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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

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SPEECH

ON THE

UNION OF THE COLONIES,

DELIVERED IN THE ASSEMBLY

BY

A. W. McLELLAN, ESQ.,

MEMBER FOR NORTH COLCHESTER

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HALIFAX, N. S.

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1865



# SPEECH

ON THE

## UNION OF THE COLONIES.

Delivered by A. W. McLELAN, Esq., Member for North Colchester, in the Nova Scotia Assembly, in the Session of 1865.

Mr. McLELAN spoke as follows :

*Mr. Speaker*,—We have been charged with making this a party question. But surely the position which members on both sides occupy in reference to it is sufficient to show we are not amenable to such a charge. For myself I am about to address the house in opposition to the views propounded by my political party leader; and let me say that no act of my little political life has given me half the pain I feel in being compelled to take a position, in opposition to that hon. gentleman. There are other considerations which might well cause me to hesitate: not only is the question the most momentous ever discussed here, but there is the further consideration that it has been matured by thirty-three gentlemen who claim, and perhaps not undeservedly, to be among the ablest in British America. But if I might be disposed to hesitate from these considerations, I remember that I am here to act upon my own conscientious convictions of what is right and wrong—of what may be or may not be for the good of my country—and not upon other men's capabilities of forming a correct judgment. For apart from considerations of a personal nature, which may and do too often influence men, there are occasions when the most enlarged and comprehensive minds overlook the useful and the practical in the contemplation of the ideal. So has it been, I believe, on the present occasion. Men have given up to an idea, or a sentiment that which they should never have yielded, except to sound argument and strong conclusive fact.—I believe that the idea or sentiment of union has had very much to do with influencing men's minds upon this subject. When the Provincial Secretary, in addressing the house on the history of this question, referred to the unanimous applause with which the subject of union had been greeted when mentioned on platform or festive occasions, I thought at the time that very much of that applause was given to the sentiment or idea of union, which has always a charm for men's minds, and not to its practical workings when applied

to these provinces. There are perhaps few words in the English language that have such an influence over men's minds as that little word "Union." We have seen in the neighboring republic how powerful an influence this "union sentiment" exercises over the people. Many years ago when the question of the admission of Texas into the Union was under consideration, Daniel Webster, than whom America has not known a mightier intellect, warned the Senate against the extension of territory Southward. That warning voice was unheeded. The union sentiment prevailed, and that union took place. With the greatness and prosperity of the country there grew up an interest in the South which finding its own centre within itself, and growing antagonistic to the North, at length culminated in a demand for a separation. We are all familiar with the history of events from that time to this—that the difficulty resulted in a war which has been unparalleled in its magnitude and in its severity—a war which has furrowed with the graves of the slain the face of that country as thickly as the furrows in a farmer's field.

Looking at the influence which this sentiment has exercised over men's minds at all times, I must conclude that it has also operated largely in the provinces, and that men, carried away by that sentiment, have sought this union irrespective of provincial rights and the consequences that may flow from it. They have forgotten the union that already exists between these provinces—that we are united by the same loyal sentiments—that we are, as the hon. member for Richmond says, citizens of the same Empire—subjects of the same Queen. The same flag that floats over Buckingham Palace floats over our Citadel, and protects the inhabitants of these provinces as well as those of London. Under that protection we enjoy every blessing and privilege that is known in civilized and enlightened society; and I asked myself when the Provincial Secretary, the other night, was speaking of the progress and prosperity of

this province, and telling us how much we had to be grateful for, why we could not withal cultivate the virtue of contentment. But they tell us that there are circumstances outside of our own borders that prevent the continuance of these things. In the first place, we have been told that there is a disposition on the part of England to cast us adrift. It is hardly necessary to spend much time on that part of the subject, because opinionous lately propounded in the British parliament show that there is a determination on the part of Great Britain to preserve her colonies so long as they remain loyal to the crown of England. We naturally expected this declaration. We have seen that the expansion and maintenance of colonies has been the policy which England has pursued from time immemorial, and it is that which has given her her proudest title—"mistress and sovereign of the sea." In the many long years of struggle with other powers to obtain that title, it was not so much the staunchness of her ships, or the bravery of her crews, as from the training to the seas which those crews acquired in the wide commerce afforded by colonies. Before passing away from this part of the subject, I may add it is still more unlikely that England should have adopted this policy of abandoning her colonies at a time when her great rival France has adopted it, and in every part of the habitable globe, where she can obtain a foothold, is planting colonies that she too may have a widely extended commerce—that she may train from their youth a large number of her people to "go down upon the seas in ships, to do business upon the mighty waters," and thus prepare them for that magnificent navy she is building. Again, England requires, in large quantities, the products of the American continent, and it would be impolitic to allow a foreign power to control all these products. When Louis Napoleon took possession of Mexico, and made of her a virtual dependency of France, he said, "We have an interest indeed in the republic of the United States being prosperous and powerful; but not that she should take possession of the whole gulf of Mexico, thence to command the Antilles as well as South America and to be the only dispenser of the products of the New World." If this be the policy of Napoleon—if he felt an anxiety that no foreign power should control the products of a continent, how much more is it the interest of England that a foreign power shall not have the entire command of products essential to her existence. England has justly been called the "workshop of the world," but in materials for manufacture she procures from other countries the value of over one hundred millions of pounds sterling, while one third of her people receive the food upon which they live from abroad. Hence it is vastly more important to England than to France, whose

necessities in those particulars is not so great, that no one power should control the grain and material for manufacture produced by the continent of America. Therefore I feel that circumstances do not warrant any man in saying that it is the intention of England to cast these colonies off. Earl Russell said a few years ago—"I firmly believe it is our duty, to maintain our great and valuable Colonial empire," while Earl Grey added; "I believe that much of the power and influence of this country depends upon having large Colonial possessions in different parts of the world;" and but a few days ago we saw the same expression of opinion as delivered by Lord Palmerston.

So I feel it was unwarranted for any gentleman to say that it was the intention or policy of England to cast these colonies adrift. But we are told that we are in danger of being wrested from Great Britain, that there are a number of circumstances existing in the United States which endanger the connection with the parent state. I cannot help admiring the zeal with which the hon gentlemen who are advocating this Confederation have been blowing the War Trumpet. They tell us that the King of Terrors who has been holding high carnival in the valleys of the Shenandoah, will soon come to a grand banquet in the valleys of Nova Scotia. When the Pro. Secy. drew a picture of this in addressing the house, I thought I saw his cheek pale, but at the time it occurred to me that possibly the direction in which the hon. gentleman was looking had something to do with this. He was looking at Mr. Tilley from New Brunswick, who was sitting outside the benches, and perhaps there ran through his mind all that had grown out of the resolution moved by him last year.—That through his action and instrumentality that able statesman had been hurled from his position—politically slain—and that when the Pro. Secy's cheek blanched it was because he felt that "Banquo's ghost" was sitting at the feast. Subsequently when the hon. delegate from South Colchester, in "blowing the war trumpet," exhibited a tremor of voice unusual to him, I had to acknowledge that both these hon. gentlemen were really alarmed at the terrors they pictured. That the "great Wizards" who went "North" were terrified at the apparition they had conjured up to frighten honest folks. We read in fabled story of the sculptor who wrought from a block of marble a statue of Jupiter armed; and when he had finished and looked upon the workmanship of his own hands was overwhelmed with terror. So are these hon. gentlemen overcome by the workings of their own imaginations.

