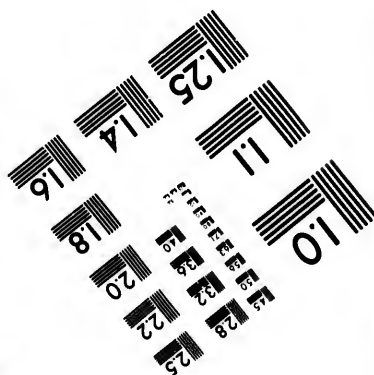
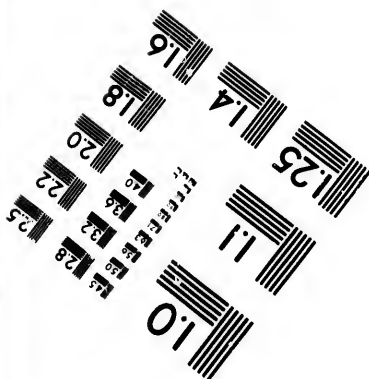
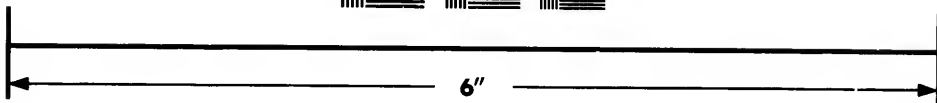
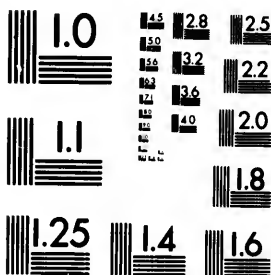


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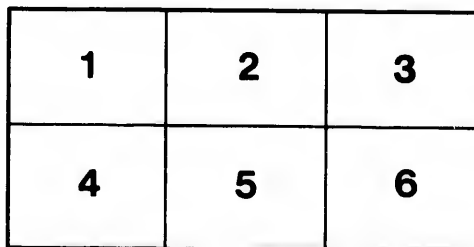
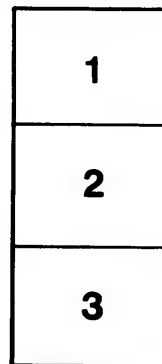
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SKETCH

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OF THE

CANADIAN MINISTRY

BY

FREDERICK DRISCOLL,

*Author of "The Defence of the Provinces," etc.*

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MONTREAL:

1866.



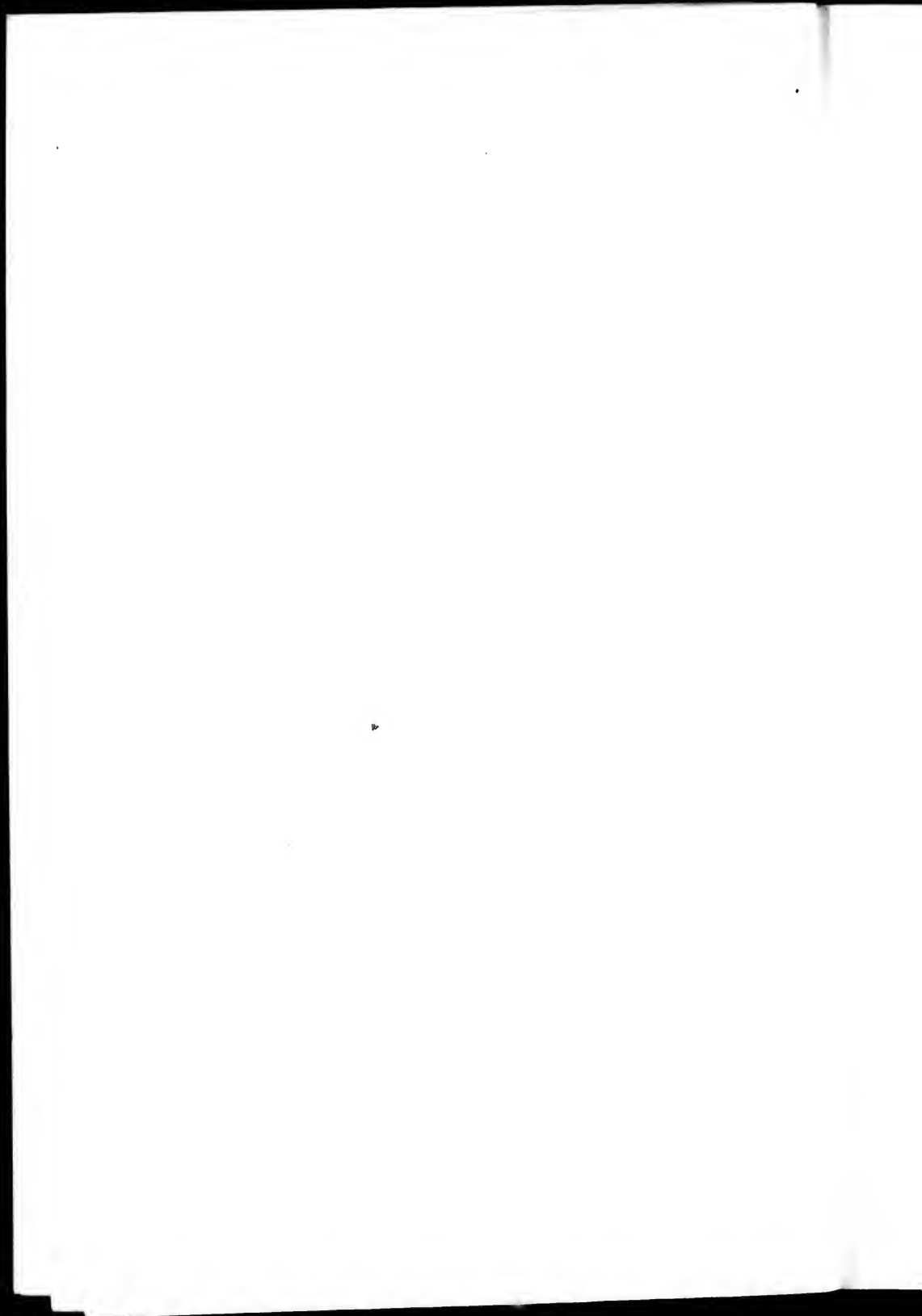
## PREFACE.

