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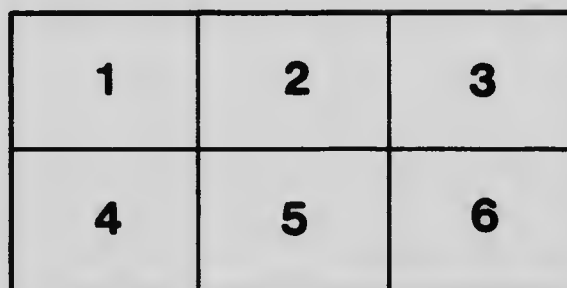
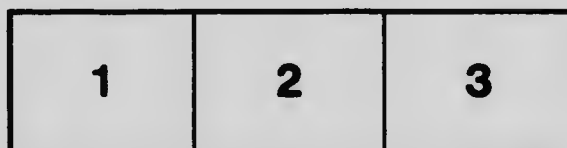
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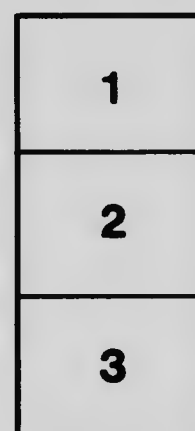
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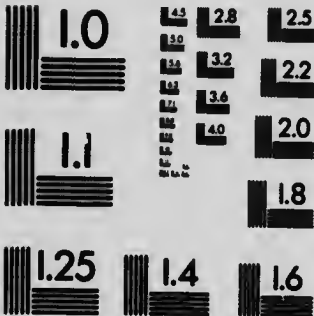
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PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA



This Tablet is to commemorate the convening of the first general assembly of Nova Scotia which met for the despatch of business at the court house at Halifax on October 2nd 1758 in the time of his excellency Charles Lawrence Esquire Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Nova Scotia Robert Sanderson Speaker of the House of Assembly and David Lloyd Clerk of the Assembly

MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY

JOSEPH GERRISH ESQUIRE	WILLIAM FOYE ESQUIRE
ROBERT SANDERSON	WILLIAM NESBITT
HENRY NEWTON	JOSEPH RUNDEL
JONATHAN BINNEY GENTLEMAN	HENRY FERGUSON GENTLEMAN
GEORGE SUCKLING	JOHN BURBIDGE
ROBERT CAMPBELL	WILLIAM PANTREE
JOSEPH FAIRBANKS	PHILIP HAMMOND
JOHN FILLIS	LAMBERT FOLKERS
PHILIP KNAUT	WILLIAM BEST
ALEXANDER KEDIE	MALACHY SALTER

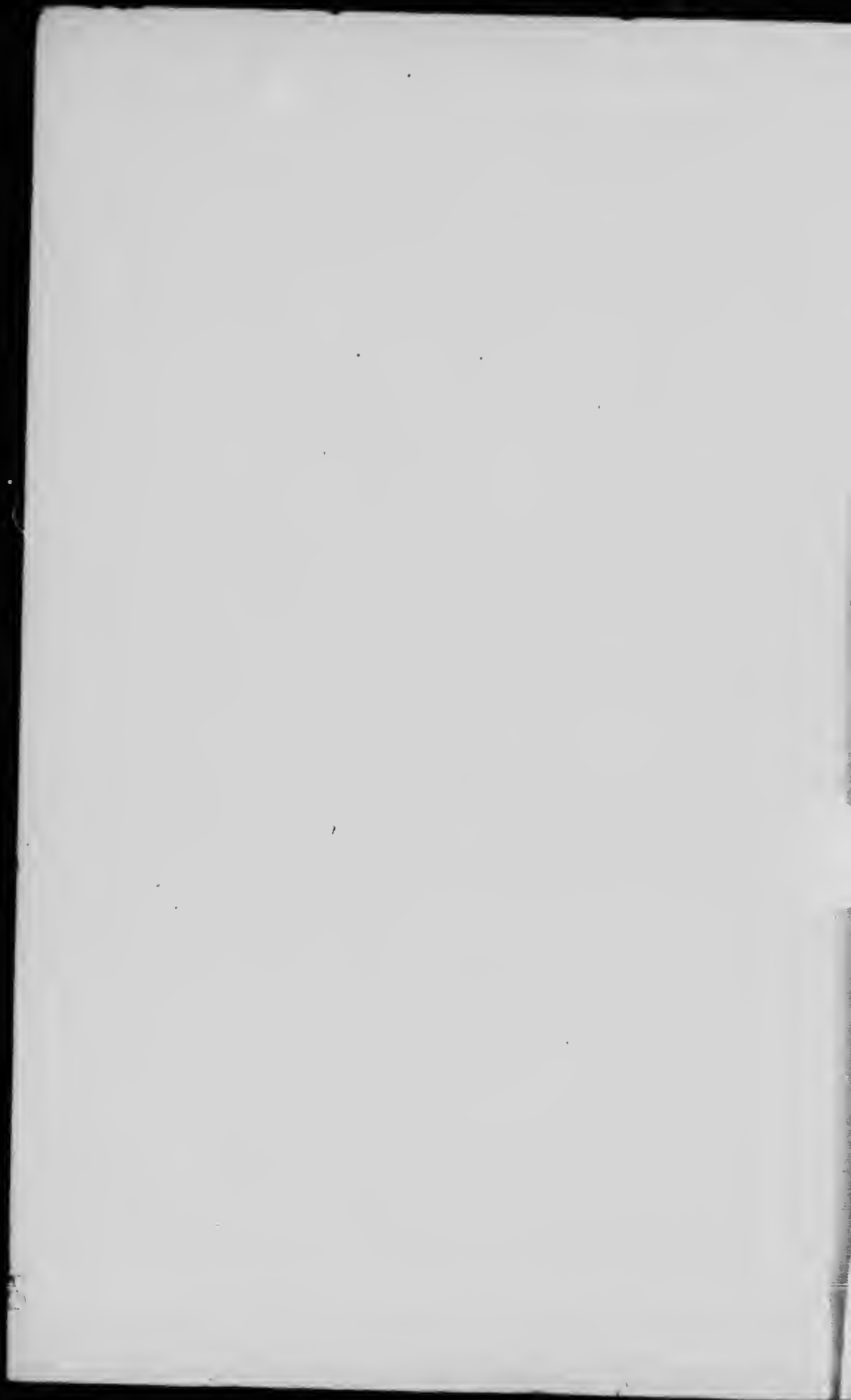
THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF NOVA SCOTIA IN
AUGUST 1908.

HIS HONOUR D C FRASER,
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA

HON G H MURRAY,
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY



HALIFAX, N.S.
COMMISSIONER
PUBLIC WORKS & MINES
KINGS PRINTER
1912



ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE

Unveiling of the Memorial Tablet

TO COMMEMORATE
THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH
ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

Convening of the First General Assembly
in Nova Scotia



130174



HALIFAX, N. S.
THE COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND MINES,
KING'S PRINTER
1912

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PREFATORY NOTE

As the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the convening of the First General Assembly in Nova Scotia was approaching, it was felt in many quarters that something should be done to commemorate so important an event in the political history of British North America. Reference was made to the matter in the House of Assembly on March 13th, 1908, by Mr. Charles P. Bissett, one of the members for the County of Richmond. On March 16th, 1908, Mr. J. N. Armstrong, a member of the Legislative Council, in an able speech delivered in the Council, gave an interesting account of the foundation of our legislative institutions in the Province of Nova Scotia. Mr. Armstrong's speech greatly stimulated interest in the event, with the result that an active committee was soon organized, with the Hon. Mr. Justice Drysdale as Chairman, and Mr. J. A. Chisholm as Secretary, to take charge of the proceedings. It was decided by the committee to have a celebration in the August following, the principal feature of which should be the unveiling of a Memorial Tablet in the Province Building at Halifax. To this ceremony were invited the Lieutenant-Governors and Premiers of all the Canadian provinces; His Excellency the Governor of Newfoundland and the Premier of that colony; the Nova Scotia Senators and Members of Parliament, and all gentlemen, still living, who held or had held seats in either branch of the Nova Scotia Legislature; the Judges of all the Courts and other representative officials and citizens. The unveiling of the tablet took place on August 19th, 1908. Several interesting and valuable addresses were given on the occasion. As the event which was thus celebrated, and the addresses which were delivered on the occasion are of more than usual historical interest, it has been decided to publish in pamphlet form this report of the proceedings.







PROVINCE BUILDING, HALIFAX
THE HISTORIC BUILDING IN WHICH THE TABLET IS ERECTED

ADDRESSES

AT

UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL TABLET

THE UNVEILING.

The ceremonies connected with the unveiling of the memorial tablet took place in the forenoon of August 19th, 1908, in the northern enclosure of the historic Province Building, where so many of the earlier parliamentary battles of the country were fought and decided. A large platform was erected in the enclosure and it was suitably decorated. At nine o'clock salutes were fired from the Citadel, and from the German cruiser *Freya*, which was lying in the harbour. At ten o'clock a guard of honour from the Royal Canadian Regiment arrived and took up its position on the north and east sides of the square. A few minutes later the escort of the Halifax Rifles arrived and was drawn up opposite the Hollis street entrance. A guard of honour was also sent from the German warship. On the platform there was a brilliant assemblage of ladies and gentlemen, among others being His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and staff, Brigadier General Drury and staff, the Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, Premier Murray, the Chief Justice and the judges of the Supreme Court, Commander Maas, of S. M. S. *Freya*, Premier Hazen of New Brunswick, Premier Hazard of Prince Edward Island, Hon. W. A. Weir of Quebec, Senators Power, Mackeen and Ross, M. Carney, M. P., W. Reeve, M. P., Hon. M. H. Goudge, Mayor Crosby and several others.

HON. MR. JUSTICE DRYSDALE, Chairman of the Committee, after declaring the purposes for which they had assembled, paid a tribute to the pioneer settlers of the Province. One hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the First General Assembly had convened in Nova Scotia, and it was thought that something should be done to mark so memorable an event. This course was suggested in the able speech delivered

in the Legislative Council by Mr. J. N. Armstrong. A meeting of citizens was soon called, when an active committee was formed to carry out their plans. The Chairman gave a resumé of the work of that committee. The principal function of the day was the unveiling of the Tablet. The Chairman made suitable acknowledgment of the kindness of General Drury in providing guards of honour, and amid cheers made public acknowledgment of the kindness and courtesy of the German officers in participating with their men in the celebration. He then called upon the Lieutenant-Governor to unveil the tablet. After the unveiling,

HIS LORDSHIP THE CHIEF JUSTICE

was called upon by the Chairman, and he read the following address :

MR. CHAIRMAN : We are here today to commemorate the convening of the First General Assembly of the Province of Nova Scotia—a memorable event which took place in this city one hundred and fifty years ago.

