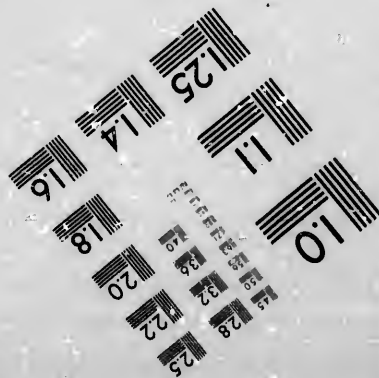
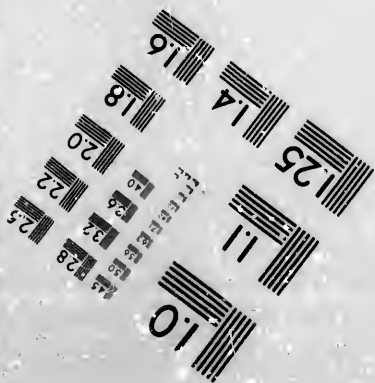
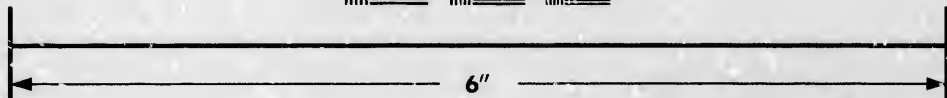
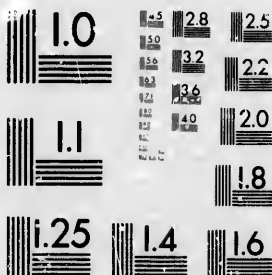


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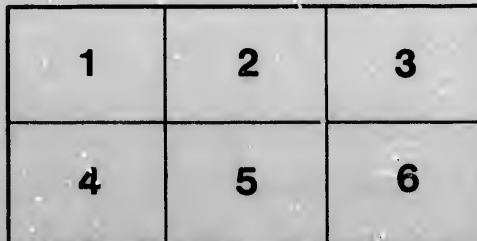
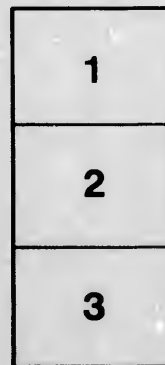
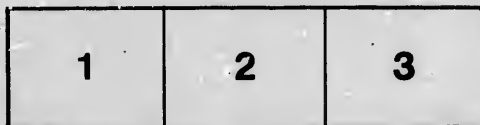
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HAS THE COUNTRY BEEN SOLD ?

A LETTER

TO THE ELECTORS OF NOVA SCOTIA,

IN WHICH

CERTAIN PEOPLE AND PAMPHLETS ARE REVIEWED,
AND CERTAIN FACTS AND ARGUMENTS STATED.

BY A COSMOPOLITAN.

"Hominis errare, insipientis vero in errore perseverare."

HALIFAX, N. S.

JULY, 1867.

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A LETTER

TO THE

ELECTORS OF NOVA SCOTIA.

GENTLEMEN,—

Not many weeks shall have elapsed, ere you will be called upon deliberately to record your votes, in behalf of certain Candidates for Parliamentary honors in the Dominion, and in the Local Legislatures. In the present critical period in the history of Nova Scotia it behoves every elector earnestly to consider the position in which the country now stands, and the degree of fitness for the effective discharge of administrative and parliamentary functions, with which the gentlemen who may solicit your suffrages may be endowed. There are, unhappily, in this country men who at this moment are abusing—I had almost said prostituting—the gifts with which nature has endowed them, in inflaming the passions, and exciting the prejudices of the people, and who, satan-like, are diligently sowing the tares of political strife, in order to serve either party or personal purposes. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of every elector intelligently to bring his judgment to bear on the questions in debate, and to act, not as his prejudices, preconceived notions, or the urgent solicitations of others may direct, but as the dictates of head and heart may suggest, after an impartial consideration of the points in dispute. There is not, I venture to assert, an elector in the Province who is not competent, with ordinary application, to form a sound opinion as to the cause it is his duty to adopt; and if he will allow himself to be led to the poll by the blandishments of cunning politicians, instead of being guided by his own sound sense and intelligence, he shall prove not only unworthy of the franchise, but the enemy of his country.

I at once avow myself an advocate of the union of the British North American Provinces, and, therefore, regard the important step that has been taken in the confederation of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, as furnishing ground for cordial Provincial thankfulness and congratulation. Indeed, so sensitively do I feel the unreasonable and factious opposition that is now being offered to the union that has been peacefully and constitutionally effected, that a painful sense of duty will compel me, in the following pages, to *operate* on the Honorable Joseph Howe, as the leader of a faction—which could not cohere for a day without him—and certain pamphleteers who have been exerting their little power in generating and nourishing, among the rural

population, a spirit of discontent, for which there is no foundation in reason,—so exerting themselves in preventing the consolidation of a measure that has commanded the solemn sanction of the local Legislatures, the Imperial Parliament, and Her Majesty the Queen. In dealing faithfully, with an eye to the public good, with the opponents of this great measure, I shall endeavour to cause them as little pain as possible, as it is my desire to cut their political and argumentative excrescences in as clean, graceful, and expeditious a manner as if they had the enviable felicity of being under the knife of a Benjamin Brodie!

I may here state, gentlemen, what will appear clearly as you proceed, that whilst impressed with the conviction that a confederation of the Provinces would prove the very preservation of the North American territory to the Queen, and eminently conducive to the development of its resources, I was at one time by no means clear as to the constitutional character of the policy of effecting the desiderated union, without an appeal to the people at the polls. Having set myself to the consideration of the subject, I have perceived that I was wrong—my confidence in the stability of my views having been, in the first instance, considerably shaken by a speech delivered by Mr. Archibald on the 19th. March last, in the House of Assembly,—and I am by no means ashamed to confess an error in judgment, founded upon my ignorance of constitutional law and precedent. As I will, in a subsequent part of this letter give some of the reasons or arguments by which I was influenced in arriving at the conclusion, that the action of the Legislature was thoroughly constitutional in regard to Confederation, possibly others whose prejudices or political predilections are not permitted to overrule their judgment, may be led to change their opinion in the same way.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF CONFEDERATION.

But permit me, before dealing with that and other cardinal points, to refer, in the most succinct manner, to the progress of the question up to the time of its solution. My object in doing so being to give some degree of continuity to this communication, so that the bearing of the great issues at the coming Election may appear more clearly defined.

The subject of Confederation is, as you are aware, no new theme. Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec, addressed a letter to the Duke of Kent regarding it, as far back as 1814. It occupied the thoughts of the late Lord Durham, who in 1839, drew up an able and elegantly written report on the subject. When, in 1854, the Honorable J. W. Johnston moved in the Legislature of Nova Scotia a resolution to the effect that a union or confederation of the British Provinces “would promote their advancement and prosperity, increase their strength and influence, and elevate their position,” up rose the Honorable Joseph Howe, proposing a Colonial representation in the British Parliament, or failing that, a “union of a federal character.” Again, we find this eloquent champion of union figuring prominently in 1861, when, still clinging to his old love, he, as leader of the government, proposed a resolution, the reading of which *now* ought to make him blush, in which he affirms the advantages to be secured by union, and the numerous disadvantages of isolation—recommending consultation, such as that which subsequently took place in Prince Edward Island, of the leading men of the Colonies, and free

communication, (such as that which occurred recently in London, when the delegates were there,) with the Imperial government.

But the Honble. Joseph Howe is not now in power, and a change has suddenly come over the spirit of "the dream of his boyhood;" and the government which succeeds him proceeds, under the leadership of the Hon. Charles Tupper, in 1864, to take the identical action—yes, the very action of which Mr. Howe was the judicious advocate. Ah! it is there the shoe pinches! "*Aut Cæsar aut nullus*"—he will be Cæsar or nobody. He must play first fiddle in the governmental band, or become in the hands of a few men, who have more money than brains, a recruiting electioneering drummer—emitting discordant "sound and fury signifying nothing." The Hon. gentleman has miscalculated his own influence and power. These were recently not small, but the grossest inconsistency and infidelity to a noble object have caused them to wither and decay. With a correct appreciation of Mr. Howe's position as a public man, Mr. Tupper invited him to take part, and no mean part, in the very work which he himself had helped to forward. He would have done well to have taken the advice of Wolsey to Cromwell:—

"Cromwell, I charge thee fling away false ambition;
By that, (sir,) fell the angels; how can man, then,
The image of his Maker, hope to win by 't?"

