these were not elevated objects of the highest national importance?"

I think this authority should be conclusive on that point, and I trust we shall hear no more about the debts of Canada being unrepresented by public works, when Canada (that was) possesses within herself over 2300 miles of magnificent railway, and about 500 miles of canal, built at an enormous cost, proving not only, as Mr. Howe said, of immense advantage to that country, but to the mother country also.

Reference has been made, time and again, in the course of this debate, to the appointments made to the Legislative Council by the Tupper Government. I am not responsible for those appointments, but what does the whole matter amount to? Two days before the Government resigned office, they appointed several Legislative Councillors, and they were entered in the proper books. That Government resigned and left the charge of public affairs to others. We had nothing to do with the gazetiting of those appointments made before we assumed office. They were, at all events, well known to the country, for they were published in the organ of the present Government. Hon. J. Merivon and Mr. Creelman came into the Executive as Legislative Councillors. A great deal of misconception has arisen from the sub-

sequent gazetiting of the late Government responsibility. They went with the member said pointment the Government have men after the wish that the lers should be brought in fell some point of Council and a solemn exp her should b ing that the themselves a declaration, original nur

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sequent gazetting of these gentlemen. When the late Governor did so, he did it on his own responsibility. Mr. Hill could not gazette them, for they were not made by the Government with which he was connected. One hon. member said that he would not accept an appointment thus made. Yet the present Government have appointed a number of gentlemen after the Legislature had expressed its wish that the number of Legislative Councilors should be limited to 18. The resolution brought in fell to the ground in consequence of some point of etiquette or order between the Council and House, but nevertheless there was a solemn expression of opinion that the number should be confined to 18. Notwithstanding that the present Government took upon themselves the responsibility of evading this declaration, and filling up the Council to the original number.

It was impossible to follow the hon. member into the long string of reasons he adduced why he opposed Confederation. If I were to follow him, I would have to take up every clause of the Imperial Act, for his objections extended to the whole. He objected to the Court of Appeal, because it was calculated to benefit the rich man at the expense of the poor—in fact, it would be a court to which the rich alone could apply. Now the present system is more to the benefit of the rich man, who can appeal to England, and carry the case far beyond the means of what a poor man would allow him. Now it will be easier and less expensive to apply to a Court of Appeal within the Dominion itself, than to be obliged to go across the water to a tribunal replete with enormous expense. This court has not yet been established, but I trust it will be, for it gives us advantages which we now very much require.

The hon. member for Halifax comes next, and without following him into his criticism of Mr. Adderley's speech, I must notice what he said respecting the duty on refined sugar, and which was a most unfortunate allusion for him. He said that, in order to benefit the Canadian manufacturers, a duty of a cent had been added to the imported article. What did we do in this House two or three years ago? We took off a cent from raw sugar, in order to benefit his friends, who were about establishing a refinery in this city on a very extensive scale. They commenced the undertaking and went into an enormous outlay; but what has happened? These people would not have commenced the work without the market that Confederation would give them, for they would manufacture in one month more than this Province alone could consume in a year. Repeatance alone could consume in a year. Repeatance has, however, stopped the undertaking, and prevented the people deriving the benefit from it that otherwise they would have done. Now the Canadians are carrying out the same principle we adopted, and the hon. member dorsed. He then passed from a very ignominious subject to a very honorable one—from molasses to the Lieutenant-Governor. (Laughter.) He told us that we would never have his like again, because he is only to be called "His Honor" hereafter. I agree with the hon. gentleman in all he has said respecting the present Governor; but how absurd is his argument! Can any one say that the hon. member for Halifax is not considered as honorable as if he

held a peerage? I am astonished to hear him use such language—he who for some time back has been declaiming so bitterly against C. B.'s, and claiming that the untitled masses were superior to Dukes, Earls, Governors, &c. &c. &c. "A man 's a man for a' that," whether you call him "His Honor" or "His Excellency." He further said that Canada could not be defended. I differ from him in that respect. I never heard that there was any Engineers' report to that effect; I don't believe that such a report was made. But I know of one to the contrary—that of Col. Jervois. Certainly no one in Nova Scotia should hold out such a premium to the United States to come and attack Canada, for—as Mr. Howe once said—when Canada falls we will have to ask permission of Great Britain to take down the meteor flag in Nova Scotia. It was certainly strange for the hon. member to make the remarks he did with respect to fortifications, when the British Government are erecting an hospital, within this city, that will cost £18,000 or £20,000. Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been annually spent in fortifications to protect this harbour. Every day we see heavy guns being hauled up Citadel Hill, to add to the strength of the fort. Yet we have been told that the British Government are anxious to get rid of us, and that the moment Union was accomplished she would withdraw her troops. Have we seen any indications of that yet? No, sir, nothing of the kind; but we every day see most convincing proofs that no such move has ever been contemplated. Then the hon. member undertook to prove, from a correspondence between Lord Monck and Sir Frederick Bruce, that Nova Scotia could have had Reciprocity by herself. The substance of that correspondence is this:—"It is proposed to reduce the duty on Nova Scotia fish to ten per cent., but the United States cannot be reduced below ten per cent. ad valorem, because there is a heavy tax upon salt and other necessities used by American fishermen. Therefore, in justice to these fishermen, we ought to keep so much duty ad valorem on the mackerel, &c., that is to say, \$10 for every \$100." The answer from Lord Monck was, "We cannot enter into such an arrangement, because all the Provinces must be considered." That proves what I said a little while ago—there cannot be Reciprocity with one colony alone. Does the hon. member forget that fish is not the only article for which we require Reciprocity? Yet he speaks as though that were the case. Our coal interests are of far greater importance, but he would ignore them entirely. The proposition spoken of simply referred to fish, and nothing else. We have other markets for our fish—the West Indies, Brazil, &c.,—but our natural coal market is in the manufacturing cities of the United States. The hon. member says he is ready to renew the treaty on fair grounds. So are we all. The advantages to be derived from a treaty, based on equitable grounds, no one can deny. So far the loss has been on both sides. We should not go cringing to the Americans and ask for a new treaty, but we may show a desire to meet them in a spirit of good will, and frame such a measure as will be fair to all parties interested. The hon. member next took us across the water, and told us that he had been in the hovels of the poor Irish,



then stated I was quite right. Canada had made advances to that amount, but the Dominion Government, very honorably and fairly, said to the Provincial Secretary, that they would give the Local Government the amount which was charged as arrears, and in that way the amount was reduced. It does not, therefore, prove any error in my calculations. On the contrary, it proves my accuracy. Did the Provincial Secretary attack my first statement? Not he; he knew better. He brings in a counter statement, and very carefully avoids attacking mine. But do I imitate his example?—No. I attacked his statement, and have shown two errors—one making a difference of \$480,000, another of \$116,000, and thus sustain my first statement most triumphantly. I regret that I have occupied so much of the time of this House. It is very difficult on a question of such magnitude to abridge one's observations, without destroying the force of what one has to say.

I feel it my duty to apologize to the House for having delayed them so long, but I am sure they appreciate my position in having to reply to some eighteen gentlemen. I may, however, say that I notice that the subsidized organs of the Government undertake to blame me for the protracted character of this debate. Now, in my experience of this Legislature—an experience extending over eight or ten years—I have never seen a House in session for three weeks that did the same amount of business. Instead of being short of work we have, on the contrary, kept the clerks constantly busy—sometimes, indeed, unable to keep up with us, so that we were obliged to stop operations. I undertake to say that not a single dollar has been wasted in this debate—our business has been as well advanced as it was possible. Therefore we have not lost \$6,000 as it has been asserted. I hope no one, however humble, will ever be denied in this House the right of expressing his opinions fairly and fully before the representatives of the people. When the people send a man here, no power on earth can denude him of his rights. Whether I am here a long or short time, I shall exercise that right fully and conscientiously whenever I feel the interests of my country demand it, and shall call upon the Government and the House to support me in performing what I believe my duty. It would be a great misfortune to this country were any one debarred from exercising a right which lies at the very basis of the free institutions that we enjoy.

In conclusion I will only add that I am fully conscious I have proved to the satisfaction of all unbiased persons that we have gained largely by the Union, and I hope that gentlemen around these benches, and more particularly the people of Nova Scotia, having pondered calmly over the facts and arguments which I have adduced, will cease to indulge further the mad dream of Repeal, and loyally and manfully "accept the situation."

THURSDAY, Sept. 3rd.

The House met at half-past two o'clock.  
Hon. ATTY. GEN. introduced a bill to amend Chap. 121 R. S., respecting Mines and Minerals.

Also, a bill to incorporate the Low Point Mining Co.

Dr. BROWN, a bill to appoint Commissioners to appraise damages by railway in Kings. Also bill to amend chap. 70 R. S., respecting railways. Also, bill to provide for the settlement of certain cases now pending in the Supreme Court with regard to railway damages in Kings.

Mr. D. McDONALD, bill to incorporate the Atlantic Gold Mining Co.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN, bill to amend act regarding Poor's Asylum in Halifax.

Mr. NORTHRUP, petition of A. W. Anderson and others, against Bill of Incorporation of Halifax respecting Education. Also, bill to incorporate the McIntosh Gold Mining Co., to amend act incorporating North Sydney Marine Railway, to incorporate Stadacona Gold Mining Company, incorporate the Pictou Mining Company.

Mr. KIRK, bill to provide for the payment of certain liabilities in the County of Guysboro'.

Hon. Mr. TROUP, bill to amend act incorporating Winklor and Annapolis R. R. Co.

Mr. BLANCHARD, bills to incorporate the Montreal and Glasgow Coal Mining Co., and to alter act incorporating the Zion's Church, Halifax.

Mr. KIRK, bill to provide for the opening and construction of Cabin Road to the Gold Fields, Guysboro'.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON, bill to amend chap. 128 and chap. 155 R. S.

Mr. WHITE, bills to incorporate the Glace Bay Coal Mining Co., and to facilitate the working of water coal mining areas.

Mr. SMITH, bill to amend chap. 28 of acts of 63 regulating the return of members to serve in the General Assembly.

Mr. PURDY, bill to incorporate the Union Temple of Good Templars, Williamsdale, Cumberland.

Mr. SMITH reported from Committee on Railway damages in favor of the appointment of Commissioners; the report was received and adopted. The bill introduced by Dr. Brown deals with this subject.

Hon. PROV. SEC. presented a petition from the Diocesan Church Synod, in reference to School matters.

Mr. BLANCHARD expressed his surprise at seeing such a petition coming from so respectable and intelligent a body; the petition was to make schools open to the instruction of all the clergymen.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that there are many persons who think that all Education should be based on the Bible, and he did not mind confessing he was one of these persons.

Mr. TOWNSEND moved that the petition be deferred till that day three months.

Hon. SPEAKER said such a motion was irregular.

Hon. PROV. SEC. had not seen any person connected with the petition, but he certainly trusted that such discourteous treatment as that proposed would not be allowed.

Mr. BLANCHARD said that the hon. member might move that the presenter of the petition have leave to withdraw it.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON hoped the petition would be received, as it came from those deserving the most courteous treatment.

Dr. MURRAY did not see any objection to the reception of the petition, for it did not follow that it would be adopted.

Mr. DICKIE said that if the prayer of the petition were carried out then we would have the singular spectacle presented of clergymen going into the public schools, and arranging the pupils under their respective heads, and giving their religious instruction.

He moved that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Vail) have leave to withdraw the petition.

Mr. NORTHUP was of opinion that the petition should be received and sent to the Committee on Education, whose duty it was to receive suggestions of all kinds.

Mr. BLANCHARD had no particular feeling on the subject, but it might save time to deal with the petition at once. He was certainly opposed to the prayer of the petitioners.

Hon. ATT. GENL. said that the most respectful mode of dealing with the petition was to send it to the Committee.

Mr. SMITH expressed his surprise that there should be any hesitancy in receiving the petition, after the system pursued throughout the session with respect to all petitions.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said it was only to receive the petition and send it to the Committee.

Mr. WHITE said he did not think that the hon. member for Inverness quite appreciated the exact nature of the petition.

Dr. BROWN was in favor of the reception of the petition.

Mr. BLANCHARD said he understood that the motion of his hon. friend (Mr. Dickie) would not be pressed.

The petition was received and sent to the Committee on Education.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table a petition of the overseers of the poor, Pictou; but it appeared the matter was before the Committee of Public Accounts.

#### Debate on the Repeal Resolutions.

##### HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL'S SPEECH.

Hon. ATT'Y. GENERAL said:—Mr. Speaker, I am about to close the debate on these resolutions, and I hope that neither I nor the honorable member for Inverness will ever be called on to debate this subject again. I confidently expect sir, that before we meet here next winter it will have received a final decision, and the people of Nova Scotia will know their fate as regards confederation. An immense deal has been said on the subject, and it is difficult to present anything new to the House in relation to it. The hon. member for Inverness, in defending Canada, as he has most ably done, has completely exhausted the subject,—in fact he has done more; he has brought into the debate a great deal of matter that need not have been imported into it. He has, however, made for Canada the ablest defence probably which could have been made for her in the peculiar position in which she is placed. The ablest lawyer cannot make a bad case good, but the hon. member has done as much towards repairing the leaks in the country could have done; but he very wisely, throughout his voluminous speech, eluded the real question, as is too frequently done. Members are too apt to forget the subject matter under consideration, and to indulge in the discussion of matters which are

totally irrelevant. What is the real question before the House under the resolutions on the table? It seems to me to resolve itself into a small and narrow compass, and to be simply this: Nova Scotia alleges that a British Imperial Act has been passed which entirely alters the constitution of the country without the consent, and against the will of the people, and they contend that a statute passed under such circumstances is illegal and unconstitutional. That is one position which we take; the second is that the constitution which has been created by the Imperial statute confers on the legislature in Canada such overwhelming influence that it has the power to impose taxation to an unlimited extent on Nova Scotia, and that the people of Nova Scotia are not represented in that Parliament, and consequently that they are subjected to the grievance of being taxed to an unlimited extent by a legislature over which they have no kind of influence. Had the hon. member for Inverness confined himself to the consideration of these subjects, he could not have occupied more than an hour, whereas in his several discourses he consumed five or six hours, and in the course of his remarks he has not touched directly or incidentally either of the main questions of the debate. His remarks were entirely of a discursive nature, and were almost entirely irrelevant to the subject matter before the House. Had he confined himself to that subject matter, he would have been here to deny that the people were taxed against their will and against their consent,—he has not pretended to do so, and he knows full well that he could not do so. It was not in the nature of things that he could produce evidence to satisfy the House that the consent of the people had been obtained to the British North America Act before its passage. He has not attempted to bolster up and defend the misrepresentations contained in the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham, which from beginning to end is a complete tissue of misstatements of fact, and when examined will be found to contain no one single assertion which is exactly according to the truth. It contains one fact which has something like a similitude to the truth, and that is all; the rest is pure invention from beginning to end.

The only case in which the hon. member attempted to defend the Duke of Buckingham was when he undertook to show that one of the statements contained in the resolutions and in the Minute of Council was a misrepresentation of the fact. The Duke of Buckingham had said that Confederation originated in Nova Scotia; the Minute of Council showed to the world that this idea was entirely fallacious, and that Confederation never was named in any resolution which was debated within the walls of this Assembly before 1864, when the Quebec scheme was promulgated in Canada; so that the statement on which the Duke relied to support his position was entirely without foundation. The hon. member for Inverness undertook to show that that statement was entirely incorrect, because in 1854 a debate took place on a resolution which did contain that word. Now, where did he get his authority? In 1854, considering his then political relations, he would not have believed a syllable that appeared in the "Colonist," and that is the paper

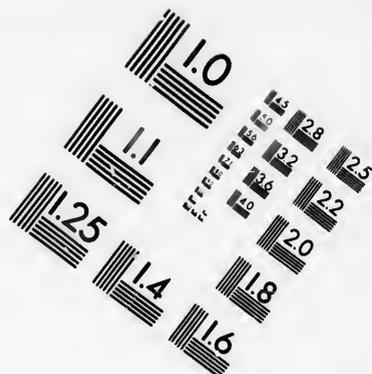
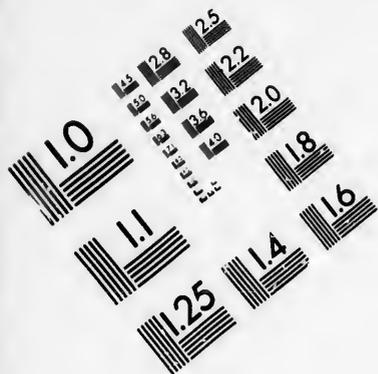
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from which he derives his inspiration of to-day, —that is the Scripture on which he founds his political faith in 1868; and he comes here and cites from it a resolution which differs from that on the Journals. I do not want to charge him with having done this intentionally; but it was surely his duty, when he undertook to condemn a statement made by the Government, to have derived his information from the proper source—from the Journals of the House themselves. When we look at the journals we find that the statement contained in the Minute of Council is literally correct, that the statement made in the "Colonist" is false, and that in point of fact there is not on the records any resolution ever debated in the legislature in which the word Confederation is mentioned before 1864. The hon. gentleman has not attempted to refute one of our positions as regards the unlimited powers of taxation possessed by the Canadian legislature. He has not attempted to show that that legislature is so constituted as to make the people of Nova Scotia safe in regard to their property—that in point of fact they have not the right to over-tax our people without their consent. He has not attempted to refute what we have assumed, but he has undertaken to tell us what has been done in Canada, saying that Canada has taken the duty off that article, reduced the duty on this, and that Canada has done this, that, and the other. But that is no answer to the charge which we bring against the Act. If Canada had done us the utmost imaginable favor, she would only have been prudent, because her policy is to lure us into Confederation. Now, I am not admitting that she has conferred any benefit on Nova Scotia; I believe the reverse to be the fact. I believe that if Canada has taken a cent or two off a letter she has put a cent on a bill of exchange, or note, or newspaper; and that she has taken care not to be on the losing side. Then again we are told, not that Canada had not the power to tax us, but that in point of fact, from July 1st, 1867, to July 1st, 1868, so far from Canada having over-taxed the people of Nova Scotia she had paid for us some hundreds of thousands of dollars more than she had received from us. Now this amount, which Canada is said to have advanced for Nova Scotia, is of a very flexible character; it commenced with a very few hundreds of thousands, and at last got up to six or seven; and I believe that the hon. member has it not in his power, after all his calculations, to say what sum, if any, Canada has paid for us over and above her receipts from Nova Scotia.

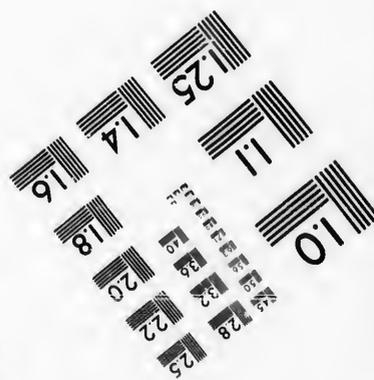
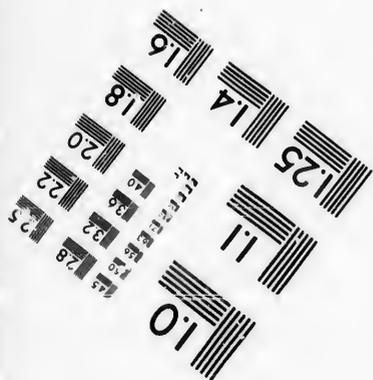
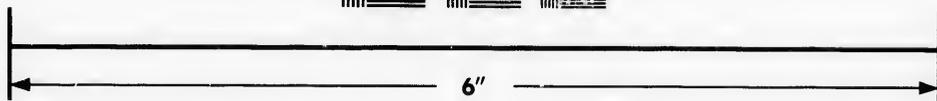
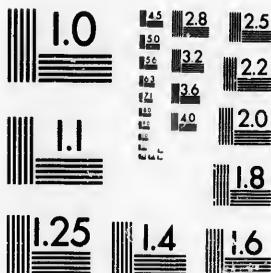
The hon. member is fond of anecdotes and I will give him one: A gentleman in England had the habit of dealing in the figure hyperbole, and when the roots of his imagination were watered by the juice of the grape, it became exceedingly fertile and productive. His exaggerations became so remarkable that his family found it necessary to send a confidential servant to attend him at dinner parties. This was done with his own consent as he was aware of his failing and the servant, John, was given him a touch whenever he exaggerated. On one occasion he began to tell the company that when at the Cape of Good Hope he had seen a monkey with a tail twenty-seven feet long. John touched him and he immediately said: "No, no, it was twenty feet." John

touched him again and he added that his memory was defective, but the tail was, at least, seventeen feet long. John gave him another touch upon which he swore that the tail was not less than fifteen feet. John touched him again when he turned and exclaimed, "why John, confound your impudence, do you mean to say that the monkey had no tail at all." By the hon. member's calculations, which were somewhat like that gentleman's stories, I think it probable that if it were subject to careful examination, and the hon. gentleman had a John standing behind him, it would have turned out that Canada's advances, like John's monkey, had no tail at all. But I would say to him, supposing it were true that Canada had advanced \$700,000 last year over and above her receipts from Nova Scotia, would that alter the argument which has been placed before the House? Would that show that she has not the power of taxing us next year \$800,000? We do not complain so much that she has done this or that, but that the Statute gives her the power of robbing the people of Nova Scotia, and we say that that Act shall not rest on the Statute Book to bind the people of this country. It is my duty at this moment to explain, in the most clear and satisfactory manner the policy of Nova Scotia in regard to Confederation in order that the people of Canada, the people of England, and the people of this country may thoroughly comprehend the course which the Government and the Legislature are taking on the present occasion. We know full well that the British Imperial Statute, having been passed without the consent of Nova Scotia, is void and a dead letter as far as this country is concerned. That position we in no degree abandon. The whole action of the British Government confirms us in the opinion that the Act is void,—the Duke of Buckingham in his Despatch does not pretend ever to have received from the Crown Officers of England any opinion in favor of the constitutionality of the Statute. He says that the Nova Scotia people originated the idea of Confederation, that they desired the Act, and were the first to suggest it, and upon that he asserts that he has been informed that the Statute was legally passed. If the Crown Officers gave him that opinion on such a statement of the case they gave him an opinion in accordance with the law of the land, because it is not pretended, and no one is stupid enough to imagine that the Imperial Parliament could not, with the consent of the people of Nova Scotia, alter the constitution of the country in any manner they chose. That has never been contended, but we assert, without the slightest fear of contradiction, that the constitution of this Province has been illegally altered, and that the people are in no manner bound by the constitution created in Canada. Being conscious of this fact, being fully convinced at this moment that we are illegally held in subjection to Canada under and by virtue of the Statute illegally and unconstitutionally passed in England, we would have the right if we chose at this moment, after receiving such a despatch, to have declared ourselves free from Confederation. We could have done so, and in the face of the world and before every constitutional lawyer in Europe and America have maintained,





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through the Legislature in this Session, that the Statute was void and a dead letter as regarded the people of Nova Scotia.

We are asked why we did not do so? We have not thought it prudent to do so. We have acted, as we believe, a wiser part. We found that the Queen, the Lords and the Commons of England had been deceived, and impressed with a confidence in the desire for justice in that body, and believing that when they came to understand the deceit which had been practised upon them, there would be no danger but that Nova Scotia would receive redress, we preferred taking the milder, safer, and more moderate course which we propose than to fly in the face of the British authorities and declare ourselves free. We had another reason for doing so. The Queen of England, through her minister, has informed the people of Nova Scotia and pledged himself that Canada shall do justice to Nova Scotia—that all the wrongs which the statute inflicts on Nova Scotia shall be redressed. We are bound, I think, to rely on a promise so solemnly made as this is. We rely on the known character of the Queen, of her Peers, of her House of Commons, and we believe that her ministers, having pledged themselves to a certain course, they will be compelled to pursue that course and execute that pledge. Therefore it was that we preferred adopting the present position to coming out and declaring ourselves free, and we did so on sound principles of policy. If we had done otherwise we would have exonerated the British government from their pledges, we would have said in point of fact: "we have taken the law into our own hands, we do not want your assistance." The British minister would have said, "as you have taken the matter into your own hands you have exonerated me." We were determined not to exonerate him, but to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his pledges, and therefore we have pursued the present course. Instead, then, of declaring ourselves absolutely free we have thought it better to declare our resolution to extricate ourselves from Confederation by all constitutional means, and by passive resistance. Now, sir, this course involves no evil consequences, and places us in a very high position. It renders our loyalty unsuspected, it shews to the British government with what reluctance the people of Nova Scotia would attempt to resist the Imperial authority, and it shews to our own people that we are resolutely determined to gain their liberation. We have in fact resolved to adopt constitutional resistance in preference to revolutionary resistance, and that is the position we occupy at this moment. But let it be clearly understood that though the Government have adopted this policy, it is not the intention or in the power of the people to wait long for redress. There is a point beyond which their patience will not allow them to rest passive, and the day is not distant when they may have to pursue a different course. It is my duty to let the people of Canada and the government of Great Britain understand clearly that unless redress is given to Nova Scotia, and that within an exceedingly short space of time, the people of this country will be forced to redress themselves. There never was a more loyal man in this legislature than he who is now speaking,

and yet, sir, I have sufficient knowledge of the human heart, and of the science of politics, to tell me that loyalty is a somewhat delicate sentiment. Loyalty depends, to a large extent, on the conduct of the rulers. I am loyal to the Queen of England because that Queen and her ancestors have been true to me—because I always found them righteous and beneficent in their reign. But if they were to change their character, and instead of the mild and beneficent rule of Queen Victoria we had that of a tyrant, our loyalty would be of short duration. There is a point in political science and political moral philosophy, although it is not easy to tell where that point is, and it is better that such should be the case, when obedience ceases to be a virtue, and when resistance becomes lawful and right. That point certainly exists, although it would puzzle a political philosopher exactly to fix it. Now we have taken good care, in the policy which we have adopted, that we have not anticipated that point, and that we have kept on the safe side.

These observations bring me to the great question of Canadian concession. It has not been fully considered yet, and it is important that before I sit down it shall be thoroughly comprehended, so far as the opinion of this House and of the Government are concerned. That we have arrived at no precise conclusion on the point is evident from a variety of circumstances. We have heard some of our friends solemnly declaring that in their opinion conciliation was impossible—that is, that nothing that Canada could offer Nova Scotia could be accepted as a compromise. We have heard that declaration repeatedly and sincerely made, and it will be found, when I am done, that though I apparently take a different view, in no manner do I differ from them ultimately. Now, I am not of opinion that we should shut out concession. I think we are bound, in the present state of our affairs, to consider any proposals which the Government of Canada may think proper to make to Nova Scotia, touching this question. We are bound to listen, and therefore with that view of the question it will be well for me to describe, according to my estimate of the subject, what concessions it would be necessary for Canada to make before the people of Nova Scotia should be induced to accept them. I will also state my views explicitly on that subject, and have no hesitation in saying, that before the people of Nova Scotia can in any manner consent to be confederated with Canada, it will be necessary for Canada to make most important changes in the Constitution given to these Colonies by the Act for their union. Its framework must be completely changed, and such results must be produced that our people shall be as free, as independent, and as self-governed as before Confederation was thought of. In order to do this it will be necessary that the Constitution be so framed as to give to the Maritime Provinces as strong an influence in the Senate of the Dominion as Canada possesses in the House of Commons. Before the people of Nova Scotia can think of sitting down in Confederation, they must be placed in such a position as to enable them to meet Canada on equal terms in the Legislature, and to enable them to prevent Canada from trespassing in any manner on their rights. In my estimation

this can only be delegates were so the Colonies—on selves—it was should take plac American Colon five: Canada, Prince Edward Had such a t should have co tremendous ma sses in the Hou preponderance counterpoised, and each of the number of sena the American their splendi of wisdom in of the Quebec se of senators to what its pop of that unio States was la of these Colo poses of legi State were a ings comm members. C population o tants, must United State millions, ha cordingly nu because Can extravagant. not the inte that sent arose they this House, from the c eeive their would hav that case w because, w House, ve proportion she would taken out lar with C numbers revenue. safe. Bu order the we course senators, degraded make la be appoi only be freeman

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this can only be done in one way. When the delegates were sent to England to confederate the Colonies—or rather, when they sent themselves—it was proposed that a Federal Union should take place among all the British North American Colonies, which at that time were five: Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. Had such a union been consummated they should have contended that, in order that the tremendous majority which Canada must possess in the House of Commons, by virtue of the preponderance of her population, should be counterpoised, each of the Maritime Colonies and each of the Canadas should have an equal number of senators in the Upper House. When the Americans of the United States framed their splendid Constitution, which is a miracle of wisdom in comparison with this thing called the Quebec scheme, they gave an equal number of senators to each of the States, no matter what its population might be, and at the time of that union, although the population of the States was larger than the present population of these Colonies, they found that for all purposes of legislation two senators from each State were amply sufficient, and they accordingly commenced with a Senate of twenty-six members. Canada, on the contrary, with a population of two or three millions of inhabitants, must begin with as many senators as the United States, with a population of thirty-four millions, have at present, and her senators accordingly number seventy-two. This was done because Canada can do nothing that is not extravagant. Those senators should represent, not the interests of Canada, but the legislature that sent them there. When any question arose they would take their instructions from the State Legislatures. They would receive their instructions in writing, and two would have been as good as two hundred. It would have been as good as been perfectly safe, that case we would have been perfectly safe, because, while greatly out-voted in the Lower House, we should have as great a majority in proportion over Canada in the Upper House as she would have below. We could then have taken out of the common chest dollar for dollar with Canada in a fair proportion to our numbers and our contribution to the public revenue. Our liberties would then have been safe. But it would have been necessary, in order that the Constitution should exist, that we ourselves should have the selection of our senators. Is there a man in Nova Scotia so degraded as to consent that the senators who make laws to bind our life and property should be appointed by Canada? Such a man would only be fit for a galley slave—he is unfit to be a freeman.