Our common purpose is worthily to celebrate this important landmark in our provincial history—to give expression to our feelings of gratitude that we have almost from the beginning lived under and enjoyed the blessings of free institutions promised by the King of Great Britain to our forefathers who settled this country, and in doing so to place on record the respect and admiration we feel for our first representatives and their successors for upholding and preserving in all their integrity the rights and privileges of freeborn people.

The chief embarrassment I have felt in performing this patriotic duty has been that our Provincial historians have recorded nearly all that can be said on the subject. Our distinguished fellow-countryman, Haliburton, almost a century ago gave in brief outline the proceedings which led to its being convened. Murdoch in his later history has set forth in greater detail the same facts, and the venerable and learned Dr. Akins, who rescued from destruction so much of our early history, has published many of the records from which both historians derived their information.

There is, therefore, little left for me but to present to you today a brief and connected account of the first meeting of the General Assembly, their Acts and legislation taken from these sources, the Provincial Statutes—the journals of the House, the Council books, and the correspondence between our early governors and the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

Before entering upon this subject it will be best to recall to your attention the condition of affairs in North America at that date. The mighty struggle between England and France for supremacy on this continent was then about reaching its culmination. The two nations could not live side by side in peace. France in possession of what was then called Canada, was entrenched in the historic strongholds of Louisbourg and Quebec. Great Britain possessed the great colonies to the south—now comprised in the United States of America. War, constant war, was waged between the two peoples—made worse by the employment on both sides of the wild and savage Indians. While Acadie had been ceded to Britain by the French crown in 1713, there had been and was a never-ending dispute as to its boundaries. The French were constantly encroaching on territory claimed by the British, until finally they erected Fort Beau Sejour on the very borders of what is now Nova Scotia, while the British claimed that all the territory now included in the Province of New Brunswick belonged to Acadie.

The government at home at last realized that if Acadie was to be retained as a permanent acquisition of the British Crown, it would only be retained by inducing English people to colonize the Province. With this end in view in 1749, Edward Cornwallis was sent out in command of a large number of vessels, and about 1200 intending settlers by whom Halifax was founded. Shortly afterwards the great Commoner Pitt was at the helm, and under his regime great armies and fleets were despatched to North America, which, under the leadership of Lord Amherst and General Wolfe, finally drove the French from this continent.

Reference is here made to these famous historical incidents, because in a large measure they explain the delay and reluctance of our early governors to act upon that part

of their commissions which authorized and directed a general assembly of the people's representatives to be called.

The governors, especially Lawrence, were so constantly occupied in protecting the settlers against the assaults of the French and the savage depredations of the Indians, and with other civil and military duties incident to the position of governors and commanders-in-chief, that much allowance must be made for his opposition to convening a General Assembly. Nor does there appear to have been any great demand on the part of the people generally, doubtless due to the critical condition of the whole country for the nine years preceding the first meeting. The Crown, however, in advertising for settlers had promised that "a civil government should be established, whereby they would enjoy all the liberties, privileges and immunities enjoyed by His Majesty's subjects in any of the Colonies and Plantations in America under His Majesty's government."

This promise the British government determined should be literally fulfilled, and as we shall presently see, forced Governor Lawrence and the Council to take the necessary measures to summon a General Assembly of the people's representatives.

Acadie, afterwards called Nova Scotia, finally passed to the Crown of Great Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It embraced as understood by the British the present Province of New Brunswick, which was only set off as a separate government in 1784.

The contest which had so long raged between France and England then took another form in disputes over its boundaries. This contest was only closed by the capture of Fort Beau Sejour, of Louisburg and Quebec. The coming of Cornwallis, our first governor, in June 1749, and the founding of the town of Halifax marked the beginning of the end of French dominion in North America. Up to the time of his arrival there were no English settlers in Nova Scotia except a small garrison at Annapolis and a few residents in the vicinity of the Fort. The Government was carried on by the General in command with a Council selected from his officers.

Cornwallis, immediately on his arrival, assumed the government, was sworn into office, and appointed his Council. As so constituted all the business of the Province—military, executive, administrative and judicial—was carried on until the first General House of Assembly was convened on October 2nd, 1758.

The Province of Nova Scotia by right of conquest vested in the Crown of Great Britain, and the King, in virtue of his Royal prerogative, granted to the people who inhabited, or should thereafter inhabit it, the boon of free institutions similar in character to those enjoyed by the other North American colonies. The vestment of this gift was effected by the home government in the commission to Governor Cornwallis. This commission, as well as the commissions to his successors, contained the most full and precise directions for his guidance, with ample powers for carrying the same into effect, having first authorized him "to choose, nominate, and appoint such fitting and discreet persons as he should find there, or carry along with him, not exceeding twelve, to be of our Council in our said Province, etc.; and also such officers and ministers as you shall judge proper and necessary for our service, and the good of the people whom we shall settle in our said province." The commission then contains the following important clause:

"And we do hereby give and grant unto you full powers 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 government, according to the usage of our Colonies and Plantations in America.

"And that you, the said Edward Cornwallis, with the advice and consent of our said Council and Assembly, or the major part of the respectively, shall have full power and authority to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes and ordinances for the public peace, welfare and good government of our said province, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such others as shall resort thereto, and for the benefit of us, our heirs and successors, which said laws, statutes and ordinances are not to be repugnant, but as near

as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of our Kingdom of Great Britain."

A provision follows for the transmission to the Home Government of all laws and statutes so passed for approbation or disallowance, and if disallowed that from thenceforth they become utterly void. A further power was given to the Governor to negative any law, statute or ordinance, with the additional power to adjourn, prorogue and dissolve all such General Assemblies.

These commissions to the governors, with the instructions conveyed to them in the despatches from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, form the basis—indeed are the source to which the Legislature of Nova Scotia must look for its legal existence—the charter granted to the people in founding the Colony by the Royal will of the then King of Great Britain, George II.

Neither Governor Cornwallis, nor his successor in office, Governor Hopson, acted upon the power in their commissions of summoning a General House of Assembly. As already pointed out, the condition of the country during their administrations rendered it an impossibility. There were no districts nor divisions as there were no inhabitants in the Province outside of Halifax by whom representatives could have been chosen. The French were still at Louisburg, Quebec, and at Beau Sejour jealously watching every movement of the English settlers, and throwing every possible obstacle in the way of the infant colony. The Indians, instigated by the French, were most hostile, and committed constant outrages on the people. The Acadians, or so called neutral French population, were a constant source of peril and anxiety. In order to maintain their foothold at all, unceasing vigilance and activity were necessary on the part of the Governor and Council. Under such circumstances for some years they were too busy in preserving and protecting the settlers to carry out His Majesty's instructions for calling a General Assembly.

Cornwallis, after administering the government for three years, resigned, and Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq., succeeded him in August, 1752. His stay in the province was short, as he went to England in November, 1753, leaving

Charles Lawrence as Lieutenant-Governor in charge. On July 23rd, 1753, Lawrence was appointed Governor, and presided over the destinies of the province until his death, October 16th, 1760. The period of his governorship was marked by many important events in our provincial annals. Four of them were especially potent in our future fortunes: that is to say, the capture of Beau Sejour, July 12, 1755; the expulsion of the Acadians in September and October, 1755; the capture of Louisburg, July 20, 1758, and finally the capture of Quebec, September 13, 1759.

Our province, as the result of these movements and victories, was at once relieved from the constant menace of French attack and Indian massacres, and has from that time onward prospered in peace and plenty.

Lawrence was a very capable and energetic military officer, and proved himself to be an able administrator of the civil government. His conduct in both capacities shows him to have been the very man wanted at this critical juncture in the general management of affairs both military and civil.

To us the most important and interesting event which occurred during Lawrence's regime was the event we celebrate to-day—the convening of the first General Assembly of Nova Scotia.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations, who at that time had charge of colonial affairs at home, had repeatedly called to the attention of the governors, and especially Lawrence, the importance of summoning a General Assembly. As already stated, in view of the sparse population, and the unsettled and dangerous state of public affairs, these reminders had been ignored. In the meanwhile the governors with the Council had been making laws and ordinances for the government of the colony which were enforced by their officers. As the governors and Council also constituted the only court of justice, they naturally treated such enactments as valid and binding on the community. The press of business which came before the Council compelled the Governor to act under another clause in his commission which authorized him "to erect, constitute and establish such and so many Courts of Judicature as he and his Council thought fit and necessary."

Shortly afterwards Jonathan Belcher, Esq., was appointed by the Crown the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. To this able and learned jurist, Nova Scotia is under a deep debt of gratitude not only for the summoning of the General Assembly, but for the wisdom and care with which the representation was fixed and the groundwork of our early legislation was prepared. Belcher was appointed in 1754, and took his seat as a member of the Council on the 14th October in that year. He was the second son of Governor Belcher of Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard University, and a member of the Society of the Middle Temple, where he completed his legal studies. Soon after his coming to the province and assuming his duties, he advised the governor and council that their action in passing laws and ordinances was illegal—that they had no power of legislation, and recommended that a General Assembly should be called. His advice appears to have passed for some time unheeded. In fact, as shown by the correspondence of Lawrence with the Lords of Trade, he was for reasons already explained, entirely opposed to any such action. Belcher's advice was, however, transmitted to the Home authorities, and by them submitted to the officers of the Crown, who gave the following opinion:

"Having considered the governors' commissions, and royal instructions, and the observations of Jonathan Belcher, Esq., we are of opinion that the Governor and Council alone are not authorized by His Majesty to make laws. Till there can be an Assembly, His Majesty has ordered the government of the infant colony to be pursuant to his commissions, and such further directions as he should give under his sign manual or by order in council."

Acting on this opinion the Lords of Trade wrote Lawrence, directing that a general assembly should be called. So alarmed were they as to the consequences of the illegal proceedings of the governors and council that they particularly enjoined secrecy as to the invalidity of their statutes until legislation could be obtained confirming and validating their past acts.

Chief Justice Belcher then prepared the scheme which with some modifications by the Home authorities was adopted for calling the assembly. He says among other things in this

valuable state document : "Upon the opinions of His Majesty's attorney and solicitor-general of England it is unquestionable that an assembly ought to be summoned as expeditiously as possible ; and it is likewise necessary for removing any objections against the present form of government whereby the inhabitants (who became settlers in Nova Scotia, at least under the expectation, if not a promise of the same privileges, of which an assembly is the highest with all the colonies) have been thought to be bound by laws to which they have never assented.