We are told by these gentlemen danger is really imminent, that it will come upon us suddenly; then, I ask, is it the course of wise men to undertake a change in our constitutional administration that will require years to perfect. Why the instincts of the lowest

order of animal life tell us better. The insect, when it is about to undergo a transformation, seeks retirement until that transformation is perfected; and shall we enter upon the throes of this great constitutional transformation at an hour when we are told danger is coming upon us. Let us not put off the old harness until the time has come when we can safely put on the new and have it adjusted. The illustration given by the late Abraham Lincoln, that "it is no time to swap horses when you are crossing a stream," ought to be sufficient for these gentlemen. The hon. member for Colchester has spoken of the great change which has occurred in the character and position of the American people. He has told you that a very few years ago that people were engaged in the workshops and factories of the country, but now they have been drawn from all these, and have formed an army that has placed that nation among the first military powers of the world. But he neglected to tell us there were influences more potent to draw these men from their industrial pursuits than were perhaps ever before found combined.

They felt not only called to rescue their country, in whose greatness they felt a just pride, from being rent in fragments, but to wipe from their national escutcheon the foul stain of slavery. That great work they seem to have accomplished. When at our last meeting the tidings reached us that their President had fallen by the hand of a foul assassin, and when we sat in silence, no man daring to trust his voice in expressing the sympathies—the sorrow that swelled our hearts—further than to give official form to our feelings, I asked myself what must be the effect of these tidings upon the people over whom Abraham Lincoln presided, when they so affect us. Surely, sir, that people have now drank the last drop in their cup of bitterness, and whatever other effects may flow from this act, I believe the American people will, with the blood of Abraham Lincoln, seal a covenant with the Most High that the clank of the slave chain shall no more be heard in their land. That he who had this object deep in heart, and who, while ably presiding over them, led them on gradually step by step to proclaim freedom to the black man, will in his death so fix and stamp the national mind to that high purpose that when the hour of peace comes, as in the good Providence of God it seems nigh, there will, in the arrangement of terms, be no temporizing, no yielding to Southern interests and wishes on this question. Soon, therefore, will many in those armies be found going back to their industrial avocations, saddened, no doubt, by the great sacrifice they have witnessed, yet consoled by the glorious thought that they have aided in giving to the term liberty a meaning and a signification hitherto unknown upon their soil, that henceforth it embraces all classes, creeds and colors.

The hon. member will tell us that there are others in that army who will not so readily go

to industrial employments; this is true, but all those will find sufficient employment in reorganizing the Southern portion of the empire and in restoring it from the wreck and debris of this terrible civil strife. Consider also the spirit of the Southern people. The men have shown in the hardships they have endured—in the sacrifices they have made—and in their daring acts, that a feeling of hostility to the North lies deep in their hearts. Nor have the Southern women been less remarkable for patient endurance, high courageous spirit and deep-seated hatred; and can we for a moment suppose that the children born of such parents, nourished and trained by these women, will not inherit their feelings and so render it imperative on the Northern portion of the nation to keep for many years a strong hand upon the South.

The Provincial Secretary has told us that he has looked upon slavery as the great guarantee of our safety. I don't so read American history. So far as I can judge, the men who have been most bitter in their hostility to England, and most desirous of finding causes of war with that country have been Southern statesmen. The circumstances dependent upon slavery have been such as to lead them to a breach of the peace. The fact that England, with a magnanimity that did her infinite honor, gave twenty millions to redeem her slaves—a fact that stood a perpetual censure as it were upon the South, no doubt was a cause of irritation upon their minds.—Again, England kept up a large force upon the African coast to keep down that traffic which tended to give rise to this feeling of animosity. Again, north of them there was a frontier line over which when the slave passed into Canada he gained freedom. This was, perhaps, the strongest inducement for the Southerners to make war upon these colonies for the purpose of wiping away this boundary line, and enabling them to follow wherever the slave might go, and return him to his chains. These were great causes of animosity to England, and now, since, under the blessing of God, this slavery has been blotted out, I believe peace is much more likely to be preserved between England and America. Had the Southerners succeeded in obtaining their independence, the likelihood of hostilities with England would have been much greater. The Northern people, thwarted and smarting under the mortification occasioned by their inability to conquer the South, would have been more likely to turn their army—for which they would not have employment—upon these Provinces, than they will be now when they have succeeded in accomplishing the great object that they had in calling these armies into existence. The hon. delegate alluded to a number of circumstances—the passport system, the proposed armament upon the lakes, and the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty—as so many evidences of the feeling of the Northern people towards us. When he

was reading his summary I wondered why he omitted to refer to a fact which was known here some weeks ago—that the notice in reference to the armament upon the lakes had been withdrawn, and arrangements made for a mere police force. Earl Russell, however, justifies the notice, he says:—

“Coupled with this notice is a notice given with respect to the armament of the lakes. I think it must be admitted that recent occurrences on the lakes—namely, the seizure of vessels by the agents of the Confederacy and other acts of hostility—completely justify the United States in giving notice of the termination of the convention. My lords, it was not to be expected that the United States should submit passively to such acts of violence without availing themselves of all the means of repression within their power.”

An act then which seems to strike horror into the minds of Colonial statesmen appears to British statesmen as merely a necessary means of self-protection. Mr. Cardwell, on the 23rd March, informing the British Parliament of the force to be employed on the lakes, says:—

“Since I came into the House I have received from the noble lord the Governor-General of Canada (Lord Monck) a despatch which confirms the agreeable reports which had already reached us through the ordinary channels of intelligence. He informs me that he has received a telegraphic despatch from Mr. Burnley, at Washington, to this effect:—‘The Secretary of State informs me that his government intends to withdraw the notice for the abrogation of the Treaty of 1817 (cheers,) and the passport system will cease immediately.’ (Renewed cheers.) Sir, I refer to that announcement with feelings of the greatest pleasure; and now I trust we may proceed to discuss the important practical question which is before us in no spirit of panic, but in that just spirit which becomes the consideration of what is due to the honor and interests of our country, and which has characterized the mode in which the proposal has been considered by the house. (Hear, hear.) Because you are on friendly terms with the American Government, because you hope that the friendly spirit which animates you is reciprocated by them, and because you are confident that two mighty nations of one blood, one origin and one language are united by ties which should forever forbid the possibility of bloodshed between them,—those considerations do not render it the less necessary that you should temperately consider the nature of your defences, and that you should be dependent for your safety only upon the power of your own country.”

Lord Palmerston also says:—

“Many gentlemen have argued this question as if there was a general impression and belief that war with the United States was imminent, and that this proposal of ours was for the purpose of meeting a sudden danger

which we apprehended to be hanging over us. Now, I think there is no danger of war with America. Nothing that has recently passed indicates any hostile disposition on the part of the United States towards us, and, therefore, I do not base this motion on the ground that we expect war to take place between this country and America.”

The view taken by British statesmen must be felt to be perfectly correct by every dispassionate man—that it was necessary for the United States, in view of raids across the frontier, the capture of steamers, the robbing of banks, the burning of hotels, to take some precautionary measures for self-protection, which should not be considered indications of hostilities with Britain.

It has been argued that we are so small a territory, that we should endeavor to unite with some larger country, in order to enlarge our scope for action. I cannot understand why people who enjoy all the privileges, rights; and immunities of the British Empire, should desire to form any other connection in order that they may have greater room and scope. I cannot see how any connection that we can form with other territory can increase the relative proportion of Nova Scotia to the British Empire.

Turn to the American States, and contrast the size of Nova Scotia with some States there, and from which we have heard no talk of forming any union with any other State, in order to increase their importance in the Union. There are the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Maryland, &c—all very much smaller in area than Nova Scotia, and yet from these we hear of no Union being formed among them, in order that the citizens may have more area or room for development. Nova Scotia contains 20,436 square miles; New Hampshire 9,280; Vermont 9,056; Connecticut 4,730; Massachusetts, that occupies so conspicuous a position in the American nation, 7,800. Yet Nova Scotia, that our statesmen look down upon with contempt, is larger than any two of the States I have named; and where we find the Americans perfectly satisfied with the proportions these States occupy in the American nation, we should also be content, that whilst we are Nova Scotians, we are at the same time citizens of the British Empire, with all the room and scope which it affords for development.