Well, the government proceeded, as I have said, with commendable vigor and earnestness to effect, if possible, what Mr. Howe and others had yearned for. Despairing of securing an extensive union at the time, Mr. Tupper, as the leader of the new government, proposed, in 1864, in a resolution submitted to the House, that, an humble address should be presented to His Excellency the Governor of the Province, requesting him to appoint delegates to confer with others from New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island—expressing his ardent desire to see the proposed union embracing the wide and fertile region of Canada. The conference accordingly meets at Charlottetown, and during its sitting is joined by eminent representatives from Canada. Since that period the cause of union, so dear to Mr. Howe and his friends, and which he had so long and so ably advocated, has prospered in spite of all the sectional and bitter animosity with which every good and bold measure is certain to be assailed, and at this hour the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have become one noble Dominion, shortly to extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

MR. HOWE IN LONDON.

But I have omitted to refer to the wild goose chase on which Mr. Howe and his Siamese brother went to London,—to allude to the flowers of rhetoric which for weeks they continued to shower, in rich profusion, on the devoted heads of the British Ministry, and the Lords and Commons,—to remind you how, for weeks they laboured with most patriotic devotion to prevent the "sale" of the Province, by undoing all they had done before, and unsaying all they had said before,—how when they thought the "traitors," (whose machinations they had been sent to frustrate, and counteract,) had the chance of getting four million sovereigns to build the Intercolonial Railway, they, with the most self-immolating devotion to the interests of "their own, their native land," (or probably actuated by the still higher aim of pleasing those who

sent them) frantically declared the sum was *too large*,—how, with that versatility of talent, and commendable, as well as convenient, ductility of conscience, so necessary for the efficient discharge of their high functions, these eminent diplomatists, and extraordinary plenipotentiaries, on hearing that three million sovereigns had been actually granted, declared the sum was *too small!*

Charles Dickens in one of his works introduces two characters—Mr. Pike and Mr. Pluck. Whatever Mr. Pike says, Mr. Pluck uniformly swears to. We have their modern counterparts in these two worthy patriots, Messrs. Howe and Annand, with this difference that the latter are prepared to swear to anything, or swear *away* anything, provided it will 'save the country' or please *the Junto*.

Mr. Howe published, whilst in London last year, a pamphlet entitled "Confederation considered in relation to the interests of the Empire." That *brochure* was industriously circulated in those influential quarters where he well knew its statements were likely to tell; the views he expressed were regarded with considerable favour by a portion of the influential press of Britain;—but the ray of hope which was thus kindled was soon destined to "pale its light" in the effulgence of a greater luminary, to whose superior brilliancy he himself was the means of contributing. Mr. Tupper lost no time in preparing a reply, which, not only in the clearness and solidity of its matter, and the conciseness and pellucidity of its style, was admirably adapted for the class of mind to which it was addressed, but it also was distinguished by the rare quality of concentrating the light of the Confederate champion of former days, into a focus on himself, so powerful as actually to *consume* him. It was Howe *versus* Howe—the British public finding in Mr. Howe's former, more natural, and able statements the flattest contradiction to his present doleful lucubrations. "The effect"—says Mr. Archibald, writing to the people of Nova Scotia—"of this reply upon the public opinion of this country was unparalleled."

Then followed the Hon. J. McCully in a remarkably well-written production, with "further reasons for Confederation," which left the impossibility of Mr. Howe's recovery beyond doubt.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

Having thus presented, as briefly as I could, a fragmentary outline of the history of the progress of union, I shall now proceed to furnish an answer to the important question,—Has Confederation been *constitutionally* effected?

It is clear that when we speak of constitutional authority, we refer to British constitutional authority, and its nature and extent must be ultimately and practically determined in the estimation of all candid enquirers, by the recorded opinions of recognised eminent writers on the British constitution, as well as the precedents, or examples, which the history of Britain furnishes.

Now, I put it to every loyal, candid elector, who may honor me by a perusal of these pages, whether it do not strike him, at the outset, as somewhat paradoxical, that if in Britain, and especially in the British Parliament, any serious or well grounded doubt existed as to the competency of the Provincial Legislatures to arrange the terms of Confederation, without their dissolution, that no wide spread emphatic expression was given to such doubt. Not only has the argus-eyed press, with one or two solitary exceptions, been

silent on this phase of the question, but scarcely a sparrow's cheep has been heard about it in either the House of Lords, or the House of Commons. Yet in the higher house sits Earl Russell, the author of an elaborate work on the British constitution, a perusal of which I would strongly recommend to every anti-confederate, and in the Lower, Stuart Mill, one of the ablest philosophical writers of the day—not forgetting the honest and singularly able Gladstone. It was this remarkable unanimity, in conjunction with other circumstances, respecting a subject on which a vast deal of dogmatic assertion, without the shadow of proof, has been made in Nova Scotia, that led me to examine the subject for myself. As a full exposition of my researches would occupy too much of the limited space at present at my disposal, I must rest contented with a specific reference to certain prominent considerations, which I humbly, but earnestly submit, ought to set the question at rest. Indeed a number of pertinent authorities were produced by the Hon. the Financial Secretary, in debate in the House last year, and although he had recently, in the most pointed terms, challenged Mr. Campbell, the leader of the opposition, to adduce one solitary authority or precedent of a contradictory nature, that gentleman had failed, and could not otherwise than fail, to do so. I could easily prove that all the legislative action of the British Parliament in critical periods in the history of the country has been invariably based on the principle of a similar, or even incomparably greater assumption of power. As Mr. Archibald in his able speech at Truro remarked referring to the Parliament which had been elected in 1715—the year the reader will remember in which the Chevalier St. George invaded Scotland—if it could constitutionally extend the length of its previously fixed duration, it could surely, with propriety, exercise a more limited stretch of power. Hallam—an eminent authority in such questions—condemns in the strongest terms those “ignorant” persons who venture to condemn the House in prolonging its own existence beyond the originally stipulated period. Let it, moreover, be borne in mind that the present British House of Commons was not elected to alter the constitution by a very sweeping measure of Reform in the representation of the country, yet it transacts the business without anybody bawling “treason,”—“we are sold!”

BLACKSTONE, COKE, AND HALE.

Blackstone says—“every member of the House of Commons, though chosen by one particular district, when elected and returned, serves for the whole realm. For the end of his coming thither is *not* particular but general, not barely to advantage his constituents, but the commonwealth;”—and Stephen, (who wrote in 1835 a voluminous and able book on the British Constitution, published by Blackie & Son,) in commenting on the passage, adds, “and therefore, *he is not bound to consult with, or take the advice of, his constituents on any particular point, unless he himself thinks it proper or prudent so to do.*” That Blackstone's remarks apply to the Imperial Parliament primarily, does not make them less applicable to the recent Nova Scotia House of Assembly, for it is obvious that every member of that House was there to legislate, not for his own constituents solely, but for the general interests of the Province.

“The power and jurisdiction of parliament,” says Sir Edward Coke, “is so transcendent and absolute that it cannot be confined, either for causes or

persons, within any bounds. It has authority in making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical or temporal, civil, military, maritime or criminal. All mischiefs and grievances, operations and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can regulate and new-model the succession to the Throne, as was done in the reign of Henry VIII, and his three children and successors. It can change and create afresh even the Constitution of the Kingdom, and of Parliaments themselves, as was done by the act of Union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections, and as has been recently done by the passing of the bills for the reform of Parliament. In short, it can do everything that is not naturally impossible; and, therefore, some have not scrupled to call its power by a figure certainly too bold—the omnipotence of Parliament.” Such are the sentiments of Sir E. Coke, and the inference he draws from the acknowledged plenitude of power with which Parliament is invested, is one, to which, I respectfully submit, the electors of Nova Scotia, in the present important crisis, are bound to pay special attention, giving by their votes practical effect to its import. “So that,” continues Coke, “it is a matter most essential to the liberties of the Kingdom, that such members be elected for this important trust, as are most eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowledge.” So infallible does Sir Matthew Hale regard the decisions of Parliament that he observes—“this being the highest and greatest Court, over which none other can have jurisdiction in the Kingdom, if by any means a mis-government should anyways fall upon it, the subjects of this Kingdom are left without all manner of remedy.”