"2nd. An assembly will likewise at present be of the highest service to the province by inviting persons from the colonies to settle upon the lands in Nova Scotia lately evacuated by the French ; and it is submitted as a prudent measure that an assembly should be convened previous to any grants or proposals for settling the lands of Chignecto, Minas, and Pisiquid." He gives other reasons which time does not permit me to expand here, and then lays down in detail the measures which should be adopted to elect representatives. This was on October 24th, 1755.

Lawrence, in forwarding this memorandum of the Chief Justice, reiterates the strong objection to calling an assembly. Matters, however, had now come to a pass when no further excuses were admitted. On February 7, 1758, the Lords of Trade in a despatch to Governor Lawrence say :

"We have fully considered that part of your letter which relates to the calling of an assembly, and also the plan for that purpose contained in the minute of council transmitted with it ; and having so often and so fully reported to you our sense and opinion of the propriety and necessity of this measure taking place, it only now remains for us to direct it being carried into immediate execution, that His Majesty's subjects (great part of whom are alleged to have quitted the province on account of the great discontent prevailing for want of an assembly) may no longer be deprived of that privilege which was promised to them by His Majesty when the settlement of the colony was first undertaken, and was one of the conditions upon which they accepted the proposals then made."

On the 20th May, 1758, the Council met and passed the following minute :

"His Excellency having communicated to the Council an extract of a letter to him from their Lordships of the Board of Trade, dated Feby. 7, 1758, relative to the plan framed by the Governor and Council on the third day of January, 1757, and transmitted to their Lordships by the Governor for carrying into execution His Majesty's instructions upon calling general assemblies within the Province signifying their Lordships' approbation of the same in general with some alterations, which being considered by the Council, came to the following resolutions, viz. : That the said plan with the amendments proposed by their Lordships, shall be forthwith carried into execution, and published in form as follows."

It then provided that there should be elected for the province at large sixteen members, for the township of Halifax four, and for the township of Lunenburg two. It was further provided that when fifty qualified electors should be settled at Pisiquid (now Windsor), Minas (now Horton), Cobequid (now Truro), or any other townships thereafter erected, each should be entitled to send two representatives.

Belcher in his plan had proposed that the first assembly should be elected for three years, but to this the Lords of Trade objected, and as no time was fixed for its existence, it remained entirely in the discretion of the governor how long it should live. The Lords of Trade enclosed copies of the form of writ used in New Hampshire and instructions given to the governors of Georgia as guides in their proceedings, and an injunction, which Lawrence at least carried out: "You will take care that the session be as short as possible."

The proclamation was issued, made returnable on the 2nd day of October, 1758, when nineteen members were returned to serve. The names of these first-elected representatives of the people deserve to be recorded.* They were as follows :

Joseph Gerrish,	Robert Sanderson,
Henry Newton,	William Foye,
William Nesbitt,	Joseph Rundel,

*Malachy Salter was returned after the first session was opened.

Jonathan Binney,	Henry Ferguson,
George Suckling,	John Burbidge,
Robert Campbell,	William Pantree,
Joseph Fairbanks,	Philip Hammond,
John Fillis,	Lambert Folkers,
Philip Knaut,	William Best,
Alexander Kedie.	

The descendants of some of these gentlemen doubtless are yet to be found in the province. In a letter to the Lords of Trade on 26th September, 1758, just before the date appointed for their meeting, Governor Lawrence wrote: "I hope I shall not find in any of them a disposition to embarrass or obstruct His Majesty's service, or to dispute the Royal prerogative, though I observe that too many of the members chosen are such as have not been the most remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to His Majesty's government here, or indeed that have the most natural attachment to the province."

From the tone of this letter it is evident that Lawrence was still not free from the fear and suspicion which he had hitherto felt in regard to the convening of a general assembly and the danger of obstruction and interference on its part with his administration. While its constitution was designed to restrict and limit the almost despotic power up to that time exercised in every department by the governor and council, we shall presently see that the Assembly on the whole acted with moderation, showed great business capacity, and always stood up with sturdy independence for their rights and privileges.

They assembled at the Court House and deputed three of their members to wait on the Governor, and inform him that they were ready for business. Two members of the Council were then sent by the Governor to administer the necessary oath and afterwards the Governor sent word he would receive them at his own house. They were first directed to elect a speaker, and the choice fell on Robert Sanderson, who had the honour of being the first speaker of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia.



The choice being approved of, the Governor then proceeded to open the session with a speech in the regular constitutional way. It is too long to give in extenso. After calling their attention to His Majesty's paternal concern for the welfare of the infant colony, he intimates that the time has arrived when the province was judged capable of providing for the necessary support of the government, and then recommends the passage of acts confirming all such acts or resolutions as the Governor and Council had found expedient and indispensably necessary for promoting the welfare and peaceable government of the people.

Officers of the House were then appointed, and the members unanimously resolved that they would all serve without reward this session. Following the usual customary procedure, leave was granted to bring in a bill, after which on the next day they attended His Excellency and presented an address in reply which substantially re-echoed the terms of his speech.

One of their first acts was to pass a resolution calling on His Excellency for all the resolutions of His Majesty's Council heretofore made and passed to be laid before the House, and also the collection of the English Statutes. This information having been furnished, the first act of the Legislature of Nova Scotia was passed confirming the proceedings on the several resolutions or acts of the governor and council of the province relating to the duties of impost on rum and other distilled liquor, and enabling the late collector or receiver to recover moneys unpaid for any bonds or notes remaining in his hands and for establishing and regulating several duties on wines, beer or rum and other distilled spirituous liquors for the future. This was a matter of taxation and collection of revenue which the people's representatives alone had authority to impose, and was as we know one of the illegal acts of the governor and council complained of.

Thirty-six acts were passed at this session of the Assembly. Chapters xxvii, xxix and xxxvi were acts for confirming the past proceedings of the Court of Judicature and for regulating further proceedings of the same. Chapter xxx was an act for revising and putting in full force several of the resolutions or

acts of His Majesty's governors and council of the province heretofore made, and chapter xxxv was also confirmatory and amending a resolution of the governor and council. Apart from these statutes there were no others which required particular notice. I may, however, point out that chapter ii was an act for confirming titles to lands and quieting possession. In this statute will be found the first reference to our system of registration of the titles to lands, as by section 12 it enacted that the Registrar of Deeds and Conveyances in this province shall for the future in lieu of any memorial, register all deeds and conveyances at full length. Chapter v is an act for the establishment of Religious Public Worship. Chapter xi, an act relating to Wills, Legacies and Executors, and for the settlement and distribution of the Estates of Intestates. Chapter xiii, an act relating to Treasons and Felonies, and chapter xviii, an act for preventing Frauds and Perjuries. The accuracy and care with which these statutes were drawn clearly indicates the master hand of Chief Justice Belcher; indeed we know from his valuable and voluminous notes to the first statutes how deeply he interested himself in the early legislation of the province.

Sound legislation, however, was not the only subject which engaged the attention of the Assembly. An account was demanded from the governor of the moneys collected under the regime of the council, and the appropriation made of it. Having found a balance in the Treasurer's hands they passed a vote directing a portion of it to be expended in the construction of a lighthouse on Sambro Island. Their next move was a resolution ordering the different public officers to furnish a list of the fees exacted by them in connection with their respective offices. The judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court refused to comply by giving the scale of fees taken in that court. Mr. Suckling, one of the members, had charged Mr. Collier, the judge, and his officers before the Council with exacting illegal and oppressive fees. The Council sent a message asking the Assembly to give leave to Mr. Suckling to appear before the Council and make good his charge. The House at once stood on its rights, and replied that "What was said by Mr. Suckling yesterday was as a member of the

Assembly, and it is the opinion of the Assembly that he is accountable to them only for what was then said."

An address was now passed to the governor suggesting a bill to regulate fees including those of the Vice-Admiralty. No statute affecting fees of office appears to have been passed at this session, nor for many years afterwards; and as hereafter noted, the governor informed them that the Admiralty Court was beyond their jurisdiction.

The Governor requested the House to nominate two persons to collect the duties and imposts. The House complied by nominating Mr. Newton and Mr. Salter, and when the Council proposed to appoint two more of their own choice, the House refused to consent, and added the remark "that the officers who were the collectors of the impost and excise duties are by the gout, and other infirmities of body rendered incapable," etc. The result was that His Excellency finally confirmed the choice of the Assembly. Another somewhat amusing incident took place early in the session. "The first opportunity which offered," said Haliburton, "was immediately embraced by the House to express their opinion as to the sources from which they intended in doubtful cases to derive their precedents. The Council having transmitted to them a bill for quieting possessions of land endorsed 'Soit Baille Aux Communes,' they immediately returned it, saying that they neither agreed nor disagreed to the subject matter therein contained, but requested that they would be pleased to inform them for what purpose they had sent that *paper to them*. The Council replied that what they had thought proper to term a *paper* was in fact a bill which they had prepared and sent to them for their concurrence in passing into law, and that the indorsement upon it was made in strict accordance with the usage of Parliament, it being customary with that august body when a bill was sent from the Lords to endorse it 'Baille aux Communes,' and in like manner when one was sent from the House of Commons to inscribe upon it 'Baille aux Seigneurs.' The House rejoined that it was their intention to pursue the course adopted by the other colonial legislatures as more suited to their situation and circumstances—that they saw no necessity for making use of the French language in any of their proceedings, and that they were by no means certain

that either a Provincial Council or House of Assembly could claim the privilege or conform to the practice of the Lords and Commons.' ' As a result, a conference took place in which the form of communication with each other was finally settled.

Another incident exhibits the spirit in which the House asserted its rights. On Thursday, 14th December, Mr. Pantree, one of the members of the House, complained that yesterday, going in a peaceable manner from the House, he was accosted by Mr. Archibald Hinchelwood in these or like words : "Damn you, sir, what is this you complain against me?" Upon Mr. Pantree denying that he had complained against him he in a threatening and haughty tone said : "Damn you, you have ; your House has ; by God, sir, I will not bear it. Take care for the future. I have but one life to lose, and by God, sir, I'll not be used so," and much more to the same effect. Hinchelwood being summoned to attend, said that his mind that day had been greatly disturbed on some other occasion so that he knew not what he had said to Mr. Pantree ; that he asked his pardon, and pardon of the whole Assembly. He was committed to the custody of the messenger of the House. The governor was notified, and the next day Hinchelwood, having signed a written apology in terms prescribed by the House, was set at liberty.

Hinchelwood was an officer in the secretary's office, and was afterwards made a justice of the peace, and was twice elected a member of the House of Assembly and nominated to a seat in the Council.