Again, it is contended we have not population sufficient to give us an importance.—Whilst those who advocate Confederation have not shewn that the scheme will of itself increase population, they seem to forget that our Province is very much younger than those American States with whose condition they contrast ours. All we require is a little time, as our growth is more rapid now than theirs. I have examined the census returns of eighteen States, from Maine southward,

and the average rate of increase for ten years is 16 7-10, while the increase of Nova Scotia in the same period was 19 9-10, so that if those gentlemen will have a little patience, our population will become sufficiently numerous.

It seems, however, the determination of the Prov. Secretary, that we shall not remain in our present happy and prosperous condition, that nothing short of a Union with some other province will satisfy him. When last year he introduced his resolution for a convention to consider the Union of the Maritime provinces, but little importance was attached to it, as it was not likely to lead to any practical result; but when it became known that the convention had arranged a Union of the whole British North American Colonies, and when the terms of the proposed Union were made public, the province was convulsed from centre to circumference; men at once set about petitioning this Legislature, and but for the opinion which got abroad that the Delegates had abandoned the scheme, your table would have been covered with petitions. So strong was public opinion found to be against the Quebec arrangement, that the Pro. Secretary has not had the courage and the manliness to carry it out, although bound in all faith to the other Provinces to make the attempt. When I consider the position of our delegates, I am reminded of the fable of the fellows who sold a "bearskin" before they had killed the bear, which so happily illustrates the case that I shall trouble the House with it.

*Five fellows, needing funds and bold,*

A bearskin to a furrier sold,  
Of which the bear was living still,  
But which they presently would kill—  
At least they said they would.

And if their word was good,  
It was a king of bears—an *Ursa Major*

The fattest bear beneath the sun.  
The skin the chaps would wager,  
Was cheap at double cost;

'T would make one laugh at frost—  
And make two robes as well as one.

(In their accounts 'twas theirs  
But in his own the bears.)

By bargain struck upon the skin  
Three months at most must bring it in,  
Forth went the *five*. More easy found than  
got.

The bear came growling at them on the  
trot,

Behold our dealers all confounded.

As if by thunderbolt astounded!  
Their bargain vanished suddenly in air;  
For who could plead his interest with a  
bear?

*Four* of the friends sprung up a tree:

The other, cold as ice could be,  
Fell on his face, feigned death,  
And closely held his breath,—  
He having somewhere heard it said  
The bear ne'er preys upon the dead.

Sir Bear, sad blockhead, was deceived—

The prostrate man a corpse believed;  
But, half suspecting some deceit,  
He feels and snuffs from head to feet,  
And in the nostrils blows.

The body's surely dead, he thinks  
I'll leave it for it stinks;

And off into the woods he goes.

The other dealers from their tree

Descending cautiously, to see

Their comrade lying in the dirt,

Consoling, says it is a wonder

That, by the monster forced asunder,

Were—after all—more scared than hurt,

But, addeth they, what of the creature's skin?

He held his muzzle very near;

What did he whisper in your ear?

He gave this caution,—“Never dare

Again to sell the skin of bear

Its owner has not ceased to wear.”

Now, our dealers not finding Sir Bear disposed to quietly part with his skin, have determined to get him into a trap. They seek by this resolution on the table for another convention to entrap Nova Scotia into the scheme as arranged at Quebec. My hon. friend from Richmond is correct in stating that they have no other object in view, and I shall ask the House to follow me while I consider the constitution prepared for us at that Quebec conference.

We are told by the Provincial Secretary of the government they proposed to constitute a Federation of British North America.—It appears to me that in the very outset, in the second resolution of this report, they have given the evidence which shows that this Federal Union cannot be stable under the circumstances. They allude there to the “*diversity of the interests of the several Provinces.*”

The fact that the interests of the Provinces are so diversified that each has its own interests, and its centre of interest within itself—precludes the possibility of a Federal Union being formed to work harmoniously. Under present regulations, our separate interests are not brought into antagonism—why then should we bring about a change which will make the interests of the several Provinces clash and destroy that harmony of feeling that is existing among these Colonies? The hon. member for South Colchester, read to you from Judge Story, that when Provinces unite they make mutual sacrifices and concessions in order to obtain some great purpose. One purpose for which they would make that sacrifice would be, that they might obtain mutual aid. In this case there would not be that influence at work in order to induce us to consent to a sacrifice of our interests—an attack upon one is under present regulation an attack upon all—besides we have now the protection of England—we have the command of her armies. She has told us that her honour demands that she



should protect her Colonies. Therefore, while they are loyal, no necessity exists why we should make such sacrifices as is proposed. And if the necessity be not apparent the people will not submit to them.

I come now to another branch of the subject—the nature of the representation. We are to have local governments, and a General Government over all. In that General Government, Nova Scotia is to have a representation of 19 out of 194. Now the Provincial Secretary tells us that this is as much as we have any right to expect according to our population, and he stated that if these terms were not just, we had only the delegates to blame. I contend, in view of the geographical position of Nova Scotia—800 miles away from the capital, and almost an island—that the principle of representation by population was not at all sufficient to do her justice. You don't give to the city of Halifax a representation proportioned to the population, because you feel by the Parliament meeting here, influences can be brought to bear upon it that compensate for a less representation. As you recede from the place of the meeting of Parliament, representation should increase in order to give a balance of influence. The city of London, with a population of nearly 3,000,000—one-tenth of the Empire—has only 16 representatives. If you adopted the principle in question, she ought to have one-tenth of the whole number in Parliament. The reason why it is not carried out, is the Parliament meets there, and that the influence given to the city thereby, is sufficient for her. On examination of a table prepared in 1859, I find that as you recede from the place of meeting of Parliament—the proportion of representatives of counties to the population increases. The central counties of Middlesex, Surrey and Kent (exclusive of London) with a population of 3,185,424 have 43 members; one to every 74,074 of the population; in the extreme North, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham, with a population of 890,059, have 29 members; one to 30,691 of population. On the extreme South, Cornwall, Devon, and Dorset, having a population of 1,106,863, returns 50 members; one to 22,137 of population; on the extreme West, Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Denbigh have 237,780 population and 7 members. And so should there be an increase here, because the great distance from Ottawa will prevent us from exercising any influence upon the Government there, other than is given us by our representation. The influences of the interests of a country like ours (almost an island) are necessarily confined within her lines, and when the legislation for our interests is placed in a Parliament beyond our borders we should have an increase of numbers in representation to compensate for the entire want of local influences.

But the Provincial Secretary tells us that we have a large representation in the Legislative Council, which fully compensates us for

the want of representation in the Assembly. Mr. George Brown, arguing that question, said that the complaint had been made that they had given us too large a representation in the Upper House; but he says “*in the Lower House, Canada shall hold the purse strings.*” You will further remember that all the Lower Provinces combined have only 24 members in the Legislative Council, whilst united Canada has 48. But whatever differences of opinion may have hitherto existed between Upper and Lower Canada, there is no doubt you will find them as one when their interests come in collision with those of the Lower Provinces. When a man and wife quarrel, and a third party steps in, they both unite against him. Upper and Lower Canada may have disputes at times too, but whenever the Lower Provinces come in, they will unite as one Province against us.