Having secured this alteration in the Constitution, which alone could make us safe, we would demand another concession, and that is that an Imperial Statute shall be put on the Statute Book of Great Britain declaring that as the Province of Nova Scotia had voluntarily entered into Confederation with Canada she should be at liberty at any future day, when a majority of her people declared it their will to do so, to walk out of Confederation without incurring the dangers of civil war. These would be the conditions which in my estimation might induce us to accept Confederation

and we would take none less than these. But I would then go a step further. I do not know that these are the opinions of the people of Nova Scotia, and before their constitution should be touched, the question should be submitted to them at the polls to decide for themselves. Now, these are conditions which I presume Canada would look on as very hard because they would prevent her from robbing Nova Scotia, and that would be a very hard case indeed. It was her intention, when she formed the Confederation to lay hold of our property; she wanted it and could not do without it; and thus Confederation proceeded from her desire to extricate herself from pecuniary embarrassment. Now, as these conditions would be looked upon as entirely unacceptable to Canada, we therefore come pretty nearly to the conclusion which my friends have come to when they said it was impossible for Canada to make concessions to us. They were not far wrong, and I doubt much whether the people of Nova Scotia, when the question would be submitted to them, even with these advantageous terms, would be wise in accepting Confederation under any circumstances. With Canada divided into separate populations—one portion of her people having a separate language, separate laws, and separate institutions, refusing to amalgamate—I doubt indeed, sir, that any human mind in existence could devise a constitution that would last for three years; and I believe that the very best constitution that could be framed would break down in a short time, and end in discord, misery, and bloodshed.

It is not pleasant for me to have refer to my own speeches, but as the hon. member for Inverness has raked up a speech of mine, and has read a part of it to contradict my late expressions, I feel it necessary to call attention to some of the remarks which I did make on that occasion. I may, however, premise that in 1854 my mind was as ripe on that question as it is to-day. The subject of a Union of the Colonies had occupied my attention for many years,—to the history of the past, and the conjectures of the future of these Provinces, I had given much thought, and my speech of 1854 on Mr. Johnson's resolutions was the result of the deepest political reflection. I have never had occasion to alter one single sentiment which I uttered on that occasion, but have repeated precisely of the same mind. In the course of that debate three modes of operating this union had been suggested. A confederation, a compact legislative union, and also a union with representation in the Imperial Parliament were suggested. I declared altogether in favor of the legislative union, and also against representation in the Imperial Parliament, because I was of opinion that having no representation in the Upper House our lords to represent us in the Upper House would be representation in the Lower House would be nugatory. I thought that the only manner in which the Colonies could be combined with any hope of securing to them the benefits of the British constitution, would be by giving them a peerage and uniting them legislatively. And I may say here that while the hon. and learned leader of the opposition sneered at the idea of a Colonial peerage, he seems to have forgotten that the idea was not original with me. I feel flattered when the political pheno-

mena of the present day tell me that I am as great a fool as Mr. Pitt, the greatest son of the greatest statesman, of the greatest nation that ever existed. It is complimentary to be called as great a fool as he. Now here was my language in 1854 :

"With regard to a Federal Union I will waste few words. There is an old saying, but a very true one, that Union is strength. That the N. A. Colonies ought to be united, there can be no rational doubt, but the Union should be perfect, unqualified and absolute. They should be so incorporated that their interests should be identical. The Canadian, the New Brunswicker, the Nova Scotian, and the inhabitants of the other Colonies should be so united as to feel, to know, and to be assured that they are forever henceforth to be one and the same people. A Federal Union would produce the very opposite effect: each member of the confederacy would possess a feeling of selfishness, and jealousy, and rivalry, and diversity of interest would tend to keep them further apart in feeling and disposition than they are at present. It is not the first time that the neighboring Confederation has felt the inconvenience of this paradoxical kind of discordant Union, and in all probability the principal source of final revolution and disruption in the United States will be found in the vain attempt to form a general Government out of so many jarring elements."

And again :—

"Thus, Sir, I have contended that Annexation would be a curse; that separation with a view to independency would be insanity; that a Federal Union is out of the question."

Now I trust that the hon. member for Inverness and his friends, the other great Canadian advocates, will hereafter do me the favor, when they refer to my speech, to represent it as it was. While I was and am a friend of Legislative Union I was and am a bitter and determined enemy to Confederation in every shape. I can scarcely imagine how men with brains under their hats, could have invented such a constitution as the Quebec Scheme, for it may well be called a Scheme, betraying as it does a thorough and absolute ignorance of every principle of political science from beginning to end. The constitution was composed of the greatest absurdities that were ever imagined,—a deformed monster of no imaginable shape—a creature that could hardly get into the world alive—that came in half still born, an absolute political abortion, and destined to be drowned like a supernumary puppy before its eyes have opened to the light of day.

So much, then, sir, for the mild, judicious, and moderate policy of the Government. We must, however, not forget that there is a people as well as a government that must be looked to, and who can tell what an oppressed and enslaved people may not be tempted to do: I sincerely hope that the British Government will lose no time in fulfilling their solemn pledge to redress the wrongs inflicted upon this loyal people. If they do not immediately do so, the consequences may be fatal in the extreme; and I should ill perform my duty to my Sovereign, if I did not emphatically warn the ministers of the danger of delay. The people

have not been trampled upon by any intentional act of tyranny on the part of their Queen, but they have been reduced to the condition of abject slaves, by the craft and subtlety of political knaves in Canada. This they never will endure; and I may as well explain that to be released from this Confederation is not a matter of choice with the people of Nova Scotia, but a matter of imperative necessity. They will not remain in subjection to Canada, for the simple reason that they cannot do so, and I fear that if, before this House meets again in six months from this time, steps have not been taken to give them relief and redress, they will be no longer able to submit, but will be compelled to attempt to redress themselves, and regain their valued constitution. All they require is to be restored to their constitution and their Sovereign. They will not have Canada and Canadian executive councillors to rule over them, and we shall hear no more of "constitutional means" and "passive resistance." This indeed, sir, is greatly to be dreaded, and I should not be faithful to her Majesty if I did not implore her ministers to prevent such a result by the immediate fulfilment of their pledge—that the wrongs of Nova Scotia should be redressed.

The hon. and learned leader of the opposition foresees the issue of this political crisis, when he tauntingly tells us that we could not prevent Canada from collecting the revenue of this Province. "You have none but a Canadian tariff" he observed, "and, therefore, if you refused to pay under that tariff you would have no revenue at all." To this I would reply, that this Legislature, at its next session, could easily create a tariff, and order the Collector of Customs to pay the revenue into the Treasury in this building. Let the hon. and learned member tell me how this could be prevented.

Mr. BLANCHARD.—Who would assent to the bill?

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL.—There would be no difficulty about that; the matter could be arranged before the next meeting of the Legislature. We have been assured that no force will be used by Great Britain to compel the people of this Province into subjection to Canada—indeed we have been euphuistically told that the word coercion has been erased from the vocabulary as between England and her Colonies. England will not draw the sword upon the people of Nova Scotia, and if they were not strong enough to resist the Canadians, and were determined to free themselves by force, they could obtain the aid of other nations. (The House and galleries having loudly applauded—the Speaker cleared the galleries—and the House shortly afterwards adjourned.)

FRIDAY, 4th September, 1868.

#### Morning Session.

The House met at half-past eleven o'clock. Mr. NORTHUP presented a petition from C. Hosterman and others in Halifax, in reference to the School Act.

Mr. BLANCHARD, by special leave, introduced a bill to incorporate the Peterborough Gold Mining Company.

Mr. KIDSTON, reported from the Committee

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penditures in Victoria  
The House then

passed the following

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to whom was referred the question of over expenditures in Victoria. Laid on the table.

The House then went into Committee and passed the following bills:—

- To incorporate Stadacona Gold Company.
- To incorporate Atlantic “ “
- To incorporate Caernarvon “ “
- To incorporate McIntosh “ “
- To amend act incorporating North Sydney Mines R. R. Co.
- To incorporate the Managers of French Mission of Baptist Associations.
- To incorporate the Montreal and New Glasgow Coal Co.
- To incorporate the trustees of Trinity Church, Halifax.

To amend act incorporating Pietou Mining Company.

The Committee then rose and reported, and House adjourned.

**Afternoon Session.**

A message was received from the Legislative Council that they had agreed to the following bills:

- To incorporate the Caledonian Gold Mining Company.
- To incorporate the Crown Coal, Brick and Pottery Company.
- To incorporate the Gardiner Gold Co.

The bills passed in committee during the morning session were read a third time. Also bills to incorporate the Mulgrave and Starr Manufacturing Co's.

*Hon. Attorney General's Speech concluded.*

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL continued:—  
When interrupted in my address yesterday, I was proceeding to explain the course which the people of Nova Scotia might be driven to take in the event of the British Government failing to fulfil their solemn engagement that the wrongs of Nova Scotia should be redressed by Canada, and I expressed my apprehension that after the constitutional means which had been announced as the policy of the administration were exhausted, this House might be compelled to adopt decided measures to secure the rights and liberties of the people whom they represent. Let me not be suspected of the slightest disloyalty in consequence of expressing such sentiments as these. They are the natural and genuine sentiments of a true and sincere patriot. I will not yield in loyalty to any man that breathes, and yet I say that this House having from the commencement declared that the British North America Act having invaded the rights and overturned the valued institutions of this country, the people are in such a position that if they do not receive redress by the ordinary process of law, they will be bound to redress themselves. Would I be chargeable with disloyalty if I asserted on the floors of this House that if Her Majesty trampled on the rights and liberties of England by violating their constitution, that people, as they have treated other monarchs before, would drag her down from her throne? Would that be a disloyal statement? No, but on the contrary, if it were my opinion that such was the course pursued by Her Majesty that it would naturally lead to a dissolution of the allegiance of her subjects, it

would be my duty to approach the Queen and tell her so. Therefore, sir, I am not to be suspected of holding disloyal sentiments, and whatever quarter such suspicions may come from, is a matter of perfect indifference to me. I hold them in utter contempt.

I state and repeat that if after the people of Nova Scotia have submitted to the course which the government of this country have adopted, if after they have used all constitutional and lawful means to obtain redress of the grievous injury and wrong committed by the Imperial Parliament and government, they will be bound to resist by every means in their power—that it is no principle of political philosophy that the people are bound to submit to have their rights trampled on. If the people owe allegiance to Queen Victoria, Queen Victoria owes protection to them. We are living not under an absolute despotism, but under a mixed monarchy in which the Queen, on the one hand, and her subjects, on the other, have their respective and well defined rights. While the people, on the one side, have no right to interfere with the prerogatives of the Crown, the Crown, on the other, has no right to interfere with the privileges of the people. These are principles too well understood to be re-peated, and therefore I have declared, and again declare, and it is in the voice of warning, not of menace, that if the government of England are so obtuse as not to perceive the necessity of releasing the people of Nova Scotia from the bondage of Canada, the people of Nova Scotia, who cannot and will not accept of Confederation, will have to resort to the best means in their power to set themselves free. These are my sentiments, and I publish them in the face of the world, and I believe they are the sentiments of the people whom I have the honor to represent. We have been told of a great many advantages which we possess from connection with Canada. I confess I cannot see them. I will make but a few observations upon this point. Canada was largely in debt before Confederation was thought of, if I am rightly informed, and I am not making the statement on my own authority but from the best information which I can obtain, she was falling behind at the rate of several millions a year and had a deficit of one or two millions for several years. That is to say, the extravagant government of Canada were annually spending one or two millions more than the revenue. They had pressed taxation to the highest point which could be endured, or which would give taxation, for there is a point beyond which the revenue must be decreased by raising taxation. Canada, being in that state, was on the high road to insolvency; because, if a man or a government will expend annually, several millions over and above their revenue, they are daily and hourly approaching insolvency and bankruptcy. Canada, however, perceived that the Maritime Colonies had an advantage over her—the advantage of being more economically governed, or of having a more productive revenue, and she perceived that, with a low tariff, the revenues of these Provinces were rapidly increasing, and consequently she foresaw that if she could lay hold of these Provinces and regulate their tariff she could, by raising the taxation of this people, manage to obtain the money

which she was so much in need of. That I believe is the real state of the case, and it is that which induces Canada to hold us with such tenacity. If Canada were spending \$600,000 or \$700,000 more than she was receiving would she be so tenacious? Would she not be glad to get rid of us as an expensive burthen. But the debt of Canada was different from that of Nova Scotia, and since Confederation, it must be remarked, we have participated in her debt as she has in ours. The hon. member for Inverness said that Canada had railroads and canals to base her debt on. I am not led to believe that such is the case,—I believe on the contrary that she has not a pounds value on which to base her debt. She can sell neither railroads, canals nor anything else to pay off that debt. That was not the case with us. Our debt was due for railroads which were in the hands of the government, and could at any time be sold and if they had been sold for two-thirds or three-fourths of their cost the money would have been paid into the treasury, and the debt would have been redeemed by that amount. Canada, however, did not own the railroads of that country and was involved over head and ears. She could not, if I am rightly informed, bring any of that property into the market to relieve her of her debt. We had a comparison made between the debt of the United States and that of Canada. The debt of the former country was incurred in consequence of the war, while that of Canada was incurred in peace, and when it is known that countries always flourish more in peace than in war how is it that the debt of Canada was increasing while the United States had no debt at all. The debt of Canada was incurred more than anything else by the extravagance of her statesmen, and therefore we would have had good reasons on that ground to have declined to enter into a co-partnership with her. Now if Canada, in time of peace, was increasing her debt by one or two millions every year how many months of war would it take to ruin her? If the United States have been reduced to straits in three years by means of war and they have a population of thirty-four millions with tremendous energies, six months would be enough to ruin Canada, and is it not plain that if we embark with that country we must share her debt?

Now, what necessity is there that we should incur the risks of war which Canada may incur? We are in a different situation—our country is surrounded by the sea—England is the first maritime nation, and unless she has the first navy on the seas, she will lose her maritime supremacy. Therefore, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland are easily defended, and defended with little cost, because England must have a navy, and we have only to fear aggression by the sea. Canada has a frontier of a thousand miles, open at every pore, and liable to be invaded in every direction. Can England defend Canada? She can only do so at a most enormous cost. She must send out troops and armaments; while Nova Scotia could be defended with little or no expense. Shall we then be taxed for the defence of Canada? If we remain in Confederation, no one can deny what is a patent fact, that she can tax us in

whatever way she pleases. She may impose taxation for the purpose of fortifying the frontier, and not a shilling of the money would be expended in Nova Scotia. Canada will have the benefit of the money, while Nova Scotia will only have the pleasure of paying it. Therefore, I may safely say, that under any circumstances, I see no advantage in being Confederated with Canada; but under such a constitution as that provided for us by the British North America Act. it is not only not expedient that we should be confederated, but it is an absolute impossibility that we should be. We are not in a condition to become slaves. If we accept this Confederation we shall not have a particle of liberty, because the people of Canada having a towering majority in one branch of the legislature, and complete control in the other branch, they can do with the people of Nova Scotia just as they please, and our people from that day forth have no more liberty than the slaves of the Southern States had before their liberation, or than the fellahs of Egypt, or the serfs of Russia. Therefore, it is a matter of necessity, that out of this Confederation the people of Nova Scotia should come.

I will now turn attention, but not at very great length, to another subject which I consider of consequence, and which should be clearly comprehended. We have had such a revolution in the constitution that one hardly knows where to look for constitutional law. We have had it held out as a kind of threat that the Governor-General may come down and dissolve this House. Suppose he did so? Does any one suppose that the people would not immediately return the same House? We would come back with increased strength,—but I wish it to be ascertained and understood where this power of dissolution lies. The British North America Act says not a word about it. The prerogative is not conferred on the Governor-General, and therefore the Governor-General has no more right to dissolve us than the Mayor or City Clerk of Halifax. Now who has the power? In England it is vested in the Queen as one of the prerogatives of the Crown, and the Lieutenant-Governor, representing her, takes it as an element of power belonging to him. Therefore the power of dissolution of the local legislature of Nova Scotia is vested exclusively in the Lieut. Governor, who can act only by the advice of his Executive Council. (A laugh from Mr. Blanchard.) The hon. gentleman laughs without much reason. I dare say he thinks it would be a pleasant thing if we could be invaded by the Governor-General and sent about our business.

MR. BLANCHARD.—I laughed at the statement that the Governor could not act without the advice of his Council.

HON. ATTY. GENERAL.—The Lieutenant-Governor is not so great as the Queen, and the Queen has not the power to dissolve her Parliament without the advice of her Council, nor would she dare to do so. The hon. member cannot show any instance in English history, since 1688, in which any king or prince in England attempted to exercise the prerogative of dissolution without the advice of responsible councillors.

MR. BLANCHARD.—How was it in New Brunswick?

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—An extreme act of servitude about the others be performed by responsible heads. The little no greater power he wears her out he does not pay but is bound like a slave of his resolution of his resolution not do so he done in New Brunswick. Mr. Manners of that Province of the principles of the some of our Nova Scotia what he was tantly to the Movement that act so offensive to they petitioned asking him to by that passed tunity to elect saw that he had he probably had understanding tion, he called formed them prayer of the will not do so ing that his extreme a special send in their might have to other council he considered was the way Brunswick. with the Governor by the advice was legally lution, is it bers of this unanimous back to the any other p —if we did tyranny,—itile to confu it, then we go back, and the House the people, and money are sent ho blessing of mission, and done so, at people that But if I gentlemen have any their opinion to get it. enquiry w give you a tion, that to enquir any we

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL continued:—The extreme act of sending the people's representatives about their business must above all others be performed under the advice of councillors responsible for their advice with their heads. The little King of Nova Scotia has no greater power than the Queen of England, he wears her authority but not Her Majesty, he does not possess one-half her attributes, but is bound like her to exercise the prerogative of dissolution under and by virtue of the advice of his responsible Council, and if he did not do so he would be responsible himself. Now the hon. member asks me how it was done in New Brunswick, and I will tell him. Mr. Manners Sutton, the Lieutenant Governor of that Province, was educated in the principles of the constitution,—he was not like some of our Nova Scotian politicians, he knew what he was about. He had agreed reluctantly to the Maine Liquor Law, and the moment that act came into operation it was found so offensive to the people of that country that they petitioned the Governor almost to a man, asking him to send adrift the House of Assembly that passed it, and to give them an opportunity to elect a new House. The Governor saw that he had been guilty of an indiscretion; he probably had been told so in England, and understanding the principles of the constitution, he called his council together and informed them of his desire to comply with the prayer of the petitions. "But," he said, "I will not do so unless by your advice." Finding that his council would not advise him to so extreme a step, he wrote them a letter asking as a special personal favor that they should send in their resignations in order that he might have the opportunity of swearing in another council. Thus he complied with what he considered the wishes of the people. That was the way in which it was done in New Brunswick. The Executive Council complied with the Governor's request and resigned, and by the advice of the new Council the House was legally dissolved. Talking of this dissolution, is it imagined by any one that the members of this House, sitting here by the almost unanimous voice of the people, are afraid to go back to their constituents? If we had acted any other part than that we are now pursuing,—if we did not steadily resist oppression and tyranny,—if we did not declare ourselves hostile to confederation and determined to destroy it, then we shall have occasion to be afraid to go back, and only then. But to go back while the House possesses the utmost confidence of the people, would be an insult, a waste of time and money, and a desertion of our posts. We are sent here to do a certain work,—by the blessing of Heaven we intend to execute that mission, and we will not go back until we have done so, and have fulfilled the desires of the people that sent us here.

But if Her Majesty's Government and the gentlemen representing them in Nova Scotia have any desire that the people should express their opinion I will afford them an opportunity to get it. When we appealed to England for enquiry what was the answer? "No, we will give you none; we have given you Confederation, that is enough for you; we do not want to enquire into your wrongs, but if you have any we will set them right,—we know mere

about you than you know about yourselves." When they hear these debates and see these resolutions and the Minute of Council, and understand the course which the people intend to take, the British Government may at last wish to make enquiry,—we will afford them an opportunity of doing so, and I think I may pledge myself, the government and all the members of this House excepting two, the leader and the wheeler of the opposition, that if the Duke of Buckingham will write out to Nova Scotia a despatch stating that Her Majesty's Government are prepared to repeal the British North America Act if the people of Nova Scotia, on being consulted at the hustings, shall so express their desire, the moment that despatch reaches us this House shall be dissolved. Let us then hear no more threats of a dissolution, and I may say that those threats, for which none of us care, have come from quarters whence they should not have come. This brings me to refer to another subject and one of no little moment—the opinion taken in England in reference to the constitutionality of the British North America Act. The delegates from this country had no particular instructions to ask for a legal opinion—they took with them the opinions of the people of Nova Scotia and of the lawyers of Nova Scotia,—they took with them the sanction of all the legal talent in the United States—for that talent had been called into play on the very subject of the right of the Imperial Parliament to interfere with the constitution of the colony—and they took with them the sympathies of every legal mind on the continent of America. They did not absolutely want an English opinion but they obtained one, and it is that opinion which I wish to discuss and with some brevity to dissect. I shall shew how strange and unreliable that opinion is.

I believe the delegates were not aware, when that opinion was taken, that Sir Roundell Palmer had been the Attorney General who framed the preamble to the Union Act. This I assume on pretty good authority, as I shall shew. When the Quebec scheme was born in Canada, it had this head dress on it: "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; provided it can be effected on principles just to the several Provinces." It is very well known that every statute which affects any constitutional principle is, by the British Government, always handed to the Crown Officers for their approval or disapproval; and we have a right to assume that this most important statute was submitted to Sir Roundell Palmer. We have stated the true principle to be, that when a constitution has been conferred on a Colony that constitution is irrevocable, except by the consent of the Colony itself; and therefore the British Crown Officers said that they could not lay the bill on the table of Parliament unless they gave it a different preamble from that which it had. In order to make it constitutional they gave it that most unfortunately mendacious preamble which stated that Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia desired to be federally united. That of course was false in fact, as Nova Scotia never had expressed such a desire, and Sir

Roundell Palmer was the man who, I assume, placed that false preamble at the head of the bill. The most important question which could have been put was not submitted. That is, the great question—"Has the Imperial Parliament the right to tax the people of Nova Scotia while the Province is unrepresented in the Parliament." That question has received a practical solution on this continent, and includes all the other points, because if that Parliament has not the power to impose taxes on us, *a fortiori*, it has not the power to create that authority in another legislature; it can not confer on others what it does not possess itself. I regret that that question was not put because it would have driven the counsel into a corner from which they could not have extricated themselves. I will not occupy time by dissecting this opinion limb by limb, but will take off its head, and when I have decapitated it, I will be satisfied. Let the whole civilized world listen to this opinion, given in the nineteenth century:

"Question—Has the Impérial Parliament the right to legislate away the constitution of a Colony granted by Royal Charter and developed into "Responsible Government," as was the case in regard to Nova Scotia?"

"Answer—As a matter of law, properly so called, we are of opinion that there is no limit to the authority of the Imperial Legislature over a Colony in the situation of Nova Scotia."

Observe these words "as a matter of law, properly so called." What mean they? It would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer to give them any meaning. We are told here that the Imperial Parliament has unlimited power in dealing with the constitutional rights of the people of Nova Scotia. Now this is a very strange declaration. It is like that of Charles the First when he commanded the ship money to be paid. He said that he did so by divine right—that he had been divinely authorized. Then, sir, the legislature of England must be divinely authorized; there can be no law higher than its own, the law of God cannot be higher. Is there any intelligent creature on earth that is not bound by the great Legislator of the universe? Can the Imperial Parliament violate the ten statutes delivered amidst the thunders and lightnings, earthquakes and darkness of Mount Sinai? Can it abrogate those statutes which were given to regulate the conduct of man towards his Maker and towards his fellow man to the end of time, and which no power can repeal? One of these commandments is "Thou shalt not steal," and another is, "Thou shalt do no murder," and so careful was the divine legislator in regard to the rights of property that he made it criminal even to desire the property of another. These commandments bind every human being; they bind man individually and collectively whenever he has the privilege of hearing them, and they bind the Imperial Parliament as much as any other power on earth. If that be the case that Parliament had no right to violate the law of God,—if that unlimited power belongs to the Imperial Parliament, what is there to prevent it from passing a law like that of the cruel, sanguinary, parricidal Herod, that all the children in Nova Scotia, of two years of age and under, should be put to death? I think such a law would not be binding, but Sir Roundell

Palmer thinks it would, and that the people would be bound to obey it. I cannot comprehend what he means by the words which I have quoted, unless he means the law which was formerly promulgated before the Ten Commandments,—a kind of law of nature,—a law of rapine, spoliation, arbitrary power—a law of savages, who regard only their own desires.

We are told by voyagers that whenever they came among savages who have not had the benefit of Divine revelation, they find no distinction between the rights of property—nothing can be left in their way. Why? Because they have the law, properly so called, of Sir Roundell Palmer to guide them. This is the law which authorizes the burglar to break into houses at night and steal property—that authorizes the robber to seize the traveller by the throat and blow his brains out. It was this law, "properly so called," which authorized Ahab and Jezebel to put Naboth to death, and to take possession of the inheritance of his fathers; and is it not remarkable that what they did was just what was done when the rights of the people of Nova Scotia were murdered and the inheritance of their fathers taken from them? It was done by men of Belial.—The men of Belial were sent to bear false witness against Nova Scotia, but, says the hon. member for Inverness, the men of Belial did not deceive the British Government, because Mr. Bright in his eloquent address has shown that Lord Carnarvon actually knew that the people did not want Confederation. "Therefore," says he, triumphantly, "they did not deceive the British ministers," and he says this to whitewash the men of Belial. Who says that the British Government were deceived? We do not say so. Who says that the men of Belial deceived Jezebel or Ahab? Canada has played the part of Jezebel and the Government of England has played the part of Ahab. The Government of England knew that the men of Belial were going to swear falsely, but as the people were deceived who stoned Naboth to death, so the men of Belial deceived the Queen and the people and parliament of England, but they did not deceive the British government, who knew that we did not desire Confederation. That was the law of Sir Roundell Palmer, "properly so called;" but what did the Almighty Legislator say when he found Ahab in possession? How did he deal with this law properly so called? "Hast thou killed and also taken possession? Where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine, and dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jereel." That was the sentence pronounced on the law of Sir Roundell Palmer, and though I am not a prophet like Elijah, yet I do predict that if England and Canada, and their governments, persist in executing this law, "properly so called," on the people of Nova Scotia, her Majesty's power in America will, like Jezebel and Ahab, inevitably go to the dogs.