The men, whose sentiments I have put before you, are men not only of British, but of world-wide fame—men to whose opinions, intellects of the greatest power, and the most refined literary and scientific culture have bowed with respect and deference, and whose opinions on constitutional questions, even individuals with the eloquence of a Howe, or the *confused* casuistry of a Wilkins, might condescend to regard, from the lofty pinnacle on which they stand in their own estimation, with some slight degree of favor. The opinions of a Hale or a Hallam, a Coke or a Blackstone—reliable constitutional authorities in the estimation of the great and the learned—are not to be brought into disrepute in the estimation of the intelligent electors of Nova Scotia, by the ill-directed fluency of a Howe, or the peurile reasoning of a Wilkins. If the electors prove—as I have no doubt they will—“men in understanding,” calmly and coolly examining the matter for themselves, manfully repressing those feelings of misplaced and unwarrantable revenge, for the exercise of which Mr. Howe is the great political apostle, the result cannot be doubtful. If to him revenge be sweet, and if, Shylock-like he desire coolly to cut a pound of political flesh from the breast of his opponents, although as innocent as Antonio, I for one have totally misapprehended his nature. Seriously, I am inclined to think that the honorable gentleman is traversing the country at present for his amusement, that from an unaccountable freak of idiosyncrasy he is showing how he can make the worse appear the better reason.—and that when the Election is about to take place he will turn round, and with one of those inimitable smiles which almost perpetually play on his manly counten-

ance, say to his friends, " Well, gentlemen, you all know I have been joking about this business of Confederation and inter-Colonial Railway ; you know I must cling to my old love, and go in for both. I will see Tupper, who really after all has done me no harm, and he and I will hie for Ottawa, accompanied by my old friend Archibald, and there we will, I trust, with an ability and power, not inferior to our compeers, fight the battles of our glorious little country !"

But, if on the other hand I have totally mistaken Mr. Howe's nature, and he turn out a political Shylock, I will say to Mr. Howe, as Portia did *sarcastically* to the Jew,

" Be merciful."

" On what compulsion must I ? tell me that,"

Said Shylock.

PORTIA :—" The quality of mercy is not strain'd ;
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath : it is twice bless'd :
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes :
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest : it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown ;"

and is, I will add, a beautiful element in the character of men who are verging on *old age* !

UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Two great unions, and only two up to the time of the confederation of these Provinces—and the other Provinces will speedily join their loving sisters—have been effected. It therefore, becomes our duty deliberately to examine the steps that were taken, first, in the case of the union of England and Scotland, in order to discover if there be any cause for the complaint that is now vociferated in our ears that the people of Nova Scotia have not been consulted—and in that respect they are in the same condition as the people of Canada—and as to whether there is not a truly wonderful similarity in the various stages through which the scheme of the Scottish union passed, as compared with those by which our own Confederation has been completed.

Scotland, with which we are all to some extent familiar, is, as I find from the map, about 280 miles in length—its greatest breadth being about 150 miles. It is certainly " a tight little country" like our own, and as we understand, abounds amongst other good things, in *Kail*, brose, and whiskey !—having about three thousand miles of coast. I find—or any one who will read the history of Scotland will find—that the subject of union with England was long talked of among thinking men in both countries, but a serious and really practical consideration of the question was from time to time postponed on account of the mutual enmity with which some bigotted men regarded each other ;—and when at last in 1667, a tangible attempt was made to bring about the desired union, a number of alarmists of the same genus that are now wringing their hands, hoisting blag flags, counting their money, and packing their " traps" to bid a final adieu to the land of their Sires, became absolutely distracted, and like Mr. Howe, traversed the country in hot haste, as if an enemy had landed on Scottish soil, and as if each were the bearer of the ancient " fiery cross." They declared their country was about " to be sold" to the

English, just as it is, now said—although the cry is becoming, even with the more ignorant, rather stale—that we are “sold to Canada.” A lull takes place in the patriotic movement on account of the obstacles that stand in the way, till the year of grace 1703, when, another attempt is made. On this occasion no little difficulty is experienced in getting the English to come to reasonable terms, as they pertinaciously insist on maintaining their exclusive right to trade with the Indies, and other peculiarly sacred commercial territories. After fighting many desperate argumentative battles with these ancient advocates of isolation, the victory was won in 1707, just as that of Nova Scotia has been won in 1867. And who arranged the terms of union? Commissioners or Delegates appointed by the crown—both countries being represented by an equal number. And what then? The precise terms of Union were agreed upon by the Delegates, and subsequently ratified by the Parliaments of both countries, under one Act, which thus became law in England and Scotland almost simultaneously—the measure having been carried in the Scottish House by a narrow majority.

But I imagine an anti-unionist retorting—well, after all, an appeal was made to both legislatures after the terms of Union had been determined; but no such appeal was made to the legislature of Nova Scotia. But pray, what is the difference? The Crown, in the case of the Scottish Union, *did not* ask leave of the Parliament to appoint commissioners or delegates, whereas, according to the resolution submitted by Mr. Tupper to the House of Assembly in 1864, the propriety or policy of moving at all in the matter was respectfully submitted for decision to the House, and the response was so decided that there could be no question respecting its emphatic import;—and even those by whom this shade of difference may be grasped with the tenacity of a drowning man holding on by a straw, have the moral and political certainty within their breast that the action of the delegates would have been sustained by the House. Indeed, the question was practically determined when the vote on Mr. Stewart Campbell's amendment was taken, two to one sustaining the delegates.

Mr. Martin I. Wilkins, Q. C., exults in the alleged fact that the formal sanction of the House of Assembly was not secured, and thanks his stars for it—which reminds me of a story which Boswell tells of Johnson. On the great lexicographer sending the last proof sheet of his dictionary to the publisher corrected, the latter returned by the bearer a note, in which in the most laconic manner, he said, “I thank God I am done with you.” Johnson immediately wrote back—“Mr. Samuel Johnson presents his compliments to the publisher, and is very glad to learn that he has the grace to thank God for anything!” I shall have something more to say to Mr. Wilkins immediately.

It appears, then, that the union of these Provinces has been formed constitutionally, and in the most decorous and approved form; and I will venture here to say, as Queen Isabel said—alluding incidentally to another kind of union into which Mr. Howe amusingly told his auditors at Truro he had himself entered:—

“God, the best maker of all marriages,
Combine your hearts in one, your realms in one!
As man and wife, being two, are one in love,

So be there 'twixt your Provinces such a spousal,
That never may ill office, or fell jealousy,
Thrust in betwixt the paction of these Provinces,
To make divorce of their incorporate league."

Having thus, I hope, proved to your satisfaction, gentlemen, by sound logic, based on authentic facts, that as the Scottish Union was effected constitutionally, so has that which more immediately concerns us, I now proceed most respectfully to exhibit the effects, particularly in a commercial and material point of view, which this much derided Union has produced—a union predicted by many as destined to ruin Scotland, and against which a tide of opposition was directed far surpassing in volume and in power that by which it has been vainly attempted to deluge this Province. I would say, parenthetically, pity that a man of Mr. Howe's fine powers should have abused them for such a purpose! I may remark that I have been an observer of his life, and an admirer of his genius. He has, beyond question, like Othello, "done the State some service," and were he now, like the poet's devil, "to take a thought and mend," he might yet take his natural position in the Dominion Parliament, and in his declining years shed a soft ray of glory on the hill tops of his native Province, as he descended below the horizon of human life!

SCOTLAND BEFORE AND AFTER THE UNION.

What then, I ask, was the condition of Scotland at the time of the union? Its population was little over a million. What is its population now? very considerably over three millions. Its revenue in the year of union was only £110,000. What was its revenue in the year ending 31st March, 1858? It was £7,300,000—thus, its trade far exceeding, proportionately considered, the bounds of its population. Its exports at the union were merely nominal. Even in 1755 they did not exceed £535,000. In 1857 they had attained to the almost incredible amount of eight millions sterling in value,—including manufactures, coal, iron, &c. At the union it had only 215 vessels of 14,000 tons. In 1857 it had not fewer than 3,543 vessels of 652,000 tons in the aggregate; and in that year 141 vessels were built in Scottish ports.

In the County of Lanark, which is said strikingly to resemble in general contour and in richness of mineral that of Pietou, the increase of population in fifty years, from 1801, has been 258 per cent! Could the most sanguine Scotchman, the most ardent of unionists, have ventured to prognosticate, nay, would he have dared to hope for such a result? Suppose the spirits of the ancient Scottish anti-unionist croakers were called from the vasty deep, and were favored with a glimpse of the scene, how their eyes would dilate, and how very foolish they would look! It were vain to present an accumulation of similar evidence. The man who for a moment questions the reality of the benefits that Scotland and England have derived reciprocally from the union; does that which is next to the denial of the evidence of his own senses. Past history and present observation proclaim them to the world!