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THIS sketch is meant to be only a brief review of the Members of the Ministry. To the notice of each Member distinguished for speech is added a specimen of his oratorical talent, taken from some late speech of the gentleman. Being<sup>in</sup> independent in politics, the writer has endeavored to be impartial in his sketch.

TORONTO, April, 1866.





# REFERENCE.

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S K E T C H  
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THE present Ministry of Canada being one of more note than any which has preceded it, owing to its mixed nature, and the great changes it is to carry out, as well as the important legislative tasks it has taken in hand, a brief sketch of the Members will be of some interest to the public. The following is a list of the twelve:

SIR NARCISSE F. BELLEAU.

This gentleman is Premier.

The Premier is not one of the ablest men in the Ministry, and owes his chief place to one of those changes that sometimes put men of inferior talent over those of more ability. On the death of Sir E. P. Taché he was made Premier, on the principle of availability. He fills the place with dignity, being a man of easy manners, which he has seen fit to make even courtly since the time of his being

dubbed Knight. This was done in 1860, it may be remembered, when Sir Narcisse was Mayor of Quebec.

In the acts of the Ministry the Premier plays the part of a dignified chairman, with Mr. Cartier as chief adviser, giving his name and influence to every thing done. In this way he goes through political life with very little worry, and with all the honors of the head of a ministry. His two leading friends, Messrs. Cartier and Macdonald, like this tractability, and the consequence is they all get on very well together.

This Minister is a member of the Legislative Council and was Speaker of that body in 1857 and '58,—again, from 1858 to 1862. In the latter year he filled the place of Minister of Agriculture. It will be seen from this that he is an old legislator, and if he has made the most of his time, he ought to be one of the sages of Canada.

The influence of Sir Narcisse in the East of Canada is very considerable. It is chiefly with the upper orders of the people in the city and county of Quebec. A large part of the lower orders and some men of the other class have little regard for him since he became an aristocrat, and one of the pro-English party. If the Minister lost influence with his *compatriots*, he gained rank, and he is, of course, very well content with the exchange. It may be said that now Sir Narcisse and Mr. Cartier are the leaders of the French Canadians who have any real regard for English government and usages.

Of the schemes that the Ministry have in hand, that of confederation meets with his cordial support, though the mass of his countrymen are against it.

He does not seem to fear that the change will deprive them of some of the power which they now possess. The word "*engloutis*," so often on the lips of the anti-English party, (which, if those who are privately inimical be added to those who are openly so, is very large) is not used by him. His ideas are liberal in all questions of race and religion.

If there is any matter in which Sir Narcisse is more apt than in others, it is law, for that he made his study. In 1832 he was admitted to the Bar, and in time was made Queen's Counsel. He wore his silk gown for some years, and has now laid it aside to fill a more important office. At the Bar he did well, though he did not rise to any degree of eminence, not having the talent necessary for him to do so.

Sir Narcisse is a man of wealth—quite enough to back his rank with, and to give him the influence that money always brings to a man. He is one of the wealthiest men of the ministry, all of whom have more or less money, a good deal of it acquired by some while they have been in office.

## HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD

is Attorney-General, West, and Minister of Militia.

Mr. Macdonald is one of the best known men in Parliament, and is well versed in legislation. He is the leader of the western section of the Ministry. In the House, he is ready in debate, and is a good speaker. As such, he takes the lead, on his side, in all general questions, in doing which he shows tact and ability.