The Provincial Secretary tells us that if our Representatives band together, they can exercise an influence which will make them sufficiently felt in the Canadian Parliament, and referred in illustration of his argument to the influence that the members of Cape Breton exercise here; but he did not tell us that these form a much larger proportion to the whole number in this House than would the Representatives from Nova Scotia exhibit in a Parliament of 194 at Ottawa. But suppose they did band together to make their influence felt in that Parliament. Now, I ask the hon. Prov. Sec'y. to consider the position in which he places this Province and her Representatives. I cannot conceive a more degraded, a more humiliating position than the Representatives of a spirited people compelled to forego their political opinions—their conscientious convictions on all public questions, in order to obtain for their people a consideration in the distribution of the funds. But even supposing our 19 Representatives could so far forget themselves as to turn political hucksters, and offer to sell themselves, body and soul, they will never obtain more than a few pickings from the public chest, which we shall do more than our share in filling. Under any circumstances, however humiliating, we shall be powerless to enforce a just consideration of interests.

There is a beautiful work of art, representing two hounds chained together by the neck—one is large and powerful, looking down with contempt and indifference upon his lesser companion, who is as beautiful in the formation of limb, apparently as swift to follow the game, and as keen of scent as the other, yet crouches, overawed and helpless. Often as I have looked upon that work, I have felt an impulse rising within me to strike the chain from the little fellow's neck, and let him go free. But ever since this Confederation scheme has been published—every time I have looked upon a miniature copy of that work, I have thought of Confederation. I have seen in it Nova Scotia, bound and chained by

the neck to Canada, and thinking of my country thus helpless, powerless, and prostrate at Ottawa, with a Representation of only nineteen in a Parliament of 194, the exclamation rises from my heart—"God help the little fellow." Sir, round me sit the men to whom the constituencies of Nova Scotia entrusted her Constitutional rights—her interests and welfare—to whom she, for four years, bared her neck—is there—can there be one among us who will help to fasten upon that neck, this chain prepared by the delegates? No, let us rather keep sacred that trust—let us rather go back to the people, and learn of them at the polls their wishes on this great question, lest in after years they have just reason to execrate our memories—lest they pray Heaven to strike palsied every hand that touched, to fasten, a rivet of that chain.

I come now to financial terms of this scheme of Union. The delegates have adopted at Quebec a scale, and arranged the debt of the Provinces pretty much as they did representation: upon a plan of population irrespective of the incomes which the Provinces possessed. It seems to me at the very outset, the hon. delegates laid down the wrong principle; instead of arranging the debt according to population, they should have looked at the incomes—at the revenues, and funds, what each had in the treasury. If a gentleman should propose to form a partnership with another on Granville street, what is the first question that is asked? The amount of income—not how many persons are to enter the partnership.—Taking it upon this ground, little Nova Scotia, as represented by these gentleman, has not received justice. Canada is allowed to come into the Confederation with a debt of \$62,500,000, Nova Scotia with one of \$8,000,000. Now, in the year in which this arrangement was made, the income of Canada was \$5,884,594—whilst that of Nova Scotia was \$861,989—in both cases derived from the Customs and Excise. According to that income of Canada, as compared with that of Nova Scotia, she would only be entitled to come in with a debt of \$54,000,000. But the hon. gentlemen should not have taken the present income only into consideration. They should have considered that under Confederation we shall be placed on the same tariff. It has been ascertained by close calculations, that under the Canadian tariff, Nova Scotia's revenue would have been \$1,339,514. Taking it upon this basis, if we were allowed only 8 millions, Canada should have only \$35,425,507 or reversing it, if Canada is allowed \$62,500,000 Nova Scotia should have been allowed \$14,107,330. By adopting the principle of income instead of population, it would have given us over six millions more than we are to have under this agreement.

Neither have we received justice in respect to the quality of the debt. Very nearly the whole of the debt of Nova Scotia has been created by the construction of a Railway, and we

have been told time and again by those delegates, that as soon as we get our railway system completed, our road will be a paying property, and in reality be no debt at all. It is very different with the debt of Canada. In answer to a question put by the hon. member for Halifax, the hon. Prov. Secy. laid on the table a financial statement, containing the debt, income, &c., of Canada, issued by Mr. Galt. At the dinner given last autumn to the Canadian delegates, the hon. Prov. Secy. told us, Mr. Galt had the power of making a deficit of a million appear a surplus of that amount. I must confess, looking at the paper before me, there is a great deal of truth in that remark. In this balance-sheet we find the whole liabilities of Canada are put down at \$76,223,066.65. This, however, is so balanced, even to the last five cents, that we are almost led to believe that Canada in reality does not owe a dollar. But on examination, I find to make that balance they have put down at cost and accumulated interest all the public buildings, bridges, roads, harbors, light-houses, canals, railroads, &c., of the country. Now, if we put a valuation upon all our roads and bridges, our public buildings, Shubenacadie and St. Peter's Canals, Arisaig Pier, Parrsboro' Snag, and similar property, we should far overbalance all our indebtedness, without touching the railroads. I have examined the financial returns of Canada, to see the actual net income of the property claimed in this balance-sheet, and I find the net income from over seventy millions of it is only \$471,461, which represents a capital of less than eight millions, leaving about 62,000,000 dollars from which no available profits are derived. The principal sources from which any income is derived are the Canals and Municipalities. We have the Railways put down for loans and interests unpaid at something like \$30,000,000. It will be perhaps in the knowledge of the House that in 1857 the Grand Trunk Company came to the Canadian Parliament and said: We cannot proceed further, and we wish you to give up your claim on our lines—just as the Shubenacadie people asked us to give up our lien on that undertaking. The Legislature, instead of giving up the claim entirely, consented to give up the first lien and allow new shareholders to come in,—the Province, then, to hold the third position. In consequence of this arrangement no interest is paid, and the accumulation is now \$9,602,000. Those who know anything of the management of these great public companies will perceive, that after working expenses and the interest to the first two sets of bondholders are paid, the Government will never receive a cent of interest upon its loan. Again, there is the Municipal Loan Fund debt, amounting in principal and interest to \$12,890,837—very much of which has been fruitful of the greatest possible political corruption, and will never prove an available asset. Some of the municipalities

have borrowed nearly \$300 per head of the population, and of course never can pay either principal or interest. The town of Port Hope, with a population of 4,160, borrowed \$740,000, and had arrears of interest Dec. 31st, 1861, of \$312,303. The town of Niagara, with 2,070 inhabitants, borrowed \$280,000, and owed for interests \$148,974. I hold in my hand a list of thirty-three municipalities, who have received, for railway purposes alone, from this fund \$5,594,400, and owed as arrears of interest Dec. 31st, 1861, \$2,359,406—together nearly eight million dollars—the amount Nova Scotia is to be permitted to owe on going into Confederation.

It is therefore evident that very little can be counted upon from the municipalities. It is to be supposed, however, that there is in this balance sheet some property that is profitable. The whole amount of the liabilities are put down at \$76,223,061. They claim funds immediately available to reduce this to \$67,500,000, five millions more than Canada is to enter the Confederation with. This five millions the local governments of Canada are to assume,—but with the debt are to have the property represented by it. Hon. George Brown, speaking of this arrangement, says very distinctly,—and there is a clause in the report of the delegates authorizing it—that the local governments of Upper and Lower Canada are to take this available property—as an offset to the debts that they are called upon to assume. Now it is not reasonable to suppose that Upper and Lower Canada, whose public men are so astute, will take liabilities that have no income. They will select the best they can.

Mr. ARCHIBALD—They have no power to make the selection.

Mr. McLELAN—I will read in corroboration of my statement, the 58th clause of the constitution,—“All assets connected with such portions of the public debt of any Provinces as are assumed by the local governments, shall also belong to those governments respectively.”—These local governments will not assume any debt unless there is an asset connected with it. I will also tell what the hon. George Brown of Canada says:—

“But, Mr. Speaker, I am told that the arrangement as to the debt is unfair—that we have thrown on the Federal exchequer the whole of the debts of the Maritime Provinces, and only a portion of the debt of Canada.—There is not a particle of force in this objection. The whole debt of Canada is \$67,500,000, but five millions of this is due to our own people, to meet which there are certain local funds. Now if we had thrown the whole \$67,500,000 on the Federal treasury, we must also have handed over to it the local revenues which, so far as these five millions are concerned, would have been precisely the same thing. But as regards the public debt with which the Federal government would start, it would not have been the same thing. By re-

stricting the debt of Canada to \$62,500,000, we restricted the debt of the Maritime Provinces to the same proportion \$25 per head of their population; but had we thrown our whole debt of sixty-seven and a half millions on the Confederation, the proportion of debt for the several Maritime Provinces must have been increased, and the whole debt very greatly augmented.”