THE UNION OF IRELAND WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

But I fancy I see men of Mr. Wilkins' stamp either chuckling gloriously and rubbing their hands, or drawing themselves up two inches above their

natural level and asking, "but what about the Irish union?" It was, I answer, consummated on precisely the same constitutional principles, having been effected in the closing year of the last century. The act of union was carried in the Irish Parliament by 158 to 115 members. To bear evidence as to whether Ireland was in a better condition after the union than before, I shall call Mr. Grattan, a gentleman whose veracity few, if any, Irishmen will call in question. In writing eight years before the union, he deliberately states, that of 300 members of the Irish House of Commons, 200 were the *nominees of private parties*, and that from 40 to 50 were returned by constituencies of not more than ten persons each! I at once acknowledge, what is indeed notorious, that Island was, after the union, ill-governed. The British Parliament, in those comparatively dark times, displayed the very contrary of a desire to do her the semblance of justice; being actuated by the most intolerable religious bigotry. And how is it possible that the Catholic population could be otherwise than rebellious when they found their noble green-isle, throughout its length and breadth, subdivided into parishes, each having a clergyman of the Established English Church. Yet, of a population then estimated at about eight million, the protestant portion constituted little more than ten per cent!—tithes being imposed on the Irish people for the maintenance of a religion in which the mass of them had no faith! The existence of such an establishment of any denomination—and the knell of the present has been sounded recently in the House of Commons by Gladstone, a most distinguished Church of England man, in one of his most powerful speeches—is incompatible with the preservation of order in Ireland, and has been the great cause of the existence of that mad organization designated Fenianism. But for the green-isle, "the gem of the sea," there are yet bright days in store. From her sparkling shores, and verdant fields, issues an annual stream of one hundred thousand souls, mainly to people this continent—those remaining being in much more comfortable circumstances than their forefathers. There is consequently a diminution of the population. In 1841, it was 8,171,000; in 1851, only 6,551,000, indicating a remarkable migratory phenomenon, the effect of which will not probably cease till the advantages of the new world are somewhat correspondent with those of the old.

But he would be a shallow thinker, as well as an incompetent reasoner, who should attempt to base an argument against the union of these Provinces on the condition of Ireland. Between the Saxon and the Celt there had existed, from time immemorial, up to a comparatively recent period, the most determined enmity. Between the Canadians and ourselves there are no feuds of which I am aware. We have not, like the Mr. Howe of *to-day*, who terms them "strangers," been accustomed to regard them as such; much less do we look upon them as enemies. On the contrary we more resemble the real Mr. Howe of former times, who thanked God he was so very like them! "*Nam ego illum periisse duco, cui quidem periit pudor.*"

I never entertained a doubt as to the advantages that union would confer on Nova Scotia. I hold that she will have at least a double advantage over Canada, in virtue of her geographical position. It seems to me that the connection of the Province with Canada, without the inter-colonial railway, would be of comparatively small immediate advantage; but what Nova Scotian with a head on his shoulders can fail to see that, as the nearest shipping point of

North America to Europe, having a harbor at Halifax unsurpassed, whether viewed in regard to capacity, depth of water, security, or facility of entrance, by any in the world—with scope for wharfage equal, if not superior, to that of Liverpool—the Province possesses peculiar advantages.

Then glance at its unrivalled resources, which are the admiration of strangers, to whom they are just beginning to become known;—its enormous fields of coal, and its inexhaustible stock of iron, its gold, and other metals and minerals—not to speak of its fisheries. Look at its undulating hills unpenetrated, but whose summits are, as a rule, capable of bearing cereals and esculents—its enormous flats, formed by the action of the beneficent ocean in course of ages, and which by *dyking* are capable of bearing rich and abundant crops. Behold a land unpossessed, with a population somewhat short of 400,000. Although there is ample scope for capital and labor, there are men amongst us who, having hoarded money, to which they will cling for its own sake till death, and possibly leave it to others to spend recklessly, or, like their fathers, to hide it in a napkin—men who see not beyond their *feelers*, and draw in their heads at *the sound of the idea* of change!

HOW WILL CONFEDERATION AFFECT OUR MERCHANTS, TRADESMEN, FARMERS, &C.

Will our merchants lose or gain by Confederation? I mean not a few usurers, but industrious, hard-working men. This question I will answer by putting another. Will less goods be sold, and less profit realized, because there are more people in the land? Will less money be spent because there is more of it in circulation? Surely the number of people in Halifax County who are not for Confederation must be small indeed, if they have any regard for the prosperity of the county, as well as that of the entire Province. With all the cooing, crowing, and hallooing before they are out of the wood, I cannot believe that one anti-confederate, and I, by no means, mean to insinuate anything against the respectability of the candidates, although nature certainly did not intend some of them for public life; will be returned by the County of Halifax for the Dominion or Local Legislatures.

Will our tradesmen lose or gain by the Union? Will our carpenters, joiners, smiths, and other artizans have less work when there is ten or twenty-fold greater demand for it? Will our clothiers, shoemakers, and other tradesmen, amid a more teeming and industrious population, have less to do?

Will our farmers, whom Mr. Howe and his followers are attempting to stuff with the most unmitigated blarney, get less for their beef and butter because the population has increased, and they have greater facilities for conveying it to market? London has a population of three million. What is the price of good beefsteak there? 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. sterling per lb. of 16 ozs. Salmon sells there at present at 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. per lb. And if, where a large population exists, prices are higher than here, why will they not advance proportionately here also? Oh! flocks of people will come and settle on the soil, and be the means of lowering the value of farm produce. They will never come, judging by experience; to the same extent that consumers will accompany them, and hence prices must inevitably advance. Thousands are pouring into the United States and settling on the land, and look to quota-

tions? Are the respective figures opposite flour, butter, cheese, &c., high or low? That question I leave with the reader for an answer.

Oh! that I could open the eyes of men who are being deceived by false representations, for contemptible electioneering purposes! Is Mr. Howe a statesman? If so, why not act like one? Let him, like a gentleman, fix upon his constituency, manfully contest his election, and not continue to lower himself by wandering through the country, like Scott's last minstrel, weeping and wailing at the fate of his country, whilst, as he sits down to dinner, he becomes as brisk as a cricket, and as jolly as a London alderman—his dupes being under the impression that he is all the while sitting in sackcloth and ashes. At Dartmouth he played one of the best comic tragicomedies which it has been my fortune ever to witness—delivering a most ludicrous speech, which, on account of its rare comical properties, was a treat of no ordinary kind. The groundwork of the plot consisted of the assumed fact that the Canadians have robbed us of our rights as men, and our freedom as citizens—that Mr. Tupper, Mr. McCully, Mr. Henry, and all the rest have betrayed Nova Scotia to the wicked Canadians much in the same way as Sir Henry Montoith betrayed Sir William Wallace. He bemoaned the fact that our Post Office is gone, because its control is lodged, as in every civilized country, in the Head Government. Our revenues, he says, are clean swept away from us. Do Scotchmen or Irishmen imagine for a moment that every million of pounds that goes to London, and is under the control of the Imperial Government, is lost to their country? They know the value of money as well as other people, and the more money is yielded by the centres of revenue the more they rejoice, as it is a certain indication, or rather positive proof, of increasing commercial and industrial prosperity, and a larger amount finds its way back to their own country in the increased expenditure for public improvements.

Let it be remembered that a host of Scotchmen raved and ranted in precisely the same fashion as our scared anti-confederates at the time of the union, and insisted, just as Mr. Howe and his followers are now insisting, that the few Scotch representatives in the Imperial Parliament would be ignored and swamped by the surrounding hordes of English members—affirming with a degree of dogmatism equal to that of Mr. Wilkins, that the poor Scots would in time of voting, be *nowhere!* I shall leave an eminent writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica to describe what took place. "The Scots"—he says "soon discovered that they could wield a power readily revealed to Parliamentary groups, however small when they are compact. They learned the art of throwing themselves into one of the scales of nicely balanced parties; and no ministry could safely venture to rouse the united enmity of the members from the north." Mr. Tupper when combating the same objection at Truro justly said,—“nineteen members are to be elected by this Province to the House of Commons, which is to consist of 151 members, and they will be joined by fifteen from New Brunswick, whose interests will be identical with our own. But I need hardly tell you that nineteen members compose as large a body as has held the Government of England in its hands for years, and that in a House composed of 658 members.” The coincidence of sentiment between these two authorities is complete, and every elector will appreciate its importance, appropriateness, and force. Scotland with its fifty three members in the English House of Commons is most ably and efficiently represented.

IMPORTANT INFERENCE.

Now, gentlemen, there is a most important practical inference to be deduced from the facts just stated, as bearing upon your duty in selecting men to represent you, particularly in the House of Commons, and that is the absolute necessity of sending men who will work harmoniously for the interest of the country. If you send discordant elements, they will prove a source of weakness instead of strength. Be true, therefore, to the best interests of Nova Scotia, and send the men who have prominently assisted in laying the keel, and building the noble vessel that now floats on her native element;—and with bouyant hope, and a cheerful spirit, man her with a crew who have faith in her strength, and capabilities, and who are therefore, certain to guide her in safety through the dangers of the main. But should you act otherwise and return a considerable number of men hostile to union, and who are determined to fight a factious battle against the established order of things, then each of you may well say with Coriolanus:—

“ My soul aches

To know, when two authorities are up,
Neither Supreme, how soon confusion
May enter ’twixt the gap of both.”