This Minister has been in all the ministries formed by his party during the last few years, and always as Attorney-General, West, for the duties of which office he is very well fitted—so far as intelligence and legal attainments go. The Law owes to him many new enactments and changes for the better; and as long as he is the Chief Law Officer for the West, that section will be well cared for.

The Minister of Militia has the forces of Canada to care for. At this he is also apt, but his ideas do not go much further than the organization and drill of a battalion. About some of the movements even in this he is not very clear, but he takes it for granted that men will think he knows "all about it."

There is a wide field for a little talent in this branch of the Administration. A more hardy, brave, well grown body of young men than those of Canada is not to be found in any other part of the world. It is only a question—what is the best way to organize that fine element for defence. So far,

this has been gone about in a very irregular way, namely, rifle corps have been formed in certain places, as if the entire mass of young men was not available for a general organization, and as if a greater force was not wanted to meet the powerful people by the side of us. In order to be prepared for defence, Canada needs a force of 150 battalions, organized as an army; and it is only for defence that any force should be organized. A police force (armed) can keep the peace.

Mr. Macdonald was first elected in 1844 for Kingston, and he has sat for it up to the present day. In 1847 he was appointed Receiver General. He has been in Parliament for more than twenty years, and is, therefore, one of the oldest legislators in the Province.

In the debates on Confederation, Mr. Macdonald led off; and his speech in favor of the scheme (given at the end of this sketch) was an effort. Such an occasion for the display of legislative ability and argument never before offered itself in this Province, and it is to be inferred that the Attorney General West put forth all the talent in that way which he may possess. He made a good effort, but was excelled by two other members of the House.

In 1829 Mr. Macdonald began to study law, and, six years later, that is, when a little over 21 years of age, he was called to the Bar of Upper Canada. He is a man of some wealth and more influence. Born in 1814, he is about 52 years of age, and gives proof of a hardy constitution.

#### HIS SPEECH.

ATTY.-GEN. MACDONALD moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She may be graciously pleased to cause



a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, for the purpose of uniting the Colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, in one Government, with provisions based on certain Resolutions, which were adopted at a Conference of Delegates from the said Colonies, held at the city of Quebec, on the 10th of October, 1864." He said:—Mr. Speaker, in fulfilment of the promise made by the Government to Parliament at its last session, I have moved this resolution. I have had the honor of being charged, on behalf of the Government, to submit a scheme for the Confederation of all the British North American Provinces—a scheme which has been received, I am glad to say, with general, if not universal, approbation in Canada. The scheme, as propounded through the press, has received almost no opposition. While there may be occasionally, here and there, expressions of dissent from some of the details, yet the scheme as a whole has met with almost universal approval, and the Government has the greatest satisfaction in presenting it to this House. This subject, which now absorbs the attention of the people of Canada, and of the whole of British North America, is not a new one. For years it has more or less attracted the attention of every statesman and politician in these provinces, and has been looked upon by many far-seeing politicians as being eventually the means of deciding and settling very many of the vexed questions which have retarded the prosperity of the colonies as a whole, and particularly the prosperity of Canada. The subject was pressed upon the public attention by a great many writers and politicians; but I believe the attention of the Legislature was first formally called to it by my honorable friend the Minister of Finance. Some years ago, in an elaborate speech, my hon. friend, while an independent member of Parliament, before being connected with any Government, pressed his views on the Legislature at great length and with his usual force. But the subject was not taken up by any party as a branch of their policy, until the formation of the Cartier-Macdonald Administration in 1858, when the Confederation of the colonies was announced as one of the measures which they pledged themselves to attempt, if possible, to bring to a satisfactory conclusion. In pursuance of that promise, the letter or despatch, which has been so much and so freely commented upon in the press and in this House, was addressed by three of the members of that Administration to the Colonial Office. The subject, however, though looked upon with favor by the country, and though there were no distinct expressions of opposition to it from any party, did not begin to assume its present proportions until last session. Then, men of all parties and all shades of politics became alarmed at the aspect of affairs. They found that such was the opposition between the two sections of the province, such was the danger of impending anarchy, in consequence of the irreconcilable differences of opinion, with respect to representation by population, between Upper and Lower Canada, that unless some solution of the difficulty was arrived at, we would suffer under a succession of weak governments,—weak in numerical support, weak in force, and weak in power of doing good. All were alarmed at this state of affairs. We had election after election,—we had ministry after ministry,—with the same result. Parties were so