Now let us try out this famous law, "properly so called," to its legitimate conclusions. The Imperial Parliament have told the people of Nova Scotia: "we have thought proper to take from you a very important part of your old and valued institutions, but we have given you a very refined Constitution; in Canada; we have saved your House of Assembly the trouble of taxing you, and have put that trouble on the

Canadians?" By the gone further and benches? Nay, the of our House of robbed us of that pthers; they might hant-Governor as a might have transferrham into a Tiberisgreedy, rapaciousrob' murder anddown-trodden Prohe done under theHaving answered in the speech of thI will not occupwhole farrago ofThe hon' gentle thing—from Mosmoiaesses—and atThe history of fbeen recorded oother sacred histprovement of furrious as—she wecord. We have asses since her tcharacteristicsknew when to swas pithy, logishshort, and I do benefit of audieing asses of theselves on the eBalaam.

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Canadians?" By that law could they not have gone further and dismissed us all from these benches? Nay, they might have deprived us of our House of Lords—they might have robbed us of that precious inheritance of our fathers; they might have taken home the Lieutenant-Governor as a useless appendage; they might have transformed the Duke of Buckingham into a Tiberias, and he might have sent a greedy, rapacious Pontius Pilate, to tax and rob; murder and crucify, the people of this down-trodden Province. That is what might be done under this law, "properly so called." Having answered all that I consider noteworthy in the speech of the hon. member for Inverness, I will not occupy time in running over the whole farrago of the hon. member's speeches. The hon. gentleman gave us a little of everything—from Moses down to refined sugar and molasses—and at last he came to Balaam's ass. The history of that extraordinary animal has been recorded on the inspired page, like all other sacred history, for the edification and improvement of future asses. She was a very curious ass—she was the first speaking ass on record. We have had a great many speaking asses since her time, but this one possessed two characteristics peculiar to herself: first, she knew when to stop; in the next place her speech was pithy, logical, and what is more, it was short, and I do think it would be much to the benefit of audiences in general if all the speaking asses of the present day would model themselves on the example of the celebrated ass of Balaam.

The Resolutions finally passed, and were entered unanimously, after some remarks from Mr. Blanchard and others.

After which the House again went into committee on bills, and passed the following:

To incorporate the St. Andrew's Lodge, Sydney.

An Act respecting Street Curbing, Halifax.

An Act to amend Chap. 85 R. S., respecting the weighing of hay, &c.

To amend Chap. 171 R. S. of the administration of Justice in the Supreme Court.

To incorporate the Victoria Coal Mining Company.

To incorporate the Sabbath School Association.

To incorporate the Peterborough Gold Mining Company.

To legalise assessment rolls in various counties.

The committee then rose and reported.

Mr. YOUNG introduced a bill to incorporate the Mayflower Gold Mining Company of Windsor.

Also presented the Report of the Committee on Agriculture. Laid on the table.

The House then adjourned till Monday at 3 o'clock, with the understanding that it was necessary to push forward the business before the various committees.

MONDAY, Sept. 7th.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

Several bills were read a third time.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN introduced a bill to incorporate the Society of St. Vincent of Paul.

Hon. Mr. TROOP introduced a bill to amend chap. 25 R. S. of Mines and Minerals.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. introduced a bill to alter the sittings of the Court of Sessions, in Western and Eastern Hants.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table a petition from the Departmental and Regimental Officers of H. M. Service, asking to be relieved from School and Municipal taxes. Laid on the table.

Also, the petition of David Cowan, asking remuneration for a collection of specimens, ores and minerals lost in connection with the International Exhibition. Sent to the Committee on Mines and Minerals, at the request of the hon. gentleman.

The following bills were read a second time.

Three bills to amend chap 45 R. S. of County Assessment.

To amend chap. 25 R. S. of Mines and Minerals.

To amend act regulating the Poores' Asylum, Halifax.

To amend act incorporating Windsor and Annapolis R. R.

To incorporate the Montreal Exploration Company.

Mr. BLANCHARD, as Chairman of Committee on Private and Local bills, reported up the following without amendment:

To incorporate the Sydney Industrial and Provident Society.

To incorporate the Union Temple of Good Templars, at Williamsdale.

To incorporate the Casco Bay Copper Company.

To incorporate the Glace Bay Gold Company.

To incorporate the Mayflower Gold Company, Windsor.

To extend jurisdiction of Street Commissioners to North Sydney.

In respect to Harbor Masters of Sydney.

Mr. BLANCHARD also asked leave to report up a bill to legalize electoral rolls of electors in Yarmouth. It would be remembered, he said, that the bill had been introduced by one of the members for Yarmouth, because these rolls had not been made in accordance with law. He (Mr. B.) had ascertained to his surprise, that the County of Inverness was in the same condition. If an election was to be run before the 24th June next, the electoral rolls would be found not only imperfect in those mentioned, but probably in the majority of other counties in the province. In view of the statements made on a previous day by the Attorney General, it was very advisable to have the matter immediately attended to. Under the circumstances the bill had been amended so as to include Inverness, and other gentlemen would get their counties added if Committee, if it should be necessary.

The foregoing bill having been disposed of—

Mr. BLANCHARD went on to say that he wished to make a few observations to the House in consequence of the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, and in order to keep with in the rules he would conclude with a motion. He happened now to be in the position of being forced to say good-bye to the legislature on account of some irregularities in connection with the making up of the lists in Inverness. A committee would soon report, he understood, that his election was null and void, and therefore he was obliged to make



been comment and opinions, for I am in this that a full audit before the strict Public Account to refer to evening at special resolution anything, the order of strangers question in disavowal he was ven, but if the heat of order of the would at frankness. that it had the chair, the House in d now leave conviction that its benches, med by the ng sustained government appeal once returned to his the certainty im with fail- ists, or to act it was his st of his abil- d have liked ney General, led him, he man, as well consider the ey were drift- present rash nselves in a find it impos- intention to requesting the the presenta- ble the min- the investi- tion. As he t the commit- n, he would ial Secretary nected with the relief of nee.

them, as they were too full of errors to present to the House. The sums paid to the printer, referred to by the hon. member, were very insignificant in comparison with the extravagant amounts granted by the previous government. As respects the papers asked for, he would lay them on the table at the earliest possible opportunity.

The subject then dropped.

Mr. KIRK reported from the Special Committee to whom the subject was referred in favour of the establishment of an Inebriate Asylum.

Mr. BLANCHARD thought that the Government would do best by immediately communicating with managers of similar valuable institutions in other parts of America, and obtain their reports on the subject.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON, Chairman of the Committee to inquire into the legality of Mr. Blanchard's election for the County of Liverpool, reported said election null and void.

Mr. BLANCHARD thereupon bowed, and retired from the House.

Mr. ROBERTSON stated that the paper the hon. gentleman had asked for, would be laid on the table.

The House then went into Committee on Bills and passed the following:

To appoint Commissioners to appraise damages for railway purposes in Annapolis.

To incorporate the Caseo Bay Copper Company.

To incorporate the Sydney Mines Industrial and Provident Co.

To incorporate the Union Temple of Good Templars.

To incorporate the Glace Bay Gold Co.

To incorporate the Mayflower Gold Mining Co. of Windsor.

The Committee then rose and reported.

Mr. KIDSTON laid a motion on the table to go into Committee on a future day on the state of the Province in consequence of the British North America Act, and the withdrawal of the revenue from Nova Scotia.

Mr. PURDY introduced a bill to have considered some amendments introduced previous part respecting the bill of the session.

Mr. PURDY was appointed a committee on Education in place of the committee on the subject.

The House then adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, 8th Sept.

The House met at 3 o'clock, and remained in session with closed doors until half-past five o'clock, when they adjourned.

#### WEDNESDAY, 9th Sept.

The House met at 3 o'clock, and remained in session with closed doors until five o'clock, when the galleries were opened.

A message was received from the Legislative Council, stating that they had agreed to the following bills:—

To amend Chap. 1.—R. S. respecting regulation and inspection of lumber, &c.

To incorporate the St. Andrew's Lodge, Sydney.

To legalize the assessment rolls in certain districts and counties.

To incorporate the French Mission of the Western Baptist Association of Nova Scotia.

To incorporate the Sabbath School Association, Halifax.

The House then went into Committee on bills, and took up the bill to incorporate the New Glasgow and Cape Breton Coal Company.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. called attention to a circular setting forth the claims of the International Coal Company, which had been granted a charter until 1870. If that Company had any extensive rights, of course they should be considered. It might be, however, that two railways might be built.

Dr. MURRAY contended that the International Company had no exclusive right whatever, and had received all the consideration to which it was entitled.

Mr. PURDY argued in favour of the claims of the International Company, which would build their road at the earliest possible moment. The House had no guarantee that the new company would not buy up coal areas, and promote their interests without reference to others. He hoped the Legislature would do nothing to interfere with a charter solemnly given to a company, as such a course would prevent the introduction of capital into the country.

Mr. LANDERS did not see why there should not be two Companies, unless one actually interfered with the other, and this had not been shewn.

Mr. WHITE had not much information on the subject, but he did not wish to interfere with the rights of the International Coal Company. He did not see, however, how the new company would interfere with the International Company. If that could be shewn, then he would occupy a different position.

Mr. PURDY said the Company intended locating a line in close vicinity to the other. There was not traffic sufficient for two Companies. It was unfair to grant a charter that would interfere with vested rights. He had looked closely into the matter in Committee, and had not, therefore, formed his opinion hastily.

Dr. MURRAY said that the hon. member had failed to make out his case. If the International Company were competent to build the road, why had they not done so. They had actually applied to the Dominion Government for a guarantee in order to build the road. A similar petition had been presented to the Local Government. The charter had been renewed several times already, and yet the road had never been built. The International, if they built the road, would only accommodate their own coal mines.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. asked if the International Coal Company were now operating their mines.

Mr. WHITE said they were now working very valuable mines, and ought to have their rights well considered; but he had not yet seen how the new company would interfere with the other.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSSON gave a short history of the International Company, which he said owned a very valuable mining area, and comprised men of great wealth. If gold were lower and coal higher, they would not hesitate a moment to construct the road. They had already spent at least \$100,000 at their mines, which were now being worked—on a limited scale, how-

ever, on account of the want of a harbor. He would like to see many railways in Cape Breton, but he was unwilling to interfere with vested rights. He knew, at the same time, it would be a great benefit to the Province if the guarantee could be given.

Mr. D. McDONALD said if the hon. member doubted the propriety of the bill he had himself introduced he should hesitate to press it. The moment the Reciprocity Treaty was renewed, the Intercolonial Company would go on with the road. Chartered rights should not be hastily interfered with, and nothing whatever was known about this rival company. There was not work enough for two railways.

Mr. WHITE said, if all the coal of all the mines was shipped at Sydney, there would be a necessity for two railways. He had not yet seen, however, that the interests of the two companies would conflict.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said, if any new company were chartered, a clause should be introduced protecting the rights of the International Company.

Mr. KIDSTON said that the International Company had been granted certain privileges, but he did not see that they would be interfered with by the new company. Otherwise the House would be supporting the old principle of monopoly. Some eight collieries would be interested in the construction of the new line.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that the International Company had done already a great deal of work on the faith of a charter granted by the Legislature. Now the charter had been extended to 1870, and gave the company very large rights, which should be carefully considered by the House. They had also made surveys for railway, and before any new company could come in, the applicants should make out a case to shew the House the propriety of granting a new charter. In view of the importance of the coal interests great care should be taken in all legislation on the subject. He was not prepared to say he would oppose the new bill, but he had advised the House to get all the information possible in reference to it, so that no injustice might be done to any one.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said, that the question with him was, how far the new charter would interfere with the rights of the former company. The fact that the time of the International Company had been extended could not be denied, and with the uncontradicted assertions of that company before him he could not feel justified in voting for the bill.

Mr. BALCAM said he was well acquainted with the wants of the locality in question. Sydney was a long time frozen up, and if a railroad could be built to Louisburg, vessels could go and obtain their cargoes at all seasons of the year. Such a railroad would be vastly beneficial.

Hon. Mr. TROOP moved that a clause be added to the bill reserving the vested rights of the International Company.

Mr. PURDY said that this amendment did not meet his views entirely. If the charters were given for the one line, no one could insist a dollar in either Company. The ability the International Company to go on with

the road could not be disputed, their reasons for not having done so: the high price of gold, the duty on coal, and the American war, had been given. The Company had a perfect right to go to any government and ask a quantity of stock, and until it could be shown that they were unable to carry on the work, the charter should not be given.

Mr. KIDSTON said that if the Coal trade was as prosperous as it gave promise of being, three or four railways would be necessary. The new Company did not intend to wait for the price of coal to go up, and the price of gold to come down, but were prepared to engage in the enterprise at once.

The bill passed with the added clause moved by the hon. Mr. Troop.

The Committee adjourned.

Mr. DESBRISSAY, as Chairman of Committee on Private and Local bills, reported favorably of a number of bills, and unfavorably of the bill relating to Street expenditure in the City of Halifax. The latter bill was deferred for three months.

The House adjourned to the following day at 3 o'clock.

THURSDAY, Sept. 10.

#### Morning Session.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Several bills passed a second reading.

The amendments proposed by the Legislative Council to the bill to incorporate the Caledonian Coal Mining Company were agreed to.

The House then went into committee on bills and passed the bill to amend the act to incorporate the Trustees of Zion Church, Halifax,—the bill to incorporate the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, Halifax,—the bill to incorporate the Montreal Exploration Co.,—the bill to provide for the payment of certain liabilities in the Co. of Guysboro,—the bill to provide for the opening of a road in the County of Pictou,—the bill to incorporate the International Iron and Steel Company,—the bill to amend the act relating to the management of Sewers and Dykelands,—the bill to extend to County of Cape Breton the act relating to Streets,—and the bill to incorporate the Long Point Coal Mining Company.

The bill to compel the Windsor and Annapolis Railway to pay Dyke Rates was taken up. Hon. SPEAKER said that such a bill should be carefully considered.

Hon. Mr. TROOP did not see why the railway should be made liable when no charge was made on other highways.

Dr. BROWN said that the Company took the lands on which these rates were chargeable, and they should bear the burthens of the other properties.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that the question was whether the Legislature would impose taxation on private companies holding lands for public purposes. He was opposed to such a principle. He observed that it had been stated that the company were building their culverts of wood. This was very dangerous and improper.

Hon. SPEAKER said the principle of taxing such companies was not recognized as regards general taxation, and he did not see why a different rule should be made as to local rates.

Dr. BROWN then comprehended the Company running a society of persons rates on their own.

Hon. SPEAKER gentlemen from and soliciting the cupidly to ask should be taxed.

Mr. YOUNG Company as of no analogy to public highway should fall within the

Hon. ATTY. GEN. liable under the

The bill passed. Also, the bill relating to the Wind

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Dr. BROWN thought that the Speaker misapprehended the question. It was the case of a Company running a road through the land of a society of persons having the right to levy rates on their own property.

Hon. SPEAKER replied that he could imagine gentlemen from the Western Counties desiring and soliciting the railway, and then having the cupidity to ask that the Company building it should be taxed.

Mr. YOUNG said that the maintenance of the dykes were as much for the interest of the Company as of any other proprietor; there was no analogy between this case and that of a public highway. It was unfair that the tax should fall wholly on the remaining proprietors.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that the land was liable under the present law.

The bill passed.

Also, the bill to amend the Act to incorporate the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Co.

The Committee adjourned.  
Mr. YOUNG, from the Committee on Agriculture, reported a bill to repeal the Act relating to the purchase of a model farm.

Hon. Mr. TROOP, from the Committee on Law Amendments, reported favorably of the bill in reference to petty offences, trespasses, and assaults.

The House adjourned to 3 o'clock.

#### Afternoon Session.

The House resumed at 3 o'clock.  
A call of the House was had.

#### VOYE OF THANKS.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said:—I rise, Mr. Speaker, to perform a very agreeable duty which I have during this session, had occasion to make a great many remarks in a spirit of censure and disapprobation. The object of this motion is of an opposite tendency. When the delegates went to England, they found, as was to have been expected, a great deal of indifference on the part of the British nation to the wrongs of Nova Scotia. The people of England had paid little attention to the affairs of this distant colony, and the Confederation was supposed by many of them to be a step in advance. Accordingly the mind of England was largely prepossessed against us, and it became necessary to awaken the sympathising intellect of the leading men of the country. I am happy to say that the delegates succeeded in doing so to a very remarkable extent. Without further preface I proceed to move votes of thanks to those who rendered themselves conspicuous in their efforts on our behalf. I first move the following resolution: the thanks of this House be conveyed to the noble Viscount Stratheden.

The resolution on being put passed unanimously.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. continued:—John Bright, Esq., is widely known as an able politician,—he is a most distinguished member of the House of Commons, and has made his mark in the annals of his country. It was no unimportant accession of strength when he as a lover of liberty agreed to accept the office of advocate of Nova Scotia in the House of Commons. I have great pleasure, therefore, in moving the following: that the thanks of this House be conveyed to that gentleman.

Mr. PINEO enquired whether these resolutions were intended to be pressed through, or

whether they would be allowed to lie on the table. He had no particular desire in the matter, but thought that whatever course was usual should be adopted.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said, that if the hon. member had any particular object in asking for delay it would be needed. It was not usual, however, thus to court opposition to merely preliminary resolutions, and it was desirable that the resolutions should be transmitted to England by the mail which would leave on the day following.

The resolutions passed unanimously.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL: I have also an agreeable task to perform in reference to the delegates commissioned by the House to support an address to Her Majesty. Their task was one of an exceedingly difficult and delicate nature. They were intrusted very closely in their instructions and their task became doubly difficult when they found the British Government actuated to a large extent by a foreign conclusion in reference to the Confederation of the Colonies. That government were disposed from the first to discourage the object of their mission, but they went on in a spirit of zealous patriotism to stir up the public mind and endeavored to bring before the Parliament of England the grievances of Nova Scotia. Without deviating from their instructions, they succeeded in giving to affairs a prominence which will be of the greatest benefit, and which I trust will result in the accomplishment of the great object which we had in view, the total emancipation of this Province from the tyranny of Canada. I therefore move the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Honorable Joseph Howe, the Honorable William Annand, the Honorable Jared C. Troop, and Henry W. Smith, Esq., who were appointed delegates by the authority of this House, to support the claims of the Province, in Great Britain, have faithfully executed the difficult and delicate trust committed to them, and are entitled to the gratitude of the people, and the thanks of the House, for the untiring zeal and ability with which they have pressed the claims of their native Province upon the attention of the Government, Parliament, and people of Great Britain.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the people and of this House be communicated to the Delegates, by the Speaker, in accordance with the foregoing resolution.

The resolution passed unanimously.

The SPEAKER appointed Monday at three o'clock, as the time when he would express the thanks of the delegates.

#### THE ESTIMATES.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. said:—In view of all that has been said in connection with our financial affairs since the time when the House met in February, I must ask the attention of the House, in laying the estimates on the table, while I remark upon the various financial statements which have been made to the House and upon the estimates for the present and succeeding year. It will be remembered that at the opening of the session last winter in the discussion on the financial clause of the speech, for which I was held responsible—the hon. leader of the opposition made rather a

sharp attack upon the Government, and undertook to make it appear that we were in a much better financial position than we had represented. With the means at my command I prepared a short statement of figures, which I think refuted all that the hon. member said, and I am prepared to show to-day that the remarks which I then made were strictly correct. In a speech in which I supported the resolutions afterwards moved, I laid on the table a supposed estimate of our assets and expenditure for the present year, and notwithstanding that I had been only about two months in the office, and that some felt somewhat dubious about the figures, a comparison with the estimates will show that I was within a comparatively small sum of being correct. I contended then that had we made the same allowances as heretofore for the road and bridge service, we would have been \$142,000 in debt. The Estimates which I now lay on the table, show that we have granted for that service, \$100,000, being \$140,000 less than the grant for 1867, and after paying out the amount appropriated for the Provincial Hospital, we shall be \$13,000 in arrears, so that my previous statement will be found to be correct. I will briefly refer to some of the statements made at that time, and I would go more fully into that part of the subject, if the hon. member were present. I took the year 1866, and based my calculations on the importations for that year, under the Nova Scotia tariff; I then applied the Dominion tariff to the importations of the same year, and the result showed that had we been Confederated at that time, we would have paid into the Dominion treasury \$427,539.98 more than under our own tariff. In my calculations of the other day, based upon the accounts furnished me by the Dominion auditor, and which I take for granted are correct, I think I made it quite clear to this House, that there is a balance the present year in favor of Nova Scotia of \$416,471.11, less the \$30,000 which might be chargeable to us as interest on arrears, a difference of only about \$11,000.

The hon. member for Inverness said the other day that in my calculations I had omitted the interest on the debt of eight millions, but the House will remember that I gave the reason why I omitted it. Had the hon. member been desirous of placing a reliable statement before the people of this country, he should have taken this up from a different standpoint, and given Nova Scotia credit for duty on the importations from Canada and New Brunswick, but the hon. member has not done so. As the hon. member for King's remarked, the country has been overrun with Canadian agents, and no doubt a very large quantity of goods have been imported from Canada. The duty on those goods having been paid there, they of course come into Nova Scotia free. We are not obliged to import them from a foreign country, but we are still obliged to pay the duty, because it is charged in the first cost. Again, the whole western part of this Province is supplied with dry goods from St. John, the purchasers formerly paying the duty into our Treasury, and on getting a certificate for drawback, they were re-paid the New Brunswick duty. At present the duty on those goods is paid in

New Brunswick, and that Province gets the credit of it, while in reality the amount should go to the credit of Nova Scotia, so that if we are to take into account the interest on the debt, we must, if we throw aside the railroads, take the amount of importations from all the different counties, and give Nova Scotia credit for the duty, and we will find the amount thus ascertained, will very nearly, if not quite, reach the sum of \$600,000 taken out of the pockets of the people of Nova Scotia, as stated by me last winter. In the Estimates which I now submit, we appropriate as follows:—

## EXPENDITURE.

Civil List or Salaries.....	\$21,800.00
Crown Land Department.....	20,000.00
Criminal Prosecutions.....	3,000.00
Coroners' Inquests.....	2,000.00
Education.....	165,000.00
Immigration.....	800.00
Legislative Expenses.....	34,000.00
Miscellaneous.....	16,520.00
Deaf and Dumb Institution.....	2,000.00
Agriculture.....	6,000.00
Dept. of Works.....	50,000.00
“ “ Mines.....	15,000.00
Navigation Securities.....	10,000.00
Poors' Asylum.....	20,000.00
Public Printing.....	8,000.00
Poors' Asylum, (new) on account of construction.....	30,000.00
Relief.....	3,000.00
Road Compensation.....	500.00
Roads and Bridges.....	100,000.00
Transient Poor.....	3,400.00
Steamboats, Packets, Ferries, &c..	8,860.00
Provincial Exhibition.....	3,000.00
New Provincial Building.....	41,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$563,880.00

## ASSETS.

Balance on hand 1st January, 1868.	
By Statement of Treasurer.....	\$39,700.63
Education.....	\$ 22,835.77
Immigration.....	1,000.00
Arrears.....	119,599.28
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	143,435.05
Dept. of Mines.....	90,000.00
Hospital for Insane.....	20,000.00
Crown Lands.....	22,000.00
Bal. Subsidy to 32d Dec. 1868.....	235,953.18
Balance.....	12,791.24
	<hr/>
	\$563,880.00

It will be seen that the large sum of \$165,000 has to be provided this year for Education. I have prepared for information of the members an estimate for 1869, and it will be seen from this that it will be necessary before next session to ascertain whether the Educational grant cannot be reduced. That service will in future take too much money, and while it is important that every child should receive a free education I am sure that we can hereafter only make provision for a common school, and I hold that this is all that we have any right to take money from the treasury for. By lopping off the grants heretofore made to the colleges and superior schools we will effect a reduction. The education grant is the last that I should like to see reduced, but we must begin with those of a larger amount.—The item of expenditure estimated this year for the Provin-

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cial Exhibition will not be required next year, and the agricultural grant may also be reduced. —we have also been obliged to include \$30,000 for the construction of the Poors' Asylum and Hospital, under an Act passed in 1867. Up to this time we have paid for that building \$19,000, and I fear that a larger sum than we have provided will be requisite. It might be well to appoint a Committee however, to see whether any reductions can be made. Our assets stand as follows :

Balance in hands of Treasurer .....	\$39,700.53
Education (being advances repaid) .....	22,835.77
Immigration, (amt paid by mistake) .....	1,000.00
Arrears .....	119,599.28
	<hr/> \$183,135.58
The revenue we estimate as follows :—	
Department of Mines .....	\$90,000.00
Hospital for Insane .....	20,000.00
Crown Lands .....	22,000.00
Balance of Subsidy .....	235,953.18
	<hr/> \$367,953.18

Total .....

it will be in the recollection of the House that when Confederation was going into effect, it was said that the Crown Land Department would yield a revenue of \$20,000. Last year we received from Crown Lands \$45,000, but after the experience of eight months we find we can only calculate on receiving \$22,000, while the expenses of the Department, including Salaries, will be \$28,000 or \$6,000 above the receipts. It was supposed by some that we would be in a position to increase the grants for roads and bridges, but after cutting down all the services to the lowest point and only allowing \$100,000 for the roads and bridges, we find that we shall be \$13,000 in debt, and this deficit may be increased by further expenditure for the Hospital. In the Estimate for next year which I have prepared, we make the following allowances :

Agriculture .....	\$3,000.00
Salaries .....	21,900.00
Criminal Prosecutions .....	3,000.00
Coroners Inquests .....	2,500.00
Crown Land Department .....	20,000.00
Deaf and Dumb Institution .....	2,000.00
Immigration .....	800.00
Education .....	165,000.00
Legislative Expenses .....	30,000.00
Miscellaneous and Adv's .....	15,000.00
Navigation Securities .....	15,000.00
Public Printing .....	8,000.00
Poor Asylum .....	20,000.00
Road Compensation .....	500.00
Steamboats, Packets and Ferries .....	8,860.00
Department of Mines .....	15,000.00
"    Local Works .....	50,000.00
Transient Poor .....	3,400.00
Interest on Public Debt .....	40,000.00
Balance .....	32,040.00
	<hr/> \$456,000.00

Roads and Bridges .....	\$240,000.00
Less Balance .....	32,040.00
	<hr/> \$207,960.00

While speaking of ferries I may remark that a large portion of the allowance for ferries is paid for the carriage of the mail. If the Province is to be obliged to pay postage to the Dominion, I think we should withdraw the ferry grant next year, and endeavor to get a return of what we pay this year.

The assets I estimate as follows :—

Subsidy .....	\$264,000
Bonus .....	60,000
Mines .....	90,000
Hospital for Insane .....	20,000
Crown Lands .....	22,000
	<hr/> \$456,000

Now, taking the deficit and adding the road grant heretofore given, we shall have a deficit of \$207,960. With this statement, I leave the House to judge whether we are now in a better financial condition than before Confederation. I would now move that the usual supplies be granted, and that the House resolve itself into a committee for that purpose on Monday next.

Mr. MORRISON enquired whether the Government had ever turned their attention to the clause of the Act of Union giving the General Government control over military roads. The burthens of keeping up such roads, if there were any, might, under that clause, be left to that Government.

Hon. PRO. SEC. replied that his attention had never been called to the matter, but he considered it of some importance.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. NORTHUP presented a petition from Rev. P. G. McGregor and others relative to schools. It was referred to the committee on Education.

Hon. PRO. SEC'Y. laid on the table a petition from W. A. Hendry. Referred to committee on Mines and Minerals.

Mr. MORRISON presented a petition from T. Cook, of Lower Stewiacke. He explained that a short time ago a mysterious disappearance occurred in the County of Colchester. A part of the property of the missing man had been found on the person in whose company he was last seen, and upon this and other grounds of suspicion, an arrest and an examination took place, under the advice of the Solicitor General for the time being. The evidence being inadequate to place the accused on his trial, he was discharged, and brought an action against the prosecutor, recovering a few pounds damages and costs. The petitioner asked that the sum so exacted from him be refunded by the government.

Hon. Mr. TROOP thought that the petition might be sent to a special committee. It would be well, however, to consider the propriety of setting such a precedent as would be involved in granting the prayer. He did not understand how the petitioner had been mulcted in damages—if the fault was in the proceedings of the magistrates, there might be a remedy against them. A great deal of confusion and litigation arose from the incompetency of the magistrates throughout the country.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN thought that the precedent of sending the petition to a Committee, would

be unwise. It was quite possible that the petitioner had gone beyond the law—the court and jury had deliberated on the whole matter, and were in a better position to consider the case than the House.

MR. PINEO took the same view, and thought that numbers would avail themselves of such a precedent, if it were once established.