IS THE UNION HOMOGENEOUS.

But we are told by an anti-confederate writer who has attempted to reply to the pamphlet, *Confederation considered on its merits*, that the union elements are not homogeneous—that they are as repellant to each other as were those of Belgium and Holland, and that hence united, harmonious action cannot be expected. If the serio-comic effort of Mr. Howe at Dartmouth amused, this illustration of the bad working of confederations astonished me. Before referring to Belgium, I may state that on reading the first sentence of the very modest preface of the reply in question, I fondly thought I had at last arrived at a literary spot where the balmy zephyrs of anti-confederate mid-summer would cool my heated brow—where in fact, the voice of the anti-confederate turtle might be heard! “In the following pages,” says the writer referred to, “the question of confederation is discussed on its merits, in a spirit divested of all partizanship, and free from those feelings of personal antagonism, and strong party bias that have so deeply tinged much that has appeared in the Newspaper press on both sides of the question.” But the three additional sentences of which the preface consists present the deeply tinged bias in flaming colours, and as the reader goes on he finds the bias so strong that ere the literary bowl of our unprejudiced friend performs its journey, it will have described a complete circle! As evidence of the eminent charitableness, and controversial gentleness by which the pamphlet is pervaded I give the following:—“carried as it was—(the Confederation Bill)—through the Imperial Parliament by misrepresentation most foul—forced as it is upon us without our consent, it may be our true policy, if not our duty even now to give the confederation scheme a fair trial, to examine and enquire if there is any good in it, and so amend and improve the measure, if that be possible, as to make it applicable to the people of this country.” These utterances shew that the turtle is a snapping one.

Well, let us get back to Belgium. I submit that a more unfortunate ex-

ample could not have been produced for the author's purpose. From its geographical position that country was for a long period, anterior to the peace of 1815, the battle ground of Europe. It has at successive periods been bandied about by the great continental powers of *Europe* from one State to another. To Holland, Belgium was united for fifteen years—that is from the conclusion of the last great Continental war till 1830, when she became an independent State—advancing ever since in a glorious career of prosperity. The union of the phlegmatic Dutchman with the lively Belgian was not a natural union. The two peoples were as alien as the Muscovite is to the French, or the French to the English. Belgium was at one time in the possession of Austria, at another of France. The inhabitants previous to 1815 were kept in a constant state of fermentation, and the subsequent union with Holland was not as I have stated, a natural one. Hence no argument against the confederation of the British North American Provinces can be based on the history of Belgium.

ANOTHER RARE PAMPHLETEER.

But here comes a letter to the Electors of Nova Scotia by an Acadian. This production displays bad taste, bad composition, profound ignorance and a good deal of harmless venom. For the amusement of the reader I will give one sentence from this curious production. "Such then," he writes, "is a fair view of what confederation will do for us—it is the creature of Canadian faction—it will paralyze industry, and cramp our resources—it was conceived in the womb of Canadian faction—it will load us with a heavy debt from which we never can or will get any benefit—it destroys our self government—it renders us liable at any moment to be finally swallowed up by the United States." Surely there is no one in the Province of Nova Scotia capable of swallowing rubbish like that. Should the United States gobble up Nova Scotia, they will find it hard of digestion, for it may prove like that small animal that leaps down the crocodile's throat as its sleeps on the banks of the Nile, and afterwards at its leisure knaws a tunnel through the monster's carcase, emerging safely into daylight—leaving Mr. Crocodile snapping his jaws, and flapping his tail in the agonies of death!

THE HIGHEST MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY. M. I. WILKINS, ESQ., Q. C.

But here comes the most pretentious, as well as the most spirited and voluminous pamphlet of the three. It is really refreshing to leave the phlegmatic periods of the other two authors, and to have the mind refreshed by the lively, though somewhat confused sentences, and the imagination stimulated by the comical pictures presented by Mr. Martin I. Wilkins, Q. C., as set forth in "Confederation examined in the light of reason, and common sense." Now it would be unmanly to attack under the name I have assumed a gentleman who has not scrupled to publish his own;—and I can assure Mr. Wilkins that my sole motive in not following his example is the circumstance that it would carry no weight. Mr. Wilkins is of a different opinion as to the talismanic influence of his

own, and no one can find fault with the good use he has endeavoured to put it to.

Mr. Wilkins refers at the outset to the alleged cold reception with which the delegates met on their arrival in Halifax. My reply is that they were greeted, not by boisterous roughs, of whom there are always a few ready to cheer anything or anybody, but by "troops of friends"—intelligent and devoted. He also says "that the delegates had no part in the preparation of the scheme of Confederation which was manufactured in Canada—that the whole plot was contrived in Canada, and that the Nova Scotian delegates are not entitled to the unenviable merit of the least participation in its composition;" and he adds with great politeness, "that it is but charity to suppose that they had not even sense to understand it!" Now is there an elector who believes that Mr. Wilkins has stated the truth? Any one who knows the history of the Union knows also that the very opposite of what he says is the truth;—and I would ask to what degree of credence are the subsequent statements of Mr. Wilkins entitled, seeing he has blackened the very first page of his *brochure* with what he and you know to be false in every particular?

He sneeringly names the author whose solid pamphlet he criticises, Lazarus. I might, with equal propriety, call Mr. Wilkins, Dives. Lazarus was one of the most eminent Christians of whom we have an account in the Divine Record, whilst Dives, although as great and possibly a richer man than Mr. Wilkins, was quite the reverse.

My limits will not admit of an elaborate refutation of all the extraordinary statements and arguments with which the pamphlet before me abounds. I will therefore confine myself to the consideration of a few of his wild assertions, and reckless and baseless deductions.

That "Confederation is not Union" is the proposition which Mr. Wilkins at the outset endeavors to prove. Now I have turned up Dr. Johnson's dictionary, who, although an insignificant lexicographer and authority compared with Mr. Wilkins, yet, in whom the learned as well as the unlearned world has faith, and he defines the term "close alliance, union." Confederation is Union, says every lexicographer. "Let the people well consider the nature of Confederation—Confederation and Union are not the same, but vastly dissimilar," screams Mr. Wilkins. I leave him and the dictionaries to settle the point! He next directs attention to the United States, which he affirms "are not the United States!" Here we have a country that has prospered in point of rapidity beyond any other of which history furnishes an example—into which there was in 1865 alone an immigration of 147,258—which has granted for works of internal improvement and schools 130,875 acres of land—for agricultural and mechanical colleges 1,284,000 acres—the value of whose imports, according to the Director of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, as set forth in his report published in Washington in June, 1866, was \$487,640,354—whose customs duties amounted in the same year to \$179,046,657;—that is the country to which Mr. Wilkins triumphantly points as one proving to demonstration what miserable results flow from Confederation or Union!

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MORE ABOUT THE UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

He then appeals to the Union of England and Scotland, and on this part of the subject evinces ignorance so profound, that if a prize were offered for the greatest display of depth in that undesirable element he assuredly would win it. "What," says Mr. W., "was the nature of the connection between England and Scotland when all these evils smote the prosperity of the two States? They had the same Sovereign, but distinct Legislatures. They had a Federal Union. It was Confederation, therefore, to which they owed all these calamities. While Confederation existed between them they were miserable and unprogressive. They united, and became happy and prosperous nations; and what was the nature of their union? A Legislative Union—the two nations became one." Never, I venture to say, was there so great a quantity of historical nonsense compressed within so limited a space. Shades of Robertson, Hume, and Macaulay, what say ye to this discovery of Mr. Wilkins? England and Scotland, as every school-boy knows, were never federally united. When the Scottish King ascended the English throne he simply made London his place of residence, and did not in any way interfere with the Scottish Parliament. He was King of both England and Scotland—each having its own legislature, whose respective laws, as passed in the respective legislatures, received the sanction of the King. I ask Mr. Wilkins if Scotland had any representatives in the English Parliament when James, after the death of Elizabeth, ascended the British throne? None. Wherein, then, did the said Confederation consist? It is not to be found in either the history of England or Scotland. It is simply a figment of Mr. Wilkins's too fertile imagination. Scotland stood before the Union in nearly the same relation to England, as Nova Scotia before Confederation stood to Britain. It was only when the Union of 1707 was consummated, that Scotland was entitled to send representatives to the British Parliament. But Mr. Wilkins attributes certain calamities to his imaginary anterior Confederation of England and Scotland. Now I defy him to produce one historian, or any writer of greater or smaller eminence than himself, who expresses the same opinion. Scotland and England, before the Union, or rather before the ascension to the English throne of the Scottish monarch, were almost constantly at war. After the Union prosperity dawned upon both. Not one writer, whose opinion is worth a straw, can be produced who does not acknowledge that the unexampled prosperity, with which Providence has been pleased to bless the United Kingdom, has been mainly owing, under His guidance, to the Legislative Union under one Sovereign. But Mr. Wilkins, although he would have us believe that in candour he is a paragon, lets out a very amusing secret in the quotation on which I am commenting. He coolly tells us "that England and Scotland united, and became happy and prosperous nations;" and what was the nature of their Union? "A Legislative Union," replies this Nova Scotian Solon. Well done, Wilkins!—the electors will thank you for that confession: it is the best bit of your literary bantling. And why will not these Pro-

vinces be equally happy and prosperous? No, exclaims Wilkins—for this is a Federal Union! Not so fast: Scotland sent a few members to the British Parliament—Nova Scotia sends nineteen to Ottawa. As the Scottish members represented, under a Legislative Union, their country in London, so will Nova Scotians represent, under a Federal Union, this Province in the House of Commons. Mr. Wilkins pants for a complete Legislative Union. He has got what is *near it*, and may have it altogether by and by. "The word Union," he says, "expresses everything that is lovely—Confederation all that is hateful." Indeed! What a ponderous blockhead old Johnson was to confound the two, so as to make them one! What is in a name? says the poet—"a rose would smell as sweet by any other name," and so does Union, although called Confederation!