equally balanced, that the vote of one member might decide the fate of the Administration, and the course of legislation for a year or a series of years. This condition of things was well calculated to arouse the earnest consideration of every lover of his country, and I am happy to say it had that effect. None were more impressed by this momentous state of affairs, and the grave apprehensions that existed of a state of anarchy destroying our credit, destroying our prosperity, destroying our progress, than were the members of this present House; and the leading statesmen on both sides seemed to have come to the common conclusion, that some step must be taken to relieve the country from the dead-lock and impending anarchy that hung over us. With that view my colleague, the President of the Council, made a motion founded on the despatch addressed to the Colonial Minister, to which I have referred, and a committee was struck, composed of gentlemen of both sides of the House, of all shades of political opinion, without any reference to whether they were supporters of the Administration of the day or belonged to the Opposition, for the purpose of taking into calm and full deliberation the evils which threatened the future of Canada. That motion of my honorable friend resulted most happily. The committee, by a wise provision,—and in order that each member of the committee might have an opportunity of expressing his opinions without being in any way compromised before the public, or with his party, in regard either to his political friends or to his political foes,—agreed that the discussion should be freely entered upon without reference to the political antecedents of any of them, and that they should sit with closed doors, so that they might be able to approach the subject frankly and in a spirit of compromise. The committee included most of the leading members of the House,—I had the honor myself to be one of the number,—and the result was that there was found an ardent desire—a creditable desire, I must say,—displayed by all the members of the committee to approach the subject honestly, and to attempt to work out some solution which might relieve Canada from the evils under which she labored. The report of that committee was laid before the House, and then came the political action of the leading men of the two parties in this House, which ended in the formation of the present Government. The principle upon which that Government was formed has been announced, and is known to all. It was formed for the very purpose of carrying out the object which has now received to a certain degree its completion, by the resolutions I have had the honor to place in your hands. As has been stated, it was not without a great deal of difficulty and reluctance that that Government was formed. The gentlemen who compose this Government had for many years been engaged in political hostilities to such an extent that it affected even their social relations. But the crisis was great, the danger was immense, and the gentlemen who now form the present Administration found it to be their duty to lay aside all personal feelings, to sacrifice in some degree their position, and even to run the risk of having their motives impugned, for the sake of arriving at some conclusion that would be satisfactory to the country in general. The present resolutions were the result. And, as I said before, I am proud to believe that the country has sanctioned, as I trust that the representatives of the people in

this House will sanction, the scheme which is now submitted for the future government of British North America. (Cheers.) Everything seemed to favor the project, and everything seemed to shew that the present was the time, if ever, when this great union between all Her Majesty's subjects dwelling in British North America, should be carried out. (Hear, hear.) When the Government was formed, it was felt that the difficulties in the way of effecting a union between all the British North American Colonies were great—so great as almost, in the opinion of many, to make it hopeless. And with that view it was the policy of the Government, if they could not succeed in procuring a union between all the British North American Colonies, to attempt to free the country from the dead-lock in which we were placed in Upper and Lower Canada, in consequence of the difference of opinion between the two sections, by having a severance to a certain extent of the present union between the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and the substitution of a Federal Union between them. Most of us, however, I may say all of us, were agreed—and I believe every thinking man will agree—as to the expediency of effecting a union between all the provinces, and the superiority of such a design, if it were only practicable, over the smaller scheme of having a Federal Union between Upper and Lower Canada alone. By a happy concurrence of events, the time came when that proposition could be made with a hope of success. By a fortunate coincidence the desire for union existed in the Lower Provinces, and a feeling of the necessity of strengthening themselves by collecting together the scattered colonies on the sea-board, had induced them to form a convention of their own for the purpose of effecting a union of the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, the legislatures of those colonies having formally authorized their respective governments to send a delegation to Prince Edward Island for the purpose of attempting to form a union of some kind. Whether the union should be federal or legislative was not then indicated, but a union of some kind was sought for the purpose of making of themselves one people instead of three. We, ascertaining that they were about to take such a step, and knowing that if we allowed the occasion to pass, if they did indeed break up all their present political organizations and form a new one, it could not be expected that they would again readily destroy the new organization which they had formed,—the union of the three provinces on the seaboard,—and form another with Canada. Knowing this, we availed ourselves of the opportunity, and asked if they would receive a deputation from Canada, who would go to meet them at Charlottetown, for the purpose of laying before them the advantages of a larger and more extensive union, by the junction of all the provinces in one great government under our common Sovereign. They at once kindly consented to receive and hear us. They did receive us cordially and generously, and asked us to lay our views before them. We did so at some length, and so satisfactory to them were the reasons we gave; so clearly, in their opinion, did we shew the advantages of the greater union over the lesser, that they at once set aside their own project, and joined heart and hand with us in entering into the larger scheme, and trying to form, as far as they and we