These episodes are given here not as of any material consequence, but to show the temper and characteristics of our first General Assembly. They were new to the business, and in the face of such a powerful body as the Governor and Council then were in the province, we can see that at the outset they were actuated by a worthy spirit of independence and determination to redress all grievances from which the population were then suffering. The governor on the 21st December, 1758, adjourned the session until the first of February, 1759, when they again met. The old complaint of the excessive fees exacted in the Admiralty Court was revived. The governor informed them that the Court of Vice-Admiralty was

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unlike that of any other court, and that even Parliament had never interfered with its fees, and that it was beyond doubt that the General Assembly had no power to do so. Thereupon the House passed a series of resolutions :

1st. That it is the unquestionable right of this House to order all civil officers to lay before them an account of all fees, and perquisites demanded and received by them, and to prepare bills for regulating their fees for the future.

2nd. That the refusal of the judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty to lay before them an account of fees and perquisites is a high contempt and of a dangerous nature. These resolutions were sent to the governor with a request that he would do what was necessary to have the evils complained of redressed. The Governor informing them that his Council advised him he had no power in the matter, the House boldly replied "that the Council at present consists of only four members present, one of whom has been, and another now is a judge of that Court, while a third holds the office of Registrar ; we cannot therefore doubt that their advice will have as little weight with your Excellency as with us."

The House thereupon passed a bill disqualifying any person filling a situation of profit or emolument under government, from holding a seat at the Council Board, or being returned as a member of the Assembly. This Bill was rejected by the Council as a direct attack upon that body.

A further struggle between the House and Council then took place in reference to payment of expenses of the Assembly and expenses of the Government. Neither would yield to the other, when the Governor intervened, undertaking to pay the items voted by the Assembly when presented. After passing some statutes already noted, the Governor prorogued the House until the first day of August ensuing.

The second session of the first House of Assembly began on that day. Their first act was to choose William Nesbitt speaker in the place of Sanderson, who I assume was either dead or had left the province.

This session was remarkably short, as on the 13th day

of August the Assembly was dissolved by the Governor, after having passed seven acts of no particular interest. We are not told officially of the reasons which induced the Governor to dissolve our first House of Assembly in such a summary manner. We, however, can well understand from his correspondence with the Lords of Trade that he had no liking for them. He describes the Assembly as entertaining idle jealousies of the Council about particular rights and privileges, which he had endeavoured to reconcile.

At this distance of time, when we regard the course adopted by the Assembly in the light of all the surrounding conditions, their conduct, while no doubt vexatious to the Governor and annoying to the Council, was justifiable and praiseworthy. The subsequent history of the old Council of Twelve must convince us that the Assembly were right, even at that early day, in taking a firm stand against the arbitrary acts of that irresponsible body.

The next step of the Governor and Council was clearly an illegal exercise of power. Having got rid of the first House in the manner described, it became necessary to summon another. No doubt the Governor having once acted under the clause in his commission authorizing the calling of a general assembly on a basis then fixed as to the representation, his power in that respect was exhausted, and it was for the Legislature alone to make any changes. This was not the view of the Governor and Council, for at a meeting of Council on the 22nd August, 1759, an entirely new scheme was adopted, increasing the number and extending the privilege to other townships. Murdoch admits that it was a great stretch of power for the Governor and Council to alter and rearrange the constitution of the representative body of their own authority, but that it was done with the best design, and being unobjected to, may be considered as sanctioned by the Crown and people.

The first session of the second Assembly began on the 4th December, 1759. Some of the members of the first House were returned to the second. William Nesbitt was again chosen speaker. The Governor in his opening speech congratulated the House and Council on the fall of Quebec, speak-

ing of it as that "barbarous metropolis" from whence his good subjects of this province, and the King's other American dominions have groaned under such continual and unpardonable wrongs; and the Assembly in their answer call Canada "the mother and nurse of the most cruel and savage enemies of His Majesty's American colonies."

A second session of this Assembly met on the 8th September, 1760, and was dissolved by the death of King George II on the 25th October, 1760.

Lawrence had died on the 15th October, and Chief Justice Belcher then administered the government.

It does not come within the scope of this paper to follow the career of succeeding Houses of Assembly. The period closed with the death of Lawrence embraces all of any special interest in connection with the early history of our legislative institutions.

Let me conclude this paper with a few brief observations on the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia. It has been the arena on which distinguished and eloquent orators and statesmen fought over the questions of the day with brilliancy and power—those to whom we are indebted for many blessings we enjoy, and for preserving the rich heritage which is ours. On the floors of that House have spoken such men as Uniacke, Archibald, Stewart, Howe, Johnstone, Huntington, Young and Tupper. Each in their time and according to their light gave to the Province their wise counsel and patriotic love. Fearless and unflinching they fought the great fight which ended in sweeping out of existence the old Council of which we have heard so much, and establishing responsible government under which we live and thrive today.

THE CHAIRMAN next called upon

HIS HONOUR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR FRASER,

whose address was as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Chief Justice has tersely traced the circumstances under which our first parliament was convened in this Province. It was not the result of agitation among the small population then residing in the Colony, but in fulfilment of the wise policy of the statesmen of Great Britain who, to induce immigration, had promised that a Parliament of the representatives chosen by the settlers should frame the laws under which all who came to the country should live. No doubt Chief Justice Belcher and others who had come from Massachusetts, where the people many years previously had their own House of Representatives, pressed the matter on an unwilling Governor and his Councillors. But the compelling cause that ensured to Nova Scotia one hundred and fifty years ago this great privilege was the promise made before the arrival of Cornwallis, which, once given by the Nation, must be fulfilled. The opinion given by the law officers that the ordinances and regulations made by the Governor and Council were not binding, hastened it, but was not its primary cause. I have no doubt that the city of Halifax, like the City of London in the struggle for free institutions earlier, was then as now keenly alive to the rights of the citizens, and the citizens, with the exception of those who were in close touch with the Governor and his Council, legitimately pressed for the fulfilment of the promise given. It cannot be said that in view of all the circumstances, the Home authorities were not fairly liberal in the powers granted. Looking over our history, even taking into account the long and stupid delay in granting us full parliamentary institutions, we cannot help feeling that with the scant information obtainable by those in authority at home from so small a portion of the Empire as Nova Scotia then was, we in the first half-century of our history were considerately treated, and that the restricted powers granted were all in all ample and perhaps better than the full powers afterwards achieved by peaceful means.

In the early years of a new colony, in fact of any country with a parliament, there is no better criterion of its advancement than the proceedings and statutes, the petitions for redress of grievances, the provisions for the necessities of Crown, the changes made in old laws, and the new laws passed. They clearly indicate the progress made in wealth and intelligence by the people.

The power of the press was almost unknown; the working of the outside world was known, but that imperfectly, to a few. Books were scarce and dear, while the strenuous life in a new land to supply even the necessities of life were so constant that each man was largely thrown upon his own resources to gain such information as he could and act upon his own conclusions as to what was best for his country. I trust none of us will foolishly think our forefathers one hundred and fifty years ago were ignorant. Certainly they did not have the general intelligence now prevailing. No thanks to us for our superior intelligence, for considering their opportunities and the age in which they lived, they were in every respect our equals, if not our superiors. According to the then received doctrines of civil and religious liberty, they and those who came after them, were in advance of the people of Great Britain. The Chief Justice has referred to the character of the first statutes, passed at the first and second meetings of the Legislature. The remarks so aptly applied to these may be used of subsequent legislation. They knew what they wanted, and said so in plain, unambiguous language. Their chief guides were the statutes of Great Britain, though they copied largely in principle from those of Virginia and Massachusetts. Not till the rebellion of the thirteen colonies had they the use of the best treatise on the Constitution, the great essay of De Lolme. But they had the advantage of having many excellent works on the rights and powers of Government, and without doubt the best that the authors of the revolt in the United States had to say for themselves. Besides, they were observers of what in their situation was most needed. They seem to have had the grace of believing that if they advanced—if they passed such laws as were helpful for their fellow countrymen—they might leave something to be done by their successors. They were simple enough to feel sure that future assemblies

who were to legislate for changed conditions might understand what was required and have as much ability as they to meet, as the race has always met, all issues whenever raised. But above all, like the Puritans, they were deeply read in the "Oracles of God." That they did not always grasp the great truth of universal toleration, to us now so plain and effective in action, we regret; but that they were controlled by their study and acted according to their light, no man who has read their Acts can deny. Year by year we can note careful advances in our statutes, and those laws that now could nowhere be even proposed in any Christian Parliament were less rigorously prosecuted and more speedily repealed than in any part of the Empire.

It may not be amiss to give some instances of those laws which at various times were enacted in Nova Scotia. I shall not attempt to give dates or follow consecutively their passage. That would make me speak beyond your endurance, and is not necessary on this occasion. The field is an inviting one, and I trust some gifted son of our province will undertake a real history of the people of this province, largely gathered from the evidence which our journals and statutes afford.

It must not be forgotten that the men who made our laws laboured under two great disadvantages: First, a Governor and Council always antagonistic to them; and secondly, the veto of the Home authorities, who I suppose naturally took the advice of their representative here in preference to that of the legislature. To men of the present day it appears almost incredible what advances they made against such odds. Now and again there is an outburst, but it was only after sixty or seventy years of a Parliament of our own that the real fight for Responsible Government began. Position, place, wealth and we fear the power of the Courts of Law, were on the one side, but no uprising took place, no blood was shed, and our peaceful revolution was brought about by the power of reason and determined conviction.

In considering the trend of progress made in our legislature it must not be forgotten that the real active reformers did not always appear in the work performed, nor in the continued intelligence circulated by devoted men in gaining step by step

the advantage of better laws. Taking one question out of the many, for example, Education. Close students will find that Rev. Dr. Black, Dr. McCulloch and Dr. Crawley made possible the work of Dr. Forrester and our present advanced educational system. In like manner we could cite other instances. Such powerful assistants among the electorate made it possible for the representatives to enact from time to time such laws as remedied existing evils and moved forward to a more enlightened vantage ground. I shall only briefly touch on a few subjects showing how gradually, but progressively, the people's representatives advanced. In doing so, as I have said, I shall not methodically give dates. In the relation of the individual to the family and state, a most paternal care was exercised. No corner in wood or articles sold in the market was permitted. No one could leave the province without a pass. Seven days' notice of intention to leave must also be given. During that time a creditor might prove any claim against the party leaving, and he had to give security to respond to the action the creditor must bring in the next court. Any captain of a vessel taking a person without a pass forfeited fifty pounds. As early as 1765 was passed "An Act for Regulating Servants." The servant could compel a master to grant a certificate if hired for less than six months. If any one harboured a servant without such certificate he forfeited ten pounds, and if the servant counterfeited such certificate he or she could be publicly whipped. If servants left, they were compelled to return and serve double time. All engagements between master and servant for any time over six months must be in writing. The master must not sell the servant run, nor keep back pay for the same. All disorderly or beggarly persons found strolling, not able to show visible means of obtaining a sober and honest livelihood, were to be hired out perforce for any term not exceeding seven years. Idle or wandering persons without a pass from a magistrate were to be treated as rogues and vagabonds, and imprisoned. Poor children were bound apprentices by the overseers of the poor, but putting them up at auction was never sanctioned. On several occasions acts were passed to raise a sum of money, not to exceed a certain amount, by lottery for the purpose of building roads and bridges. Managers were appointed to carry

out the provisions, which were to be strictly enforced. Only on one occasion in 1789 was a private lottery act passed. It enabled Wentworth Tonge of Windsor to dispose of certain parts of his estate by lottery.