MR. MORRISON bore testimony to the high character of the petitioner,—the accused was likewise a decent young man. The prosecutor had acted on the advice of the Solicitor General, and then had put himself in the hands of the magistrates. If redress were not given there would be no encouragement to parties to exert themselves in the interests of justice.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN thought it would have been more prudent for the prosecutor to have consulted the Custos of the County and the Sessions, and to have acted on their advice. The House could not tell what motives might have influenced the party.

MR. SMITH said that if the party had acted under the advice of the Crown officer, that was a good defence to the action for damages—another good defence was the probable cause for suspicion. It was to be presumed that those defences had been set up and had failed, and it was unwise, therefore, for the House to go into an investigation which had already been made.

The petition was handed to the government. The House adjourned.

FRIDAY, Sept. 11, 1868.

The House met at 2.30.

#### BILLS.

The following bills were read a third time: To assess the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company for dyke rates,—to incorporate the Woodbine gold mining company,—to amend the act to incorporate the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company,—to amend the act relating to dyke and marsh lands,—to extend the jurisdiction of the Commissioners of streets to Sydney Mines,—to amend the Montreal Exploration Company,—to incorporate the Society of St. Vincent of Paul,—to provide for the opening of a road in the county of Pictou,—and to incorporate the Glasgow and Cape Breton Railway company.

Hon. Mr. TROOP, from committee of Law Amendments, reported favorably on the bills to amend the act respecting cattle going at large,—to amend the act respecting railroads,—to amend the act respecting licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors,—to amend the act relating to marriages, births, and deaths,—to amend the act relating to fires and firewards,—to amend the act in reference to the Militia,—to amend the act respecting juries,—to amend the act respecting the Supreme Court and its officers,—and to amend the act relating to county assessments.

#### ROAD AND BRIDGE SERVICE.

MR. JOS. McDONALD moved the appointment of a special committee to enquire into the expenditure of the sum of \$1600 and \$20,000 respectively, borrowed on the credit of the road moneys of Antigonish.

Hon. PRO. SECY. said it appeared that the money had been spent in 1866 and 1867. No

papers relating to it were to be found in his office.

Hon. SPEAKER said that he had been unable to find vouchers for work alleged to have been done in his county. This appeared to be so generally the case that the whole House would be the best Committee to consider the matter.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. suggested that the Committee be instructed to enquire into over expenditure in all the counties.

This suggestion was agreed to and the motion passed. Committee: Messrs. Kidston, Freeman and Copeland.

#### CROWN LAND DEPARTMENT.

MR. KIDSTON asked the Government to lay on the table a detailed statement of the expenses of the Crown Land Department, the number of officials employed and their several occupations. As this was a non-paying department it was advisable to have some information as to the way in which its revenue was absorbed.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that the Committee on Crown Lands intended to turn their attention to this subject.

#### BILLS.

The House then went into Committee on Bills and passed the bills to legalize the electoral lists of Yarmouth and Inverness; to amend the act relating to county assessments, and to authorize the appointment of harbor masters for the harbor of Sydney. The bill to amend the act relating to petty offences, trespasses, and assaults, was then taken up, its object being to allow the Stipendiary Magistrate or any two Magistrates of the County of Halifax, to impose a fine not exceeding \$30 for assaults.

MR. D. McDONALD thought it would be unwise to extend the power of the magistrates to this extent.

MR. NORTHUP said that the bill would save the time of Sessions. The jurisdiction which it conferred was still much below that of the City Magistrates.

MR. TROOP said that the bill had been recommended by the committee on the solicitation of the members representing that county. It appeared that the Stipendiary Magistrate of the city exercised greater power than even those possessed by the Supreme Court, mulcting parties in heavy fines and inflicting long imprisonments without the intervention of a jury. While the utmost facility should be given for the suppression of crime in the city, it was not intended that the Stipendiary Magistrate should be autocrat.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON did not think there was any ground for making a distinction between Halifax and other counties.

Hon. SPEAKER did not approve of the bill. The Sessions had now jurisdiction in cases where the magistrate thought the offence too grave for his adjudication. He thought the power of the City Magistrate too large,—a person coming to the city from the country and getting into difficulty in Halifax without friends or assistance was deprived of the safeguards which availed him in other places.

The bill passed,—also the bill respecting cattle going at large, and the bill respecting fires and firewards.

The bill to amend the license law was then taken up. It provides that the agent for the

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sale of liquors in counties where licenses are not granted shall be a member in good standing of some Temperance organization, and shall keep a record of all sales and of the object for which the liquor is obtained.

Hon. Mr. SPEAKER considered the bill too inquisitorial. Too much vigor in such matters only defeated the object in view. For instance in those counties where licenses were not granted it was well known that the liquor was sold surreptitiously.

Mr. DESBRISAY said that the principal part of the bill was already on the Statute Book. Under the present law, a person in a county where licenses are not granted, who desires to sell liquor may have himself appointed agent, sell indiscriminately and make money out of the sale, which was never contemplated by the act. A few checks therefore only were added and the bill was a most righteous one.

Hon. Mr. SPEAKER said that to make a rum-seller of a temperance man, as contemplated by the bill, was a strange proposition after the way in which rum-sellers were usually denounced by temperance men. Perhaps the object was to give the latter class a place where they could get a glass of good liquor from a brother. It would be better to pass the Maine Liquor Law and thus strike at the root of the evil.

Mr. DESBRISAY said that though not a member of a Temperance Society, he was strongly in favor of the bill which was desired by the Temperance body.

Mr. KIDSTON thought that every act of recent legislation on this subject had been a backward movement. The present law was a curse and not a blessing to the country. In many countries where licenses were not granted, liquors were abundantly sold, and prosecutions were prevented by act requiring that the party prosecuting should give bonds for the expenses. In opening one door for justice the law opened two doors for the escape of offenders.

Mr. YOUNG thought it would be well to pass the Maine Liquor Law as a means of effecting repeal. Canada would find she could get little or no revenue from Nova Scotia.

Mr. CHAMBERS said that if the Maine Liquor Law were brought forward those who now urged it as a means of striking at the root of the evil would object that the evil was too deep to be removed. One good effect of the present law was that there were many places where liquor was not sold, Maitland for instance. He thought the bill a good one.

Hon. Mr. SPEAKER said that by adopting harsh measures to suppress intemperance, the hand of society was raised against the law and the object of legislation was frustrated. For example, the act making the wife of a person accused of the violation of the license law competent and compellable to give evidence against her husband, had largely prejudiced public feeling against prosecutions.

(The Legislative Council announced by message that they had passed the bills for the appraisalment of railway damages in the county of Annapolis; to incorporate the Mayflower Gold Mining Company of Windsor; to incorporate the Glace Bay Coal Company; to incorporate the Casco Bay Copper Mining Com-

pany; to incorporate North Sydney Marine Railway Company; to incorporate the Carmarvon Gold Mining Company; to incorporate the Union Temple of Good Templars; to incorporate the Sydney Mines Industrial and Provident Society; to incorporate the Victoria Coal Mining Company, and to incorporate the Caledonian Gold Mining Company.)

Mr. DESBRISAY again supported the bill, and explained that it made only a slight change in the existing law. If it were deemed unsuitable for the whole Province, it might be made applicable to Lunenburg County.

Mr. SMITH thought that the bill was of rather too restrictive a character, in requiring that the agent should be a member of a Temperance Society in the district in which he was authorized to sell. All the agents were not open to the charge of selling indiscriminately.

Mr. DESBRISAY concurred in the latter remark, but said that this bill would meet a pressing evil in some parts of the country.

Mr. D. McDONALD thought that the existing law respecting such agents was indeed better. It provided that the agent should not be interested in the liquor which he sold, but did not provide any means by which he should obtain it.

Mr. DESBRISAY replied that the matter was wholly under the direction of the Sessions.

Hon. Mr. TROOP regretted the observations of the Speaker. The evils resulting from drunkenness were apparent in every part of the country, but he thought that moral and not legislative reform was the proper remedy. The bill might be open to the objection of legislating for a class as regards a public officer.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the county of Annapolis was remarkable for hypocrisy in such matters. When last the Maine Liquor bill was introduced, he made up his mind to vote for it, but was horrified to find his leader desert him on the ground that cider was not exempted.

Mr. DICKIE supported the bill. Temperance men desired it, and every facility should be afforded them in their benevolent efforts.

Mr. KIRK thought the bill very desirable, and regretted the remarks of his colleague the Speaker. It could not be denied that Temperance organizations had done a great deal of good in Guysborough and throughout the Province.

Hon. SPEAKER replied that in the part of the county with which his colleague was best acquainted, the illicit sale was not so apparent as in other parts. The law could not be carried out.

Mr. FREEMAN said that the present law was defective—temperance men had found their efforts frustrated, and he was therefore, glad that the bill had been introduced.

Mr. KIRK said that the principal object of his former remark was to correct an impression which might be created by the remarks of his colleague in reference to the Temperance organizations. The bill would make the agent amenable not only to the legal authorities but to his own organization as well.

Dr. BROWN considered that the present law was sufficiently stringent.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON thought that if the law were made more rigorous it could not be carried out.

Mr. NORTHUP was of the same opinion,—at one time flour was allowed to be sold duty free to fishermen, and it was found that parties even went to the length of dressing up a person as a fisherman and sending him for the flour. Such evasions would be constantly practised under such legislation.

Mr. DESBRISAY said the day had come when all must admit that the Temperance organizations had done a vast deal of good,—it was the duty of a christian legislature to aid their efforts by the necessary legislation.

Mr. KIDSTON agreed that the Maine Liquor Law was the only remedy which should consistently be asked for if the advocates of such legislation wished to be fair and candid.—Short of that, nothing but moral influence would avail.

Hon. PRO. SEC'Y. said he feared that if the liquor were only to be sold for medical purposes a great number of persons would get sick for the purpose of obtaining a supply. If the bill was considered of any practical advantage it should have his support.

Mr. CHAMBERS said that the bill would not apply to places where licenses were issued. Where licenses were refused the public sentiment tended strongly against the vending of liquor, those who desired the liquor were obliged to be silent on the subject, and if they persisted in having it, to go to low houses. He thought that the bill would serve an excellent purpose.

Mr. COPPLAND considered that the present law was sufficient.

The bill passed.

The Committee adjourned.

The House adjourned.

SATURDAY, Sept. 12, 1868.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Several bills passed a third reading. The House then went into Committee on Bills, and took up the bill to amend the act relating to Juries, the objects of the bill being to increase the pay of petit juries to one dollar per day and to allow Grand Jurors the same for attendance at the Supreme Court and at Sessions.

Mr. KIDSTON said that the taxation for the pay of jurors was already very heavy, to double the amount would greatly increase the taxation.

Mr. White said that the question was not so much of the cost to the counties as of the sufficiency of the remuneration of the jurors. The increase appeared to him too large; he suggested seventy cents instead of a dollar.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that a dollar per day was little enough. When a farmer left his home to attend as a juror, he had not only to give up a large portion of his time to settle the disputes of other people, but had to lodge at a public house, where his expenses were more than his pay. The whole expense did not come out of the county treasury, for a tax of half a dollar was levied on each declaration on it and the plaintiff in each cause tried had to pay \$6.00.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said that he had introduced

the bill. It was unjust to compel the farmer or fishermen to leave his labor to attend to the litigation of other people for the paltry remuneration of half a dollar per day, which did not cover his expenses if he went to a decent boarding house.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL explained that under the existing Law Grand Jurors were not paid for attendance at the Supreme Court.

Mr. DESBRISAY expressed his approval of the bill,—the remuneration which it gave, was rather under than above the mark.

Mr. PINEO considered the increase of pay highly necessary, as the present remuneration was insufficient for actual expenses.

Hon. SPEAKER said it should be borne in mind that there was a great difference between Grand and Petit Jurors,—the former were discharging the public business and ought to be paid by the county,—the latter were settling the lawsuits of citizens, persons who should be made to pay for the service.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN explained that in his county the Grand Jury had made a presentment for their pay on attending the Supreme Court,—the Clerk of the Peace doubted that he had any authority to draw the money, but the matter being referred to the Judge he decided that the presentment having been made and confirmed, the money should be paid.

Mr. KIDSTON said that the poor, county, school and other rates were already very burdensome, and that a measure to double the pay of Jurors would be very unpopular. In his county it was believed that this year rates would require to a large extent to be collected by force of law. The jury tax would then be about £90 and the bill would increase it to £180.

Mr. WHITE said it was true that jurors had to give up a great deal of time for the public benefit, but the remark was equally true of magistrates attending sessions, constables and all other public servants.

Mr. SMYTH said that the constable was a very ill-paid officer, and the principle on which the bill was supported, would extend equally to magistrates. If the pay of the jurors were increased some provision should be made in the bill as to raising the money. At present every plaintiff paid into court \$6.00, but this must be increased, or else the whole of the additional cost must be made up by taxation.

Mr. DESBRISAY remarked that a magistrate might refuse to act,—a juror could not. Many of the jurors had to travel 50 or 60 miles and to live in the cabins of their vessels while attending court.

Mr. SMYTH said that his remark respecting magistrates had reference to attendance at the sessions and to criminal business.

Mr. WHITE said that jurors could not be fully remunerated for their loss of time; the object of the allowance was simply to cover their expenses, and he thought that 70 cents per day, in addition to their travel fees, would do that.

Hon. Mr. TROOR said that the objection made as to the want of machinery in the law to make up the additional allowance would apply as well to the proposition of Mr. White as to the bill. It could be met by making the tax on each writ \$1 instead of 50 cents. The bill

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would be a simple act of justice to the jurors who were in some counties called away from their work at a very busy season of the year; they continually made complaints about the present system, and were anxious to evade the law.

Mr. KIDSTON said he had no objection to the Grand Jury attending the Sessions being remunerated, but the petit jurors should be paid by those who made the quarrels and went to law.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that there was no analogy between magistrates and jurors. The office of Justice of the Peace was one of honor, and was universally sought after. No one could contend that \$1 per day was too much pay for a farmer leaving his business. The difference could be partly made up by making plaintiff pay into court \$12 instead of \$6.

Hon. SPEAKER thought it rather significant that the professional members of the House all supported the bill. There was a vast distinction, which should be borne in mind, between grand and petit jurors. In some counties the taxes were already as high as the rental, and some individuals, to his knowledge, were taxed as much as £30. In view of these facts he could not vote for the bill.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that the profession supported the bill because its members came so often in contact with jurors, and sympathized with their grievance. They had no other interest to serve.

Mr. SMITH said that Mr. White and himself were opposed to the principle of the bill, and therefore it could not be said that all the lawyers supported it. The people were constantly murmuring at the increase of taxation and could hardly bear their present burthens.

Mr. DESBRISAY thought it desirable that the pay of magistrates and constables should also be increased; but the bill would be one step in advance.

Hon. Mr. SPEAKER said that if there was no money, as appeared in most counties to be the case, the jurors could not be paid. The members of the profession supported the bill by raising side issues—they wished to relieve their clients and to put the cost on the county.

Mr. NORTHUP thought that as the present law was working well, it would not be advisable to make a change.

Mr. PINEO said he would be sorry to increase taxation, but there was difficulty in getting jurors to attend. While living away from home they could not keep themselves and their horse on less than \$1 per day.

Mr. FREEMAN agreed that the sum now paid to jurors was not sufficient, but he did not wish to see taxation increased. He would be willing that the Grand Jury should get \$1 per day, and also the petit jurors, provided the litigants would pay the difference.

Mr. LANDERS thought a clause should be added compelling the unsuccessful lawyer to pay all the costs.

Hon. PROV. SEC. would not vote for the bill if the extra charge fell on the county. In many cases taxation had already been increased five or six hundred per cent.

Mr. WHITE remarked that the charge could

not be made to fall entirely on the litigant; the Court might in some cases sit without trying a cause.

Mr. DESBRISAY repelled the insinuations made in reference to the profession. The people need as warm and true friends in the profession as out of it. The lawyers in this House had no interest in this matter to regard, excepting those of the jurors and the public. It was idle to talk of the duties of petit jurors not being public business as well as those of the Grand Jury.

Hon. SPEAKER said that in passing through the country he generally found that the finest properties were owned by professional men,—they should not attempt to protect their clients at the expense of the country generally. It was the duty of the House to see that the industrious classes of the country were not taxed for the benefit of those who could not manage their business without going to law.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. proposed that the tax on writs be extended to all writs, whether declaration, summary, or sub-summary, and that the tax on declaration writs be seventy-five cents instead of fifty.

Mr. SMITH remarked that the county fund would not be much increased in this way, as suits under \$80 were generally brought before magistrates.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that the insinuations against members of the legal profession could well be disregarded, but they were discredit-able to the House. In one case where the Grand Jury had made a presentment for higher fees the whole rate had been quashed on certiorari. He would strongly oppose payment of the magistrates, but he thought the jurors should have a fair remuneration. A slight alteration in the table of fees would prevent the tax from falling on the counties.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. remarked that the bill required some statistical knowledge before its adoption, and the committee thereupon resolved to report a resolution for its postponement for three months.

The Committee adjourned.

Mr. DICKIE asked the government to lay on the table any correspondence with the Dominion Government as to the route of the Intercolonial Railway.

The House adjourned.

MONDAY, Sept. 14.

#### Morning Session.

The House met at 11 o'clock, and went into Committee on bills.

The bill to amend the Act relating to the Supreme Court and its officers passed. Also, the bill to enable the inhabitants of Sydney to procure a fire engine. Also, the bill to incorporate the Colonial Gold Mining Company. Also, the bill in reference to the registration of Marriage, Births and Deaths. Also, the bill to amend the act in reference to railroads. The bill to amend the law relating to Militia was then taken up, its object being to prevent the Militia being called into service beyond the Province, except by order of the Lieut. Governor and Council.

Hon. SPEAKER asked if it would be well to pass an act which would in all probability be disallowed by the Dominion government,

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that the British North American Act seemed to contemplate that the control over the Militia hitherto exercised by Her Majesty should be vested in the Governor General; there was some vagueness in the act, however, and it would be well to express the views of the Legislature. One of the worst features of the act seemed to be that it might authorise the calling of our people to the defense of Canada. The passage of the bill would give the Canadian government an opportunity to say whether such was their intention or not.

Mr. DICKIE thought the bill a very necessary one. A number of men had turned out to drill under the recent orders, and these might be entrapped by the pretence of enlistment.

Mr. YOUNG thought that the power of sending the Militia beyond the Province should not even be given to the Governor and Council.

Dr. MURRAY said it was important that the bill should be passed. Canada had robbed us of our rights and liberties, and it remained to be seen whether the bone and sinew of this country would be taken from it at the dictation of a Canadian minister who was rebel in 1837, and, he believed, a rebel in 1868.

Mr. DESBRISAY said that the anti-confederates had been accused of deceiving the people by raising a false cry about the Militia being taken off. This bill would test that question.

The bill passed, also the bill to amend the act relating to Insolvent debtors; also the bill relating to townships and township officers.

The bill to amend the law relating to County Assessments was then taken up and discussed. The bill provides that the Collector shall make a return of his collections within a year, and shall be held liable for all the rates unless he can shew that he has used good diligence to collect them. It enables the county treasurer to issue distress warrants, and authorises the Sessions in each county to abolish the poll tax if they think proper. Considerable discussion took place on a clause allowing the constable ten cents per mile on his travel to arrest a person for the rate.

Hon. SPEAKER thought that the fees would be far too high.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN desired that the County of Halifax be exempted from the operation of the bill.

Mr. D. McDONALD explained that the law gave no travel fees in such cases, and the practice was for the magistrates to make an allowance which differed in most counties. He had introduced the bill from the knowledge which experience had given him of the inadequacy of the present law.

Mr. WHITE considered that the fees in the bill were too high. They were greater than those allowed to the Sheriff.

Mr. DESBRISAY thought it would be well to insert a clause preventing arrest for the rate. Parties arrested generally swore out and the county was put to the expense of maintaining them.

Mr. WHITE said that this would prevent the collection of at least one fourth of the rates.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN supported the bill. He believed that a large sum was annually left uncollected from defects in the machinery of the law.

Mr. PURDY said that by allowing such large

mileage a constable might be sent from the Shiretown to the out-kirts of the county to arrest half a dozen delinquents, and by getting the fees on each of them he would make a handsome sum. The office of County Constable would be then one of the best offices in the Dominion.

Mr. KIDSTON supported the bill. It was not generally speaking wise to put a man in jail after the distress warrant had failed to exact the rates. It was not often done unless there was good ground for believing that the party would pay.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that the question was whether it was expedient to give travelling fees.

Mr. DICKEY said that under the bill all delinquents must be put in jail because the Collector was personally liable unless he had used all legal means to collect the rate.

Mr. D. McDONALD replied that the bill was not more stringent on that point than the existing law. He consented however that the clause should be struck out.

The remainder of the bill passed.

The Committee adjourned.  
The House adjourned.

#### Afternoon Session.

The House resumed at 3 o'clock.

#### VOTE OF THANKS.

This afternoon having been named as the time for presenting the thanks of the House to the delegates, the Speaker called Hon. Messrs. Annand and Troop and Mr. Smith to seats provided for them within the bar, Hon. Mr. Howe being absent.

Hon. Mr. SPEAKER.—The House have committed to their Speaker the agreeable duty of communicating to you the thanks of the people of Nova Scotia and their representatives for the faithful, zealous and able manner in which you executed the duties of delegates to Great Britain, under the authority of a resolution of this House on the subject of confederation, in which this Province has been involved against the will of the people. It affords me infinite pleasure to be able to add my testimony to that of the House in favor of the signal services you have rendered to your native country, and I most cordially congratulate you and each of you on your good fortune, in having obtained and above all in meriting the applause and approbation of your fellow subjects of Nova Scotia.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

The delegates having withdrawn, the House proceeded to the consideration of the estimates.

Mr. PINEO said that in the former part of the day he had asked the government to lay on the table a statement of the amount paid to the Commissioners appointed to examine the finances, the amount paid to Dominion and local members, the amount paid to the Counsel and Solicitor in England for their opinion given to the delegates, the amount paid for printing and other expenses connected with the Repeal delegation, and the gross amount paid to the delegates. He asked whether this information would be furnished before the estimates were taken up.

Hon. Prov. SRC. laid on the table the statements asked for, excepting as to the amount

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paid to the finance commissioners. He was not in a position to do that, as the bill had not come in.

The House then went into committee of Supply.

Hon. PROV. SEC. moved that the sum of \$23,700 be voted to defray the expenses connected with the civil list.

Mr. PINEO said, that standing alone, in opposition to thirty-six gentlemen, it might seem a piece of presumption on his part to attempt to scrutinize the conduct of the Government, but when he saw such an estimate laid on the table, evidently with a view to prejudice the mind of the country, he could not allow the matter to pass without comment. He had declared, shortly after taking his seat, that however small might be the minority in which he found himself, he would defend what he considered right, and expose what he considered wrong; that was the feeling which actuated him in calling in question the accuracy of the estimates. When the Governor's speech was laid on the table, one of its first clauses stated that the financial affairs of the Province were in a very bad condition. On that a number of arguments had been based as to the injuries which were being inflicted on the Province by Confederation. The then member for Inverness had laid on the table a calculation shewing that the finances were not in so desperate a condition, and to this day that calculation had not been successfully controverted. He had contended then, and contended now, that there was sufficient information in the control of the Government to have enabled them to contradict that calculation immediately if it were untrue, and they not having done so, the statement still stood unimpeached. He would on this occasion proceed to show that the finances of the country were not in so bad a condition as they were represented. When the Provincial Secretary had introduced the Estimates he had expressed regret that the hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Blanchard), was not present, and he (Mr. Pineo) thought that expression sincere, until he examined the estimates, and he now believed that if Mr. Blanchard were still a member of the House those estimates would hardly be allowed to go before the House. If he (Mr. Pineo) possessed the command of language and fluency of speech of Mr. Blanchard, he would read such a lecture to the Government as would open the eyes of the people to their designs, and would enable the Provincial Secretary to come nearer the true calculation by \$100,000 than he had done. When he showed the country that instead of a deficit of \$12,000 there should be \$100,000 to add to the intended road grant he would have made it clear that the Government by no means regretted the absence of the late member for Inverness. It would appear that the statements made about the bad financial condition of the country, and these estimates likewise, had been made with a view of keeping up the excitement with regard to Confederation. He would now draw attention to the civil list and ask the House to compare it with that of previous year. In 1866 it was \$67,586, this year it was estimated at \$41,500. Looking at the difference between the past and present requirements it would be found that the Governor's salary was deducted,

\$15,000, the Governor's Private Secretary \$1250, Judges Salaries \$17,800, Pensions \$4,800. That made \$38,900 that clearly should not be estimated in 1866. There was also a reduction in departmental salaries, which should be put down at \$900 at the least and this would increase the deduction to \$59,800. This deducted from the civil list of 1866 would leave \$17,786 which would be ample to meet the charges. Taking this view of the case it appeared that in the civil list there is an over-estimate of \$24,000. Coming next to Criminal prosecutions, he would like to ask why an increased expense for this service is estimated for this year. \$1000 more than the previous year had been put down and \$800 more for Coroners inquests. These two sums he added to the \$24,000 and also \$3000 increase in the estimate for Education. As to Immigration, he found \$800 put down for the agent, in respect of that item he would repeat the remark made by the hon. member for Colchester, Mr. Morrison, the other day; he would allow honest men to draw their own conclusions. This item should be added to the others which he had named. For unnecessary outlay for legislative expenses owing to needless protraction of the session, and increase of number of Legislative Councilors \$2000. The grant to the Poor's Asylum last year was only \$12,000,—the Prov. Sec. had put it down at \$20,000,—he assumed that the cost would not be greatly increased as the institution was full last year. He also struck off \$41,000 estimated as a sum to be paid for the new provincial building. That sum was to be taken out of the pockets of the people when not a penny need be paid. It was well known that the Dominion government were ready to take the building off the hands of the government, and therefore the Province should not be put to this unnecessary outlay. The items which he had enumerated amounted to \$80,600 which he had deducted from the estimated expenditure, \$562,880 would leave for actual and necessary expenditure \$482,236. The correctness of these calculations he said would be made apparent by reference to the Journals.

He would now refer to the estimated revenue. As to the department of Mines, the receipts were put down at \$90,000, and he would ask why were they placed so low? The Commissioner in his report spoke most encouragingly of the prospects of the department, and the people had a right to expect after such a report, a considerable increase in revenue of the department. From 1866 to 1867 the increase had been \$5,200, the increase at the same ratio would be for 1868 \$6000; and this would not be taking into consideration the fact that a large number of new mines had been opened. The receipts of the department in 1867 were \$93,795, and yet the Prov. Secretary had only estimated for 1868 \$90,000. For increase from new mines he added to the \$6000 already mentioned \$4000, and adding the difference between the receipts of 1867 and those estimated for 1868 would give a total increase of revenue for this department over and above the estimate of \$13,795; but he would leave the sum at \$100,000. As to Crown Lands the estimated revenue was \$22,000,—he could not understand why that should be, for in 1865 it was \$43,655. Even supposing there would be a small reduction, he could still safely add \$20,

000 which would bring the receipts of the department to \$3000 less than they were in 1867. This would make an addition to the gross revenue of \$30,000, which added to the sum estimated by the Prov. Secretary, would make the revenue \$581,600. Deducting from this the expenditure according to his, Mr. Pineo's estimate, would leave a balance to the credit of the Province of \$68,852, and he believed that if he were acquainted with the items comprised in the sum put down for miscellaneous expenses, he could get \$5000 more out of that. He hoped due consideration would be given before the House proceeded to vote, such large sums as were asked, for in the estimates laid on the table.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. congratulated the hon. member in being such an apt scholar of his late leader, and on having succeeded in making \$500,000 out of \$400,000. As regards the statement that the calculations of the hon. member for Inverness had never been answered, he begged to dissent from that opinion. Those calculations had been answered over and over again to the satisfaction of the House, and of the country, and he could defy any one to gainsay what had been said on this subject from the first, either by the government or their supporters. He could not help regarding the objection just made to the estimates, as ridiculous. It would not be singular to hear the government charged with proposing extravagant appropriations, but it was strange to arraign them for saying we have only so much money and our expenditure must be confined within that amount. The hon. member had showed his unacquaintance with the facts, by his remarks on the civil list. That list now included the salaries of all the clerks in all the departments, which was not the case formerly—that was the reason why it appeared large. For criminal prosecutions \$3000 had been allowed, and in the six months of the year already gone \$1788 had been paid. For Coroners' Inquests \$2000 had been put down, and \$1030 had been paid during the half year. As to the receipts from the mines the estimate could not be far astray, because it was based on the receipts of the half year; it was just the amount handed in by the Commissioner. The hon. member could hardly be astonished that the receipts should be less than heretofore,—it was a well known fact that the Coal trade was not one tenth of what it was when the markets of the United States were open. The amount put down for revenue from the Crown Land Department had been furnished by the Commissioner, who would be likely to make it as large as possible. He regretted to find the hon. member for Cumberland, in referring to the assets, included a sum of \$183,000 which could not be expected in following years. \$39,000 remained as a balance in the Treasury, whereas a deficit was apprehended for next year,—\$22,835 had been received in return for loans to the Educational Department, and \$1100 improperly paid for Immigration. For arrears, likewise there had been received \$119,599. None of these sums could be expected in future. He would not occupy further time, as he had laid on the table an estimate for 1869, showing clearly what the state of the Province would be then, when the assets would not be increased by the arrears.