could, a great nation and a strong government. (Cheers.) Encouraged by this arrangement, which, however, was altogether unofficial and unauthorized, we returned to Quebec, and then the Government of Canada invited the several governments of the sister colonies to send a deputation here from each of them for the purpose of considering the question, with something like authority from their respective governments. The result was, that when we met here on the 10th of October, on the first day on which we assembled, after the full and free discussions which had taken place at Charlottetown, the first resolution now before this House was passed unanimously, being received with acclamation as, in the opinion of every one who heard it, a proposition which ought to receive, and would receive, the sanction of each government and each people. The resolution is, "That the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such union can be effected on principles just to the several provinces." It seemed to all the statesmen assembled—and there are great statesmen in the Lower Provinces, men who would do honor to any government and to any legislature of any free country enjoying representative institutions—it was clear to them all that the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America would be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain. And it seems to me, as to them, and I think it will so appear to the people of this country, that, if we wish to be a great people,—if we wish to form—using the expression which was sneered at the other evening—a great nationality, commanding the respect of the world, able to hold our own against all opponents, and to defend those institutions we prize; if we wish to have one system of government, and to establish a commercial union, with unrestricted free trade, between people of the five provinces, belonging, as they do, to the same nation, obeying the same Sovereign, owning the same allegiance, and being, for the most part, of the same blood and lineage: if we wish to be able to afford to each other the means of mutual defence and support against aggression and attack—this can only be obtained by a union of some kind between the scattered and weak boundaries composing the British North American Provinces. (Cheers.) The very mention of the scheme is fitted to bring with it its own approbation. Supposing that in the spring of the year 1865, half a million of people were coming from the United Kingdom to make Canada their home, although they brought only their strong arms and willing hearts; though they brought neither skill nor experience nor wealth, would we not receive them with open arms, and hail their presence in Canada as an important addition to our strength? But when, by the proposed union, we not only get nearly a million of people to join us—when they contribute not only their numbers, their physical strength, and their desire to benefit their position, but when we know that they consist of old-established communities, having a large amount of realized wealth,—composed of people possessed of skill, education and experience in the ways of the New World—people who are as much Canadians, I may say, as we are—people who are imbued with the same feelings of loyalty to the Queen, and the same desire for the continuance of

the connection with the Mother Country as we are, and at the same time, have a like feeling of ardent attachment for this, our common country, for which they and we would alike fight and shed our blood, if necessary. When all this is considered, argument is needless to prove the advantage of such a union. (Hear, hear.) There were only three modes,—if I may return for a moment to the difficulties with which Canada was surrounded,—only three modes that were at all suggested, by which the dead-lock in our affairs, the anarchy we dreaded, and the evils which retarded our prosperity, could be met or averted. One was the dissolution of the union between Upper and Lower Canada, leaving them as they were before the union of 1841. I believe that that proposition, by itself, had no supporters. It was felt by every one that, although it was a course that would do away with the sectional difficulties which existed,—though it would remove the pressure on the part of the people of Upper Canada for the representation based upon population,—and the jealousy of the people of Lower Canada lest their institutions should be attacked and prejudiced by that principle in our representation; yet it was felt by every thinking man in the province that it would be a retrograde step, which would throw back the country to nearly the same position as it occupied before the union,—that it would lower the credit enjoyed by United Canada,—that it would be the breaking up of the connection which had existed for nearly a quarter of a century, and, under which, although it had not been completely successful, and had not allayed altogether the local jealousies that had their root in circumstances which arose before the union, our province, as a whole, had nevertheless prospered and increased. It was felt that a dissolution of the union would have destroyed all the credit that we had gained by being a united province, and would have left us two weak and ineffective governments, instead of one powerful and united people. (Hear, hear.) The next mode suggested, was the granting of representation by population. Now, we all know the manner in which that question was and is regarded by Lower Canada; that while in Upper Canada the desire and cry for it was daily augmenting, the resistance to it in Lower Canada was proportionably increasing in strength. Still, if some such means of relieving us from the sectional jealousies which existed between the two Canadas, if some such solution of the difficulties as Confederation had not been found, the representation by population must eventually have been carried; no matter though it might have been felt in Lower Canada, as being a breach of the Treaty of Union, no matter how much it might have been felt by the Lower Canadians that it would sacrifice their local interests, it is certain that in the progress of events representation by population would have been carried; and, had it been carried—I speak here my own individual sentiments—I do not think it would have been for the interest of Upper Canada. For though Upper Canada would have felt that it had received what it claimed as a right, and had succeeded in establishing its right, yet it would have left the Lower Province with a sullen feeling of injury and injustice. The Lower Canadians would not have worked cheerfully under such a change of system, but would have ceased to be what they are now—a nationality, with representatives in Parliament, governed by