The wholesome gospel truth that "if any would not work neither should he eat," seems to have been, literally applied by our forefathers. In a new land where there was no room for idlers and each man had to bend all his energies to supply himself and family with the prime necessities of life, we can understand that the idler and thriftless found little consideration or sympathy. Might not the righteous principle underlying the legislation of these bygone days be used to advantage in the present age?

Taxation at first was levied almost altogether on real estate. Gradually, but chiefly within the last fifty years, personal property became subject to assessment. In connection with the franchise, except for a brief period beginning in 1854, universal suffrage never obtained in our province. Income was early recognized as entitling a resident to vote, but after some time it must be from a freehold estate. The forty-shilling freehold long held first place in the qualifications required. Many changes occurred as the country became more thickly settled, even to the right of a husband to vote on his wife's thirds, if the value was sufficient. The registration of electors was after a very crude fashion, and the adjournment of the poll from place to place at every election was a most vicious practice, much more demoralizing on the voters than the worst that is painted of elections at the present day. Never was it attempted to make the franchise restrictive. No advantage was given to the rich, and every diligent, thrifty citizen had the right granted him of naming his law makers.

As laws were passed against idleness, so most severe enactments were put in force against what were then considered crimes. The Lord's Day was to be properly observed: no work except works of necessity and mercy—no pastimes permitted under fine of ten shillings. All persons of health and above the age of twelve years, if absent three months from divine service, were to be fined five shillings, the fines to go to

the poor. The must be read at the opening of each session of the per and twice a year in every place of worship. Blasphemy was punishable by an hour on two occasions in the pillory. Profane cursing and swearing merited fines of two, four or eight shillings. If the transgressor was under 16 he was whipped; if over, he was committed to the stocks. For being drunk a fine was imposed for the first offence of five shillings; for second, same fine and two sureties against a repetition. If one was convicted of manslaughter, "M" was burnt on the brawn of left thumb, for other felonies "T" was the brand. No tears were shed; no kind ladies got up petitions; no flowers. The following provisions are noteworthy: If any person or persons above the age of fourteen years shall be convicted by confession or by the oath of one credible witness before any justice of the peace of making or publishing any lie, libel, or scandalous report tending to the damage or defamation of any person, or shall with intent to abuse and deceive others, invent or spread any false news, every such offender shall be fined at the discretion of such justice in any sum not exceeding five pounds, to be paid to the overseer or the poor of the town where the offence was committed, and he shall be bound in a recognizance with two sureties for the good behaviour for such time as the justice shall think meet, and if the fine be not paid a warrant shall be issued. If the fine was not paid, the offender was committed for one month or set in the stocks for three hours, or whipped if the justice should see fit so to do. But this did not end the matter, for a private action could be brought by the party slandered and damages recovered. For larceny, receiving stolen goods and certain other offences, the punishment was hard labour in the House of Correction at Halifax or elsewhere, or labour upon the highways or other public works in the Province for not more than seven years, on such terms and conditions as should appear to be best calculated to promote the reformation of the offender. This was a good example to others and a just retribution to the public for the injury done to it by such offender. The penalties for crime meted out by our forefathers may have been, and doubtless were too severe, but perhaps we have swung too far in the opposite direction. There does not seem to be anything like the fear of punishment for

wrongdoing at the present day that existed even in the younger days of many present with us today.

The first Act relating to education was passed in 1766. It chiefly related to qualification of teachers. For the first half century of our representative history it seems that the services of a teacher was a matter of contract without any assessment

on the inhabitants. By this Act no teacher was permitted to keep a grammar school in any part of the province or any kind of school in Halifax until examined by the minister of the town or two justices of the peace. A certificate of examination and one of good character from six inhabitants was necessary before obtaining a license. It was fifty-two years afterwards before trustees were appointed, and then only three in each county. Their duty was to accept and receive donations for the erection of school houses. Afterwards a permissive act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province was passed. The preamble is noteworthy: "Whereas it is highly advantageous to the youth of this province to afford them every means of acquiring useful knowledge in those essential parts of general education which are necessary to persons of every rank and station in civilized society." This act permitted the inhabitants of any district to vote not more than £200 or less than £50 to the end that the youth may be taught orthography, reading, writing and arithmetic. Education was to be free. A subsequent act empowered the sessions on the application of two-thirds of the inhabitants of a specified district to set out such district for the education and instruction of the youth and children of this province in common reading, writing, arithmetic and in morals and manners. School commissioners were to be appointed, and if the district made default of voluntary payment it could be assessed. This is the first mention, as far as I can find, of assessment for education. Teachers were to be licensed by commissioners, and a proportion of their salaries might be paid in produce, according to the custom of the country.

In 1832 a board of School commissioners was appointed for each county and district for superintendence of schools. They were empowered and commanded to lay off the county

or district into school districts. Teachers must be hired for one year. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of any district could levy an assessment for school purposes, and under certain circumstances a grammar school for teaching the higher branches might be combined with the common school. Soon after an act provided that poor children should be taught free. Provision was also made for the education of coloured children. It was not till the first year of Queen Victoria's reign that a female teacher, if she could be more advantageously employed than a male, could lawfully teach in our schools. In 1850 a Superintendent of Education was appointed. The Province was divided into counties and districts with five commissioners for each. A majority of the ratepayers in any district could assess. No less than two, nor more than four, grammar schools in each county. In 1854 the Normal School was established, and in 1859 trustees must be yearly appointed. In 1865 was passed the act now in force. I have with more detail referred to our educational legislation because perhaps better than any other subject dealt with by our representatives the story of our progress may be studied during the early years of representative institutions. The settlers who came to us had the advantage of being educated while young. This was particularly the case with those who came from the sister colonies. Much was done by private and family training, so that to a certain extent the disadvantages of lack of schools was overcome. From the beginning of the last century till the present, in no part of the Kingdom was education more generally attainable, and I think we can modestly affirm, nowhere better results obtained.

In the matter of religious toleration the first parliaments in this province followed closely in the narrow lines marked out in Great Britain and the sister colonies. They conceived that it was their duty to make men religious by Act of Parliament. They therefore passed an act for the establishment of religious public worship in this province, and for suppressing Papacy. By this act the Liturgy of the Church of England was established. No ministers were to officiate without a certificate from the Bishop of London. All others were by the Governor to be silenced. Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers or any other Protestants dissenting from the Church of England were per-

mitted to worship as they saw fit without paying rates. All Popish priests were to depart from the Province before the 25th of March, 1759, on pain of perpetual imprisonment. After that date, if found, the perpetual punishment was inflicted. If they escaped, it was a felony. All persons harbouring Popish priests should forfeit £50. All Justices of the Peace were empowered on oath or suspicion to commit priests or their harbourers to jail. If any priest were a prisoner of war or shipwrecked he was excepted, but was bound to report himself to the governor or a justice, and satisfy them that they were in the province from necessity, and then depart. No Papist could hold land except by grant from the Crown, and their deeds and wills were not binding, so the lands became forfeited to the Crown. A relaxation was made in 1785, but even then they had to take a long oath, the form being provided in the Act. They could name no guardians for their children. Up to 1786 no Catholic teacher was to teach under pain of a fine of £10. "Shall be so presumptuous" are the words of the statute referring to a Catholic teacher. All these disabilities were removed, and shortly afterwards Catholics were allowed to sit in the House of Assembly and hold all offices upon taking the oath of office required by any other person. Let us not think these men were heartless or cruel. They indulged the error, even yet prevalent, but which never can prevail, that men can be dragooned into virtuous living or translated into the Kingdom of Heaven by Acts of Parliament. The presumption assumes the exclusive knowledge and grace of those who would pass and execute laws to regulate the conduct and improve the graces of those who stubbornly believe in their own conscience. We must never forget that our law makers had the example of the homeland and the colonies in such legislation as I have enumerated. In addition to this the Roman Catholics were associated in their minds with French rule, and they no doubt the more willingly passed these cruel acts to ensure safety against any opportunity that toleration might have towards a return of French rule. From all I have been able to gather, these enactments were better honoured in the breach than in the observance. There may have been convictions, but so far I have not been able to find any instance. And as a crowning glory to our own province,

here for the first time, in what now constitutes the Empire, a Catholic took his seat in our House of Representatives without degrading himself by taking the oath then universally prescribed.

There is no nobler era in our nation's history than that in which this change was brought about. The speeches of Uniacke and Haliburton are as manly and eloquent as any ever delivered. I have often wondered that our educational authorities have gone so far afield for examples of eloquence in our school readers, while the rich treasures found in those of the men I have named have never been referred to. No choicer, purer, or loftier specimens for the study of our young people could anywhere be found.