Mr. KIDSTON suggested that discussion be re-

served until the House went into committee on the general state of the Province. The hon. member for Cumberland had been led astray by his imagination, and had got on the wrong scent.

Hon. SPEAKER said that this was the proper time for discussion. He was glad to see the Prov. Secretary so fully able to answer the objections made. The explanation given showed how possible it was for a gentleman having the best intentions to fall into error in such matters.

Mr. DICKIE said that the Crown Land Department comprised a Commissioner and seven Clerks. He asked whether some reduction of these expenses could not be made.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. replied that any reduction recommended by the Crown Land Committee, who had the matter in hand, would probably be made. He had omitted, in replying to the hon. member for Cumberland, to explain that the expenditure of the Poors' Asylum was a matter which the government could not control. When the accounts were brought in the money had to be paid. The expenditure for the half year was more than half the estimated amount.

The vote for the Civil List passed. Also, the vote of \$1000 for Criminal prosecutions, and \$500 for Coroner's Inquests, above the amount authorized by law.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. then moved the vote of \$163,000 for Education.

Mr. WHITE asked whether this grant could be reduced, and the reduction be added to the road grant?

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. replied that as a large part of the year had already expired, the reduction could not be made till next session.

The vote passed. Also the vote of \$34,000 for Legislative expenses.

On the motion for \$15,320 for Miscellaneous services, Mr. Townsend proposed that the grant of \$600 for reporting decisions of the Supreme Court be struck off.

Mr. WHITE opposed this proposition. The reports were valuable to all classes in the country.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. said he had enquired into the matter, and had come to the conclusion that it was very important to have the decisions reported. It tended to prevent litigation.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the reports were highly valuable to all classes of persons, and gave an illustration of their service by referring to a case in which the rights of mortgages were largely affected. The money could not be spent better on literary matter.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. said that it would not be easy to strike off the allowance when eight months of the year had expired.

Mr. TOWNSEND said it would be well for the reporter to take notice that the grant would be opposed hereafter.

The vote passed. Also, the vote of two thousand to the Deaf and Dumb Institution. Also, the vote of \$65,000 for Department of Works and Mines. Also, the vote of \$6000 for Agriculture.

Mr. WHITE enquired whether there was not a sum still in hand for the purchase of a model farm.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. replied that \$5000 had been set apart for that purpose and was still in Bank.

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Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. moved the vote of \$10,000 for Navigation securities.

Hon. SPEAKER said that if the Dominion Government took all the wharves, piers, breakwaters and lighthouses, it would hardly be necessary to make the grant.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. said that the Dominion government only assumed control of the lighthouses, and of the Digby and Parrsboro' Piers.

Mr. WHITE enquired whether the grant was only to be appropriated for keeping up breakwaters already constructed. If not, it was too small. A very urgent application for aid had been made by the inhabitants of Mainville, and he was anxious that it should be favorably considered by the government.

Mr. HOOPER also pressed upon the government an application which had been made through him.

Mr. DICKIE enquired whether it had been ascertained on good authority that the Dominion government did not assume the navigation securities entirely.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. replied in the affirmative. The Minister of Public Works had given him the instruction that none but such works as were completely under the control of the government, would be acknowledged and assumed. It was with difficulty that the Digby pier had been recognized as one of these. As to the enquiry of Mr. White, he said that the government would endeavor to meet special requirements in the usual terms.

Mr. DICKIE said that the Dominion Government were evidently determined to deal with Nova Scotia just as they pleased, to take such public works as they pleased, and to put on the Union Act a construction to suit their own views. It was hard to know what the Local government might not be called on to provide for, even among those matters named in the act.

Mr. PURDY said that the Parrsboro' Snag was surely recognized. It had been argued in the canvass that the pier would be subsidized by the Dominion government, and that immense advantages would result.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y. replied that the Parrsboro' pier was assumed by the Dominion government.

The vote passed. The motion was then made for \$20,000 for maintenance of paupers.

Hon. SPEAKER suggested that \$13,000 should be sufficient.

Mr. PINEO supported the proposal for a reduction.

Dr. BROWN said that the number of paupers was larger this year than last, but the increase in the amount was in advance of the number of paupers.

Mr. PURDY considered this an illustration of the evil of Confederation. Nothing however would be gained by reducing the vote. If the money were not needed it would not be drawn. The vote passed. Also the vote for public printing, \$8,000.

Hon. PROV. SEC. then moved the vote of \$30,000 for the construction of a new Poor's Asylum. He said that two-thirds of the amount had already been paid under the law.

Mr. WHITE again urged the propriety of making a reduction and of increasing the road grant. His county was \$1,200 in debt and not a shilling had been spent this year on the roads.

Mr. DICKIE spoke to the same purport. He said it was the understanding that a committee should be appointed to see if a reduction could not be made in the cost of the new Poor's Asylum.

Mr. LANDERS said that this was one of the most necessary grants. The inmates of the Poor's Asylum were suffering for want of room. In some rooms of eighteen feet there were twenty beds.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that this liability was a legacy of the late government. The contract having been entered into must be carried out.—The understanding however was that the old building should be sold when the new one was completed, and such a provision might be incorporated in one of the bills sent up for approval by the City Council.

Hon. SPEAKER referred to the public works hitherto undertaken and of the large amount by which their cost exceed what had been anticipated. The works were often undertaken on conditions which were never fulfilled. The promise of the City of Halifax to pay \$100,000 towards the railway was an example of this. The bill for the sale of the old ground might not pass in the Legislative Council,—already application for the use of the ground as a public park was talked of. It should be remembered that the country needed decent bridges and roads, and the government should not perform their part of the bargain unless the City performed theirs.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that he knew well the state and requirements of the country, but the Legislature and Government were bound to carry out the obligations imposed by the statute. He would be happy if the expense could be spared. The City Council had paid their part of the expense.

Mr. PURDY suggested that the votes be made conditional on the sale of the old property.

Dr. BROWN said that a bill which had been introduced asked leave to assess the City for an additional \$10,000. He would not approve of spending more until the old buildings were sold.

(The Legislative Council announced their assent to the following bills: To incorporate the Carnarvon Gold Mining Company; to incorporate the Sydney Mines Industrial and Provident Society; to incorporate the Peterborough Gold Mining Company; to incorporate the Victoria Coal Mining Company; to incorporate Union Temple of Good Templars; to incorporate the Trustees of Trinity Church; to authorize the opening of a road in the County of Pictou; to incorporate the Society of St. Vincent of Paul; to extend to Sydney Mines the act respecting Commissioners of Streets; to amend the act relating to Commissioners of Sewers; to amend the act to incorporate the Montreal Exploration Company, and to incorporate the Woodbine Gold Mining Company.)

Mr. NORTHUP said that the greater part of the money asked to be voted for the construction of the Poor's Asylum had been spent already,—another portion of \$3,000 or \$4,000 was now due, so that the amount in question was very small. The institution was greatly needed.

The vote passed. Also the vote of \$3,000 for relief of distress.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said it could not now be

increased, but the government would as far as possible be willing from time to time to make such advances on next year's grant as were absolutely necessary.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the road money of some of the counties were mortgaged for three years in advance, and the members could not spend a shilling or procure any money from the Banks.

The vote passed.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that the vote which he had to propose for Steamboats, Packets and Ferries was large, but as he had explained on a former day, this being principally for the carriage of mails, an effort to get the grant refunded by the Dominion Government would be made, and notice might be given that it would not be made next year.

The vote passed.

Hon. PROV. SEC. then moved the vote of \$41,000 for the new Provincial Building.

Mr. PURDY said that his colleague had stated that the Dominion Government were willing to take the building and pay its cost, but he understood from other sources that they were not willing to pay the whole outlay but would pay this \$41,000 only.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that the Minister of Public Works was of opinion that we were entitled only to such sums as had been paid since 1st July, 1867.

Mr. PURDY said that this was following out the rule, "get all you can and keep all you get." Why did not the Dominion Government adopt the Windsor and Annapolis Railway, and pay the sums under that contract.

The vote passed.

Mr. DICKIE said the government having been trusted last winter with the whole of the public moneys of the country, they had discharged the trust well. In view of the responsibilities which might be thrown upon them, and in view of the present condition of the country, he gave notice that he would move that \$50,000 be placed at the disposal of the government for secret service money.

The Committee adjourned.

The House adjourned.

TUESDAY, 15th Sept.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

Mr. McDONALD asked the Government to lay on the table the application of Hon. P. Smyth, dated 8th August, for a coal claim at Port Hood, in order that the papers might be referred to the committee on Mines and Minerals.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y suggested that it was too late in the session to refer matters to committees.

Mr. DESBRISAY reported from the special committee on the petitions relative to land taken at Fisher's Grant, and introduced a bill in accordance with the report.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y laid on the table a Minute of Council in reference to the route of the Intercolonial Railway.

#### EDUCATION.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y read a report of the committee on Education.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN asked what course would

be pursued in reference to the separate schools question, the committee having referred the whole matter indefinitely to the House.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL thought that the session was too far advanced to take up a matter of so much importance.

Mr. WHITE said that the country had been led to believe that the matter would be brought before the House practically this session.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said that this was one of the most important matters before the committee, and no other petitions were so numerous signed as those relating to this question. Day after day the committee were urged to report, and it was only reasonable to expect that they would have reported a week before. It was also generally understood that the report would be favorable to the prayer of the petitions. A great many attempts had been made to postpone the matter. He asked special leave to introduce a bill on the subject, entitled "An Act for the better encouragement of Education."

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y said that the committee had no desire to shut out action on the matter; he did not know how it could have been understood that the committee would report differently.

Hon. SPEAKER suggested that in future committees having matters of such importance before them should report in part.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN said, that as a member of the committee he had been under the impression that the subject would be dealt with in the House. It would have a bad effect to shelve it now.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y said that Mr. Blanchard had been a member of the committee; on his being unseated, Mr. Purdy, who took his place, asked a short time for consideration. The committee had reported at the earliest possible day.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN thought that Mr. Purdy had been put on the committee to defeat the measure.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said he understood that the petition from Arichat was signed by every man in the County, and was, therefore, of great importance. The guards which the friends of the measure had imposed, had a tendency to remove all objections, making the regulations subject to the direction of the School Commissioners of the County and the Council of Public Instruction. Most of the objections were, therefore, removed, but it was well known how the public mind was divided, and as an extensive debate would probably take place, he thought it unwise to take up the matter this Session.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said, this view would be correct, if separate schools, as asked for in the petitions, were the objects of the measure. The bill left the matter, as had been said, under the control of the Commissioners.

Hon. PROV. SEC'Y said he would not oppose the introduction of the bill.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON said that the blame should not be thrown on the Committee.

Mr. MORRISON was willing that the matter should be discussed. He was of opinion that the whole Education Act needed revision.

Dr. MURRAY said that no desire to delay the matter unfairly could be imputed to the

Committee.

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Committee. He thought there would be no objection to the bill being brought in.

Mr. DICKIE said that the bill might bring up the whole matter of Education. He was anxious to have amendment made.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said it should be distinctly understood that members who assented to the introduction of the bill were not pledged to its support.

The motion, to suspend the rule and allow the bill to be introduced, passed *men con*.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN urged the second reading of the bill, but this was objected to, as the second reading was the proper stage for the discussion of the measure.

## BILLS.

Hon. Mr. TROOP, Chairman of Committee on amendment of laws, reported favorably of several bills, and adversely to the bills relating to County Assessments, to highway labor, and to amend the Act relating to the election of members to serve in General Assembly.

The House then went into Committee on Bills, and passed the bills to confirm the lists of electors of Yarmouth and Inverness; to defray certain expenses connected with the civil government; to incorporate Kings Co. Medical Society; to annex the township of Uniacke to West Hants; to appoint Commissioners to appraise railway damages in the county of King's; to amend the Act relating to the Poor's Asylum and Hospital; to alter the sittings of the General Sessions of the County of Hants; to repeal the Act to authorize the establishment of a Provincial Stock Farm, to incorporate the Presbyterian Congregation of St. Peter's; to restore certain lands taken for railway purposes at Pictou.

The Committee adjourned.  
The House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 16, 1868.

The House met at 3 o'clock.

Mr. NORTHUP presented a petition from merchants of Halifax in reference to the trade relations of this Province with the United States. He moved the appointment of a committee to consider the subject of a Reciprocity Treaty with that country.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that no harm could be done by the appointment of such a committee. The Washington government at all events were not bound by the British North American Act.

Mr. MORRISON thought the appointment of a committee very necessary, as the largest interest of the country, the coal trade, was still under the control of the Local legislature.

Hon. SPEAKER suggested that it would not be wise to appoint a committee on such a subject, when it was well known that the House could not control the trade relations.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that it was doubtful whether the House had power to deal with the matter or not. In his opinion there could be no impropriety in taking such steps as could be taken. When the previous treaty had been arranged, it was considered requisite for the legislature of Nova Scotia to pass an act embodying its provisions.

Hon. PROV. SEC. thought the House had a perfect right to take the action proposed. It

might be well to have a delegate to watch any proceedings which might take place.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that a private individual had largely and beneficially influenced the trade regulations when the last treaty was arranged, therefore a recognised representative of the Province might perform highly beneficial service.

Hon. Mr. TROOP favored the appointment of a small committee to report by resolution on the subject.

The following named gentlemen were then appointed a committee: Messrs. Purdy, Murray and Townsend.

Mr. NORTHUP presented a partial report from the committee on Public Accounts.

The Legislative Council announced their assent to the bills to incorporate the International Iron and Steel Company; to incorporate the Glasgow and Cape Breton Railway Company; to incorporate the Low Point Mining Company; to incorporate the Colonial Gold Mining Company; to amend the act respecting cattle going at large; to assess the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company for dyke rates, and to incorporate the Trustees of Zion Church.

## EDUCATION.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN moved the second reading of the bill to amend the Act for the better encouragement of Education.

Mr. PURDY said, that contrary to his own desires, he had last week agreed to postpone his resolutions in reference to the ballot, a question which he regarded with deep interest, in consequence of the session being so far advanced and of other business pressing. The principle which the present bill involved was highly important and would agitate the entire country. It would change, to a large extent, the educational system now in operation. In endeavoring to give a free education to all classes of the people, the Legislature should jealously guard any enactment by which the system would be injured and the progress of education in the country hindered. Without going at length into the question raised by the bill, he would ask the House if it would not be reasonable to postpone the matter until next session. In the meantime this and all other proposed amendments of the Education Act, and the petitions which had gone before the committee, might be printed, and the members on returning to their duties, having received the instructions of their constituents, would be prepared to deal with the question more satisfactorily. Before engraving into the educational scheme a new feature, it would be necessary to consider the operation of the change, and to ask where its effects would end. All throughout the country it was felt that under the present system many hardships existed, and some modifications were required on all sides, but before any change was made it would be necessary to prepare for a complete revision of the law in such a way as to adapt it to the wishes and interests of the country. He thought the bill premature just now.

Mr. WHITE said, that the feature of the bill, which vested the control of the action of the minorities in the Board of Commissioners and the Council of Public Instruction, should completely disarm opposition.

Hon. Mr. TROOP asked what the principle of

the bill was, and why the legislature should be called on to give to one portion of the Province a system of education that would not be applicable to the whole Province.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said that the bill would be general in its application. It was designed to give protection to minorities, and vested the control in the Commissioners and the Council.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said that there was or was not a principle in the bill. If there was, its advocates could shew their reasons for supporting it. It was entirely beside the question to talk of the checks and guards which had been thrown around the measure. If the principle were sound, why restrict its operation, and why delegate to the Board of Commissioners functions which properly belonged to the legislature. In a matter of so much importance as a change in the education law, before the House was called on to affirm a new principle and introduce a new feature, it should be satisfied that there was good reason for the change.

Mr. MORRISON said that as he understood the bill if there were a section of 50 freholders, and 40 of them were for one mode of establishing the school and ten for another, the ten would ask the Commissioners for a separate school; and if there were 30 freholders in an adjoining section divided into 16 on one side and 14 on the other, the 14 could join the 10 in the other section. The confusion would thus be interminable. In every school district there was a minority, and thus the whole system would be disorganized.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON said he saw a good reason why the discretionary power proposed by the Bill should be given to the Commissioners. In this county some ill-feeling had been created by the minorities having no power, and it had been found necessary tacitly to act on the principle embodied in the bill. It was an important fact that Protestants as well as Catholics were petitioning largely for the bill. If the Commissioners had not been willing to accommodate matters, some districts would have to go without a school at all. He thought the bill would be highly beneficial in its results. No body of men were so capable of judging of the necessities of each case as the Commissioners who devoted their time and labor from a love of the cause of Education and a sense of duty.

Mr. CAMPBELL said he could not see why any objections should be urged against the bill. It appeared to avoid altogether the objectionable feature in the separate schemes formerly introduced. If he thought it would have a tendency to disorganise the educational system, he would not vote for it,—it would merely legalise a state of things which actually existed. As the measure was carefully guarded, and as no member had pointed out any reasonable objection which the most fastidious sectarian could uphold, he would feel bound to support the bill.

Mr. PURDY read from the British North America Act a section which provided that where any system of separate schools existed or should exist an appeal by the minority would lie to the Governor General and Council who might make remedial regulations. He said that the moment an act was put on the

statute book to establish separate schools, the guidance and contract would be vested in the Dominion Government. He trusted that this fact would be well considered by the House.

Mr. MORRISON said that the bill extended to all minorities whether on religious or other questions. To make the school sectarian and denominational would be to cut up the whole system of Common School Education. There were minorities in every district and the Commissioners would be overwhelmed with applications.

Mr. WHITE said that such a case as that put by Mr. Morrison in his previous remarks, it would not be reasonable to imagine. No Commissioners would bring a minority of 16, and bring them to be added to a minority of 10 in an adjoining section. Such a style of argument was only splitting hairs.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said that there was evidently on the part of some members either a disinclination to understand the bill or an inclination to make its meaning appear obscure. Separate Schools had been spoken of, but the bill would not establish separate schools pure and simple, although the petition asked for them. It had been asked what was the principle of the bill? He thought he had answered that question when he said the protection of minorities. That was the object which the petition had in view, but he was willing to take the measure in the modified form contemplated in the bill. That principle was fully recognised by the law of every country in Europe excepting two, and was in full operation in both the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. In Prussia, where every child must be taught, religious instruction was imparted in the schools, and each denomination had a right to have its children taught its doctrines. There was a still higher principle involved: the right of parents by divine and natural law to choose the school in which their children should be educated. This was the principle underlying the petitions which asked for the protection of minorities; but as he and those who agreed with him in this matter found that there was a disposition not to accede to the principle, and the rights which the petitions asserted, they were willing to take the modicum of those rights asked for in the bill. As far as his county was concerned he was advocating the rights of Protestants. They had built a fine school house before the passage of the school law, but had not used it since. They had petitioned on this subject last year. It should be remembered further that the bill only extended the system already in operation in Halifax, under a clause authorising the Commissioners to make just such arrangements as the Commissioners elsewhere were authorised to make by the bill. If separate schools, pure and simple, were proposed, he could understand the opposition, but no radical change was asked. He would not occupy further time at so late a period of the Session.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN expressed his gratification that the bill had been allowed to be brought in. He was prepared to oppose any bill which would disarrange the educational system, but he found that the bill merely asked for the establishment of the system already carried out in Halifax. It had been made to appear that the proposal for separate

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schools was something terrible, but the Canadian Premier had not been afraid to carry the whole measure in Canada, and had been sustained on appealing to the country.

Hon. Mr. TROOP regretted that he, for one, did not feel himself in a position to accede to the prayer of petitions signed so numerously and respectfully by the inhabitants of Richmond County, and he regretted also that a matter of so much importance should have been brought forward at a period of the session, when so little time could be spent in its discussion. He had asked what the principle of the bill was, and although he had listened to attempted explanations by several gentlemen, he was as much in the dark as ever. When other amendments had been proposed to the law the principle was made clear to the House before the second reading; but the House was now asked to adopt, without any adequate explanation, a bill which was, in its phraseology the most extraordinary that had ever been placed on the table. The bill spoke vaguely of minorities; were their religious minorities, political minorities, or what? How could the system which it proposed be applied? As an illustration he would take the section in which he lived, and in which the Baptists predominated, in another the Episcopalians, in another the Methodists, in another the Roman Catholics, and in another the Presbyterians slightly predominated. How could the principle be applied in those sections, and where was the necessity for its being applied at all? Why should a system be established by which every child before entering the portals of the public school should be catechised as to what his religious opinions were, and whether he belonged to the majority or the minority? He did not oppose the bill, merely because it was carefully guarded, that being the reason given for its support,—not because the little pill had a sugar coating, but because the principle underlying it struck, at the root of the Educational system of the country, and because he wished to keep out of that system anything which would have a tendency to create a clashing between majorities and minorities. He could understand the clause referred to, concerning the city of Halifax. That clause said nothing whatever about minority schools; it was designed to assist the progress of education; it contained a principle which could be understood. It was a singular fact that the applications for the bill came only from one or two counties, and because one or two counties asked the change, the House was asked to develop a principle which it never before had recognised. He was not instructed by his constituents how to vote; other gentlemen were in the same position; but this was clear, that on one or two petitions for the change being referred to the committee, the committee referred the matter back to the House to rid themselves of the responsibility of a decision, and then a bill was brought in which laid the root of the educational system. It was but right to the country that the bill should not be pressed at so late a stage in the session. It should not be supposed that he objected to the bill in a spirit of bigotry—he could rise superior to that and was desirous of extending justice to every portion of the population; but he was decidedly opposed to a change which would ruin the Common School system. A

petition had come from Halifax against the bill—had the citizens not as good right to be heard as inhabitants of other counties, and it was a significant fact that there was no petition from Halifax in favor of the bill, and the remainder of the Province, excepting one or two counties, was silent on the subject. He thought the introducer of the bill would subscribe the interest of his cause by having the bill published, and by allowing the matter to stand over for a few months. If the principles were right and just, and the advocates of the measure really desired to increase the educational well being of the country, the delay of two or three months could not do harm, and this would be a better policy than risking a vote on the bill at present. He was not going to imagine why the bill had been introduced, but would give it the open and honest opposition which his constituents would expect of him. He would not like at this Session to see gentlemen committed to a vote, which a few months afterwards they would regret. If it were the feeling of a majority of the people, that a well digested system should be arranged for giving further safeguards to any particular class, he would join in supporting such a measure, but at present he could not see his way clear to support the bill. When petitions were presented like that coming from the Church Synod, asking that the schools should be thrown open to the examination of the clergymen of that body, he could not help feeling that the schools were not the places for teaching the religion of one denomination or another, but places where the minds of the young received that training which was requisite to fit them for the duties of men and women. The teaching of religion might be left safely to the pastors and parents and the secular education to the school teachers. By carrying on that principle, and by keeping away from the school doors, anything by which it might be known what the religious opinions of a scholar might be, the House would do a good service to the country. If ever there was a time when the voice of faction should be hushed—when a man in the position of a legislator should hold back from expressions which wound the sensibilities of any class, it was the present, when such struggles were before the country. He would gladly give his support to any measure which would bind up the people in a common brotherhood, and it was because he entertained these views that he wished such legislation as that proposed in the bill, postponed.

Mr. DICKIE said that in bringing a question of so great magnitude before the House, those who asked for a change in the very constitution itself should be able to set forth their reasons for desiring the change. He should suppose from the bill that minorities were not protected, or that sufficient protection was not given to some one class or another.

But on turning to the law it would be found to be laid down that the duty of the teacher was to inculcate the principles of morality and sound religion—these being the grand principles on which all denominations could unite. These duties were further inculcated in the instructions issued for the guidance of teachers, and a further protection was given to the minorities from an order which provided that

where the parents of any children stated their conscientious objections to any of the devotional exercises of the school, such devotional exercises should be held before the time for opening the school, or after the time of its close, and such children are not required to be present at those exercises. This would appear to give ample protection to minorities against anything objectionable. It appeared to him that the bill would work a change in this constitution, for one of the principles engrafted on that constitution, was that every denomination should have peculiar claims upon the treasury or the law. If a special privilege were now given to a particular class, it would be changing the feature of the constitution. What was the evil from which it was desired that minorities should be protected? The bill would give them a right which majorities did not possess, because the majority had no right to have denominational doctrines taught in their schools. The scarcity of the population in many parts of the country was such that it was necessary for all sects to unite in order to carry on an efficient school. If a right were given to a minority to set up a separate school, where would it end? There might be a minority in a minority, and divisions and dissensions would be fostered. The request that the Commissioners should decide in the matter, was asking a wrong principle,—the House should assume the responsibility of exercising its functions, instead of delegating them to others. The effect of the bill would clearly be to destroy the schools in every section where it was brought into operation. In Halifax the case was different, because there were large numbers of each denomination. The House had been told that the principles of the bill have already gone into operation in the localities in which it was most needed, and if that were the case why should the bill be pressed? He thought the measure premature, but held that if the House were prepared to adopt it they should go further and grant the petition of the Diocesan Synod. The delay of a few months could do no harm, but would enable gentlemen to inform themselves of their constituents' views.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that there were two obscure words in the bill. It used the term of minority without saying a minority of what, and it went on to say that the minority might establish a distinct school without saying in what respect the school should be distinguished from the others.

Mr. D. McDONALD said in explanation that it was well known that the sections were governed by the rate payers,—a case like the following might occur: The majority might only consent to vote £80 for school purposes,—the minority might require £100; by the bill the minority could assess themselves for the £100 and keep up their own school and the majority could keep up theirs. There was nothing in the bill which was calculated to give to one denomination a privilege which others did not possess. There could be no doubt about the fact that numbers of persons had conscientious objections to sending their children to a school which was in the hands of persons of a different religious belief. In one county from which petitions came the Protestants stood to the Catholics as two to five, but the Catholics acceded to Protestant feeling, and separate schools were

established. Before a separate school could be established in any section two authorities had to give their consent: the Board of Commissioners and the Council of Public Instruction. The former were composed of the most liberal and intelligent minds of the country, and were fully capable of forming a judgment as to the wants of any county. The people would not do without the separate system, and he could not see what injury such a bill as that before the House could inflict.

Mr. PURDY said he would like the introducer of the bill to explain to him how the measure would work in a section of twenty rate-payers and twenty-five scholars. Would the minority mean the minority of the children or the minority of the rate-payers? Supposing it meant the latter how would they go into operation? Would they vote a separate sum of money and have a separate teacher and school-house?