general principles, and dividing according to their political principles—and would have been in great danger of becoming a faction, forgetful of national obligations, and only actuated by a desire to defend their own sectional interests, their own laws, and their own institutions. (Hear, hear.) The third and only means of solution for our difficulties was the junction of the Provinces either in a Federal or Legislative Union. Now, as regards the comparative advantages of a Legislative and a Federal Union, I have never hesitated to state my own opinions. I have again and again stated in the House, that, if practicable, I thought a Legislative Union would be preferable. (Hear, hear.) I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament, legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt. (Hear, hear.) But, on looking at the subject in the Conference, and discussing the matter as we did, most unreservedly, and with a desire to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, we found that such a system was impracticable. In the first place, it would not meet the assent of the people of Lower Canada, because they felt that in their peculiar position—being in a minority, with a different language, nationality and religion from the majority,—in case of a junction with the other provinces, their institutions and their laws might be assailed, and their ancestral associations, on which they prided themselves, attacked and prejudiced; it was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality of Lower Canada—if I may use the expression—would not be received with favor by her people. We found too, that though their people speak the same language and enjoy the same system of law as the people of Upper Canada, a system founded on the common law of England, there was as great a disinclination on the part of the various Maritime Provinces to lose their individuality, as separate political organizations, as we observed in the case of Lower Canada herself. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, we were forced to the conclusion that we must either abandon the idea of Union altogether, or devise a system of union in which the separate provincial organizations would be in some degree preserved. So that those who were, like myself, in favor of a Legislative Union, were obliged to modify their views and accept the project of a Federal Union as the only scheme practicable, even for the Maritime Provinces. Because, although the law of those provinces is founded on the common law of England, yet every one of them has a large amount of law of its own—colonial law framed by itself, and affecting every relation of life, such as the laws of property, municipal and assessment laws; laws relating to the liberty of the subject, and to all the great interests contemplated in legislation; we found, in short, that the statutory law of the different provinces was so varied and diversified that it was almost impossible to weld them into a Legislative Union at once. Why, sir, if you only consider the innumerable subjects of legislation peculiar to new countries, and that every one of those five colonies had particular laws of its own, to which its people have been accustomed and are attached, you will see the difficulty of effecting and working a Legislative Union, and bringing about an assimilation of the local as well as general laws of the whole of the provinces. (Hear, hear.) We in Upper Canada understand

from the nature and operation of our peculiar municipal law, of which we know the value, the difficulty of framing a general system of legislation on local matters which would meet the wishes and fulfil the requirements of the several provinces. Even the laws considered the least important, respecting private rights in timber, roads, fencing, and innumerable other matters, small in themselves, but in the aggregate of great interest to the agricultural class, who form the great body of the people, are regarded as of great value by the portion of the community affected by them. And when we consider that every one of the colonies has a body of law of this kind, and that it will take years before those laws can be assimilated, it was felt that at first, at all events, any united legislation would be almost impossible. I am happy to state—and indeed it appears on the face of the resolutions themselves—that as regards the Lower Provinces, a great desire was evinced for the final assimilation of our laws. One of the resolutions provides that an attempt shall be made to assimilate the laws of the Maritime Provinces and those of Upper Canada, for the purpose of eventually establishing one body of statutory law, founded on the common law of England, the parent of the laws of all those provinces. One great objection made to a Federal Union was the expense of an increased number of legislatures. I will not enter at any length into that subject, because my honorable friends, the Finance Minister and the President of the Council, who are infinitely more competent than myself to deal with matters of this kind—matters of account—will, I think, be able to show that the expenses under a Federal Union will not be greater than those under the existing system of separate governments and legislatures. Here, where we have a joint legislature for Upper and Lower Canada, which deals not only with subjects of a general interest common to all Canada, but with all matters of private right and sectional interest, and with that class of measures known as “private bills,” we find that one of the greatest sources of expense to the country is the cost of legislation. We find, from the admixture of subjects of a general, with those of a private character in legislation, that they mutually interfere with each other; whereas, if the attention of the Legislature was confined to measures of one kind or the other alone, the session of Parliament would not be so protracted and therefore not so expensive as at present. In the proposed Constitution all matters of general interest are to be dealt with by the General Legislature; while the local legislatures will deal with matters of local interest, which do not affect the Confederation as a whole, but are of the greatest importance to their particular sections. By such a division of labor the sittings of the General Legislature would not be so protracted as even those of Canada alone. And so with the local legislatures, their attention being confined to subjects pertaining to their own sections, their sessions would be shorter and less expensive. Then, when we consider the enormous saving that will be effected in the administration of affairs by one General Government—when we reflect that each of the five colonies have a government of its own with a complete establishment of public departments and all the machinery required for the transaction of the business of the country—that each have a separate executive, judicial and militia system—that each province has a separate ministry, including a Minister of Militia, with a