Mr. ARCHIBALD—Hear, hear.

Hon. PROV. SEC.—Hear, hear.

Mr. McLELAN—The honorable delegates cry “Hear, hear,” but I believe that every gentleman present hears enough to convince him that the Canadians are to take five millions worth of available property with the debts they are to assume, leaving the balance, \$62,500,000, comparatively worthless.

A good deal has been said about the tariff, and it has been claimed that under the arrangement that would have to be made we would be called upon to pay a much larger sum into the general revenue than we now pay into our own treasury. There never appeared to me to be any question on this point. The very fact that Canada has to resort to a stamp act in order to raise funds, was sufficient proof to me that they had run to the full extent they could in the imposition of duties. If there be any one mode of raising taxes that is more obnoxious to the people than another, it is a stamp duty—a stamp tax on every note, bill, receipt, or paper. We are told that there will not be a very large increase of duty, because Canada admits many articles duty free. I have been to some trouble in turning to the returns of articles imported by Canada, and I find the result of the examination to be that the whole imports for the year 1863 amounted to \$45,964,000. Now we are told \$23,000,000, or one-half, are free goods, and that since Canada has so many free goods, the consequence is, that running the tariff over the whole, she has a lower scale than Nova Scotia. In order to arrive at the incorrectness of this assertion, you must look at the nature of her imports, and see what those free goods are made up of. I find articles under the Reciprocity treaty \$12,330,000. Of course these are free goods there as here, and would continue to be so under Confederation.—Again, coin and bullion is put down, although in Nova Scotia it is never called an import; but whenever a Bank gets in a quantity of money, in Canada, it is placed among the imports; the amount given is \$4,652,287. I find down for books \$455,941. Again, the vehicles and carriages of travellers crossing the lines to see their friends are down at \$104,586.—Again, gravel and clay are among their imports; clothing and army and other stores for military and naval purposes, nearly a million more. Therefore you see that they put down among their imports articles which were never dreamed of here. The amount of these articles I have enumerated as free here, or

which we do not call an import, is \$22,516,223.

There being in all their free goods only half a million which would pay duty under our tariff, add this to the amount of goods paying duty under their own and the whole imports of dutiable goods will only amount to \$23,448,270, being \$9.35 per head of population, from which would be collected \$2.40 by their tariff making it over 25 per cent.—Whilst our imports deducting free goods and articles re-exported, amounted to \$5,360,106, being \$16.20 to each inhabitant, yielding \$2.53 per head in duty, equivalent to 15-3-5 per cent. tariff.

It has been asserted on some occasions that under Confederation we will not necessarily be called upon to come under the high Canadian tariff. Now, I claim that under the arrangements of this Confederation the new expenses involved will necessitate an increase of tariff. We find in the report a number of new services which involve new expenses. First, there is the interest on the Intercolonial Railway \$707,000 a year. Then we have the expenses of the Civil Government \$540,000;—Legislative charges \$630,000. In 1863 in Canada, with a less number of representatives than is proposed to be given in the General Government, the expenses were \$627,378. At the same rate the expenses of the large Government would be \$850,000; but the Delegates have put the amount down at \$630,000. Then it is proposed to give one million for Militia, which would be about \$500,000 additional. The public works and buildings are put down at \$400,000. Then, there is an additional sum given to Canada for local purposes; she retains her local revenues, \$1,297,043, and receives a subsidy of \$2,006,121, being a total of \$3,303,164, while the average sum she has had in four years was \$2,021,979—which gives her an increase of \$1,281,185.

In the same way there is an increase for local services to P. E. Island of \$61,712, and to Newfoundland \$124,000. Add to all these for interest on additional debt allowed Nova Scotia and N. B. \$215,000—and you have a total of new charges upon the Confederated Colonies of \$4,458,897. From this may be deducted reduction in local services in Nova Scotia \$279,000, and in New Brunswick \$71,047, together \$350,047—leaving the new expenditures \$4,108,850. Now, the Canadian tariff of 25 per cent. average on all dutiable goods applied to the Maritime Provinces, will realize a part of this sum. Nova Scotia, it has been ascertained by calculation, will pay additional \$468,525, New Brunswick estimated to pay \$200,000, Newfoundland and P. E. Island, \$300,000, in all \$968,525, which will still leave, after we are all placed under the Canadian tariff, \$3,140,335 to be provided by a further increase of taxation. Now suppose we only pay one-tenth of this \$3,140,335, it will make, added to what we shall pay under the present Canadian tariff, an addition to

our present annual taxation of \$782,560 for the benefit of the Ottawa Government, whilst those who have addressed the House more particularly on the local expenses have shown that we shall have to raise by direct taxation a large sum to meet the wants of roads, bridges, education and other services. I may here remark that Nova Scotia has now the largest sum of any of the Colonies for local purposes, per head, \$1.96, but under the Quebec arrangement will have the least—\$1.124.

	Present local expenditures.	Per head for local purposes.
Canada,	\$2,021,979	\$0.80
Nova Scotia,	650,000	1.96
New Brunswick,	424,047	1.68
Prince E. Island,	124,015	1.53
Newfoundland,	250,000	1.90

#### Under Confederation.

	Local revenue.	Subsidy.	Total for local purposes.	Per head.
Canada,	\$1,297,048	\$2,006,121	\$3,303,164	\$1.314
Nova Scotia,	107,000	264,000	371,000	1.124
N. Brunswick,	89,000	264,000	353,000	1.40
P. E. Island,	32,000	153,723	185,723	2.294
Newfoundland,	5,000	389,000	374,000	2.844

#### Increase under Confederation for Local Services.

	Total.	Per head.
To Canada,	\$1,281,185	\$0.514
“ P. E. Island,	61,712	0.764
“ Newfoundland,	124,000	0.944
	\$1,466,897	

#### Decrease under Confederation for Local Services.

	Total.	Per head.
From Nova Scotia,	\$249,000	\$0.834
“ N. Brunswick,	71,047	0.28
	\$350,047	

It must be evident to all that whilst we import \$16.20 per head of dutiable goods, and Canada only \$9.35 per head, that we shall, under Confederation, pay into the general revenues nearly double the amount paid by the same population in Canada. We are larger importers, not only because our pursuits require it, but because we have the means of paying for more goods. Our delegates have attempted to dazzle us with the great wealth of Canada. True, there is a larger aggregate of wealth, but divide it among the larger population and you find it falling far below our own little Province. I have taken the five principal branches of industry to find the individual income, and the census returns of 1861 for the year previous show our income to be nearly double theirs.