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that the majorities generally ruled, but the bill seemed to introduce a different principle. If the word minority meant religious minority, then a small denomination might establish a separate school against the will of the majority. He asked if such were the intention.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said, that as the objections to the two words "minority" and "distinct" school, the language of the bill was explained by the fact that it was hurriedly drawn. The phraseology could be altered so long as the principle were retained. The word "religious" might be inserted before the word "minority," and the word "separate" instead of "distinct." In answer to the objections of Mr. Purdy, he would say that the regulation of the system would be in the hands of the Commissioners. In Arichat the Protestants formed a wealthy, intelligent, and respectable minority,—if the bill passed they could ask a share of the public funds to carry on their school. They had all signed the petition, and their Catholic townsmen had joined in the request. He had no desire to interfere with the Common School system, and knew that Catholics were as anxious as persons of any denomination to maintain the educational organization. It had been said that education was under the present system as free as air; it was well known that Catholics opposed what they considered the Godless system of education, holding that religion was the basis of all instruction, and yet they were taxed for its support. One man might desire that his children should go to a certain school, but the law said they should not go there; where was the freedom in that? If the Catholics of the country, forming a large body of the population, were to a man opposed to the present system, and were nevertheless compelled to support it, how could the system be said to be free? The bill was well guarded, and should meet with the approbation of the House.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said he understood that the bill proceeded principally from a petition from Richmond county. He wished to know whether that petition had been signed by the inhabitants of all denominations, and which denomination controlled the schools there at present.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said that the petitions had come from Cape Breton and Antigonish coun-

ties as well as the Protestants. One of the petitioners signed the petition, it would have law. The desire to come out on the returned, like Protestant

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MR. SMITH said he regretted the position in which he felt himself placed, being prepared neither to support nor to oppose the bill strenuously. He would much have preferred that the matter should have been deferred until members had an opportunity of consulting their constituents. Not having had such an opportunity, he felt constrained to vote for the proposal for delay without committing himself upon the subject of the bill itself.

Hon. ATTY. GENERAL said that though the bill appeared obscure he would vote for its going to committee where its phraseology could be modified. It was apparently based on a principle of justice, and the guards which surrounded it were sufficiently strong to remove apprehension. It was designed to protect minorities by enabling them to establish a separate school, where they were dissatisfied with existing arrangements, with the consent of the Commissioners and the approval of the Council of Public Instruction. As the petitions were numerously signed, he would be willing to give the matter a fair consideration.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSSON thought that no danger was to be apprehended from the bill. The Commissioners would not be likely to give permission except good reason were shewn.

Hon. Mr. TROOP asked how the checks and guards which had been spoken of would affect the principles of the bill in its operation.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that all christian denominations would stand on perfect equality; but in places where one denomination preponderated, justice required that they should have the largest voice in the Board of Commissioners; and therefore the Board would take care that the minority would not override the majority. If any danger could be pointed out as likely to arise from the bill, he would not hesitate to vote against it.

Mr. DICKIE enquired whether the Commissioners were usually chosen with reference to their political views.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. replied that he had never made a Commissioner.

Mr. LANDERS said that in his county the bill would have a tendency to split up the sections.

Mr. CAMPBELL again spoke in support of the bill.

Mr. HOOPER said he believed the principle of the bill to be just and right. It was much required in the various counties of Cape Breton.

Dr. MURRAY said that like some who had preceded him, he hardly felt in a position to go at length into the merits and demerits of the measure. He had always been opposed to the system of separate schools, but as the advocates declared that that principle was not involved in the bill he would not go into that branch of the argument. In his county there was a large preponderance of one denomination,

but he had not yet heard a single complaint against the working of that part of the system which the bill would amend. He had not been in communication with his constituents on the subject and therefore must vote for the proposal for delay. He did not think it wise to press the bill at so late a period of the session, when the feelings of the country could not be ascertained.

Hon. PROV. SECY. said it was well known that he belonged to the Episcopalian body, from whom a petition had come to oppose the separate schools system. He was to a large extent opposed to that system; but finding the principle so modified and guarded in the bill he would vote against the amendment asking for delay, believing that the measure would work no injury.

Mr. DESBRISAY said that as it was well known that the question would meet the House at its next session it was unnecessary to discuss it at length in its present position. It was a deeply important question, both as regarded the large body from which it emanated, and the important results which must flow from such a change as the bill contemplated. The House had already affirmed the principle that on every measure deeply affecting the interests of the country, the people had a right to be consulted; and as he had not had an opportunity of consulting his constituents, he must, in consistency, vote against the bill.

Mr. PURDY then moved that owing to the late period of the Session and the importance of the subject the bill be deferred to next Session, and in the meantime be printed.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said that if these applications for delay had been prompted by candor and sincerity he would have met them at the outset, but it was evident that there had been an intention to force the advocates of the bill into a disadvantageous position, and thus ensure its defeat.

Mr. PURDY said he merely asked for delay until the people could be consulted. Would the House deny so reasonable a request when issues so important were involved? He believed that the bill would throw the control of the education of the country largely in to the hands of the Dominion government under the Union Act. It becomes the duty of members, therefore, to act with caution.

A call of the House was had, and the amendment, on being put, passed 15 to 12.

The House adjourned.

THURSDAY, Sept. 17.

House met at 3 o'clock.

The bill to enable the Halifax Police Court to sentence juvenile offenders to the Industrial School passed. Also, the bill relating to the common of Lunenburg.

Hon. Mr. TROOP submitted a report from the committee on Crown Lands. The report was received and adopted.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN submitted a report from the committee on Trade and Manufactures.

Mr. MORRISON said that he had presented the petition which formed the subject of the latter report. It was from a person who had placed a quantity of twine worth about \$140 on board the railway train, but had never received his goods, although he had paid the

freight. It was a very hard case on the applicant, whose claim was supported by an abundance of testimony.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that if the railroad had been owned by a company the remedy of the applicant would have been clear and easy. As this was not the case, and as the government could not be sued, the better plan was for him to apply to the authorities who now control the railroad. The report was received and adopted.

Mr. YOUNG asked the government what was to be done with the educational act. A measure on this subject had been promised in the Governor's speech, and the constituencies would be anxious to know why some step had not been taken.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. replied that it was the intention of the government, when the speech was prepared, to have brought forward a bill to amend the Act, with which a great deal of fault had been found. Upon giving their attention to the requisite amendments the government had found that the more they amended the law the more it seemed to require amendment. As the whole matter was very complicated, and as changes of the most radical kind were required, it was considered better not to make any extensive change until next session, when amendments of consequence would be proposed. The subject was one which it was very difficult to deal with, and as far as he was concerned, he was almost disposed to wish that the Act now in force had never been introduced. He did not think the people were prepared for direct taxation for any such purpose; the direct taxes necessary for the ordinary county purposes were as much as the country could bear. The House might expect a proposition for important changes next year.

Mr. LANDERS gave notice that in consequence of the probable falling off in the revenue, if the Union Act were not repealed before next session, he would introduce a bill to repeal so much of the Educational Act as appertained to the office of Superintendent of Education, and to the special grants to Colleges, Academies, Normal, Model and Superior Schools, District Examiners, and School Inspectors. The sixty thousand dollars saved in that way, he would propose to appropriate, one half to the Common School Fund, and the other half to the Road and Bridge Service.

Mr. YOUNG said that if he had known the intention of the government, he would have moved to repeal the present Act, and to revive the old one. He believed that education and religion should be left to the control of the people. In the district in which he lived, great complaints existed as to the operation of the law.

Hon. Mr. TROOP reported several bills from the committee on amendment of the laws.

Mr. PURDY, from the committee on Trade Relations with the United States, reported a resolution authorizing the government to send one or more Commissioners to the United States, to protect the interests of Nova Scotia in any negotiations which may be entered into respecting the trade of the Colonies.

The House then went into committee on bills, and took up the bill to amend the act re-

lating to jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace in civil cases. Upon the clause to provide that the constable fees should be lodged with the Justice before he should be called on to serve a summons or capias, a discussion arose. The clause was supported by Hon. Mr. Fergusson, Mr. Landers, Hon'ble Atty. General, and Mr. Troop, and was opposed by Mr. Kidston, Mr. Purdy, and Dr. Brown. On a division the clause was struck out.

The bill to amend the Education Act as far as it relates to the city of Halifax, was then taken up, its principal object being to give the City Council power of appointing six members of the Board of School Commissioners, and to provide that the number of the members of the board should be increased by one.

Mr. WHITE asked why this bill was passed, when the understanding was that nothing should be done with the School Act.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSSON said that no respect was paid to the requests of the country in reference to the law, but the complaints of the city were readily heard.

Hon. PRO. SEC'Y said that the bill had been recommended by the Committee on Education, in place of one which had been thrown out.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. explained that the object of the bill was to give the citizens representation on the Board of Commissioners.

Hon. SPEAKER said he did not wonder at the opposition to the bill, when it was known that some members who were living under the system of separate schools in Halifax, had voted to deny that right to the country sections.

Dr. BROWN asked whether the Commissioners were still to be paid as heretofore. He thought that this should not be the case when it was not allowed in the country.

Mr. NORTHUP said that that part of the law would not be altered by the bill. The citizens had once or twice refused to pay the school tax, in consequence of their being unrepresented on the Board.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the country members should wake up to the fact that the payment of nearly all large sums of money, and the influence in connection with nearly all public matters centred in the city of Halifax.

Mr. DICKIE said that he had no objection to the City having the legislation which it needed, but the country was equally in need of remedial legislation.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN explained that the power of taxation which the Commissioners possessed was formerly unlimited,—the bill would limit them to \$36,000, unless the Governor and Council approved of the amount for a larger sum. The pay of the Commissioners did not come out of the Provincial treasury, but out of their own funds.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the fact that the country was bound hand and foot in Confederation was due to the city of Halifax; it was that influence which had ruined the railroad by bringing it along a crooked route, and had entailed nearly every debt upon the country. When the people of the country asked the members upon their return what had been done for them in reference to education, the answer must be "nothing," but we have improved the law for the City of Halifax. The City enjoyed the advantages of Hon. Mr. Flynn's Education bill, which he would have supported had he

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been on the floor, and yet some who had enjoyed it had voted against extending the system to the country.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that from the outset the city had been governed by a separate school act, the only change made was as to the appointment of the Commissioners. It should not be supposed that it was the duty of the Education Committee to originate amendments to the law,—no petitions for changes were before them excepting those which they had reported on. The payment of Commissioners was a matter entirely between the Commissioners and the citizens.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the country was to some extent interested in the payment of the commissioners, the fund out of which contribution was made to all the counties was the Provincial treasury.

Mr. YOUNG took the same view and referred to the refusal of the City to pay the railway money which it had promised to contribute.

Mr. NORTHUP said that the citizens only asked what was granted to every other part of the country, the right to choose by whom they were assessed.

Mr. DICKIE referred to the fact that the Government had not fulfilled the promise in the speech of bringing forward amendments in the law.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that twelve petitions had come in against any material change. He was very doubtful about the propriety of repealing the act entirely, and was inclined to give credit to the government that passed it.

Mr. DICKIE said that the people had not petitioned because the government had promised to take the matter in hand. If it had been known that petitions were needed, the table would have been flooded.

The bill passed. The act to amend the law relating to mines and minerals was then taken up. Upon the clause allowing the taxing of areas, as far as the performance of the requisite labor was concerned, some discussion occurred upon a suggestion that the number of arrears to which this provision should apply be limited.

Hon. PROV. SEC. proposed a committee to subdivide the grant for navigation securities, but subsequently withdrew the motion upon it being urged that the subdivision should be made by the government.

The House adjourned.

FRIDAY, Sept. 18, 1868.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

Mr. NORTHUP submitted a final report from the Committee on Public Accounts, shewing among other things that the debt of the province, crediting all possible assets, was \$8,660,781, and shewing that the cost of the railways had been very nearly that amount.

Mr. MORRISON asked what the meaning of a clause in the report respecting arrears due for Crown Lands was. By law, applicants had to pay the fees in advance.

Hon. SPEAKER replied that for the past two or three years the determination seemed to prevail that every law should be broken.

The report was received and adopted.

Mr. KIRSTON submitted report from the Committee appointed to enquire into over expenditure of road moneys in the county of Antigonish. The report recommended that the moneys so borrowed and expended be not paid out of the Treasury.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. thought that the Committee had arrived at a very proper conclusion. The object of the expenditure had been purely electioneering.

The report was received and allowed to lie on the table.

The amendments proposed by the Legislative Council to the bill to enable the members for Guysboro' to borrow money were taken up. They provided that the sum so borrowed should be a first charge on the road money of the County for the year 1868 and 1869.

Mr. KIRK explained that the amendment defeated the object of the bill,—it would compel the members to pay out of these road monies the debt of their predecessors. Their predecessors had commenced to build a bridge and the work had been so far advanced that it must either be completed or go to total ruin. The present members had borrowed for the purpose of completing it \$600 on their own notes, and desired the security of an act, but they could do without it, and he would rather see the bill thrown out than have the amendments agreed to. The country had been plunged into debt to make roads to the residences of private parties.

Dr. MURRAY approved of the stand taken by the hon. member. The members for Pictou had found themselves in a strait also, owing to the road moneys having been squandered, and they might be met with the same obstructions.

The House then went into Committee on bills and took up an act to amend the act relating to Mines and Minerals.

Mr. ROSS thought that a clause should be inserted making the prospecting license to continue for six months instead of three as at present. He said that owing to the severity of the climate not a blow could be struck by prospectors who took out license during the winter months.

The proposal was supported by Mr. KIRSTON and by Mr. YOUNG, but was subsequently withdrawn to be made on the third reading of the bill.

The bill then passed embodying a clause abolishing the requirement of labor on prospecting licenses, another giving ten free claims to any person erecting a crusher of eight stamps ten miles distant from any other crusher, and another providing that parties having water Coal Mining leases should have the right to tunnel through the adjoining land.

Hon. SPEAKER, in reference to the last mentioned clause, referred to the danger which might be done to private owners of the soil, by parties travelling to reach their Mines.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. answered that the operation of the act would be carefully guarded, and was not inconsistent with all the grants of freeholds in the Province.

The bill in reference to the Poor's Asylum and Hospital also passed.

The Committee adjourned.

The House adjourned.

## Afternoon Session.

The House resumed at three o'clock.

Mr. ROSS moved that the bill in reference to Mines and Minerals be re-committed for the purpose of making the prospecting licenses run for six months.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON said that such a change would cut off about one half of the revenue derived from the issue of these licenses, which was about \$2,700 per quarter. It would relieve also a large class of persons who took out the license on speculation.

Mr. CAMPBELL thought that the present law should be adhered to if a diminution of the revenue would be the result of a change.

Mr. MORRISON said that as the licenses were renewed on payment of half the original charge the loss to the revenue would amount to one third.

Mr. ROSS remarked that while gold mining was so restricted, a party taking out a right of search for coal could have an extent of five miles to search over, and his license continued for a year.

Mr. KIDSTON said that his colleague was well qualified to speak on such matters, having had very large experience. Every facility should be afforded to those engaged in developing the resources of the country. Not more than three months of the year were adapted for prospecting.

Mr. WHITE said that he would support the present law as no complaint of its working had been made and no petitions had been sent in.

Mr. ROSS replied that no petitions had come in for any of the several alterations which the bill would effect. The more liberal the law was made the more encouragement would be given to actual labor.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that it was hardly the time to reduce the revenue when the estimates had been voted and a deficit anticipated.

Mr. ROSS thought that the proposed alteration might at any rate be made to apply to unproclaimed gold districts.

Mr. KIDSTON thought that the revenue would not be diminished by the alteration. Parties would then take out licenses who would not do so otherwise.

The motion was lost, six voting for and eighteen against it.

Mr. YOUNG moved that the parties holding leases and prospecting licenses, be allowed one day after their expiration on which to renew them. He said that confusion often arose between three or four applicants coming at the one time to the office.

Mr. KIRK seconded and supported the motion.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON said that if it were desirable to prevent parties holding large blocks of areas, the motion should not be agreed to. It would, however, save the department trouble. In cases of simultaneous application the preference was always given to the former holder when he had expended money on his property, and the holder could at any time secure himself by taking out a lease.

Dr. MURRAY thought that the law would not be improved by adding the clause—it would only encourage speculators.

Mr. WHITE suggested that the clause be made applicable to both coal and gold licenses.

Mr. ROSS supported the clause. He said it was the more necessary in consequence of the limitation of the license to three months.

Mr. KIRK said that it was unfair that the former holder should not have an hour's preference over a stranger. It was more costly to take out a lease than a license. The holder of a coal license had ten day's grace.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN approved of the motion. He knew of three investigations now going on in which disputes had arisen between simultaneous applicants.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON said that in the case of coal licenses the ten day's grace are given because the forfeiture was by operation of law, and notice had been given to the holders.

Mr. KIDSTON advocated the addition of the clause. The interest of the public in such matters should be protected as well as the interests of the treasury.

The motion to add the clause passed.

The Legislative Council announced that they had passed a bill to amend the act to regulate the Election of Members to serve in General Assembly. The bill provided that parties who had received a share of the relief lately distributed should not be thereby disfranchised.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the bill had been before the House already, and had been thrown out on the recommendation of the Committee on amendment of the laws. It would be contrary to rule to allow a bill thus to be introduced a second time.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that the bill was very important, and one that should be passed.

Hon. PROV. SEC. also urged that the bill be taken up.

Mr. MORRISON said that the recommendation to postpone the bill by the Committee must have been made under mistake.

Mr. DEBRISAY concurred in this view and supported the bill.

Mr. NORTHUP regretted that the bill had been thrown out, as it would affect some of his constituents.

Mr. CAMPBELL said that an election would shortly come off in Inverness,—he would be sorry to see any of the electors disfranchised, in consequence of their having received aid, although the loss of the bill would be to the advantage of the repeal party.

Hon. Mr. COCHRAN said that if any of the electors in that county were disfranchised, that would be attributed as the reason why the confederate candidate was not returned.

Mr. CHAMBERS said that he desired the bill to pass although its operation would principally benefit the confederates.

Mr. KIDSTON strongly supported the bill.—The opponents of repeal would make capital out of its rejection.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that the Attorney General had challenged the British Government to appeal to the people of Nova Scotia on the question of Confederation,—the House should therefore be ready to test the

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question fairly in case that proposal was accepted.

Hon. Mr. FLYNN said that it was the duty of the House to pass the bill which affected the interests of every county.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the precedent would be a very bad one; but in deference to the unanimous wish of the House he would take the first reading of the bill.

The bill was read a first time.

Mr. DICKIE submitted a report from the Committee on the petition of overseers of the poor, East River, Fictou.

Hon. Pro. SEC. moved an address to the Lieutenant Governor, requesting him to transmit the resolutions in reference to repeal recently passed.

The address was adopted.

Dr. BROWN presented a petition from W. J. Fuller, for compensation for support of Transient Paupers.

Mr. DICKIE asked leave to withdraw the resolution which he had moved to place \$50,000 at the disposal of the government for secret service money, and to substitute in its place a resolution authorising the government, in case of an unforeseen necessity arising, to borrow that sum, and pledging the House to provide for its payment.

Mr. TOWNSEND opposed the vote. The House had hitherto done its business above board. Secret Service money was not required in Nova Scotia.

Mr. MORRISON said that the voting of secret service money was common in the Canadian Legislature.

Mr. KIDSTON said that the Dominion government had been voting \$15,000 for secret service money. The House should place in the hands of the government the means to subvert the plots laid for the destruction of the country's independence. The motion met his approbation fully, more especially as the House could control the government in the matter by requiring an account of the expenditure.

Hon. SPEAKER said that the vote differed from a vote for secret service money, inasmuch as the term "secret service" implied that no account of the expenditure need be rendered, which was not the case with a resolution like this.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY ROUTE.

Mr. PURDY asked the government to state what information they had based their Minute of Council upon in reference to the route of the Intercolonial Railway.

Hon. PROV. SEC. replied that the matter had been pressed upon the attention of the government by Mr. Livesy, who laid several maps and other papers before the Council.

Mr. PURDY said that as the location of the road largely affected the interests of his county, he might be permitted to explain the facts.—The line between Truro and New Branswick was common for some few miles, but the proposed routes diverged near the Londonderry Mines. From the Spring Hill coal fields to Amherst, the lines were common. The dispute was between the advocates of the Folly lake route and the advocates of a route passing through the Iron Mines. In the location of public railways the general interests of the country should be consulted, and in considering

these, population should afford some guidance, and he would give a few statistics of the population on the gulf shore, that would be interested in having the road located by Folly lake.

	Population.	Families.	Grist Mills.	Saw Mills.
Pugwash.....	3165	493	4	18
Wallace.....	2500	2500	5	6
Wentworth.....	696	116	2	9
New Annan.....	1231	189	3	17
Waugh River.....	1153	178	1	5
Tamamagouche.....	1400	208	2	12
Total.....	10,145	1585	17	69

The population having an adverse interest would be that of Lower Londonderry and Economy, and Five Islands, which stood as follows:—

	Population.	Families.
Lower Londonderry.....	2132	370
Economy and Five Islands.....	1691	288
	3723	658

Grist Mills, 8; Saw Mills, 16.

Inasmuch as the lines were nearly common from Truro to Folly river, it followed that by the Folly lake route the inhabitants of Great Village would have easy access to their depots within ten miles, while the interests of a population of 10,000 would be subserved by the location of the road crossing the mountain via Folly lake. Mr. Livesy had of course a right to promote the interests of his own company, but it was clear that they had no information before them as to the merits of the Folly Lake route, as in contradistinction to the Iron Mines route. He would therefore ask if it was not the duty of the House to see that the interests of a large body of the people were not jeopardized by a review of one side of the case. It had been announced by telegram that the Dominion Government had been hearing parties in the interest of the Acadia Iron Mining Company on this question, and it was therefore only fair to assume that Mr. Livesy had already made use of the Minute of Council in urging the views of the company whom he represented. He (Mr. Purdy) felt it to be his duty to throw as much light upon the matter as possible, and to ask the House to do what should seem right and just. There was no difference of opinion in the County of Cumberland as to the matter,—the northern part of the population could reach the depot on their own side of the mountain if the road went by Folly Lake, whereas the mountain would have to be climbed if the location were different. It was well known that Major Robinson recommended the Folly Lake route as affording the lowest grades. The fact that that line afforded the best level was admitted on all sides. The argument in favor of the Iron Mines route rested mainly on the fact that it would be advantageous to connect the iron mines of Londonderry with the coal mines of Spring Hill. He could state, however, that the Folly Lake route traversed the iron section and tapped the Spring Hill mines also. To accommodate the iron mines the interests of the large population lying on the north must be sacrificed. It might be said that the Company having spent a large sum of money in their works, were entitled to consideration; but it should be remembered that the properties of a population of 10,000 were more valu-

able than the works of the Company. If the value of property was to be the test, the Folly Lake route should still have the preference. It had also been taken for granted that if the road ran through the iron works, large manufacturing would grow up and benefit the road by their traffic, but where was the guarantee for this? Was it not equally possible that the Company would take advantage of the location of the route through their property to sell their shares at an advanced rate? There being no guarantee of that kind, the interests of the whole country should be looked to, and the comparative advantages of the routes carefully examined. As the Folly Lake route accommodated a much larger area of country, of splendid farming land, capable of improvement, a larger population and more traffic, and was more central, he felt bound to press its claims upon the House. There was another view that might be taken of the matter. At present the railway touches the gulf at Pictou and Shediac at points over 100 miles apart. The thriving villages of Pugwash, Wallace and Tatamagouche are nearly midway between, and are situated upon good harbors, have each got excellent stone quarries, and are surrounded by farming lands which would be rapidly improved, and trade increased were good railway facilities secured.

There can be no doubt that from the natural increase of trade and population, steam communication from one of those ports across the gulf to Charlottetown will soon become a necessity. It is only about twenty-five miles from the entrance to Charlottetown harbor, across the gulf to Wallace harbor, and as the Folly Lake route of railway would bring the depot within about twelve miles of Wallace, I have no doubt that passengers to and from Charlottetown would frequently prefer crossing the gulf by the short route rather than steaming up from Pictou or going to Shediac, especially in the early spring, or during the autumn months. That was a fact well worthy of consideration. If the Folly Lake route did any injustice to any body of the people he would abandon the argument. He would just add a word as to the position taken when the road was under contract before; the International Contract Company had agreed to build the road on a route located by the government, but subsequently wrote a letter to Dr. Tupper stating that they would only build the road through the mines, and the reply was, that as the conditions had not been complied with, the contract should be considered null and void. Another company then purchased the contract, and the Folly Lake route was then decided on. It had, therefore, very strong claims for support. The hon. member then concluded his speech by moving that it was the opinion of the House that the Folly Lake route should be adopted, but that no choice should be made without careful examination.

Hon. ATTY. GEN. said that the government would not oppose the resolution. The road would probably be located by the authorities having charge of the railway under the approval of the British government, without reference to local opinion. The government had considered upon the information given by Mr. Livesy before them, that the two lines being

nearly equal, the preference should be given to that which brought the two great works of Londonderry and Spring Hill into juxtaposition. The resolution contained no contradiction of the Minute of Council.

The resolution passed.  
The House adjourned.

SATURDAY, Sept. 19, 1868.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

The bill to amend the Act relating to the election of members to serve in General Assembly passed.

Hon. MR. FERGUSSON stated that the committee on Mines and Minerals would not be able to report, as the members of the committee could not be got together.

DR. MURRAY stated that the committee on petition of A. F. Church, could not report owing to the absence of the chairman, who had the papers in his possession.

MR. YOUNG said it was of great importance that the committee on Mines and Minerals should report. One very important matter was before them connected with the conduct of an official.

MR. KIRK said, that as one of the members of the committee he had attended to his duties. There was no evidence to justify the language used by Mr. Young in reference to one of the clerks.

MR. PURDY moved the adoption of the resolution reported up in reference to trade with the United States.

The resolution passed.

#### COMMITTEE ON STATE OF PROVINCE.

The House then went into committee on the General State of the Province. Mr. Landers in the chair.

Hon. PRO. SECY laid on the table, for information of members, a statement from the Bank of Nova Scotia showing the indebtedness of the several counties to that bank for advances for the road service to be as follows: Colchester, \$2659; Gt. North, \$2800; Antigonish, \$4800; Pictou, \$3234; Victoria, \$4312; Digby, \$1060; Cumberland, \$1507.