complete Adjutant General's Department—that each have a Finance Minister with a full Customs and Excise staff—that each Colony has as large and complete an administrative organization, with as many executive officers as the General Government will have—we can well understand the enormous saving that will result from a union of all the colonies, from their having but one head and one central system. We, in Canada, already know something of the advantages and disadvantages of a Federal Union. Although we have nominally a Legislative Union in Canada—although we sit in one Parliament, supposed constitutionally to represent the people without regard to sections or localities, yet we know, as a matter of fact, that since the union in 1841, we have had a Federal Union; that in matters affecting Upper Canada solely, members from that section claimed and generally exercised the right of exclusive legislation, while members from Lower Canada legislated in matters affecting only their own section. We have had a Federal Union in fact, though a Legislative Union in name; and in the hot contests of late years, if on any occasion a measure affecting any one section were interfered with by the members from the other—if, for instance, a measure locally affecting Upper Canada were carried or defeated against the wishes of its majority, by one from Lower Canada,—my honorable friend the President of the Council, and his friends, denounced with all their energy and ability such legislation as an infringement of the rights of the Upper Province. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Just in the same way, if any act concerning Lower Canada were pressed into law against the wishes of the majority of her representatives, by those from Upper Canada, the Lower Canadians would rise as one man and protest against such a violation of their peculiar rights. (Hear, hear.) The relations between England and Scotland are very similar to that which obtains between the Canadas. The union between them, in matters of legislation, is of a federal character, because the Act of Union between the two countries provides that the Scottish law cannot be altered, except for the manifest advantage of the people of Scotland. This stipulation has been held to be so obligatory on the Legislature of Great Britain, that no measure affecting the law of Scotland is passed unless it receives the sanction of a majority of the Scottish members in Parliament. No matter how important it may be for the interests of the empire as a whole to alter the laws of Scotland—no matter how much it may interfere with the symmetry of the general law of the United Kingdom, that law is not altered, except by the consent of the Scottish people, as expressed by their representatives in Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Thus, we have, in Great Britain, to a limited extent, an example of the working and effects of a Federal Union, as we might expect to witness them in our own Confederation. The whole scheme of Confederation, as propounded by the Conference, as agreed to and sanctioned by the Canadian Government, and as now presented for the consideration of the people, and the Legislature, bears upon its face the marks of compromise. Of necessity there must have been a great deal of mutual concession. When we think of the representatives of five colonies, all supposed to have different interests, meeting together, charged with the duty of protecting those interests, and of pressing the views of their own localities and sections, it must be admitted



that had we not met in a spirit of conciliation, and with an anxious desire to promote this union; if we had not been impressed with the idea contained in the words of the resolution—"That the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America would be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain,"—all our efforts might have proved to be of no avail. If we had not felt that, after coming to this conclusion, we were bound to set aside our private opinions on matters of detail, if we had not felt ourselves bound to look at what was practicable, not obstinately rejecting the opinions of others nor adhering to our own; if we had not met, I say, in a spirit of conciliation, and with an anxious, overruling desire to form one people under one government, we never would have succeeded. With these views, we press the question on this House and the country. I say to this House, if you do not believe that the union of the colonies is for the advantage of the country, that the joining of these five peoples into one nation, under one sovereign, is for the benefit of all, then reject the scheme. Reject it if you do not believe it to be for the present advantage and future prosperity of yourselves and your children. But if, after a calm and a full consideration of this scheme, it is believed, as a whole, to be for the advantage of this province—if the House and country believe this union to be one which will ensure for us British laws, British connection, and British freedom—and increase and develop the social, political and material prosperity of the country, then I implore this House and the country to lay aside all prejudices, and accept the scheme which we offer. I ask this House to meet the question in the same spirit in which the delegates met it. I ask each member of this House to lay aside his own opinions as to particular details, and to accept the scheme as a whole if he think it beneficial as a whole. As I stated in the preliminary discussion, we must consider this scheme in the light of a treaty. By a happy coincidence of circumstances, just when an Administration had been formed in Canada for the purpose of attempting a solution of the difficulties under which we laboured, at the same time the Lower Provinces, actuated by a similar feeling, appointed a Conference with a view to a union among themselves, without being cognizant of the position the government was taking in Canada. If it had not been for this fortunate coincidence of events, never, perhaps, for a long series of years would we have been able to bring this scheme to a practical conclusion. But we did succeed. We made the arrangement, agreed upon the scheme, and the deputations from the several governments represented at the Conference went back pledged to lay it before their governments, and to ask the legislatures and people of their respective provinces to assent to it. I trust the scheme will be assented to as a whole. I am sure this House will not seek to alter it in its unimportant details; and, if altered in any important provisions, the result must be that the whole will be set aside, and we must begin *de novo*. If any important changes are made, every one of the colonies will feel itself absolved from the implied obligation to deal with it as a Treaty, each province will feel itself at liberty to amend it *ad libitum*, so as to suit its own views and interests; in fact, the whole of our labours will have been for nought, and we will have to renew our negotiations with all the colonies for the purpose of establishing some new scheme. I hope the House will