MR. WILKINS A PROTECTIONIST---A SHOWER OF PORK AND POULTRY.

But Mr. Wilkins is a protectionist. "Let us have Confederation," he says, "with the free trade it establishes, and our farmers will be driven out of their own markets by the pork, beef, cheese, butter, poultry, and other productions of Canadian agriculture." So here is an indictment preferred by Mr. Wilkins against Mr. Tupper and his colleagues, for bringing down upon us in rich and abundant profusion all the good things which are necessary to make our stomachs comfortable! Read the good news ye merchants who have large families and heavy expenses—ye tradesmen who desire cheap food for your wives and children—ye laborers who rejoice in a good dinner when you can get it.

HOW WILL OUR FARMERS FARE!

But what of the farmers? Are they destined to be ruined? The very reverse. They will benefit to a greater extent by Confederation than any other portion of the community; and why? Because, being proprietors and not tenants, they will reap all the benefit consequent upon the advance in the value of their land. Confederation and the inter-colonial railway will be the means of bringing people to Nova Scotia, and an influx of people is that of which the Province is most in need, and without which it can never become a great country. The States are at present absorbing the stream that flows towards this continent. From 1851 till 1865 inclusive, 3,142,648 people have emigrated from the United Kingdom. Of that number, 2,044,826 have settled in the United States, whilst British North America has only received of the host, 311,529, or ten per cent of the aggregate. Thus the United States have absorbed, during fifteen years, sixty-five per cent of the entire emigration. Now, under Confederation, measures will be taken to enquire into this anomalous state of things. To farmers I would say that the prices which they will obtain for their produce will be in proportion to the demand, or in other words, to the number of the consum-

ers. Confederation and the inter-colonial railway, I repeat, will bring population, and land will advance proportionately in value.

The cry of alarm that Mr. Howe and others are now raising for political purposes, is precisely the same cry that was set up in Britain when the duty on the importation of foreign corn was abolished. Then it was most confidently predicted that there would be such an influx of grain as to ruin the British farmer. What has been the result? Farm rents have greatly advanced, which would not be the case if prices were low. Are prices low now? Why, we have seen flour selling below the half of its present price.

MR. WILKINS AFFECTING TERROR.

But Wilkins, with a cool rascality—I am sorry I cannot adopt a softer term—deserving of the severest reprobation, says, “no farmer of Canada can ever be required to march to our aid, while our farmer must hold himself in readiness to be ordered up to Canada frontier, which has always been, and ever must be, the point of attack. Confederation, therefore, will give the Canadians a noble army of fifty thousand brave Nova Scotians, which they will no doubt make a liberal use of, while no Canadian will be required to shed his blood for Nova Scotia.” The writer insults the intelligence of the farmers of Nova Scotia, in retailing falsehoods of that stamp. As well might he try to convince the inhabitants of John O’Groat, in Scotland, that they must fight for the lives of London Cockneys. Mr. Wilkins is afraid of being gobbled up bodily, and thinking that the farmers of Nova Scotia are as great cowards as himself, he appeals to their fears, and would make them believe that they are to constitute so many human targets for the Yankees to shoot at!

MR. WILKINS IS FLOUNDERING.

But, if possible, a rarer bit of literature than any I have yet produced as a specimen of the quality of Mr. Wilkins’ facts, and the cogency of his reasoning, remains in store for the reader. Hear Mr. Wilkins: “The act then, confers on Canada the right of taxing Nova Scotia. Representation means having members appointed by themselves in the legislature, and that of course includes both branches. *Would Ireland or Scotland* be represented in the British Parliament if she only sent members to the House of Commons, and none to the House of Lords? Then, Nova Scotia, which has no representatives, except false and sham ones, in the Senate, is not represented in the Canadian Parliament, and therefore cannot be taxed by that body. There is no principle of constitutional law, more clearly defined, than that taxes, being the gift of the people, *no British subjects* can be taxed by any legislature in which they are not represented. We, not being represented in the Imperial legislature, cannot be taxed by them; they cannot authorize any other body to tax us. If the Imperial legislature cannot tax us themselves, they cannot make a Legislature in Canada, to tax us, without an act of our own legislature authorizing them to do so.” These sentiments ought to im-

mortalize Wilkins. The act *does not* confer on Canada the power to tax Nova Scotia. The act confers that power on the House of Commons. Is there a man in Britain who would affirm that in the British House of Commons, where Scotland has only fifty-three members, in a House of 658 representatives, that England or Ireland is empowered to tax Scotland? But we are told "no British subjects can be taxed by any legislature, in which they are not represented." *There is an argument for universal suffrage, and one for Stuart Mills' female scheme!* The qualification—I mean the lowest qualification—of a voter in Scotland, is the payment of an annual rent of fifty dollars. How many hundred thousand are there who pay no such sum, but yet are taxed. Mr. Wilkins desires to make the readers of his pamphlet believe that there are no points of constitutional or legislative resemblance between the House of Lords in London, and the Senate in Ottawa;—and here I would remark that it was an admirable stroke of policy on the part of the delegates of the Maritime Provinces to have secured a number of Senators equal to that of Ontario and Quebec, respectively. Let us see how the case stands, and endeavor to estimate the amount of force, by which Mr. Wilkins' rare reasoning is distinguished; at the same time ascertaining whether he is entitled to that depth of knowledge, superiority of judgment, and quickness of perception, as compared with the Statesmen of England, and the Delegates, which his novel statement of *assumed facts*, and ratiocination imply.

Sixteen Scottish representative Peers, are elected every new Parliament, and sent to the British Upper House, and twenty-eight, who are elected for life are sent from Ireland. But the *people do not* elect these Peers: "*they sit, in the language of Stephen, (page 90,) as representatives of the whole body of the Scottish nobility;*"—but, as Mr. Wilkins must know, it is one of the prerogatives of Royalty, to create Peers, selected from any rank in life. Such creations frequently take place, as for example, in the case of T. B. Macaulay the eminent historian. But although the Scottish and Irish representative Peers represent the nobility of each country, yet they also as a portion of the legislators of the country represent its interests. Her Majesty *creates* Senators for the Dominion Parliament by *summoning* them to take their places as such. The twenty-fourth clause of the Act says:—"The Governor General shall from time to time, *in the Queen's name*, by instrument under the great seal of Canada, summon qualified persons to the Senate; and subject to the provisions of this Act, every person so summoned shall become, and be a member of the Senate, and Senator." Yet Mr. Wilkins coolly tells the people of Nova Scotia, that Senators appointed by *Majesty itself* are "Sham Senators." Surely Mr. Wilkins cannot be so ignorant as not to know that for which a school boy would be castigated by his master for not knowing, that the act of Her Majesty's duly accredited representative, becomes, with her seal and authority, *de facto* and *de jure*—*her own act*. Thick must be the cranium of him who can persuade himself of the contrary, and shameless the effrontery of the man, who, knowing it, deliberately states and writes the contrary.

MR. HOWE ON U. S. STATESMANSHIP---IMMIGRATION.

It strikes me that even many of the friends of Union undervalue the benefits to be derived from the railway by judicious legislation, directed to the diffusion of information in Europe respecting the resources of the Province, and the advantages which it presents to intending emigrants. In machinery, constructed by the ablest statesmen in the United States, lies the secret of the continual flow of emigrants to that country; and to the *almost total absence*, hitherto, in Canada and the Maritime Provinces, of a similar organization, is attributable the mere *driftlets* that find their way to these splendid countries. The Hon. Joseph Howe has put the case strongly in addressing Earl Grey in 1851:—

“The national Government of the United States early saw the value and importance of immigration. They bought up Indian lands, extended their acknowledged frontiers, by purchase or successful diplomacy, surveyed their territory, and prepared for colonization. The States, or public associations within them, borrowed millions from England, opened roads, laid off lots, and advertised them in every part of Europe by every fair and often unfair means of puffing and exaggeration. The General Government skilfully seconded, or rather suggested, this policy.—They framed constitutions suited to those new settlements; invested them with modified forms of self government from the moment that the most simple materials for organization were accumulated.”