Hon. SPEAKER said that not having had, until then, an opportunity of saying anything on the subject of Confederation, he felt it became his duty, after listening to all the able speeches which had been delivered, to address the people whom he represented on that question. He would do so very briefly, because to travel over the ground so ably occupied, would be only tiresome to the House at a period of the Session when members were fully in possession of a knowledge of the atrocities which had been committed on the country by Confederation. He would not enter into a consideration of the strange doctrine which had proceeded from the British government, nor criticize the mythical opinion given by Sir Roundel Palmer, because those matters could be more appropriately dealt with by members of the legal profession. He must say, however, "that it was a very cramped piece of penmanship." What that opinion styled "law, properly so called," he considered law, improperly so called. Although he would not deal directly with those subjects, because they were in abler hands than his, he

would refer to matters deeply affecting the public opinion of the country, and upon which the people were expressing their views every day. It was well known what the feelings of the people relative to Confederation were. The people felt an honest indignation, that kind of indignation which animated a people understanding their privileges, and whose blood was roused when these privileges were invaded. In going through the country it would be a great mistake to suppose that the man in a plain coat did not understand the condition of the Province; the humblest individual knew that, from being a happy, contented and prosperous people, Nova Scotians had been brought, by the Confederation Act, into a condition in which every energy was damped and every enterprise impeded. The country had heard a vast number of arguments in favor of the change which had been brought about; it had been said that Confederation would strengthen the hand of the Government on this side of the Atlantic, by making the people ready to defend their territory. Would any man in his senses say the same feelings existed in the bosoms of Nova Scotians as existed three years ago? Would the people rush with the same alacrity to the defence of the country that they would have done a few years ago? If not, and he believed they would not and could not, away went the argument about strengthening the hands of the Government to support British Institutions. Notwithstanding this, a part of the press continued boldly to declare that all who had ranked themselves against Confederation were rebels and Fenians. He fancied that if the Crown were attacked, if any attempt was to be made to sever the connection between Nova Scotia and Great Britain against the will of the Colony, many of those who had been thus accused would be found in the fore front of the struggle, while their accusers would be found fraternizing with the rabbits under the spruce bushes. Loyalty with him was not a mere sentiment, it was a passion. Early educated to believe that his life was to be given whenever necessary in defence of the British flag, he was not to be told by a parcel of scoundrels hanging about the sessions boards and other public places of the country, looking for the garbage and the loot—the crows' share of the battle, that he was a rebel. Four years ago Nova Scotia was in a happy and prosperous condition, and although not backed by a large country she had continued to progress more rapidly for twenty-five years than any other country in the world of the same population. A comparison between her condition forty years ago and the time Confederation was declared, no man was willing to say whether he was willing to fight for the defence of the country or not. This was owing partly to the Confederation act and partly to the unfortunate government by which the country had been ruled up to the time of the change. Unfortunate that government was, not as regards the men who composed it, because they are going about now with bits of Dutch mud sticking to them, and the C. B.'s attached to their names, decorations which were scorned by every honest man as a reward which those men had obtained for selling the soil on which they were born, but unfortunate as regards the country which they ruled. They looked on them as they looked on the

courtesan passing along the street decorated with jewels and chains which were tokens of the sale of her virtue. He would refer to one branch of the public service as a refutation of the statement that we were better and more independent than before Confederation. Could any man in any one county find fault with a post master for opening his letter or acting otherwise improperly? No, these officers could do just as they please, because the tribunal which must be appealed to for redress was 800 miles away. By the time a complainant got there with his witnesses, he would find that redress was impossible to be obtained in that vast establishment, vast for this country, which had been set up at Ottawa. Could Nova Scotians regulate any of the affairs of the Post Office Department? Canada had the sole control and increased the privileges of our people wonderfully by requiring that the newspapers should be stamped. Nova Scotians could not make a post ride or a way office now in their own country. These remarks he made in order that they might reach the ears of that class who did not dare to argue out the question, but in the press continued to ask vague and unimportant questions as "what next?" "what then?" Fine expressions these were for one class of the people to be applying to their fellow countrymen! Were they calculated to increase the respect and love of the people for the institutions which had been forced on them? He never heard it said that Nova Scotia was "bound hand and foot" without feeling a flush come to his face, and without feeling indignation and sorrow, that any one could be found base enough to glory in the shame and humiliation of his country. He would now refer to another service in illustration of his remarks. What had been done with the lighthouses which had been erected on every part of the coast to the credit of the country? The control of them had been taken completely away. Formerly a complaint was never heard of a light being out at night, but now complaint after complaint was made, and what had those who complained to be told? "We can do nothing for you, you must make complaint at Ottawa; you may get the light lit when you get a match at Ottawa, but we can give you no redress." Where could the officer be tried for neglecting his duty? Not in Nova Scotia; ships might be wrecked in consequence of his negligence, but the appeal for justice could only be made to Ottawa. There was a class of men who rejoiced in all this, but he deeply regretted that such were to be found,—he grieved for the degradation of the country in which he was born. What control had been left in the Province? True the people had the privilege of snuffing the dust that blew off the street, but how long would it be before the very ground would not belong to them? In every department in which the money of Nova Scotia had been spent, others were reaping the benefit. The Province was confederated in July, afterwards the new Provincial Building was handed over to the government; it belonged to the Dominion government no more than it did to him, because at the time of confederation it was in the contractor's hands. True the building had been intended for a Post Office, but the Canadians had taken away the control

of our Post office. If they intended to take everything valuable, they might at least leave something to look at. He considered that in the matter of this building, the local government had done perfectly right, and he hoped it would not be given up until the full price had been paid for it. In every department the same want of control to which he had referred in reference to the Post Office was to be found. In many cases a delay of justice operated as a denial of justice, and when the power to give redress was removed eight hundred miles away, redress might as well be denied entirely. Acts of injustice and derelictions of duty would be passed over in most cases, for few could go to the expense and annoyance of urging their complaints at Ottawa. A good deal had been said about the legislature of Nova Scotia. That legislature previous to the time when the blight of corruption came over it, was a more honest legislature, had less of degradation attaching to it, and was more economical, than any legislature to be found on the face of the earth. This was to a large extent owing to the fact that the Nova Scotian people were an educated people, and possessed as thorough a knowledge of public affairs, as any people of their number in the world, excepting perhaps the populations of large and refined cities. Books and newspapers were to be found in every house, and every man was able to form a sound opinion, and to express his views upon the reforms which he deemed necessary. But he would rather be placed under the rule of the Emperor of Russia, than remain within this confederation. Under Russian rule he could at least feel that the government was directed by a single man possessing the power and the firmness requisite for government; but he had not even that security in this mongrel, heterogeneous mixture of French, English, Scotch, and republican systems. If illustration were needed of the corruption which had prevailed under the rule of those who had accomplished Confederation, it was to be found in the road and bridge expenditure. The great Nova Scotian statesmen of that period had spent a great deal of money for which it was very hard to find the vouchers—they had broken up the establishment, and he might almost say, had burned the books—they had hidden them at any rate. When the accounts and vouchers of the services were asked for, they were not to be found—there had been a wholesale sacking of the Province. Never before in any country not devastated by war, was such utter confusion found. Not content with taking all that was in the treasury, they had left the counties hopelessly in debt, borrowing largely from the Bank, as appeared by Mr. Foreman's statement. Guysboro' owed \$1200, and she would get this year towards paying that and keeping up the service \$4800. The men who had accomplished this had done a most fiendish act. He could understand a man wishing to grasp everything, and a government being reckless in order to carry their point, but he could not understand how they could plunge a country in debt, and leave her to blunder on with her burden for three or four years. He was sorry to find a little of the same spirit operating yet. His colleague and he had attempted to put matters in train so that the liabilities could be paid, off,

but it seemed that they were to be thwarted in the attempt. Be it so—the more wrong there were heaped on the people, the more determined they would be to obtain their release from Confederation,—the day must eventually come when the people would shake of their shackles and stand free. It should not be supposed that he was advocating rebellion, but loyalty had two sides to it. Blackstone laid down the doctrine that a man surrendered a part of his natural liberty to the state in order that he might gain the protection of the State, and if that protection were withdrawn, the duty of allegiance was released. The child had a duty to the parent, but if the parent turned the child out and denied him shelter, the relations between them were altered. Although he would prefer going out of the country and sacrificing all that he had acquired, to resorting to rebellion, he would never be content to live under Confederation. He had made up his mind on no trifling grounds that he would be worse than a patient sufferer if he lived long under Confederation. He would now say a word to those who taunted the people with being "bound hand and foot." Was that a matter of rejoicing to any man living in Nova Scotia? Could a man using these taunts go to his bedside and say his prayers with any conscience when he was exasperating two-thirds of his fellow countrymen by such heartless declarations. It had been said by these that Canada had subsidized Nova Scotia? So she had,—she had counted the population and given them 80 cents per head, and then came the taunt from those who were anxious to maintain the present state of things in order that they might secure a share of the spoil. When a boy he and his companions used to switch a sculpin when they caught it until it would float, and then they called them whipped sculpins. He had called these men sculpins before,—he would call them whipped sculpins now. When they were whipped they turned and showed the venom of the wasp by tormenting every public man, and every private man, and every family who did not join their number, throwing at the country the sneer "you are tied hand and foot." This was about the most heartless expression which could be used towards the people. The system however, which was based on the theory that one set of men were born saddled and bridled, and that another set were born booted and spurred, and ready to ride them to death, was rapidly subsiding. The progress of education and intelligence, and the establishment of free constitutions in other countries besides England, was fast abolishing that system; but the idea of uniting one Province to another which could always completely control it, was a part of it. Such a union might be expected by some to make a great nation, but it contained the elements of dissolution within itself. Supposing that the Queen refused to set Nova Scotia free from Confederation—he would prophesy that the government of Canada could not stand because an element had been brought in that was hostile to the existence of a republican constitution or one so nearly republican as ours. Four governments had been left within the Dominion,—each Province had been left legislative powers, and the desire of each would naturally be to subtract from the powers of the general government. The government of the United

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States, which was infinitely better than that under which Nova Scotia was forced to be, and the laws of that country, which were as far before the laws of the Dominion as the laws of Heaven were before the laws of the Indian tribes, were framed on a different principle.—The great men who had arranged that constitution had jealously guarded the growth of the power of the populous States, and had given to little Rhode Island two Senators, an equal number to the princely State of New York. Why was this? Story, the historian of the constitution, said it was in order to protect the smaller States against the larger in the upper branch, which should be the controlling branch. How wisely the founders of the Dominion constitution had imitated that example. They had given to Ontario and Quebec twenty-four Senators each, and to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick twenty-four together. The people of Canada were a great people, everybody out doors was trembling at their strength; they had a great coast and plenty of water, and might take it into their heads to go to war, for when people were so fond of talking about defending themselves it was a sure sign that they wanted to aggress; and when a man began collecting sticks and hatchets to be ready for a fight it was a sure sign that he intended to get up a fight. What protection in that case would Nova Scotia have? She would only have a mockery of a constitution that insulted her by pretending to give her greater liberty? The Lower Provinces would be out voted by a majority of twenty four. Again, the American constitution was guarded by the Senators being elective. That would not do for the Dominion. There might have been a chance of Nova Scotia sending good men to represent her then, but there was no such chance now. A great deal had been said about amalgamating the population of the Provinces, but the idea was absurd. In Chezetcook a French girl could not be got to marry an Irishman, and so in every part of the country where a small French population was surrounded by a large English population. He who had read the history of the French, must remember that however low that race had become at any time or in any place they possessed that love of country which led them to carry their language, their fashions and their manners wherever they went. So there were to be found in France to-day fashions that were prevalent eight hundred years ago. In this country the French cooked, dressed, made love, married and died in their own way, and yet Nova Scotians were expected entirely to change the manners of a million of these people in Quebec. The statesman who had formed this conception had formed such large and ambitious ideas that the country would not hold them, and they had to destroy its institutions that they might go elsewhere. They declared that in doing so they were opening up a fine field for young men. Where was the fine field? Canada. But it would be well to consider if some of the young men would go to see the consequence of the barrenness of the field presented by their own country. Who had availed themselves of the opportunity and gone? Some of the dullest dribblers that Halifax could produce. While the advocates of Confederation thus talked about the chances of our young men abroad, they predicted that among the other

fine things that would happen, Halifax would become the great city of the continent. How did this prediction consort with the other parts of the scheme? If Halifax would become such a great city, what would 80 cents per head on 400,000 do. Would it keep up the poor-houses? Following civilization was always to be found a great stream of pauperism and want, and that subsidy would not be able to meet the necessities of Halifax in that one particular alone, and the city must become a great poor-house. If some of those who thus prophecied about Halifax, and who were already tottering on toward the grave, were to live and wait for its accomplishment, they would be tired of life before it came to pass. He would not address the House at greater length, but had desired to express on this subject the practical view which the country took of it. No doubt some would say that all his remarks were not of much importance; but he did not care much for those in Halifax who regarded an anti-confederate member as an inferior being. Fortunately such opinions did very little harm, for Nova Scotians generally had a good opinion of themselves. They reminded him in this respect of the little bird who matched his singing powers with the eagle and agreed to leave it to the crow to decide which excelled. The crow being a mean bird, fond of the company with which the eagle could supply him, decided in favor of the eagle, whereupon the little bird cowered up saying that it was only the crow's opinion. So these opinions which were sometimes expressed were only crow's opinions after all. For his part he could declare to the House that he never would cease persevering in the good cause in which they were engaged while his health permitted him to join in the contest. He cared not if it required a struggle of twenty years, he would stick to the cause, and when he was gone, he would leave his children to fight for the freedom of their country. He had been taught to do this, and he would teach them to resist oppression, and prefer death to dishonour.

Mr. KIRSTON said that his remarks must necessarily be brief at so late a period of the session, and he would not, therefore, go into the minute details which had come up from the Committee who had been enquiring into the financial state of the country. The statements shewn by those Committees would be sent broadcast through the country, together with the report of the Commission appointed by the Government, and would prove to the people what was the condition of the public affairs.—But that some in Nova Scotia, and especially the Confederates, who had apparently been viewing matters through an eyeglass, should have the power of their optics restored, and should look matters straight in the face, and see how much truth there was in the statement that a good bargain had been made for the country in Confederation, it was prudent that the House should go into Committee on the general state of the Province. He would take the liberty of disinterring the remains of an ex-Prime Minister, in order that he might show the origin of the present misfortunes of the country. It was well known that the five or six gentlemen who had been instrumental in handing Nova Scotia over to Canada, had been sustained in the House by a larger majority than any government had ever possessed be-

fore, and it was well known all over the Province that they had obtained that position. They boasted themselves that they were going largely to reduce the extravagance of the enormous public expenditure, but they had no sooner obtained office than they belied their position fearfully. They had first passed a school bill which was distasteful to the entire Province. Time and again the Premier was warned that as soon as the people could lay their hands upon him, they would hurl him from political existence; but he was too wily for them, and resorted to the sale of his country as the only means of saving himself from that degradation. In the motion which he (Mr. Kidston) had laid on the table, asking to go into committee, he had stated the evils which the country had to complain of as resulting from Confederation,—that the Province had lost the control of its revenues, the control of its trade, and the patronage of nearly all the public offices. He had stated also in that motion that he was prepared to shew what Nova Scotia had to depend on for upholding all her public services in the future. Before going into these matters he would say that no public man, like the late Provincial Secretary, would, if he believed that the scheme which he was maturing was for the benefit of the Province, hesitate to submit it to the people at the polls—would, on the contrary, have been glad to make the matter a great question at the elections. That gentleman, however, had been forced to acknowledge that if Confederation had been put to the people, side issues would have been brought in and the government defeated. It was surely placing himself in a humiliating position to confess that the country would at the earliest opportunity hurl him and his party from power. The Confederate press could, therefore, make very little capital out of such an assertion as that. He would now proceed to consider his resolutions, and would shew what the country had lost in its revenues. On all sides it was acknowledged that in losing the control of the revenues, the Province had lost the lever of power which should have belonged to the people. But it had been said over and over again, that if the control of the revenues had not been taken away, taxation must have been increased to meet the requirements of the country. In reply to this he would state the simple proposition that if power were placed in the hands of honest and prudent men they would always regulate the expenditure according to the income, and keep the expenditure down to a safe point. That argument, therefore, was a fallacious one. One of the worst features of the scheme was that the Province had no safe-guards in the British North American Act, that the Canadian government would spend in Nova Scotia one dollar of the revenue extracted from her, over and above the amount of the subsidy. So far from Nova Scotia having any check, Canada had entire control in both Houses of Parliament, leaving the lower Provinces in a helpless minority. Canada had taken control of the lighthouses, the "Druid," the "Dam," the navigation securities, the Post Office,—in a word, she had taken control of all the most valuable public offices and works, and could allow them all to sink into ruin and decay, while expending our revenues on her own public works. This was one of the greatest errors which he

saw in the scheme by which Nova Scotia had been handed over to Canada. For the sake of argument, however, he would admit for a moment that it would have been necessary thus to raise taxation by fifty per cent., that position would the Province have been in. The revenue thus derived remaining in our Province, and being expended on our public works, would have circulated freely among our own people and no one could have complained, because the money would have been beneficial to every person in the country. There was a vast difference, however, between expending a revenue in that way, and carrying it entirely out of the Province without any obligation for one dollar of it being returned. He would now refer to the loss of the control of the trade, and it must be apparent to everybody that this was a most important matter. Before confederation, and during the continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty, the mines were in a flourishing condition, and the impetus given to that branch of industry was felt throughout the length and breadth of the country. At that time two men could go into the forest, and, with their axes, earn the value of a barrel of flour in twenty-four hours. The country was then overrun with persons desiring to enter into mining operations,—the amount of coal supplied exceeded the quantity ever supplied before or since. If Nova Scotia had remained as she was, and had retained the power of negotiating with other countries, she would have been in the position which Prince Edward Island occupied—negotiating for a renewal of the treaty. He believed that at this moment the Government of the United States would be only too happy to extend to Nova Scotia the well known benefit of the treaty. Under Confederation the Maritime Provinces never would get the same advantages that they could get out of Confederation, and he doubted whether the Dominion Government could arrive at any satisfactory arrangement for a renewal of the former trade relations. The policy of Canada was protective; she desired to build up her own manufactures, and the result of that policy was, in the first place, to prevent trade with the United States, and, in the second place to draw the cash out of the Maritime Provinces, leaving them in almost a bankrupt condition. If Nova Scotia was shut out from trading with other countries and obliged to trade with Canada, it was quite evident that the trade must be a cash one, as Canada had no market for our exports. The main interests of the country were mining and fishing, and while the fish and minerals were exported from the country, breadstuffs had to be imported. The arrangement entered into with the American fishermen by the Dominion Government was highly disadvantageous to Nova Scotia. The small license fee charged, in comparison with the heavy duties exacted in the United States, afforded no compensation as a safe-guard to our fishermen. Passing on to consider the loss of the patronage of the public offices, he felt it would be unnecessary for him to dwell at length on the point, because the country was fully conversant with the facts. The loss of the post office was an illustration. Last winter he had seven or eight petitions from his constituents asking for the establishment of way offices, which were high-

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ly necessary; but it was quite apparent that the policy of the Dominion Government, instead of extending the advantage of the postal system was to contract it, and the danger was that some already established would be discontinued. The same was the case with all other public offices—the custom houses and every other department. The intention was apparently not to uphold any department that did not contribute to the revenue. The fact of the newspaper tax being imposed was an indication of that policy and the result would probably be the diminution by one half in the number of the Way offices. It was said that the letter postage had been reduced, but any one going into the statistics would see that the amount was made up by the other taxes laid on newspapers and bills and notes. Then Nova Scotia had control of her post office, the public had free access to the information only to be derived from a circulation of newspapers, but this benefit was now cut off. He would now proceed to shew what the country had to depend on for upholding the necessary services. The Prov. Secretary had shown that the grant for Education would have to be largely reduced, but he would shew that the expenditure in other departments also must be curtailed unless the legislature was prepared to go into direct taxation and he would like to see the men who would propose such a step as that. The financial returns shewed that a large sum had been derived from a balance in hand, educational advances repaid, immigration and arrears. There had been derived from these sources \$183,000 that would contribute nothing for all time to come. The principal dependence in future would be our mines. The House had been told that large receipts from that department might be expected in future, but he would be sorry that such false views should go to the country. The man who represented that because the revenue from the mines might be \$90,000 this year, it would be \$200,000 next year, occupied a position of which he would be ashamed. No one could safely calculate thus upon the future. Geological science showed that the mines were placed within access by some great convulsion of nature, a similar convulsion might remove them beyond our reach. The next source of revenue was the Hospital for the Insane, from which \$20,000 had been derived, but the fact was that each county had to contribute towards making up this sum. These two sources of revenue gave \$110,000. The Crown Land department he would strike out, because its revenue did not meet its expenses.

The House adjourned.

#### Afternoon Session.

The House resumed at 3 o'clock.

Hon. PROV. SEC. laid on the table the final report of the Finance Commissioners.

The amendments proposed by the Legislative Council in the bill to amend the School Act were agreed to. Those in the bill relative to the Poor's Asylum and Hospital were not agreed to. Those in the bill relative to the assessment of railway damages in Kings County were agreed to. The Council also sent a bill to alter the sittings of the Supreme Court at Windsor, which was read a first time.

Dr. MURRAY suggested that as the Council

had amended the bill relative to the Poor's Asylum and Hospital in such a way as to make the sale of the old grounds rest at the option of the Commissioners, a resolution should be passed requiring the government to withhold the grant of \$30,000. He deferred his motion and subsequently withdrew it, the Council announcing that they did not adhere to this amendment.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON submitted a report from the Committee on Mines and Minerals, which was adopted.

#### TREASURY NOTES.

Hon. PROV. SEC. said that in making his financial statements he had referred to the Provincial notes afloat, arguing that the delegates should not allow them to be taken as a part of the debt, inasmuch as they bore no interest while the Province had to pay interest on the excess of debt over eight millions. The government took the view that those notes should be allowed to float as the liability of the local government. The Province would thus save the interest on \$620,000, and receive the benefit of \$150,000 worth of notes that had probably been lost. He moved a resolution entering a protest against the notes being funded as a part of the debt, stating that the Province was prepared to assume them and declaring that Nova Scotia would not be liable for the notes redeemed by the issue of Canadian notes.

Mr. DICKIE seconded the resolution, which he said, would carry out one of the suggestions of the Committee on Public Accounts. He thought the Province might also assume the Savings Bank with great advantage.

The resolution was adopted.

#### MINES AND MINERALS.

Mr. YOUNG moved that the Governor and Council be authorized to investigate the complaint which had been before the Committee of Mines and Minerals in reference to the application of J. W. Young.

Mr. PURDY seconded the resolution. An investigation should take place as high crimes had been charged against one of the officers in the Mines department. The resolution proposes more prompt redress than the report of the Committee, which suggested the appointment of a Committee next session.

Mr. KIRK said that there was nothing before the Committee to justify them in making a report which would reflect on the conduct of the officer alluded to.

Mr. DESBRISAY said that the resolution was so worded as to ask the House to pass an opinion on evidence which was not before it.

Hon. Mr. FERGUSON said that very grave charges had been made, and had been strenuously denied. The Committee considered that the matter required special investigation, and he did not undertake to decide on the matter.

Mr. WHITE said that the course proposed by the Committee would give ample redress.

Mr. PURDY said he would move to rescind the vote on the report of the Committee. There evidently was a necessity for an investigation.

Hon. Mr. TROOP called to order. The Committee had deliberated on this matter and their report, recommending a certain course, having

been adopted, the resolution could not be received.

Hon. SPEAKER ruled the resolution out of order.

Dr. MURRAY said that the resolution would reflect on the action of the Committee. It was a British principle that every man was presumed innocent until proved guilty, and the object of the resolution evidently being to prejudice the party charged, it should not be received.

Mr. YOUNG said that the House was the proper place to make such charges. The office of mines was a most important one. He was proceeding to state what the charges were when the Speaker called to order.

#### GENERAL STATE OF THE PROVINCE.

The House then resolved itself into Committee of the whole.

Mr. KIDSTON, continued his address. He said that the Financial Commissioners had arrived at the conclusion that the debt of the Province was \$8,946,000. Interest at five per cent. had to be paid on the excess over \$8,000,000 out of the limited revenues which could be relied on from the Mines, Hospital for Insane, Crown Land Department, and the subsidy, yielding a total of \$357,853. The road grant which, the year before Confederation was \$257,000, had been reduced to \$100,000, and the Provincial Secretary had shown the House that if the Province remained in Confederation, the Education grant, and all the other items of expenditure, must be largely curtailed. This fact indeed was acknowledged by the Confederates. It was true that one gentleman in opposition had contended that the finances were in a flourishing condition, and that the government had been highly extravagant, but he would deal candidly with the country, and not attempt to mystify and misrepresent the facts. Extravagance could not be fairly charged. The House had this year a double session, yet its stationery did not altogether exceed \$380, while in 1866, when Confederation had been plotted, the account for the same service was \$2000. Before declaring that the Government were able to meet all the wants of the country on a liberal scale, that gentleman should have taken the trouble to compare the expenditure of 1866 with that of the present year. He found that the services provided for this year had been retrenched for \$100,000 under the estimate for 1866. Why not then make the admission candidly "we have been deprived of our revenue, our public offices and the control of our trade, and our expenses must be pared down to the lowest point if direct taxation is to be avoided." The remarks which the Speaker had made would chime in with the feelings of every man in the Province having the true interests of his country at heart. Birds of passage, men who desired to make a living out of the country, and who desired the patronage of the Dominion Government might hold different views, but he had nothing to do with their opinions,—the duty of each member is to protect the rights and interests of those who sent him to the Assembly—the men who had toiled in the country and improved it by their industry. When it was said that we were tied hand and foot, the question arose in his mind "should we lie helplessly

on our backs, should we not ask some friend to cut our bands asunder?" Nova Scotia had a friend not very far off, looking at her position and ready to assist in cutting her bonds. So far from the country having occasion to despond or to apprehend that it would be forced to remain in Confederation, there was reason to believe that if the result of the efforts which were being put forth, would be success. The determination of the people was to organize themselves into an anti-Confederate league, which would extend its branches gradually into New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, the United States, and England, and the mother country would feel this organization to be a thorn in her side, if she did not grant repeal. He might for this language be called a traitor, but if the hour of trial should come, he should like to test the loyalty and patriotism of his accusers, and he would not suffer by the comparison. The Confederates of the country were the only traitors, if we had any worthy of the name. After what he had said, he thought he had shewn the injury that had been done to Nova Scotia by the forcible deprivation of her rights; and such being the case, no Nova Scotian possessing a spark of British spirit, would rest satisfied, until the country was freed from its present position.

Mr. DICKEY said that the report of the committee on Public Accounts, had been laid on the table at so late a day that members had not had an opportunity to give it a close examination. Many of the items are difficult to understand, owing to the Dominion and Local accounts running into each other. He would, therefore, take up the report and make a few observations upon it. In the first place, it appeared by the Receiver General's account, that the expenditure for the nine months ending 30th June, 1867, was \$332, 90, and this was principally for the ordinary expenses of the country, only \$34,700 being chargeable to public buildings. The railroads were not included as they were charged to a separate fund. A large amount of extravagance, of which the public should be informed, had prevailed during these nine months. Time would not permit this matter to be gone into fully, but he would refer to a few items, to show how much might be said. He would first refer to the printing accounts. When the Provincial Secretary had estimated \$8000 for public printing, he (Mr. Dickey) had asked whether that would be sufficient, and his reason for doing so, was that in the twelve months which preceded Confederation, and principally in the nine months, the printing had cost \$35,000 to \$40,000, of which over \$25,000 fell to the share of the Queen's printer. And although he knew it was a dangerous business to meddle with the fourth estate—yet it would be unjust to withhold the facts from the public. The account for printing for the Militia Department, for the nine months, was \$2338, of which the Queen's printer got \$1857.20; that of the Education Department for the year to the Queen's printer was \$2040; that of the same office for the Mines Department, was \$631. The Queen's printer also got \$1150 for printing the report of the Board of Statistics,—and here he would observe that the Secretary of the Board had charged \$100 extra for making his report. There seemed to have been in October, 1866, a

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general increase of salaries among the heads of departments and their chief clerks. The Provincial Secretary got \$125 extra that quarter, the Financial Secretary \$75, the Receiver General \$50, T. F. Knight \$50, H. W. Johnston \$50 per quarter, besides \$200 for extra services; W. A. Hendry gets \$600 for extra services; the Commissioner of Crown Lands \$1000. Mr. Rutherford had drawn for a time his salary as Inspector of Mines, at \$3000 a year, and also as Commissioner at \$2000, and had also made a small charge for travelling expenses. The delegates had also received about \$30,000 or \$5000 each. Another officer, Mr. Knight, had received \$400 for a pamphlet. The expenses of the Legislature were also extravagant. In Messrs. McKinlay's bill for the session of 1867, appeared some curious items, of which the following were samples; two silk umbrellas, \$3 each, twelve pairs scissors \$6, 25 paper knives \$12.83, 25 knives \$35.80, French dictionary \$2.75. For the quarter ending 30th June, \$931.50 had been paid for printing and stationery—among the accounts for which appeared the following items: 4000 official envelopes \$26, three gold pens \$4.50, six boxes pens \$15, one cabinet and furnishing \$49.50. A good many bills at that time had been paid without proper vouchers. Drs. Campbell and Ross charged \$33 for treatment of a gunshot wound for a person within a mile or two of the poor house, without any certificate being attached that the person was a pauper. Another curious item was a charge by a physician of Halifax against the Indian Commissioners, as follows:

To visits on Thomas Toney, on Nov.	
24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30. Dec. 2,	
5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22,	
26, 30, and Feb. 4.....	£20 0 0
Consultation with Dr. Slayter on	
Nov. 25.....	1 5 0
There Consultations with Dr. Garvie in	
Nov. and Dec.....	3 15 0
Medicine.....	2 10 0
	<hr/>
	£27 10 0

The gentleman who had rendered this bill modestly added that "surgical attendance was not charged extra, as it ought to be according to law." There was no voucher for this account, and nothing to authorise its payment, excepting what was at that time considered as good as the authority of the law, the words "Approved C. T." in the corner. A great deal of extravagance had prevailed in many of the departments—the Committee could not go into the accounts of the Works department this session, because they were not in a fit state to be examined. He would now turn the attention of the House to a matter which would be nearly, if not entirely new—that was the position of our railways. On the 30th June, 1867, the assets on hand in the Department were \$176,800, and the liabilities amounted to \$40,017. The assets were made up as follows:—

June 30, 1867.	
Surplus store on hand.....	\$66,770.32
Arrears at Stations.....	27,160.63
Overpaid contractors.....	6,046.73
New Brunswick Railway	
survey .....	10,100.39

Annapolis Railway survey	4,812.39
Bills receivable.....	110.86
S. Fleming.....	2,719.76
Due from Colchester and	
Pictou.....	42,341.93
Suspense account.....	10,826.87
W. H. T. Sumer.....	300.00
L. P. Hill.....	205.77
Cash on hand.....	\$425.15
Cash in Bank.....	4380.07
	<hr/>
	\$176,800.92