Branches of Industry.	Val. in Can., pop., 2,507,647.	Per Head.	Val. in N. S., pop. 330,857.	Per Head.
Agriculture,	\$14,259,225	\$5.66	\$786,526	2.37
Mines,	558,306	22	658,257	1.93
Sea,	833,646	33	3,094,449	9.35
Forest,	11,012,363	4.36	767,136	2.31
Shipbuild'g, 1863,	2,000,000	1.19	2,000,000	6.06
		\$11.76		\$22.07
				11.76

Excess of income to each inhabitant of N. Scotia \$10 31

But it is no disparagement to Canada to be thus exceeded by Nova Scotia. Consider the difference in our resources. I have spoken of the size of Nova Scotia—its area; but Nova Scotia should be measured for its cubic contents, and the measurer's rod should also be run out three miles to sea. Our fishing grounds are a part and parcel of Nova Scotia, as much as the field which the farmer cultivates: for all round the thousand miles of our sea coast we draw a perpetual harvest provided by the waters of the world. For agriculture we have lands, on both sides of the Bay of Fundy, unsurpassed, yielding produce of the highest class; whilst the districts represented by the hon. member for Kings furnish fruit fit for the palate of royalty itself. Looking downward, we have mines of gold and iron whose wealth as yet is almost untouched, but which is being gradually developed. In coal we are richer than the richest. Examine the geological map of Nova Scotia hanging in our library, and you see almost every part not occupied by gold and iron marked by coal measures. And who shall estimate the wealth of these mines, or the influence which Nova Scotia shall, through their possession, have upon the world? As bearing upon the value of our coal fields, let me read to the House an extract from an article by the professor of natural history in the University of Glasgow:

“Interesting and impressive comparisons have been instituted between the mechanical force of a given weight of coal applied as fuel in the steam-engine and the dynamic energy of a man. The human labourer exerting his strength upon a tread-mill,—a very economical mode of using it,—can, it is stated, lift his own weight,—we will say 150 lb.,—through a height of 10,000 feet per day, the equivalent of which 1 lb. raised 1,500,000 feet in the same time. Now, the mechanical virtue of fuel is best estimated by learning the number of pounds which a given quantity—let it be *one bushel*—will elevate to a given height, say one foot, against gravity. Applied in the steam-engine, this performance of the bushel measure of coal is called its *duty*. In some improved modern Cornish engines, this duty,—the bushel's work,—is equivalent to the amazing result of raising 125,000,000 lb. one foot high, or one lb. 125,000,000 feet high. Now, as there are 84 lb. of coal in one bushel, this divisor 84, gives 1 lb. as equal to 1,483,000, or

nearly one million and a half of feet, which, as we have seen above, is just the result of a man's toil for one day upon a tread-mill. Thus, a pound of good coal is in reality worth a day's wages. If, again, we estimate a lifetime of hard, muscular toil at twenty years, and portion three hundred working days to each year,—a full allowance,—we have for a man's total dynamic effort, six thousand days. But 6000 lb. constitute only three tons, so that we have arrived at the almost amusing fact, the cheering truth, that every three tons of coal in the earth is the convertible equivalent of one man's life-long muscular activity.

“What a promise is here of the capacity of civilized inventive man to find an ample substitute for the life-wearing, brutalizing and mind-benumbing expenditure of nerve and animal power exacted now of the *slaves of all complexions*. What a pledge has the all-bountiful and good Creator here given us, that the common lot of mankind is not to be, as always in the past, a lot of physical labour, but in the long future, at least one of a far higher, happier mode of effort. When I behold a section or block from out of a coal seam, and reflect that each cubic yard is in weight somewhat more than a ton; and that a column of it a yard in base and only three yards tall has more work in it than a man, more mechanical energy than any force which willing effort, necessity, or the lash of the tyrant master, can exact from the human organization, I exult in the reverential thought of the superabundant provision bequeathed to our race against the curse of over-physical toil in this marvellous condensation of mechanical strength. Looking at the tall column of the material, thirty-seven feet high, representing a coal-bed in Nova Scotia, displayed in the recent great Exhibition in London, I said to myself, here is a black man, of the strength of some four of the stoutest dark skinned men ever held in serfdom, and see what a willing service, what a painless bondage it can be made to undergo. This, our inanimate slave, can be compelled to work at any rate of gentleness of speed we choose. We can induce him to lengthen out his efforts for almost any term of years, or bid him convert himself into a herculean giant, concentrating the total force of four able-bodied men, spread over twenty years of life, and applying the whole of it in some titanic triumph against brute matter within a week or even a day.

“Here it may be worth our while to turn from our *giant man of all work*, and take the census of those populations of this sort which rest sleeping beneath the ground, but are ever ready, under the magic summons of a little art, to muster at the surface in any strength and await our bidding. Every acre of a coal seam, only four feet in thickness, and yielding one yard depth of pure fuel, will produce, if fitly mined, about 5000 tons—equivalent to the life-labour of more than

1600 strong men. Every square mile of such coal-bed contains about 3,000,000 tons of fuel, and represents one million of men labouring steadily through twenty years of their ripest vigour."

Here is a view presented to us in which the mind becomes absolutely lost in the maze of figures required to represent the value of our great coal fields—and when we take in connection with them all our other resources, we have a country to whose attainments in wealth and prosperity there is no reasonable limit. It is not so in a country like Canada, largely agricultural, when its lands are settled and the farms established, the extent of its prosperity is nearly attained. It is not extent of territory that renders a country great or wealthy; it is not material size that gives to any object its value. The diamond that sparkles on beauty's brow, though it may scarcely equal in size or rival in brilliancy the eye that beams beneath it, yet in the markets of the world it would purchase an island or a mountain of rock. And so is it with our little gem of a Province, it may be less in territory than other countries, it may indeed be overshadowed by the gigantic and colossal proportions of sister colonies, yet in all the real elements of wealth and prosperity they compare with little Nova Scotia but as poor-house giants—but notwithstanding it is so, the Provincial Secretary takes this Province; rich as the rarest jewel—peopled with industrious, enterprising and spirited men, and goes off on a trading voyage to Canada and bargains it off acre for acre, and man for man, with the acres and habits of Canada. He does more. He does worse; he comes back boasting of what he has done and of his great statesmanship. Let me, sir, tell the House that story of a conceited coxcomb who, making love to a lady, in the pauses of a dance, placed his hand on his heart, and with considerable distortion of feature, said, "if this is not love I feel, what is it?" "My dear sir," said the lady, "it must be something that bites you." Now, our Provincial Secretary in his trading voyage, got badly bitten in his bargain—and mistakes the bite of the Canadians for statesmanship. Let me add that on too many occasions I think the hon. gentleman acts "just as the maggot bites," and mistakes the feeling for the impulses and inspirations of statesmanship.

I have spoken of our prosperity—of the income from the various branches of industry—the extent of our fisheries, and the value of our mines; and it may be claimed that one of the advantages that will arise from this Union will be the development of these resources, by giving us extended trade and commerce. We have heard a great deal of the powers of parliament, of legislative enactments, but there is one thing that is almost beyond the control of such enactments—that is, the divergence of trade from its natural channels. We have had in fish, coal, and those articles which are

our chief products, free trade with the other colonies; and what has been the result? Have our resources thereby been developed? Has our trade been enlarged? If you turn to the imports of Canada—to the free goods—you will see the result. Nova Scotia, from her natural position and resources, is especially prepared to supply upon very advantageous terms, gypsum, coal, fish, and stone. To what extent would you suppose Nova Scotia supplies Canada with these? I find the total import of coal into Canada is estimated at \$936,239, and of this amount Great Britain supplies \$379,793, and the United States, to which we export largely, \$548,846, leaving the total amount imported from the Province of Nova Scotia into Canada, where it goes as free as air, only \$7,690. Again, take the article of gypsum. Even six times more of this article is imported from the United States than from the British American Colonies.—Again, of fish, which we export so largely to the United States, Canada only receives from the whole British North American Colonies to the value of \$226,573, while she gets from the United States \$281,023. We export stone, in abundance, to the United States, but not a dollar's worth to Canada. I have enumerated these articles to show that, having in them free trade among these colonies, we send but a small value of them to the colonies with which it is proposed to confederate us.