These are striking facts, from which the new Dominion ought to derive important lessons. Mr. Howe subsequently adds, in language peculiarly appropriate, in the present crisis:—

“The struggle is over, and we now have the leisure and the means to devote to the great questions of colonization and internal improvement—to examine our external relations with the rest of the empire and with the rest of the world—to consult with our British brethren on the imperfect state of those relations, and of the best appropriation that can be made of their surplus labour, and of our surplus land, for our mutual advantage, that the poor may be fed, the waste places filled up, and this great empire strengthened and preserved.”

MR. HOWE ON COLONIZATION.

But we request the Hon. Mr. Howe, and the advocates of isolation, to listen to the hon. gentleman once more, as he gives utterance to sentiments as opposite to those he is now enunciating as the poles. Referring, in addressing W. H. Keating, Esq., Deputy Provincial Secretary, to the guarantee of money, by the British Government, for the construction of the line to Quebec, he says:—

“You will also observe that the Provincial Governments are left free to make the most they can of the lands through which the Railroads are to pass. My present impression is that, by making a judicious use of these, Colonization may be carried on extensively in connection with the Railroads, so that as many people may be added to the population of each Province as will swell its annual consumption and revenue beyond the charges which may be

assumed for the construction of the lines. If this can be done, and I believe it may, we may strengthen the Provinces, and permanently advance and improve them, adding to their wealth and population, flanking the Railway lines with thousands of industrious people—and giving the Provinces, in a few years, an elevation which we are all anxious they should attain.”

EARL GREY'S OPINION.

“By opening new districts for settlement,” said his lordship, in addressing Lord Elgin, “and by the demand for labor which would be created during the progress of the work, the projected railway cannot fail to increase the wealth and population of these Provinces, while by affording a rapid and easy communication between them, it will enable them to afford to each other far greater support and assistance than they now can, in any difficulty or danger to which they may be exposed.”

MR. WILKINS, VS. MR. HOWE AND LORD ELCIN.

“You have railways enough”—“the schemers have made it,” the inter-colonial line, “a part of their plan of Confederation, to enable them to have access to your markets,” exclaims Mr. Wilkins. Speaking of the Canadians, he adds, “the more insurmountable the obstacles to our closer intercourse with them the better!” I confess my inability to reply to *ravings* of that description. I feel precisely, in dealing with Mr. Wilkins, as if, in defiance of the evidence of the sense of sight, a person were pertinaciously to insist upon black being white, or green being yellow. Mr. Wilkins should become a hermit. He is an advocate for no roads, no railways, no communication beyond the comparatively narrow limits of the Province, and is so brimful of conceit that there is no room left for the entrance of intelligence.

MR. WILKINS' SOUNDINGS AND SOARINGS.

Mr. Wilkins complained of the Editor of the *Eastern Chronicle* not being able to comprehend his effusion. There is certainly no ground for the complaint, for Mr. Wilkins' cogitations reach depths which his own sounding line—long as it is—cannot fathom; and his *ideas* soar to a height, to the attainment of which one would require to be provided with an ass, similar to that on which Mahomet rose to the seventh heavens;—and as animals of that species, with the requisite ascending powers, are by no means easily found, we cannot divine any method by which the feat can be safely performed, otherwise than by mounting Mr. Wilkins himself!

A CONTRAST---TWC AUTHORS.

I question whether, within the domain of literature, any two productions can be found that contrast in style and matter more strikingly than “Confederation Considered on its Merits,” and “Confederation as Examined in the Light of Reason and Common Sense.” In the one case we have a clear, able, unimpassioned statement of facts, addressed to the intellect of the elec-

tors, with reasonable deductions drawn therefrom. In the other, a *brochure*, somewhat like the Hibernian's gun, that had neither lock, stock, nor barrel—having no beginning, middle, or end—being a collection of the literary small wares in which the anti-confederate press so largely deals.

MR. HOWE AT TRURO---CONTRAST BETWEEN HIS CONDUCT & THAT OF BRITISH STATESMEN.

No one can read Mr. Howe's speech at Truro without a sensation of pain. Its tone and matter indicate a conviction of his advocating principles of which both his conscience and judgment do not approve. He commences in a style of bitter levity, unbecoming a gentleman who lays claim to the designation and status of a statesman. That he is now in direct antagonism to his former self is not denied, even by his most ardent and devoted followers. It is clear that a man *may* change his views without inconsistency, but when such change takes place, he is bound, if he be a public man, manfully to state the considerations by which he has been influenced. Thus Sir Robert Peel, as the leader of a great party, after defending the policy of protecting the British farmer's interests by imposing a duty on imported corn, saw reason to entertain and act on opinions in diametrical opposition to those which he had advocated for many years, and of which his followers—the Conservative party—were still firm and uncompromising defenders. How did he act? He appeared in the House of Commons, like a brave and honest man, and ably and manfully set forth in order the grounds on which, by a regard to the dictates of reason and conscience, as well as to the interests of his country, he was prepared to unite with the free-traders; and he lived, despite the most virulent opposition he experienced from his former political friends, with whom he had acted since his youth, to carry the very measure against which his talents had been so long directed.

At this critical period Lord John Russell stood in a somewhat similar position, in relation to Sir Robert Peel, that Mr. Howe has recently occupied in relation to Mr. Tupper; but how did Russell act? Why, although Peel had hurled him from the Premiership for his adherence to a free-trade policy, instead of offering a factious opposition, and calling upon his party to punish "the traitors," he boldly supported him; and thus the impost on corn was for ever repealed. Russell's sacrifice of place and power, at the shrine of the country's interests, has made his name honored. Would that Mr. Howe had followed so noble an example!

But Mr. Howe now condemns Confederation, sneers at the Inter-colonial Railway, and, feeling the humiliating position which he occupies, affects to treat the electors as if it were too great condescension, on his part, to state any solid, or valid reason, for the errant and reprehensible course he is pursuing. Let him take the Railway Correspondence, laid before the Legislature in the Session of 1851, and read his able and manly letters to Earl Grey, in which he advocates the construction of a line to Quebec, in a manner that at once commanded the respect, and so

far secured the co-operation of the Home Government. But now that the guarantee of three millions has been secured, and the railway is to be built, he speaks in terms of the utmost contempt of the benefits that are to accrue to Nova Scotia by its completion. If the electors of Nova Scotia do their duty, he will find he has been dealing rather too extensively in *brutum fulmen*—harmless thunder.

Mr. Howe, at Truro, said: "If Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were to be raised from their graves, and were asked if the Parliament of England had a right to sell the country to France, and a right to disfranchise our whole people, what would they say? England has been referred to. When did any English statesman rise in his place and propose to put England in the power of a foreign country?" Here he assumes, if the parallel has any meaning, that the United Provinces are now in the same condition as if England were united to France. No wonder that a smile of derision should have played on the countenances of his hearers as he uttered these words. The idea that a closer union between contiguous portions of the same Empire, under the same gracious Sovereign, is to be regarded as in its nature similar to the union referred to, is so absurd that the bare mention of it was nothing short of an insult to the common sense of his hearers. What a *gullible* people must Mr. Howe regard the intelligent electors of Colchester, when he retails in their presence the very quintessence of *bunkum*;—but when the day of election comes he will find they have taken his measure.

"What is the difference," he said, "between Union and Confederation? *My advice to everybody, is to keep out of either.*" Now, electors, what is to be thought of the man who has for years been preaching either the one or the other, and yet has now the cool effrontery to insinuate that he had acted the hypocrite formerly, and deceived you? What is the practical inference? The former statesman is merged in the present stump orator, who will descend still lower unless his better nature lead him once more to be himself again.

THE FRENCH CANADIANS---HOMOGENEOUS OBJECTIONS!

But, perhaps, Mr. Howe's reason for instituting a comparison between a union of England with France, and the union of Nova Scotia with Canada, is the circumstance that there are in the latter country about 800,000 persons of French origin. Upon this fact all the anti-confederate writers have founded the assertion that the population of the United Provinces is not homogeneous. Now, I presume, I am not far wrong in saying, that there is only one of French descent to every four of British extraction. Let us, then, consider for a moment the points of difference in regard to the principles of increase and dissemination, by which the two races are respectively distinguished, and thus approximate to a just estimate of the future relative number of French and English, by which British North America is destined to be peopled.