The offset to these assets were lia-	
bilities.....	\$9,538.98
Due Bank.....	30,477.32
	<hr/>
	\$40,018.30

The amount due the Bank had, however, upon being paid by the Dominion Government been charged as arrears against Nova Scotia, while Nova Scotia was not credited with the amount of \$4,805.22 of an opposite character, being cash in Bank, &c., which the Dominion authorities had taken possession of. While the Dominion Government, as appeared by Mr. Tim's statement, had charged Nova Scotia with all these arrears paid out, they had not credited her with the item which made up the \$176,800. He trusted that the local government would insist on this sum being placed to the credit of the Province. He would next refer to the Education department for which an immense sum of money had been paid out. \$163,860.68 for the past year not including loans to counties, and while he agreed that the public money could not be better spent than in educating the youth of the country, important changes would be found necessary to place the educational system on a sound and satisfactory basis. There was much in the law as it now stood that was unjust and oppressive—at the same time it failed to give schools to the poorest districts—and was very expensive. His view was that the school inspection should be supervised so as to make it more thorough. At present the inspection in some counties was a farce, although it cost a considerable sum. He did not see moreover why the teachers should be placed in a different position from the other professions. He would apply the money at present required to keep up the status of teachers directly to the schools, and allow the services of teachers and their remuneration to depend like those of any other class on demand and supply. He agreed in the principle of free schools only to this extent—that the schools should be free to every child who was unable to pay for an education. Parents who were able to pay should be made to do so, and he thought that by the exaction of a small fee, many of the present objections would be removed, and the school be placed on a better footing than at present. He would suggest that every child whose parents had not sufficient property to make a voting qualification should be educated free. Persons having sufficient property to give them a franchise and not over \$1,000.00 worth might be made without any hardship to pay fifty cents per half year per scholar,—those rated over that up to \$4000 might pay \$1 per half year,—those rated above that to pay \$1.50. Such an arrangement would do away with sectional assessment,

which was always a bone of contention, and did more injury to the schools than any other thing. If any sectional assessment was required, the property of widows and persons over sixty, to the extent of \$1000 might be exempted. In some counties a poll tax might be levied on those who paid no other taxes. Passing on to the matter in hand, he was glad that the Provincial Secretary had moved in the matter of the treasury notes in accordance with the report of the Committee. He thought that the Savings' Bank might be managed in the same way, with a profit to the Province of \$10,000, or \$12,000 per year. He would now turn attention to the balance sheet as shown by the Committee. The nett liability of the Province as shown by the report of the Committee, deducting the Provincial treasury notes, and all the available assets, was just about \$8,000,000, but he had prepared a statement of the liability of Nova Scotia as assumed by the Dominion government, which he deemed worthy of being placed before the country, and which viewed the question in a different aspect from that taken by any other statement which had been prepared. By that statement the liabilities assumed or paid by Canada stood thus :

June 30, 1867.	
Railway bonds.....	\$4,961,500.00
Savings' Bank.....	\$657,700.00
Less Suspense.....	5,165.20
	652,534.80
Bal. due Baring Bros.....	1,088,941.62
6 mos. div. on \$4,900,500..	147,115.00
Amt. of arrears paid by Canada.....	464,421.95
Less paid by N. S. for Dominion.....	116,204.05
	348,217.90
Windsor and Annapolis Railway.....	306,465.85
	\$7,594,175.17
ASSETS.	
Stores and supplies in Railway department.....	66,770.32
Arrears at Stations.....	29,160.63
Advances on Contracts....	6,046.73
S. Fleming and others, and bills receivable.....	3,936.39
Suspense Acct.....	10,826.87
Cash on hand and in bank.	4,805.22
	\$121,546.16
Liabilities in Railway Department.....	9,224.62
	112,321.54
Amount actually assumed and paid by Dominion Government.....	\$7,482,453.53
Nova Scotia should also receive 6 months interest on \$348,217.90 of arrears	\$8,705.44
Also 6 months interest on W. & Annapolis Railway subsidy of \$396,465.85..	9,911.65
Also 12 months interest on stores and supplies in Railway	\$66,770.....
Also 6 months interest on amounts collected since 30th June, 1867, in Railway Department.....	1,138.77
Also to 12 months interest on difference between the 8,000,000 of debt, and the sum actually paid	\$7,482,453.53.....
	25,827.35
Total int. due Nova Scotia to June 30, 1868.....	\$48,921.71

I have charged 6 months interest as the average on those payments which are scattered over the year—any one with the items and dates could adjust it to a dollar, and might vary the result to a small extent.

I have also prepared a statement showing the

LIABILITIES, 1868-9.	
Balance subsidy W. and A. Railway.....	\$706,534.15
ASSETS, 1868.	
Bal. due railway depart. for N. B. survey....	\$10,100.39
Do Annapolis do	4,812.39
Due by Colchester and Pictou lands, buildings, etc.,	42,341.95
Stores in Light-houses, Penitentiary, Druid, etc., say	20,000.00
Add amount paid June 30, 1867..	7,482,453.53
	77,254.76
	\$629,279.39
Total assumed and paid by Dom. Govt. to 30th June, 1869	\$8,111,732.92

This he believed to be a fair and candid statement of our affairs, provided we took care of our province notes. He would now turn attention to another statement which would shew the assets which Canada took as an equivalent for the eight millions of debt which she was bound to assume.

ASSETS.	
Railway, not including W. & A. subsidy of.....	\$1,103,000
St. Peters Canal.....	\$7,394,038
Penitentiary.....	80,000
Steamer Druid & Darling... ..	120,000
Lighthouses, fog trumpets, establishment at Sable Island.....	35,000
Breakwaters, Government buildings, and other public buildings taken to balance account, which are worth much more.....	200,000
	170,962
	\$8,000,000

Thus Canada received full value for the whole debt, to say nothing of the loans to public institutions, road and bridge grants, navigation securities, grants for deepening harbors, &c., which the Canadians include in the statements of their assets.

He then turned attention to the way in which the Canadian debt was represented by assets. The Canadian debt of \$77,020,082 was made up as follows :

St. Lawrence, Welland, Chambley, Lake St. Peter, Burlington Bay and other Canals.....	\$16,748,767
Ottawa Works.....	1,213,261
Harbors, &c. &c. &c.....	3,148,492
Roads and Bridges.....	1,722,538
Penitentiary.....	136,831
Government Buildings at Ottawa.....	2,378,175
Custom Houses, Post Offices & Miscellaneous Buildings and Works.....	1,680,690

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Assets of this class amounting to.....	\$27,023,754	
Grand Trunk Railway.....	\$15,142,633	
Interest (over 60 per cent)...	9,556,202	24,699,835
Great Western Railway.....	2,810,500	
Interest (nearly 40 per cent)	1,038,036	3,848,536
Northern Railway.....	2,311,667	
Interest (nearly 60 per cent)	1,313,310	3,624,977
Assets of this class about as available as the Windsor and Annapolis Railway subsidy.....		32,172,348
Loan funds, Bank accounts and other miscellaneous assets.....	12,341,923	12,341,923
		\$71,543,025

Take out the most valuable of the above, which will probably be selected by arbitrators who apportion the debt between Ontario and Quebec, and given to them..... 9,043,025

And you have the amount assumed by the Dominion, \$62,500,000

The \$32,172,348 might be put down as worthless debts and accumulations of interest, \$9,000,000, of the \$12,341,923, consisted of loan funds and interest, the greater part of which was quite as worthless. The enormous sum invested in the Canals did not pay the current expenses and repairs of the works, so there were really no assets that would yield as much over their working expenses as the Nova Scotia Railway might do if properly and economically managed. The assets also included road and bridge grants, while if those grants in Nova Scotia were taken as assets the whole debt would be cancelled by them alone. The fact was that if Nova Scotia had been left in possession of the railroad, the Dominion would have had as good an equivalent in her assets as it has in the assets of Canada. And yet we are told the Canadians have taken no advantage of us, neither have they any disposition to do so.

MR. MORRISON remarked that the Canadian railroads referred to by Mr. Dickie had failed to pay their working expenses by \$18,000 in one year, and Canada had to guarantee a loan of two millions to put them in repair.

The Committee adjourned. The House adjourned.

**Evening Session.**

The House resumed at 7.30.

Dr. MURRAY said he had intended to refer to the general state of the Province at some length, but as so much had already been said on that subject, he would confine his attention to matters connected with his own country. It was well known that the constituents of every member took a deep interest, as they had a right to do, in the amount of road money given to the different counties, and the manner in which those money were expended. He believed that Pictou county had a greater length of roads and a greater number of bridges than any other county, excepting perhaps Halifax. Now the mines were being opened up at a distance from the main roads requiring facilities for communication. The late government appeared to have run into the same extravagance and recklessness as regarded the road expenditure which had been displayed in

all the other branches of the public service. An endeavor had been made to falsify matters with regard to the financial affairs of the county in order to deceive the people and to embarrass their representatives. To make his meaning plain he would read from an article which had appeared in a late number of the "Colonial Standard."

"The statement that the late members for the county, which we take to be the meaning of the charge made by the "Chronicle," mortgaged the county for \$3000 in over expenditure, is simply untrue. We do not know what amount of over-expenditure may have appeared against this county at the close of the past year for the road and bridge service; but we are not aware that any over-expenditure was made by the late members. We know that when they entered the Legislature, and the "Eastern Chronicle" will find the fact recorded on the journals of the House, they found a legacy left them by their predecessors of an over-expenditure of \$2000. They did not pay off this sum, but continued to expend the sums to which they were legitimately entitled, every year, and the last session they attended they provided for the interest of this \$2000 as usual, and left it a charge on the county just as they found it. So that this assertion, that our friends mortgaged the county for \$3000, turns out to be one of those stories made out of whole cloth, for which the "Chronicle" is so famous; the fact being exactly the reverse, as it was their predecessors and his friends who mortgaged the county for \$2000. How the extra \$1000 was incurred we are not prepared to say."

He need hardly say that these representations were false from beginning to end. They contained two assertions, the first of which was that when the late members came into power they found the county in debt by \$2000; the second was that the writer was unable to say how the additional debt of \$1000 had been incurred. He then read from the Journals of 1863 a resolution for the appropriation of road moneys for the County of Pictou, which shewed that instead of the county being then in debt, there remained to its credit as undrawn road moneys to be appropriated, \$397.26. He afterwards read from the Journals of 1867 a resolution for the appropriation for the road and bridge service of the county \$11,520, being the ordinary road grant for the year, together with a special grant of \$2782 and \$621.05 of undrawn moneys of 1866, and "also \$3000 borrowed under an act of 1867." That made \$17,923.05 to be appropriated, and showed beyond a doubt who it was that laid this debt of \$3000 on the county. The person therefore who had been guilty of making the assertions which he referred to had committed a heinous crime, and had attempted to spread the belief that the present members found the county no more in debt than she had been in 1864. The House might suppose that the large sum granted in 1867 was ample to meet the requirements of the county but an election had to be run, and the members, not content with mortgaging the country for \$3000, run into large expenditures besides. With a view of being accurate in his statements he requested the Deputy Provincial Secretary to prepare the following abstract, shewing the liabilities of Pictou County, when the present members were elected in the fall of 1867:

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\$7,394,038

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\$16,748,767

1,213,261

3,148,492

1,732,538

136,831

2,378.175

1,680,690

Debt due Bank of Nova Scotia as per statement of 19th Sept., 1868,.....	\$3234.71
Paid twice on subdivision of \$3000,....	575.80
Advances,.....	3153.40
Accounts of expenditure lately came in.	162.60
<b>Total liability of the County.....</b>	<b>\$7131.51</b>

By this it appeared that advances had been made to the extent of \$3188.40 in addition to the \$3000 before referred to. One would have supposed that this would be ample for the wants of the county, but the 18th of September was drawing on, and what was done? After incorporating that \$3000 into the ordinary road grant, which then amounted to \$17,000, the members went to work and subdivided a considerable part of it a second time. Yet their friends had the hardihood to represent that the county stood just as they had found it, when the present members came into power. The grant allotted to Pictou this year was \$7200, and when the amount of liability was paid out of this there would be left the very large sum of \$68.49 to keep up the roads and bridges of one of the most extensive counties in the Province. The statements in the "Colonial Standard" were evidently made for the purpose of deceiving the people, and he (Dr. Murray) had deemed this the best way of making his reply, referring as he had done to the authority of the Journals and of the public records. The fact that Pictou would this year have only \$68.49 for her road and bridge service might fairly be put down as one of the results of Confederation, because this corruption and extravagance would have been unnecessary under any other circumstances.—He would not have objected so strongly to the expenditure if it had been legitimately made, but the money had been largely spent for electioneering purposes, and had gone in many cases for the construction of roads for the accommodation of private parties.

Mr. MORRISON said he would endeavor to state how the county of Colchester stood when the present members came into power. For the first time, he believed, in the history of the country, money had been borrowed on its credit. Last year the grant amounted to \$14,000, and the members had borrowed \$5000 more, to be paid in two instalments in 1868 and 1869. It was true that the whole of that money had not been expended, for Mr. Archibald had given commissions to some who would not receive them as the price of their votes, and who would not therefore spend the money. \$2,600 had to be paid to the Bank of Nova Scotia, and \$3000 was all that was left to keep up the roads and bridges of the county. Nova Scotia had been then into a state of great political excitement,—father was to be found arrayed against son and brother against brother, in consequence of the constitution of the country having been swept away and its revenues handed over to another people. The ancestors of the present generation had come to this country to seek a home and had struggled with every disadvantage which could impede the settler, but industry and patience had brought the Province to so high a condition that it was one of the most favourable places in the world to obtain a living in. When Nova Scotia had been got into that state, four lawyers and a doctor, not one of whom had ever taken his coat off to

labor in reclaiming the forest, had seized upon the country and handed all her power and wealth over to strangers. There were men, strange to say, who could be found to defend this act. In the dead hour of night, when those who had placed confidence in them were slumbering on their beds, the constitution was wrested from its lawful owners and handed over to another people. Thirty-one men supported that; he had already described what had become of twelve, but what had become of the other nineteen? Only two had been able to find their way to Parliament again, one of them had been unseated, and there could be no doubt that if the election of the other had been tried by any Parliamentary committee in British North America, he also would have been unseated. Yet men could be found to stand up and say that the wealth and intelligence of the country were in favor of the measure.

He had been told by the gentleman in opposition that the office which the government had conferred on him accounted for his political leanings, and that he stood on a par with the Confederates who had sold their votes for office. He would give the House a short history of the matter. He was a member of the House when the bill passed creating the office and the government of the day insisted on his taking the position, but it did not lie in the mouth of the member for Cumberland to talk about that office—in 1863 a bill had been prepared to alter the franchise, a certain gentleman was foremost among its supporters, but that gentleman when it went to the Council, stayed it for twelve months,—the elections were run, the party which that gentleman then joined was successful, and he (Mr. Morrison) was pitch-forked out of the office to make room for the convert. Had he, (Mr. M.) changed his principles? No. He was the first man in Nova Scotia who had taken a stand as an anti-confederate, and his friends had re-instated him in his office. Perhaps the astonishment of the member for Cumberland had been awakened at the smallness of the vote of \$500, for a reference to the Journals, would shew that not long ago \$20,000 was charged for immigration, and where were the immigrants? Not five of them were in the Province to-day. The immigration office might not be continued—it was a mere experiment. He had to pay his clerk out of his salary, which was not the case with the other immigration officer. If the office was found useless, he (Mr. M.) would not stop long in it. The machinery of the immigration office conducted under the dominion government would probably cost \$20,000 making as the share of Nova Scotia \$2500, and yet that government could not command a yard of soil or an inch of quartz in the Province. Let the member for Cumberland then pluck the beam out of his own eye and the eyes of his very near friends before he presumed to talk about his, Mr. Morrison's, defects. The same gentleman had undertaken to give the House a financial statement and he reminded one of the Irishman whose teacher had to put hay on one foot and straw on the other and cry "up suggin' and down gad" because he did not know right from left. It was a mere attempt at cheese paring.—Nova Scotia furnished the cheese and her people were only to get the parings. Her services were to be paid down to the lowest fraction while Can-

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ada was to have all the large expenditures. It was often said that we were drawing money from Canada instead of enriching her, but it was well known that the trade of the Provinces had not largely increased since Confederation, and yet it was pretended in each of the Provinces that the Dominion was paying more than it received. The two Canadas had a million and a half more for local purposes than ever before, and he should like to know where the money was coming from? It was an utter impossibility that these statements could be true. Looking at the future, it would be found that the first year of Confederation would probably be the best. Canada now would receive \$380,000 but in course of forty years she would draw \$1,520,000 out of Nova Scotia, while our wants for Education and all other local purposes would have largely increased, our subsidy standing only on a population of 400,000. As population increased the wants of the country would of course increase, and the Province would have no funds to meet them. Increase of population would do a country no good unless the revenue were consumed in the country; and the Confederation act allowed the population to increase and at the same time took away the revenue, to be expended in Canada. He hoped the day was not far distant when Nova Scotia would have control of her own revenues and constitution. The eye that swept the political horizon would soon see the sun of success beaming upon the country's brow as brightly as of yore.

Mr. PURDY said, that as the people were not fully aware of the condition in which the several counties had been left at the retirement of the late Government, it would be prudent for him to turn attention to the condition of the road moneys of Cumberland, and the indebtedness of the county at the time when the present Government took office. The county account stood thus:

Undrawn money of 1867.....	\$240
Grant for 1868.....	5840
	\$6080

*Deduct:*

Amount due Bank borrowed by Tupper Government.....	\$1508
This amount drawn by Tupper during election, and charged as advances to be deducted from grant of 1868.....	3200
	4708
Amount left for services, 1868.....	\$1372

This paltry sum was all that he had to provide for repairs of roads and bridges this year. Out of this amount the River Philip bridge received a large amount. During the election canvass, in order to gain his point, Dr. Tupper had drawn a number of commissions amounting to \$3200, to be charged to this year's grant. The House might rest assured that these expenditures had not been made for the benefit of his, Mr. Purdy's election, for he had declared on the platform and the hustings, that he would advocate the repeal of the British North American Act, while Dr. Tupper was the advocate of Confederation. These abstractions from the treasury had been

made to carry a cause that could not be argued. No less than \$1600 had been spent last year on the wharf so widely known as the Parrsboro' Snag. The greater part of the other moneys had been expended in polling sections, which, materially affected the results at the polls, and therefore, it could be well seen in whose interest the disbursements had been made. By another account it appeared that \$3000 had been taken from the Pictou Railway Funds, and charged to the Parrsboro Snag, making \$4600 spent on that useless work. The House could draw its own conclusions from these facts.—Turning attention to the postal service, it would be found that Mail carriers and Way Office keepers had been subsidized, and their salaries increased without any authority excepting that of the government. The Post Office reports shewed that on a large number of contracts the remuneration had been enlarged by the arbitrary order of the government at the time when they were going out of office, and without the work having been put up to tender. This was done for the sole purpose, he believed, of aiding a cause which could not be carried by fair means. He had asked the government to lay on the table the minutes of Council of the late government. If the history of the Council were traced back to the time of its origin there would not be found among its records such a document as the minute of Council of 25th June, 1868. And although it was a public holiday, it seemed as though everything had been done on that day which was considered by that dying government as being necessary for the next twelve months. In several cases, such as in those of militia officials, the salaries had been increased in such a way as to date back. Chas. Almon's salary as clerk in the Halifax Custom House had been increased to \$600. These steps were taken to bind up the hands of those who succeeded that government in power, and were made at a time when the government had no right to exercise any such control. The Commissioner of Crown Lands had been allowed \$1000, and Mr. Hendry \$600 for extra services. Mr. George Taylor's salary had been increased to \$1600, the increase to date back from 1st October, 1866. Also a Mr. Buckley's and several other salaries were increased.

It was shameful to find that the men with whom Nova Scotia had entrusted her interests and her revenues should have dealt thus traitorously with her. Were not the men who did these acts considered traitors by the country? Were they to be found frequenting public places of common resort? No; they were met with stern looks and hisses of their countrymen, until they were glad to hide away from the view of the people. An increase of \$400 per annum had been made by the Tupper government on the 25th of June, 1867, in the pay for the mail contract between Truro and Amherst; this also was a piece of political machinery, for if he (Mr. Purdy) had ever had hard working opponents they were those men who pocketed from time to time ever since this extra allowance made to them. The Crown officers had been allowed at the same time a sum of money for entering up a judgment against J. W. Delaney, a defaulter in the customs department. The bonds of this person should have been proceeded on, but the party having been bankrupt, the judgment was not worth the paper it was written

on. The salary of J. C. Smith, another Cumberland official, had also been enlarged. \$500 had been granted for a bridge at Pugwash, where certain workmen voted for Confederation. He had examined the account for this work, and had struck off several very unfair charges. It would seem for all this that Cumberland had received especial attention. Indeed Dr. Tupper had been driven to his wits end, knowing that it was impossible for him to gain his election by fair play. Had he not deceived and betrayed the people, and bartered away their constitution he could have gone into any county secure of his election, but as it was he saw that the treasury and the pockets of his friends had to be laid under contribution to carry the election. On the memorable 23th of June a collector of Customs had been appointed also at Apple River, a settlement consisting of about eighteen houses, not £10 worth of goods being imported into the village in course of a year. This collector would of course draw a salary from the Dominion government which would go to swell up the account against Nova Scotia. With all these advantages and many more such jobs he could name, Dr. Tupper never could have secured his election without going and taking tea, from house to house, and reports say leaving a sovereign on the plate; by going through the Methodist forms of worship at other places, and rumor says a sovereign being found amongst the cents at the collection, and by resorting to every means which an honorable man should despise. The result was that he had secured his seat through corrupt influences, for if the people of the county had, by means of the ballot, or in any other effectual way an opportunity of expressing their sentiments, two thirds of them would vote for repeal.

It had been said by some that after all that had been done Nova Scotia was helpless,—he held that we had strength in ourselves. Another appeal would probably be made to England and if that country, in view of all the facts and of the determination of the country, would release us, all would be well; but if the British government still refused there was a remedy,—a means left within ourselves. Nova Scotians could do what other people had done. They could form trade leagues, float their province notes, and reject Canadian goods and Canadian notes. If the Canadians wanted Nova Scotians to be good neighbors they should immediately memorialize the British government to grant repeal. If they found that they had a bad bargain why not be frank about it, and consent to release this Province? Until freedom was granted to Nova Scotia the representatives of the people would never yield,—they would rather die in harness. If the country were obliged to resort to other means than those hitherto employed, those who had driven her to it must take the consequences. The people were stirred to their hearts depths on this question, their freedom was dear to them, and they must eventually succeed in the struggle in which they were engaged.

Hon. Mr. TROOP said he would say a few words, not so much on the state of the Province as on a despatch sent by the Duke of Buckingham to one of the North Western Colonies. It might be known to the House that the people of the North West territory had been endeavor-

ing to obtain for the country a recognition of their rights and the establishment of a Colonial constitution. It was also known that a large part of the Hudson Bay territory, which comprised in the whole one-third of the American continent, was under the chartered rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. Finding that they could not obtain a constitution, they erected one of their own in defiance of the rights of the Company, and the matter then came before the British government. In his despatch the Duke of Buckingham used language which would leave the inference that he had consulted certain legal minds of England who had a weakness for using particular words. The Duke said: "The people are not aware that they have no law and no authority to set up municipal institutions, *properly so called*, without reference to the Hudson's Bay Company."

Taking their stand on the charter to that company, the British government were found denying to thousands of hardy settlers the municipal institutions by which they could be governed aright. The Duke had laid this down as a matter of law, "*properly so called*;" but in the view of most persons by law, rightly so called, the people and their legislature were right. He drew attention to this despatch for the purpose of shewing the analogy between the language used by the English lawyers in reference to Nova Scotia and that used by the Duke in this instance. These words seemed to be the form in use whenever applicants were to be got rid of. The people of that great territory were told that they had no rights "*properly so called*." When thousands of those people were struggling to break down the shameful monopoly which oppressed them, when the people of this country were also struggling for their freedom, and when the sympathies of the world were enlisted in their common cause, the legislature had a right to ask Nova Scotia not to be discouraged under any dark circumstances that might arise. Within a fortnight the opinion on the case of Nova Scotia and the despatch to the people of that section of the North West Territory were written, both making use of the same expression,—an expression meaning nothing, but capable of construction that if the people had the power they would get their rights, but if not they need expect nothing. It would be well when Dukes of Buckingham made use of such vague expressions to insist that their meaning be made a little clearer.

HON. SPEAKER remarked that the despatch just referred to laid down a doctrine exactly the reverse of that which had been applied to Nova Scotia. The rights resulting in a charter were in the one case rigidly maintained, in the other the same rights were ignored.

Mr. PURDY read from the Postmaster General's report to show that in numerous cases contract prices and salaries had been raised by the late government without authority of law. The Committee adjourned. The House adjourned.

MONDAY, Sept. 21st, 1868.

The House met at 11 o'clock.

The Bill to alter the sittings of the Supreme Court at Windsor passed.

The amendments proposed by the Legala-

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tive Council in the bill to alter the act relating to Mines and Minerals were agreed to.

Mr. KIDSTON moved the adoption of the Report of the Committee on over expenditure of road moneys in Antigonish. The report recommended that the government resist the payment of these sums until satisfactory evidence was furnished of their having been expended in the road and bridge service.

Mr. WHITE doubted the propriety of repudiating loans made by private parties on the faith of act of Parliament.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that the report did not savor of repudiation. It would merely place the liability on the proper shoulders if the money had not been used for public purposes.

Mr. MORRISON and Dr. MURRAY supported the report.

The report was adopted.

Hon. Mr. TROOP questioned the wisdom of resisting the claims of the Bank, when the Bank had no control over the expenditure.

Hon. PRO. SECY. thought it would be bad policy to act on the report, in view of necessity for borrowing in future. A report in reference to similar expenditure in the county of Victoria was taken up.

Mr. KIDSTON said it was very proper that the government should enquire into these matters in order to see that the county was not imposed upon.

Mr. WHITE thought that a distinction should be made between the former members of the county and the Bank.

Mr. NORTHUP said it was merely a question between the House and the members. Moneys had been grossly misappropriated through the country.

Hon. ATTY. GENL. said that there was no chance of the Bank suffering. If the late members were insolvent the Province was liable.

The report was adopted.

Mr. YOUNG moved that the evidence taken before the Committee on Mines and Minerals be laid on the table.

Mr. WHITE said that the evidence had not been all taken in writing.

Mr. KIRK said it would be unfair to lay the evidence on the table as the witness had not been under oath and as a new investigation was to be had.

Dr. MURRAY took the same view. The evidence might prejudice future enquiry.

The motion was lost.

The House adjourned.

#### Afternoon Session.

The House resumed at 1.30.

The report of the Committee on Humane Institutions was presented on Friday last, but

omitted to be noticed in the report of that day's proceedings. It referred to the various Humane Institutions of the City, and spoke in commendatory terms of the condition of the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb.

At two o'clock His Honor the Lieut. Governor commanded the House to attend him in the Council Chamber, when His Honor was pleased to give his assent to sixty-one bills, and to close the session with the following

#### SPEECH:

*Mr. President and Honourable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council:*

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:*

It affords me much pleasure to release you from your legislative labors, and to congratulate you on the results of a session in which much important business has been despatched.

Under the many Acts of incorporation, matured by your wisdom, and to which I have cheerfully given my assent, we may fairly anticipate that capital will flow into the country, and its mineral resources be more largely developed.

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:*

I thank you for the supplies voted for the public service, and you may be assured that they will be faithfully applied.

*Mr. President and Honourable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council:*

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:*

Although the season has hardly closed, there is every reason to hope that the labors of the Husbandman and Fisherman will be blessed by a kind Providence, and that increased activity and thrift will prevent the recurrence of the distress which so recently prevailed around our shores. Let us hope also that, at the Provincial Exhibition, to be opened next month, it will be shewn that, in all branches of Provincial industry, and in all useful arts, Nova Scotia is making advances that may be fairly regarded as cheering and satisfactory.

Whatever causes of political excitement may unhappily exist in this country, I confidently anticipate their removal, and I feel assured that in returning to your homes, you will, by your example, endeavor to maintain those principles of loyalty and attachment to the parent State for which this Province has been so long and so honorably distinguished,