It has been urged that as this is a Maritime Colony, Confederation would open up a valuable field of commerce to our shipping. It is absurd to suppose that confederation would give us any advantages we do not now enjoy, or that our shipping interest can depend for employment upon a country whose waters are closed for five months in the year. Nearly the whole trade of Canada is supplied by the accidents of commerce; that is, when a vessel cannot get a charter she would like, and being perhaps in a coal port, she takes a cargo of coal to Canada, and returns with lumber to some other port where she finds more profitable employment. And it is by accidents arising like this, in various ports, the whole wants of the trade of Canada are supplied. It is an entire fallacy to say that by opening the whole trade of these colonies, we should receive great advantages in Nova Scotia. Confederation, instead of extending the commerce and developing the natural products of this country, will rather cripple trade. I have already shown that Confederation must necessarily impose upon us a very heavy tariff and exceedingly large burthens. The consequence of that is, to increase the cost of living and producing the articles of export, and when you increase the cost of living and of wages, you are unable to compete with other countries in the sale of your coal and fish, and other articles which Nova Scotia is especially calculated to produce. It is claimed again that we shall get the Intercolonial Railway by Confederation.

The Provincial Secretary told us we get it on terms never dreamed of. I have looked on these terms and summarized them, just as the hon. member for South Colchester did the indications of war, and the conclusions I have come to is, that the Provincial Secretary was right in his expression. 1st. *We surrender the entire control of the constitution of this country.* 2nd. *We endanger the harmony existing among us as fellow colonists by bringing our diverse interests into conflict.* 3rd. *We reduce our local expenditures for roads and bridges to a large amount or supply the deficiency by direct taxation.* 4th. *We subject ourselves to the annoyance and tax of the stamp act.* 5th. *We surrender to Canada the power to tax us to any extent that their extravagance may render necessary; and which I have shown you will be in the outset \$782,560.* 6th. *We must pay our proportion of all expenses entered into by the general government.* I have shown you some of the new expenses which are incident on the first formation of this government; but it is not to be supposed that the engagements entered into by the general government will rest here. We have been told that one of the conditions upon which the Canadians agreed to build the intercolonial railway was that they should have western extension and enlargement of their canals. You will understand that the Canadians find that their canals are not answering their anticipations. The returns of 1864 show that there has been a large decrease in the earnings of the Welland and St. Lawrence canals. In the Welland there is a decrease of 12½ per cent., and in the St. Lawrence canals 33 per cent. In the report of the Commissioner of Public Works he says, to make them remunerative they must be enlarged to allow the passage of vessels 800 to 850 tons burthen; which will require an enormous expenditure, as they have now a depth of water of only about nine feet deep. Now, the enlargement of these canals, and the opening up of the north-west, were the conditions in connection with the construction of the intercolonial railway. Mr. Brown in his speech gives the Canadians the strongest possible assurance of this, he says:

“But this question of immigration naturally brings me to the subject of the great Northwestern territories. (Hear, hear.) The resolutions before us recognize the immediate necessity of those vast territories being brought within the Confederation and opened up for settlement. But I am told that while the Intercolonial Railroad has been made an absolute condition of the compact, the opening up of the Great West, and enlargement of our canals, have been left in doubt. Now sir, nothing can be more unjust than this. Let me read the resolutions:—

“The General Government shall secure, without delay, the completion of the Interco-

lonial Railway from Riviere du Loup, through New Brunswick, to Truro in Nova Scotia.”

“The communications with the North-western Territory, and the improvements required for the development of the trade of the Great West with the sea-board, are regarded by this Conference as subjects of the highest importance to the Federal Provinces, and shall be prosecuted at the earliest possible period that the state of the finances will permit.

“The Confederation is, therefore, clearly committed to the carrying out of both these enterprises.

But the honorable gentleman lay stress upon the point that, while the one enterprises is to be undertaken at once, the other is not to be commenced until the state of the finances will permit. No doubt this is correct, and the reason for it is simply this—the money has already been found for the Intercolonial Railway. They must be well aware that the late Government (the Macdonald-Sicotte Administration) agreed to build the Intercolonial Railway, and obtained from the Imperial Government a guarantee of the debentures for building it—so that money is ready at a very low rate of interest, whenever required. We know where to find money for one enterprise at a rate we are able to bear, and can thus go on with a work which must be gone on with if this union is to consummated. But we don't know this of the other great work—and we all felt that it would be exceedingly indiscreet—I, myself, as the special advocate of opening up the Great West and of the enlargement of our canals, felt that I could not put my name to a document which declared that at all hazards, while our five per cent. debentures were quoted at 75 or 80 per cent. in the money market—we would commence at once, without an hour's delay, any great public works whatever. [Hear, hear.] Honourable gentleman opposite must not imagine that they have to do with a set of tricksters in the thirty-three gentleman who composed the Conference.—What we have said in our resolutions was deliberately adopted, in the honest sense of the words employed, and not for purposes of deception. Both works are to go on at the earliest possible moment our finances will permit, and honorable gentleman will find the members of the Cabinet from Lower Canada, actuated by the same hearty desire to have this whole scheme carried out in its fair meaning.”

Stress may be laid on the term, “as soon as the finances will permit”; but we know the great anxiety on the part of Canada to have this expensive work accomplished, and that as soon as they have the power in their hands to carry out their wishes they will go on with the work.

It has been claimed, also, on behalf of this scheme, that it would add to the defence of these colonies. Perhaps there is no one assertion which the advocates of confederation have made that has gained them more supporters

than this. There is something in it that captivates every man's mind and carries him almost away despite himself. It finds a response in every heart that feels the attachments of home. And it was wrong, it was cruel, on the part of the advocates to thus make an appeal to one of the noblest sentiments that find a home in the breast of man—that sentiment which bids us rise to defend the country in which God has placed us—to protect the homes we have secured by His blessing, and guard the altars we have erected to His worship,—without having such facts as would sustain the hopes excited by the assertions.

What is the Provincial Secretary's argument? That Confederation will give us more men and money to effect this great object. That we shall have 4,000,000 instead of 350,000 people to defend us. He does not, however, say that with an increase of men comes an increase of duty that they would have to perform. If it gave us the four millions entirely for the defence of this Province then his assertion would be sustained, but when every man that goes into Confederation brings with him the particular spot which he feels most anxious to defend, in case of invasion, then Confederation does not give us more men or money. Besides it places the control of our defences under a power that is situated 800 miles away from us. We are told by the hon. member from South Colchester that the temptation to invade this Province is greater than to invade any other—its value in consequence of its position and resources being greater. Admitting this to be the case, is it not unwise to give the control of the natural defences of this country—the men who are to defend their homes—to a power situated 800 miles away, and who will feel it more to their individual interest to call them away to protect Canada. It has been said that the fate of Canada is our own. That may be, but I regard the safety of Nova Scotia as more essential to the maintenance of our connection with the British Empire than is that of any other of the British colonies. I answer, Nova Scotia is the keystone to the whole—when she falls the whole follows. Great changes have taken place of late years in the character of the navies of the world. Steam has taken the place of wind as the motive power, rendering the ships more effective but more dependent upon their base of supply. We have here the power—the coal—which must be regularly supplied to the British fleet from our mines, in case of hostilities on this side of the Atlantic. And if this base of supply should fall into the hands of an enemy, then the whole navy of England would be powerless for the protection of these colonies, and must leave them to their fate. How essential then, is it, that local influences in Canada shall not have the power to call away our natural protectors to defend less important territory.