As I said before, the study of our history as shown by our statute law is interesting and helpful. I have only referred to a few among many. Sometimes cautiously, at other times quickly, advances were made. I have not touched on such laws as those relating to taxation (except for schools), our lands, our courts and procedure, and numerous other matters. But I think I have shown, as I might show by all that has transpired during the last one hundred and fifty years, that the fears of those who objected to the measure of self-government granted, were groundless and that true to the history and instincts of the British people, we have worked out our problems and achieved our success by the use of intelligent constitutional methods. And I am convinced that as a result, no part of the world offers better inducements for leading a quiet, useful, happy and contented life. But let us by no means consider the work completed. As long as we live, as long as the race exists, new questions and readjustments of old ones will have to be faced. And we shall lose much of all that this anniversary includes if we fail to gather the lessons it teaches us. As those who legislated in the past up to the measure of their abilities to improve the country as far as laws could do so, we in our day must act in like manner. Questions of gravest character and greatest moment still are forcing themselves, and justly so, upon our attention. Each generation must meet the issues demanding solution in its own day. The relations of capital and labour; the quick acquisition of

capital by the few; more thorough common school education and advanced progress in higher and technical training; the control of trusts will not sleep. Wise men will judge from the nature of the claims advanced in the light of the experience of the past and the knowledge of the present and take sides. Our first lesson should be to educate and mould public opinion. It is the true sovereign of the world. It is the only monarch that can never be deposed or abridged of his prerogative. The throne, our legislators, aye, our constitution, are only mouthpieces for its expression. And more potent than ever before us is this sovereign today. It is making Japan, educating China, disturbing India and shattering the ancient despotism of Persia and Turkey. It gave us Responsible Government, abridged the prerogative of the Crown, asserted the rights of parliament to use the public lands and wealth of our mines in the interests of our people, and make those who rule over us directly responsible to its power. There is no danger from sane and constant agitation. Our real danger is when it, like Samson, submits its invincible locks to be confined by the fingers of Delilah with the pin of a weaver's brain. Steady progress and wise advance depend on enlightened public opinion. The public are moved by individuals. Every honest citizen whom we can enlighten—every mind entertaining right views and cherishing proper feelings—is an improver of this power. The humblest of us are aware that his opinions are a portion of the sovereign power, should not and would not consider his influence insignificant.

Our first lesson from the experience of our past legislation is therefore, to strengthen the power and cultivate the enlightenment of public opinion.

Another lesson we may learn from the conduct of the people and legislatures in the past is that we must cultivate national modesty. Formerly they did not shout about what they were, or do, when needed reforms were accomplished. Why should we seek praise or be boastful when we do our duty to our beloved country? Thankful for our enviable position, let us not consider ourselves beyond learning of others. I believe we can all afford to be jealous of no other land. Our aim should be not to be ever proclaiming our superiority, but rather to so live and act that our children can have the same

pride in our beloved province that we have. A lack of national modesty begets vanity, and vanity leads us not to see our defects, and capable of condoning much that should not be tolerated. How strongly writ is the sterling quality in the past of loving and serving our native land without brag. Contented to serve their own day and generation, our fathers left it to others and not themselves to praise their work.

The last lesson to which I will refer as taught us during the last one hundred and fifty years is to learn from the past the cultivation of national modesty. During the fight for Responsible Government, the formation of parties and Confederation of the Provinces, many bitter things were spoken, many unkind things written. At various other times some bitterness is discovered. But the occasions were important, and to many of those in the fight, the issues personal. Calmly looking over what was said and written in those days and comparing the time and issues involved, I do not think we can boast of the advances made. I think the manner in which public men of all parties are "written up," as the method is called, is not on the same high plane as that taken by the writers of former days. But whether that is so or not, we need to cultivate with all diligence the spirit of national moderation.

The best results of past history are that every free member of the community, be he high or low, rich or poor, has a right equal and unquestionable to think, speak and act upon every measure originating among and interesting us as a people. The full development of our institutions demands the fair and unshackled exercise of this right. It must be exercised irrespective of party views. From the day Abram and Lot went out the one to the right and the other to the left, we have had parties, and they will exist in the future as in the past. But how are we to act toward the growth of good and wholesome laws? Not surely in crying down whatever we have not been instrumental in passing, and claiming every virtue for all that we have succeeded in making law. The man who acts as another man acts simply because that other bids him to think and act, retards freedom and all social progress. And we must not forget in the attainment of further advantages that Experience, that gray-haired old gentleman who followed

Time into the world, and who was contemporary with Wisdom ere the foundations of the earth were laid, who through all ages of our nation's advancement regulated our temper and conservatively guided our progress, is altogether the safest guardian of such precious treasures. True he may not harangue with quite as much rapidity and fierceness as the fluent usurpers of his place do, but the words which drop slowly from his honoured lips are wiser. Though he stand leaning on his staff and looking with straining eyes, we may safely trust to his vision rather than to younger and brighter eyes that may not see so clearly. This age needs to call back the venerable seer from his obscurity and consult him daily. He may be old-fashioned, but we would array him in modern costume and set him in our high places. By thus joining together the wisdom of the aged and the vigor of the young we can succeed in moulding a safe and sufficiently progressive advance in the direction of sound and healthy legislation. For let it not be forgotten that such as our institutions are, they must remain, modified from time to time to suit succeeding times. Praise cannot make them better nor detraction less—they are ours, bought and paid for. But they are ours under a solemn responsibility, under none other than the trust that we will preserve, exalt, extend and improve them. We shall discharge that trust only as we hold them in a right spirit and exercise them upon proper principles. In maintaining and holding sacred that spirit that will adorn and perpetuate these institutions consists the whole secular duty of our generation. When this ceases to be important and interesting in our eyes we cease to deserve them. Honour is alike due to those who attained them and those who will strive earnestly and fearlessly to preserve them.

The full enjoyment of liberty by all depends on the moderate use of it by each. The man who is willing to act in obedience to other than his own unbiased judgment is always immoderate. The want of it is due to those who surrender their personal independence for the bondage of partizans, who would sacrifice their sacred birthright of free thought and action to become the meanest, because the voluntary slave of another. He who thinks as another man thinks, or acts as another man acts, fails to look calmly into the past for

guidance as to the present, for action can never without sane moderation help others or assist in the true solution of pressing problems.

On this glad and memorable anniversary I have thought it well to call attention to the duty incumbent on every citizen of this free country to intelligently study our own laws and to modestly, moderately and manfully seek to make them better. Let no one assume our fathers did not do their part well. When they came to this vast solitude they carried the elements of the highest civilization with them. And they evolved a better, safer and more humane civilization than any others in America. Leaving their native land in poverty, their first care was the intellectual and moral character of their children. It was in this country always the pride of its unsurpassed first settlers that men felt keenly that they should take a deep interest in how we were governed. For us the stream of steady development like a mighty river must be studied. Along its banks watch the changes. Let none of us think our work is solely in the association halls or in the marts of commerce. Christianity is not that ethereal essence some would make it. It is tremendously practical. Down here where men move and governments govern, is the place of conflict. On us depend the decision whether or not the laws affecting questions that may arise shall or shall not be improved. With such a country as ours, rich in land, mine and sea—with a people healthy, generous and intellectual, no bounds can be placed to our possibilities. Living under laws as just as any country under the sun, our possibilities are greater and our responsibilities weightier. Shall we fold our hands and grumble? Shall we insist on what ought to be and fail to help? Or rather shall we make ourselves intelligently acquainted with what ought to be, and steadfastly seek to attain it?

It is not a question of how much we shall improve our laws, as that we shall improve them. Not quantity, but improvement. What matters it how much we shall do—rather shall we so improve them as to make it easier for those who follow to find the way easier. Let the spirit which should accompany all reform be abroad; let modesty, moderation, charity, independence and above all, truth, be always guiding our progress.

Then shall our laws change without revolution and stand firm. Man cannot overthrow them and the Almighty will not.

I have witnessed with wonder and delight the tercentenary memorials on the Plains of Abraham. It was empire-making in its conception, and unrivalled at least on this continent in its success. Here two great races celebrated the glory of their forefathers, the success of Great Britain and the freedom and peace that connection with our Kingdom has brought both. Historically the events commemorated were worthy of our national evolution. But I think today's memorials are more worthy of our recognition and celebration. Here first in the great Kingdom now forming the homeland and beyond the seas men met to deliberate as a parliament on questions affecting the land in which they lived. Not, it is true, with the same power, freedom and responsibility as now, but still a meeting of free men representing free men. That they and all who came after them played their parts honourably, unselfishly and patriotically till the fullest responsible government became ours, none will now deny. In the future our children, our grandchildren, will certainly again celebrate this great epoch in our history. Will they be able to look back on our work as we can on those who preceded us? Can they honestly affirm that those who lived in this day caught the spirit of the past, read the signs of their own time and did their duty? Or will they have to truthfully affirm with our greater opportunities we failed to impress our age with the enlightened views of a progressive democracy? Either course is open. Shall we not wisely choose the better? As a memorial of the past, an incentive to the present, and a guarantee for our future, we meet today to unveil a tablet to the first men who sat in the rude building then constituting our House of Parliament. We honour them in remembering them; we are honoured ourselves by being their imitators. I feel that no higher distinction could be mine than the honour the committee have given me of unveiling what will always hereafter in this chamber be associated with the illustrious dead, and a continued incentive to energetic living and patriotic action to us and all who come after us.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have with us today Mr. J. N. Armstrong, whose eloquent speech in the Legislative Council had

so much to do with this celebration. I now call on Mr. Armstrong.

J. N. ARMSTRONG.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Our fellow Canadians have been generous in their insistence that Nova Scotia holds the place of a land of distinction. It will be accepted that any genuine distinction to which a country is entitled must be based on the trained intelligence of its people. If this merit belongs to Nova Scotia, the development of representative government amongst us must certainly be regarded as a salient feature in contributing to it.

Probably in no part of the British dominions are the people so close to the Legislature as in this Province. Here as nowhere else the Hansard of the Province forms part of the daily reading of the people. The full debates and proceedings of both our Houses, as taken by the official reporters, is published every morning in the press columns of both the political parties. This, done under the authority of the Legislature itself, affords every household the most direct opportunity of becoming fully informed on every public measure without any party colouring whatever. Such a course as this supplies the widest possible distribution of legislative values among the people—what might in our case be termed an absolute common stock issue open to the subscription of every man.

This unparalleled distribution of legislative values was naturally the growth of years. For more than half the period which we celebrate today, Nova Scotia's parliament was a close corporation. What might be regarded as the original bond issue was in the hands solely of those who sat behind the four walls of the old Province Building. After the passage of the first Reform Bill in England, trained minds in this country saw the greater possibilities of representative government for Nova Scotia, and determined upon forcing that fuller distribution of legislative values, which culminated in the attainment of Responsible Government, and which will forever stand out as Nova Scotia's great issue of preferred stock in the evolution of parliamentary government in the Colonies.

Howe, Nova Scotia's iconoclast of political privilege, will always be recognized as the type of the Colonial Reformer.

But this period produced as well, in the persons of Johnston, Howe's rival, the type of the strong and patient executive, the steady hand in the administration of affairs, a type as essential to any uniformly governed country as the Reformer himself.