M. Jules Simon has recently produced a work on the French race, in which interesting facts are exhibited. Whilst the English and German

racés are not only multiplying fast, but spreading over the whole earth, the French are increasing but very little, and not colonizing at all. The French are not an "émigrating people." England, in fifty years, has doubled her population at home, and has at the same time been peopling America, Australia, New Zealand, &c. The increase in the population of France during the same period has only been thirty per cent., in the absence of any emigration. It is a still more remarkable, as well as melancholy fact, that in 1854 and 1855 the deaths in France exceeded the births, and that largely. Yet France is double the area of Great Britain, and has a population of 37,000,000—that of Britain being only 30,000,000.

I leave the reader to draw his own conclusions from these interesting facts. Do they not take the pith and power out of the "homogeneous" arguments of the anti-confederate authors?

ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

You must have observed that some of the flaming organs of disunion, as well as its frantic oratorical advocates, occasionally endeavor to tickle your fancy by delicate allusions to the delights of annexation to the United States, rather than confederation with Canada. You will therefore, I presume, not regard it as unbecoming that I should present to such of you as may not have devoted attention to the subject certain facts, based upon recently issued official returns, which will show you at a glance the extent to which you would be taxed were you to share the fate of the States, as compared with your condition as now happily connected with your Sister Provinces. What, then, according to the official report published by the Director of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington in January last, is the annual taxation per head in that great country? Eleven dollars, forty-six cents, in gold. And what is the amount of taxation in Canada, calculated on the same principle? Three dollars, 86 cents. And whilst, on the same high authority, the national debt, per head, in the States, is \$74.28, that of Canada is only \$20.50. But I will here introduce a view of the comparative taxation and debt in different countries—that relating to the States being furnished by Commissioner Wells, and that relating to the Provinces by the Secretary of the Board of Trade and Commercial Exchange Association in Montreal, in his excellent Report for 1866, issued in April last:—

	Taxation, per capita.	National debt, per capita.
United States.....	\$11.46 gold.	\$74.28
Great Britain.....	10.92 "	125.00
France.....	7.97 "	53.00
Belgium.....	5.59 "	26.00
Prussia.....	5.43 "	12.00
Austria.....	5.27 "	45.00
Canada.....	3.86 "	20.50
Newfoundland.....	3.49 "	6.90
New Brunswick.....	3.24 "	20.91
Nova Scotia.....	3.10 "	15.50
Prince Edward Island.....	2.00 "	2.79
Holland.....	0.67 "	121.00

The most lynx-eyed disunionist can make very little capital out of the difference of the debt of Canada as compared with that of Nova Scotia. As a great country Canada is bound to put forth extra efforts for the development of her resources, but I venture to say that no intelligent man can regard the comparatively trifling debt of Canada, when brought forward as an argument against a great and glorious union, and as viewed in relation to her rapid advance in improvement, in any other light than sheer trifling with a great subject.

Oh! but the Canadians are not improving! They are stagnant, thick-headed, unenterprising people! Here is evidence to the contrary. At the end of the fiscal year 1865 the total value of all Canadian imports was \$44,620,469. What was it in the following year, 1866? \$53,802,310. The duty collected in the former year was 5,633,378,—in the latter, \$7,330,725. The total value of exports from Canada in 1865 was \$42,481,157. What was it in 1866? \$56,328,380! What a miserable advance roars Mr. Howe? What a trifling difference bellows Mr. Annand! Very! very! screams Mr. Wilkins. These facts ought to seal the lips of the disunionist orators, and blow all the anti-confederate literary tapers out!

The truth is, that Nova Scotia has had the best of the bargain. The Canadian newspaper press has not failed to discover it, but we must object to all *a posteriore* complaints!

It is now *our* interest, in a peculiar sense, to see our big sister, Canada, prospering, but we owe it to ourselves, as we have the good luck to be situated at her portals, to make arriving immigrants aware of the good things *we* can also offer!

Well, how do wages range in the States as compared with Canada? That question can be easily and satisfactorily answered; but I can only at present say that the Hon. Isaac Newton, Commissioner of the Agricultural Bureau at Washington, says that the mean rate of wages paid to agricultural laborers in the States is \$19.53 (with board) per month, in Nova Scotia currency. Now, from reports from the Canadian Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics, we learn that the average in Canada is \$19.35 in Nova Scotia currency—which is eighteen cents less. But extra taxation and dearer living make more than sad havoc of the difference,—but I must not here enlarge on the tempting theme.

ARE WE TO BE SEPARATED FROM BRITAIN?

It has been boldly asserted that it is the wish of the mother country to sever the present connection with her North American colonies, as evidenced in her satisfaction in having Confederation effected. No statement can be more intensely false. Who can point to a solitary instance, in the history of Great Britain, where she has desired any such severance from any of her numerous colonies? A great change has been recently effected in the sentiments of the public men of Britain, both as to the extent to which she is justified in interfering with the disputes of Foreign States, and as to the relation in which she stands to her colonies. In the former case a policy of non-interference, where British interests

are not directly concerned, is advocated—a policy which, had it been acted upon, in regard to not a few continental quarrels, would have saved the country much blood and treasure. In regard to the colonies, there is a disposition, not to coerce them, in any circumstances, in the maintenance of their relation to the mother country, so that if a desire be manifested either to become independent, or incorporated with other States, no obstruction shall be thrown in the way. Britain is justly proud of her colonies, and if any power, or combination of powers, should dare to attempt to wrest one of them from her, (so long as the colonies desire to continue their connection with the mother country,) the whole resources of the Empire would be directed against such a consummation. And such are not only the sentiments of the leading statesmen and legislators of Great Britain, but as every one knows, who peruses the exponents of public opinion in England, those of the entire people.

IN CONCLUSION.

ELECTORS,—

You would do well to follow the advice of the anti-unionist, who signs himself "One of the People," on whose pamphlet I have offered a few remarks, and who concludes in the following words—"above all the first duty of the electors of Nova Scotia is to choose both for the Dominion Parliament and the Local Legislature, tried, and trusty men—men incapable of betraying their dearest interests, men who, whether absent or present, will never forget their obligations to the people, and the interests committed to their charge"—very good; but these *are not* the men who have proved obstructives to progress, who, like the honorable Joseph Howe, are going about the country, like so many viragoes, with dishevelled hair, and rueful countenances, pouring forth the loudest lamentations for the fate of a country which they know is about to emerge from a comparatively chrysalis condition, and advance another stage towards its high destiny—not the men who were formerly the most strenuous, and apparently sincere advocates for union, but who, hungering and thirsting for place, and power, and seeing others more bold, energetic, and able, marching onward to accomplish a great work, took counsel together, like so many political Ahithophels, setting themselves against the interests of their country, and their kind;—these, I say, are not the men for the exigencies of the hour.

Who are the men, then? They are the men whose recent deeds proclaim their competency—who within the comparatively brief space of four years, have infused life and energy into the important department of agriculture—importing splendid cattle and sheep—who have brought the finances of the country from a low to a highly prosperous condition—who have spread abroad the fame of Nova Scotia, by sending specimens of her productions to the world's fair in London and Paris—who have added fifty two miles to the railway communication of the Province—who have actually inaugurated its extension to Annapolis—who proceeded to London, and induced the astute and cautious Statesmen, of the greatest country in the world, to guarantee three million pounds sterling for the construction of that work, which will, when completed, be the

means of opening a large proportion of this great and fertile continent to human occupancy, and human industry—the men who, in accordance with the universal sentiment of the British people, as well as the intelligence of their native land, have consummated a union between three sister Provinces, from which the most signal benefits shall flow, and upon which, if any one in defiance of Provincial and British law, should attempt to lay ruthless hands, he will deserve to be branded with the stigma of public reprobation and contempt—the men who, to crown all, have laid the country under a deep debt of gratitude by giving it an educational scheme, which is the glory of Nova Scotia—its beneficent ramifications extending to the extremities of the Province—a scheme, in the schools connected with which, the children of the poorest can obtain the greatest boon which their parents, or the State can confer upon them;—the men, I say who have thus risked popularity and place, and have merged political feeling in the interests of Nova Scotia, are the men who ought to be, and shall be her representatives.

Then, hurrah! for the union candidates; and when the day of battle comes, carry every one of them triumphantly, and with an overwhelming majority, to the head of the poll.

I close in the eloquent language of the great and good John Milton—whose prose, in the elements of beauty, power, and sublimity, is almost equal to his poetry—who, in referring to another Dominion, would seem as if he had intended, with a prophetic apprehension of coming events, to include also that of Canada: “Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks;—methinks I see her as an eagle renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam, purging and unsealing her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.”

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient, humble servant,

A COSMOPOLITAN.

HALIFAX, N. S., July 19, 1867.