The Provincial Secretary says we are as unprotected and as helpless as the crawling

worm. I was amazed beyond measure to hear such an expression fall from an hon. gentleman occupying a position which gives to his declaration an official character. Had I occupied his position, rather than have stood at the table of this House, declaring that a *portion of the British Empire* "is as unprotected as the crawling worm," I'd have crawled down under the table. A crawling worm, are we? Well, what does he make of us under Confederation? I waited in anxiety expecting to see the "worm" swell and "develop its proportions," and eventually become a terrible dragon that would "gobble up" the American eagle, and still hunger for more. But alas! he only made the worm longer. He only lengthened it out until it became a tape-worm. He run it through circumlocution offices 800 miles away, until it became a worm of that "red tape" species, which so nearly proved the destruction of the British army on the outbreak of the Crimean War. Our main protection lies in the power of Britain, but the evident tendency of this Ottawa arrangement is separation from England. Our minds naturally follow the channels of authority up to the source, and when we have reached that source our ideas centre about it, and it becomes the embodiment of our nationality. We have hitherto looked to England, and have run up through the various channels to the Crown, and there our affections have centred; but this Confederation comes in and proposes a new order of things. It proposes that we shall have local governments, and that the source of our authority shall be at Ottawa. And when our thoughts and affections are turned toward that centre—provided the various and diverse interests of the several provinces will enable us to live in harmony—the effect will be that our affections will cling round that government, and shall be withdrawn from the Crown of England. Suppose that five or six American States imagined that separately they were too small, and accordingly proposed to form a special confederation under the general government, just as these gentlemen propose with us to form a government at Ottawa,—does not every man see that before ten years had expired, the feelings of the people would centre round the smaller confederation, and in antagonism to the larger? And so it would be, in the event of confederation, with the other British American Provinces. Therefore, I believe, instead of diminishing, it would only increase our danger, and render us an easy prey to an invader. Suppose that we should become an independent nationality, we would then indeed be helpless as the crawling worm, and the American eagle would soon make a "diet of worms" that would have a different interpretation in American history from the "Diet of Worms" in European history. Lord Palmerston, in referring to the subject, says:

"Sir, it is true that the only danger which



a smaller colonial State runs from a more powerful and larger neighbour arises from quarrels that may exist between the mother country and the foreign State. I say that is a total fallacy. Suppose these Provinces separated from this country—suppose they were erected into a monarchy, a republic, or any other form of Government. Are there not motives that might lead a stronger neighbour to pick a quarrel with that smaller State with a view to its annexation? (Hear, hear.) Is there nothing like territorial ambition pervading the policy of great military States? The example of the world should teach us that as far as the danger of invasion and annexation is concerned, that danger would be increased to Canada by a separation from Great Britain, and when she is deprived of the protection that the military power and resources of this country may afford. (Cheers.)”

The question of defence, in my view, rests to a large extent, upon the spirit of those who are called upon to defend the country. If you elevate the country and its institutions, the people will be prepared to defend it with greater spirit. We have seen in history the effect of rendering a people dissatisfied with the country in which they lived. One of the great grievances of the people of Ireland, is that they have not had since the Union with England control of their own affairs—that they have not sufficient representation in the British Parliament to give them their due influence; and see what an exodus there is of her people. The last census of the United States returns 1,611,304, of the citizens of the Union as born in Ireland, where the whole population is only five and three quarter millions, while the same returns give only 431,692 persons born in England, where the population is twenty millions.

If then you desire to have the hearty co-operation of our people in the defence of this country, you should not deprive them of the control which they now exercise over the constitution and institutions of their country. Neither must you make them feel that they are pressed down by taxes. If you impose upon them burthens beyond what they consider just—and over which they can exercise no control—then the spirit to defend their country vanishes. Lord Bacon reminds us that the blessing given to Judah and Issachar are never found combined in the same individual, nor in the same people. Judah was to have the spirit of the lion—to place his hand upon his enemy's neck.

But Issachar was to bow himself to pay tribute—to become like “the Ass brouching between two burduns.” And no matter how spirited a people are, whenever these burduns are placed upon them they will change. Did the hon. Pro. Sec. suppose what he made this Quebec bargain, that the men around these benches are the Representatives of the lineal descendants of Issachar? That we are such consummate asses, as to bow down and

allow him to fix and saddle upon us forever the ass's burthen. This people have shown that they have a spirit to defend their country and its interests. Little Nova Scotia has given several names to history, and we have erected a monument to the memory of some of those who have thus shown themselves worthy a noble ancestry. Every time I pass that monument I feel my step grow firmer and prouder with the thought, that the spirit which influenced these men still lives in the bosoms of the people of Nova Scotia. That it animates the stalwart militia men of this Province, “whose arms were moulded in their mothers' wombs, to drive the invader from our soil;” but take away from these the control of their representative institutions, and impose upon them such burthens as I believe you are going to place upon them by this Confederation, and you drive out that spirit, and they will become as useless for defence, as a battalion of dried mummies from the catacombs of Egypt.

The Provincial Secretary tells us that Confederation will give us influence and position. He asks where was Nova Scotia when the Reciprocity Treaty was passed. Was not Nova Scotia present in her Legislature at its ratification? But I ask where will Nova Scotia be, when the whole power is placed in the hands of Canadians, to barter away her interests whenever it may suit them. One of the conditions most prized by the American people in effecting that treaty, is the right to our fisheries. Now with Canada's anxiety for the continuance of that treaty, what regard will she have for the particular interests of Nova Scotia when, as I have already shown you, we shall be powerless at Ottawa, so far as our representation is concerned. Again he asks where was New Brunswick, when a slice was cut off her, and given to Maine? I reply she was just in the position that Nova Scotia was, when a piece was taken from her territory and handed over to New Brunswick; in the hands of those who did not regard her interests. There is, however, this difference—the “slice” we lost went to a sister colony, which is some satisfaction, but not equal to what I have, no doubt the Prov. Secy. felt, in getting rid of a number of voters of the wrong political stripe.

The hon. gentleman wants to know who is not humiliated when he finds that Canada is only mentioned in the debates concerning these Provinces, in the British Parliament. I rather take it as a compliment, that Canada has alone been mentioned. The government of England have had no cause of complaint against Nova Scotia, on the ground of unwillingness to make preparation for her defence, but she had a reason for dissatisfaction with Canada. We have also heard of the Grand Trunk Railway, and of the transactions connected with it, which have given Canada a reputation, I am glad to say, Nova Scotia does not possess. Notoriety is not necessarily

fame. There may be a celebrity that does not carry with it any weight of respectability. The Siamese Twins became celebrated—but it was for their unnatural connection; and should this Confederation be accomplished, we too shall have a chance of becoming celebrated, as being in our geographical position, a string of Siamese Twins. When the Union with New Brunswick was discussed here last session, I made a calculation of the proportionate size of the strips of land connecting us with New Brunswick—to the Provinces as compared with the proportion of the ligature connecting Chang and Eng to their whole size, and found that our ligature is very much proportionately less. In their case you have two men, perfect in all their formation, but by a freak of nature so bound together, that their powers of free action and usefulness are destroyed. In this case each province is a perfect geographical formation of itself, having its own centre of interest, its own heart within itself. If it were possible to take the Siamese Twins, and reform them, and make of the two one powerful man, with one heart; then unfettered and free he would be effective to discharge the duties of life. And just so if you

could remould these Colonies by a Confederation and bring them into compact shape, so that there should be one common centre of interest—one heart from which the life blood sustaining the whole should flow to the extremities and return; then would the Union commend itself to my mind, and I should wish it “God speed.” This is an impossibility, and therefore we should be content, as are brothers who are not “Siamese Twins,” each having and exercising his individuality; but all united by the bonds of family affection. Let us then be content to go on prospering as we have, and at the same time cultivating the ties of brotherhood with the other Colonies, and above all, let us not take a step that will tend to sever our connection with England. My strong desire is to see this connection continued, that through our lives we may glory in the grandeur and greatness of the British Empire, and leave behind us those who shall inherit the same feelings of loyal attachments to her Crown and Institutions, that the same sentiments may bind together the people of those colonies. Every heart beating in unison—even as one great heart—when waked by the strains of “Rule Britannia” and “God Save the Queen.”