Such was the position taken by Nova Scotia at the close of the first one hundred years of our Representative Government. In 1858, a new day was ushered in, for in that year the people came into possession of the invaluable coal measures of the province. Nova Scotia's modern era had at this time its genesis. The constitutional struggle of the Confederation period intervened, however, and it may be said that it was not until almost the beginning of the second twenty-five years of the fifty since 1858 that the province in reality girded up its loins for the course which was set before it. Then it was that the entire social, educational and industrial interests of the people became the interests and stage of the legislature. The new order of things called for a new point of view. The new outlook demanded that the same reformer and the strong administrator should from this time forward be composite in type, that one and the same man if he were available should be competent not only to interpret public opinion, but to implement it as well into legislative enactment. Fortunately Nova Scotia was able to produce this composite type of man required during the years of expansion and experiment, which have ever since been with us. That type is essentially Nova Scotia's political patent, and is so whether in evidence in the Provincial or in the Federal arena. May I say that such a composite type could only be the product of a people whose unity—rational oneness—is their predominant characteristic. The result of all this is that legislative reform in Nova Scotia is a constant, and ever-active force. But reform to be successful in this Province must be based on a zeal which is according to knowledge. No reform otherwise exploited can be translated into legislative enactment amongst us. It can accordingly be said that Nova Scotia's advanced legislation—and some of it is the most advanced in the world—has found its way to the statute books of the country through the recognized channels of the administration of the day. Political guidance in consequence is probably less chafed at in this

Province than elsewhere under the British flag. The fixed traditions of Nova Scotians have resolved that no measure, however estimable or formidable in itself, shall become law amongst us, unless it is stamped with an absolute abstention from any and every form of discrimination in favor of creed or class. This is Nova Scotia's distinctive legislative trade-mark. Almost from the beginning this had been Nova Scotia's own peculiar prerogative. The abolition of provincialism has long since taken place in Nova Scotia, and today this legislative trade-mark of ours has become an asset in the partnership of the provinces. It may be that it will ultimately be found one of Nova Scotia's solid contributions in fulfilling that great vision which is to reveal Canada as the outstanding nation of the twentieth century. As Nova Scotia is the land of the morning, and as such its meridian sets the standard of time for all Canada, so it may be that rise of civil and religious liberty under representative government in this province by the sea, may well be regarded as a pivotal fact in the freedom, expansion and ultimate supremacy of the Britain of the West.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Lieutenant-Governor of the sister province of Prince Edward Island is with us. I now call upon him.

HIS HONOUR D. A. MACKINNON.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is a pleasure to bring you greetings from the people of Prince Edward Island on this occasion, and to congratulate you on having, in this chief city of the Maritime Provinces, a House of Assembly that had its origin one hundred and fifty years ago.

Our people rejoice with you the more, because our province shares with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the proud distinction of having had the Pioneer of Parliaments in Canada.

This Maritime Union continued until 1769, when the Island was granted a Constitution of its own. Fifteen years later New Brunswick became a separate colony.

During this short Maritime Union our Courts of Common Pleas were constituted. Legislation was enacted for the effectual receiving of His Majesty's dues in Cape Breton, and St. John's Island, by which name our Island was then known.

In a speech from the throne Governor Wilmot, said that the islands having been annexed, he should consider what profits and advantages might be derived to the Province in general, and sent surveyors and had towns laid out in St. John's Island. He was indeed so generous that the Home Government censured him for the expense. The first great survey of America was begun on the Island.

During this union, grants were passed in this city by the Governor at the King's commands, giving twenty thousand acres each to men in Britain, who had won the land by drawing lots.

The separation from Nova Scotia was not sought by the settlers, but by those proprietors, one of whom was appointed the first Governor, and they controlled the legislative powers of the Island for a long time. The absentee landlord question was the greatest problem to be solved. It was a hundred years before the matter ended. It is happily now a question of the past. The method of colonizing the West by grants of free homesteads stands out in strong contrast to the treatment accorded the pioneers of the Maritime Provinces. Whether the men of the West will do better, future generations will know.

After separation the colonies as a rule acted in harmony, and an illustration may be mentioned. Your Attorney-General Archibald was our Chief Justice in those early days, President of the Council and law advisor of His Excellency. This would not be considered constitutional now. We've tried to even up things in these later days by giving you your last Chief Justice Weatherbe.

The only instance where I find the Island desired to come back to its first love, before the Confederation period, was when the assembly was struggling for more power. About 1819 a resolution was passed expressing the desire to be re-annexed to the envied and flourishing colony of Nova Scotia, if they did not obtain their other requests.

The Assemblies in these colonies very early entered into a struggle for more power. The King reigned; the Governor assumed greater power and governed, but the people deter-

mined to rule, and so struggled until the system of Responsible Government was obtained.

The question of separating the Legislative Council from the Executive received early attention. The Council was made elective in the Island and finally abolished, and a Legislative Assembly formed, composed half of Council men representing the property holders and half of Assembly men elected by universal suffrage. Both sit in one chamber and have an equal voice in legislation. This is unique in the history of such institutions.

In Nova Scotia you still have your Legislative Council appointed, and if the time comes when you think a change might be made, it might be well to consider whether a Maritime Council could be constituted. At the outset this Council might be advisory on Maritime questions, so that, as the other provinces are enlarged, we may continue to uphold our interests.

Under these parliamentary institutions the people rule. They cannot all meet, and therefore they elect representatives. The referendum is adopted in some countries, and by plebiscites, questions have been left to the people to decide even in our own country. Some nations have been doing without Assemblies for centuries, but recently are experimenting along this line. The people of Russia, Persia and Turkey in this way are seeking for more freedom. We cannot imagine what our state would be had we no parliamentary governments. We have a right to feel grateful to the memory of those early pioneers who inaugurated this amongst other excellent institutions in our country. The members are gone! Their works live.

The main thing necessary to insure our maritime greatness is to continue making intellectual progress. Some reflect on these parts as a decaying community because our population is not greater. Is it not the best proof of our energy and vigour as a people, that we are sending out west so many to help build up our common country? In higher education we may boast that, with one or two exceptions, the presidents of the great universities in Canada hail from these provinces. Some of the universities in the neighbouring States have

presidents and professors of eminence who grew up in our midst. We owe much to the mothers of our Maritime people, and we still have mothers of great men yet to be. Professional men, commercial, bankers, mechanics and artisans are going out continually seeking large fields while "westward the course of Empire takes its way."

The part that New England has played in the country to our South would appear to indicate the lines on which our provinces are performing their part in nation-building.

Our Assemblies, after acquiring great powers, gave over the greater share to our Canadian parliament. Our throne now is from ocean to ocean on broad foundations, our homes are those of a brave and powerful people.

Our people in Prince Edward Island are of the same origin as yours, and during all these years, the living looked up to the same sovereigns, and enjoyed their liberty under the same flag.

Well may we exclaim in the words of one of your greatest sons:

Then, hail to the day when the Britons came over,

And planted their standard, with sea-foam still wet!

Above and around us their spirits shall hover,

Rejoicing to mark how we honour it yet.

While time, like an ever-rolling stream, bears now ten thousand of our Maritime people away each year to the bourne whence none return, still more than this number is being added to our young families to take their place. It is remarkable that of those who die, about a quarter are over seventy-five years of age. Few places in the world, if any, show such longevity. We are not without hope to see a million Maritime men and women in an early enumeration. Old Scotland had less at her union, and see what she has done for the world since! We hope to see New Scotland do more yet. We look for a new Clyde when we become more conscious of the advantage of our geographical position. Nature calls us to a maritime vocation as one phase of our progress.

The success of the Assemblies gives us assurance of abilities to grapple with the greater problems that still lie before

us in these provinces. Your Assembly merits much praise for its progressive, technical, and general educational legislation and laws relating to public health, mining and agriculture. The fruits will be matured in time.

From these remembrances of the past we draw inspiration for the present, and hope for a continuance of good feeling and co-operation amongst our people. Let us express gratitude to and faith in,

"Our fathers' God, from out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet today, united, free,
And loyal to our land and Thee;
To thank Thee for the era done,
And trust Thee for the opening one."

THE CHAIRMAN: Although the Premier of the Province of Quebec found himself unable to be present, he is well represented by one of his colleagues, the Hon. W. A. Weir, who will now favor us with an address:

HON. W. A. WEIR.

MR. CHAIRMAN: On this auspicious and historical occasion, I am happy to be the bearer to Nova Scotians of the hearty greetings and congratulations of their fellow Canadians of the oldest of the sister provinces of the Dominion.

The people of Quebec have always greatly admired the character, the customs, the institutions and the work of the citizens of this province, and, personally, I may be allowed to say that my visit here at this time has greatly increased my admiration of Nova Scotia and its people. Your smiling valleys and forest-clad hills; your noble harbours and beautiful cities and towns; your thriving industries, commerce and colleges; the evidences of progress and the marks of a general intellectual development; and perhaps above all the beauty and demeanor of your fair matrons and lovely daughters have made so deep an impression on my mind and memory that the year 1908, and my visit to your charming province and hospitable metropolis will never be forgotten.

The past history of Quebec and Nova Scotia possess much of common interest. Both were the scenes of the adventurous

efforts of the dauntless Champlain, the Huguenot De Monts, Pont-Gravé and other pioneers to found permanent colonies under the fleur de lis of Old France; and both to this day in their population and geographical nomenclature bear evidence of the enterprise and activity of those old heroes. Subsequently, the same French governors De Coureilles, Frontenac, Denonville and others, ruled over these territories; and members of the same group of pious missionaries laboured for the immortal welfare of the inhabitants of Acadia and Quebec. In this connection I recall the incident that the good Bishop St. Valier, who succeeded Bishop Laval in the time of Frontenac, was shocked to learn on his assumption of office that the Acadian settlements had been for some years without the benefit of the presence of any missionaries. He hastened to come hither and found to his surprise that in spite of this disadvantage, the people were well-behaved, loyal, God-fearing and attentive to their duties. The good bishop, if he were alive today, would be glad to see that the same qualities still characterize in a marked degree the people of Nova Scotia.

I am sure that it was the presence of these sturdy qualities, known and recognized in Great Britain in the year 1758, that brought to Nova Scotia the distinguished honour of having an elective representative Assembly, long before it was dreamed of for Quebec.

The privilege was a priceless boon to the sturdy and independent men of those days, and you do well to honour the memory of your fathers who achieved this great step in the development of the liberties of Nova Scotia. With equal pride in their civic virtues and manly independence of character, Quebec and your sister provinces, join with you in reverence of their memories and their deeds.

It is gratifying to know that the success of the men of 1759 was not accepted as a finality by their sons. Inherent in their minds was the strong conviction that they must never rest satisfied until all the priceless blessings of the British Constitution belonged to them as fully as to the inhabitants of the British Isles. An outpost only had been gained in the struggle for free government. It was necessary to capture the citadel itself. And so, having achieved representative institu-

tions, the fight went on for government administration, wholly responsible to the people. Nothing less than the absolute control of all the revenues of the province, and of the manner and mode of their administration would satisfy the liberty-loving people of Nova Scotia. The men of 1759 had secured to you a grip on the lever, and it is to the credit of the province that it was dexterously and skilfully used.

These struggles for representative and responsible government were far-reaching in their effects. They taught the statesmen of Britain the only principles upon which it was possible to create and maintain a British empire. The existence and glory of that mighty fabric today is thus due, in great measure, to the courage and perseverance of colonial statesmen, among whom Nova Scotians are entitled to the first mark.

Let me, sirs, in this circumstance, amid the scenes hallowed by his memory and the heroism of his struggles, pay a reverent tribute to the life and work of the man who became the leader in the struggle for responsible government in this province, and whose character and achievements will always be the study and admiration of every student of Canadian history. I refer to Nova Scotia's greatest son, the Honourable Joseph Howe. Less skilful or less fortunate than he, the popular leaders in the Upper and Lower Canada, in their struggles for freedom from the rule of family compacts and odious oligarchies, led the people into sedition and rebellion. The statesmanship of Joseph Howe, his courage and commanding qualities, and his thorough knowledge of the weapons of constitutional warfare enable Nova Scotia to acquire the plenitude of her liberties, without any harrowing record of civil strife and bloodshed.

The men of 1758, and those who followed them truly deserved the name of patriots. Many of them freely abandoned all hopes of personal advancement and lived and died poor men, sacrificing themselves and their families to the attainment of constitutional liberties.

Their lives serve now as an inspiration to the Canadians of the present day and generation. It should be our aim to live up to the ideals they followed.

With our municipal institutions well established, our provincial rights securely guarded, our national government planted on a firm and broad basis, our industrial, financial and commercial interests flourishing, it may be asked what more is there to struggle for? The danger may come from the very sentiment of satisfaction we feel with our personal and local advancement. Immersed in what may most interest us individually or sectionally, and content with our surroundings, we may neglect to take that deep and abiding interest in the great principles underlying national government, that was so characteristic of the men who achieved representative and responsible government in this country.

It must be remembered that a nation is never at a standstill. It is either developing strong and lofty public characteristics, or evil customs and decay are creeping in. In times of prosperity as in times of peril, it should ever be kept in mind that eternal vigilance is the price of sound growth and welfare. It may not be impertinent at this moment, when we are considering the work of the founders of representative government in Canada, to ask whether or not our citizens give all that careful attention and study to public affairs that true patriotism requires of them; whether or not the local and sectional question does not at times shut out the broad view of the general or national interest.

Do we realize sufficiently the essential interdependence of the provinces of Canada in the work of building up a strong and enduring democracy in the northern part of this continent? Each province necessarily is interested in the welfare of every other province, and only by the acknowledgment of this fact can we grow together in common sympathies, common ideals and aspirations. Without a strong national spirit, we can never succeed in Canadianizing the different elements that immigration brings to our shores; and such a process seems to me to be of primal importance.

It must be patent to all that the rise of our country to a place among the powers of the world will depend in large measure upon the strength and purity of our national, as distinguished from purely local, patriotism. May the Canadians

of today so realize their duty to their country that their children may prize their acts and ideals, as we pay homage now to the men who achieved representative government here a century and a half ago.

THE CHAIRMAN : We have the good fortune to have as one of our guests, the Prime Minister of New Brunswick, who will now address you.

HON. J. D. HAZEN.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Speaking on behalf of the government and people of New Brunswick, I have great pleasure in extending to the people of Nova Scotia hearty congratulations on this happy event, the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the convening of the First General Assembly in Nova Scotia. The Province of New Brunswick is, naturally, interested in this celebration, for, at the time representative government was given to Nova Scotia, it embraced the whole of the province, which, in 1765, was made a county of Nova Scotia under the name of Sanbury, out of which all the counties of New Brunswick have since been formed. This event we are commemorating today, occurred three years before the first permanent British settlement in New Brunswick had been formed at the head of the Bay of Fundy, four years before the founding of the Mangerville Settlement on the St. John River by the men from Massachusetts Bay, the descendants of the best Puritan families of New England, and twenty-five years before the coming of the Loyalists to the City of Saint John; and it was not until 1784 that New Brunswick was formed into a province and commenced its career in 1785 with a House of Assembly elected by the people, which was a direct result of the boon granted to Nova Scotia by William Pitt in 1758.

The wisdom of Great Britain in establishing representative government in Nova Scotia in 1758 was fully justified by the results, and was one of the first great forward steps in that enlightened policy of civil and religious freedom, which has marked her career as a colonizer and nation builder. It was entirely a new departure on the part of Britain, so that it

may be truly said that we are today celebrating not only the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the convening of the First General Assembly in Nova Scotia, but a very much greater event, the initiation of that policy of confidence in the wisdom and loyalty of her kindred beyond the seas, which has been the keystone in the arch of Britain's colonial supremacy.

It would be an interesting and pleasing task to recall the state of affairs that existed one hundred and fifty years ago, and the progress that has since been made, but time will not permit of this being done. It may merely be said in passing that, so far as Canada is concerned, British Columbia had not been discovered by Vancouver, the great West was controlled by the Hudson Bay Company, and Quebec was under the rule of France; our sister commonwealth of Australia had no place on the map of the world, and Captain Cook did not set foot on New Zealand until eleven years after.

One hundred and fifty years is not a very long period in the history of the world, but it has been long enough to justify Great Britain's action.

During the time that has intervened since 1758, Nova Scotia has grown in wealth and importance. Her ships are known on every sea. She is rich in fisheries, mines and forests, and her enterprising citizens have founded banking, commercial and educational institutions, that are of recognized value and importance to the country at large. No country of the same age has given so many distinguished men to the literary, scientific, commercial and political life of the world. Forty years ago the province became an integral portion of the Dominion of Canada, and during the years that have since elapsed Canada has made progress unexampled in the history of the world, and in creating that progress and in shaping the legislation and policy of the dominion, the men of the Maritime Provinces have played a large and conspicuous part. And in dealing with the many problems that will confront Canada in the future, it is to be hoped that the men of the present and future in these provinces will show the same intellectual vigour, patriotism and breadth of view that distinguished the generation of which Haliburton, Howe, Johnstone and Tupper in Nova Scotia, and Fisher, Wilnot and Tilley in New Brunswick, were such distinguished representatives.

A prominent and distinguished son of Nova Scotia, a member of its judiciary, in a speech delivered a short time ago in the United States, referred to Canada's future in a way that has provoked much discussion and some criticism. To my mind Canada's future political state is a fair subject for public discussion, and I say this all the more readily because I believe the more the subject is discussed, the stronger will become the conviction that Canada's future and Canada's safety lie in the direction of a closer political alliance with the motherland. We are outgrowing, if we have not already outgrown, the colonial state, and in the future we must be prepared to take our fair share of the responsibilities for the defence of the empire on sea and land.

I am glad to be able to say that in the province from which I come, settled by the Loyalists and descendants of those Acadians, "who, from exile returning, wandered back to their native land to die in its shadows,"—a province which for many years has been under the protection of the British flag, and is the next-door neighbour of the United States—the strong overwhelming sentiment of the people, a sentiment which dominates all others in our political life, is in favour, not only of maintaining our British connection, but of drawing closer together by political and commercial ties, the silken bonds of affection and sentiment by which we are now united. In the march of political progress the maritime provinces must not stand still. Nearly a century and a quarter have passed since New Brunswick parted company from Nova Scotia and set up housekeeping for itself. It has advanced, as Nova Scotia has, but would not the advance in both provinces be more rapid and the progress greater if, in the councils of the Dominion, the lower provinces could speak as one province and with one united voice?

With the rapidly increasing population of the western provinces, the representation of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island in the federal parliament will be reduced to an extent that we cannot at present estimate; and we will not be worthy of those who have gone before us and who have laid broad and deep the foundations of Canada's greatness, unless we sink all our political differences and

demand with one voice that a limit shall be fixed beyond which there shall be no further decrease in our representation. Would not that demand be more powerful and attract more attention if made by a united Acadia?

THE CHAIRMAN: These proceedings would not be complete without some words from our own Premier, Hon. G. H. Murray, upon whom I now call to make the closing speech.

HON. G. H. MURRAY.

MR. CHAIRMAN: From my position in the present legislature, successor of the first Parliament that met here one hundred and fifty years ago, I desire to express my full appreciation of all that has been said in commemoration of that important event. A careful student of the history of our legislature since that time would, I believe, be struck by the fact that the men whom the electors of Nova Scotia sent to represent them in the legislature have at all times taken broad views of the public difficulties of the day, and have promoted legislation, not for the benefit of the few, but for the advancement of the best interests of the community at large. Parliamentary legislation should always crystallize the truest convictions of the people, and, I believe, it will be found that taken all in all, the statute books of Nova Scotia will show that this conception of legislative duty has been fully realized by the representatives of the people of Nova Scotia.

There may have been times when men have desired legislation of a more advanced character than that which had been enacted, but it is well to remember that it is not wise to enact measures which are far in advance of the people. It is rather the duty of the public man to indicate to the people the lines along which he would desire to lead them. He must often be content to proceed slowly and to educate the people in the particular reform which he wishes to promote. Then in due season when that process of education has taken place, the desired legislative enactments may be passed with the good will and support of the electors.

The people of Nova Scotia are not unmindful, nor should they ever be, of the work of those who successfully laid the

foundation of our parliamentary institutions. Let us remember that their good work was not accomplished hastily. Regard for this fact should help us to realize the need of patience and perseverance in the accomplishment of every reform that may commend itself to the judgment of the people. Our hope is that we may fairly claim that the men who have had to carry out the system thus bequeathed to them have proved not unworthy of their task, but have successfully applied the principles of the new system to the great advantage of the people of the province, and to the strengthening of our attachment to the throne of our Sovereign. (Applause).

The past has presented many difficulties to our public men, but in every case they have been overcome. No doubt the future will bring us many problems which will be difficult to solve; but the success that has attended the efforts of the past gives us full assurance that every such difficulty will be met with intelligence and courage, and that this parliamentary system, modelled as it is after the institutions of the Motherland, will continue to prove itself adapted to every requirement of the people.

On behalf of the government of Nova Scotia, I beg to express my thanks to the gentlemen who have given so much of their time and labour to the preparation of the papers which we have had the pleasure of listening to today, and to the arrangements for the holding of this interesting celebration. I desire particularly to express my thanks to the gentlemen who have come to us from the sister provinces, and who have so heartily joined with us in the proceedings of today. (Applause).