not adopt any such a course as will postpone, perhaps for ever, or at all events for a long period, all chances of union. All the statesmen and public men who have written or spoken on the subject, admit the advantages of a union, if it were practicable: and now when it is proved to be practicable, if we do not embrace this opportunity, the present favourable time will pass away, and we may never have it again. Because, just so surely as this scheme is defeated, will be revived the original proposition for a union of the Maritime Provinces, irrespective of Canada; they will not remain as they are now, powerless, scattered, helpless communities; they will form themselves into a power, which, though not so strong as if united with Canada, will, nevertheless, be a powerful and considerable community, and it will be then too late for us to attempt to strengthen ourselves by this scheme, which, in the words of the resolution, "is for the best interests, and present and future prosperity of British North America." If we are not blind to our present position, we must see the hazardous situation in which all the great interests of Canada stand in respect to the United States. I am no alarmist. I do not believe in the prospect of immediate war. I believe that the common sense of the two nations will prevent a war; still we cannot trust to probabilities. The Government and Legislature would be wanting in their duty to the people if they ran any risk. We know that the United States at this moment are engaged in a war of enormous dimensions—that the occasion of a war with Great Britain has again and again arisen, and may at any time in the future again arise. We cannot foresee what may be the result; we cannot say but that the two nations may drift into a war as other nations have done before. It would then be too late when war had commenced to think of measures for strengthening ourselves, or to begin negotiations for a union with the sister provinces. At this moment, in consequence of the ill-feeling which has arisen between England and the United States—a feeling of which Canada was not the cause—in consequence of the irritation which exists, owing to the unhappy state of affairs on this continent, the Reciprocity Treaty, it seems probable, is about to be brought to an end—our trade is hampered by the passport system, and at any moment we may be deprived of permission to carry our goods through United States channels—the bonded goods system may be done away with, and the winter trade through the United States put an end to. Our merchants may be obliged to return to the old system of bringing in during the summer months the supplies for the whole year. Ourselves already threatened, our trade interrupted, our intercourse, political and commercial, destroyed, if we do not take warning now when we have the opportunity, and while one avenue is threatened to be closed, open another by taking advantage of the present arrangement and the desire of the Lower Provinces to draw closer the alliance between us, we may suffer commercial and political disadvantages it may take long for us to overcome. The Conference having come to the conclusion that a legislative union, pure and simple, was impracticable, our next attempt was to form a government upon federal principles, which would give to the General Government the strength of a legislative and administrative union, while at the same time it preserved that liberty of action for the different sections which is allowed by a Federal Union. And I am strong in the be-

lief—that we have hit upon the happy medium in those resolutions, and that we have formed a scheme of government which unites the advantages of both, giving us the strength of a legislative union, and the sectional freedom of a federal union, with protection to local interests. In doing so we had the advantage of the experience of the United States. It is the fashion now to enlarge on the defects of the Constitution of the United States, but I am not one of those who look upon it as a failure. (Hear, hear.) I think and believe that it is one of the most skillful works which human intelligence ever created; is one of the most perfect organizations that ever governed a free people. To say that it has some defects is but to say that it is not the work of Omniscience, but of human intellects. We are happily situated in having had the opportunity of watching its operation, seeing its working from its infancy till now. It was in the main formed on the model of the Constitution of Great Britain, adapted to the circumstances of a new country, and was perhaps the only practicable system that could have been adopted under the circumstances existing at the time of its formation. We can now take the advantage of the experience of the last seventy-eight years, during which that Constitution has existed, and I am strongly of the belief that we have, in a great measure, avoided in this system which we propose for the adoption of the people of Canada, the defects which time and events have shown to exist in the American Constitution. In the first place, by a resolution which meets with the universal approval of the people of this country, we have provided that for all time to come, so far as we can legislate for the future, we shall have as the head of the executive power, the Sovereign of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) No one can look into futurity and say what will be the destiny of this country. Changes come over nations and peoples in the course of ages. But, so far as we can legislate, we provide that, for all time to come, the Sovereign of Great Britain shall be the Sovereign of British North America. By adhering to the monarchical principle, we avoid one defect inherent in the Constitution of the United States. By the election of the President by a majority and for a short period, he never is the sovereign and chief of the nation. He is never looked up to by the whole people as the head and front of the nation. He is at best but the successful leader of a party. This defect is all the greater on account of the practice of re-election. During his first term of office, he is employed in taking steps to secure his own re-election, and for his party a continuance of power. We avoid this by adhering to the monarchical principle—the Sovereign whom you respect and love. I believe that it is of the utmost importance to have that principle recognized, so that we shall have a Sovereign who is placed above the region of party—to whom all parties look up—who is not elevated by the action of one party, nor depressed by the action of another, who is the common head and sovereign of all. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) In the Constitution we propose to continue the system of Responsible Government, which has existed in this province since 1841, and which has long obtained in the Mother Country. This is a feature of our Constitution as we have it now, and as we shall have it in the Federation, in which, I think, we avoid one of the great defects in the Constitution of the United States. There the President, during his term of office, is in a great measure a despot, a one-man power, with

the command of the naval and military forces—with an immense amount of patronage as head of the Executive, and with the veto power as a branch of the legislature, perfectly uncontrolled by responsible advisers, his cabinet being departmental officers merely, whom he is not obliged by the Constitution to consult with, unless he chooses to do so. With us the Sovereign, or in this country the Representative of the Sovereign, can act only on the advice of his ministers, those ministers being responsible to the people through Parliament. Prior to the formation of the American Union, as we all know, the different states which entered into it were separate colonies. They had no connection with each other further than that of having a common sovereign, just as with us at present. Their constitutions and their laws were different. They might and did legislate against each other, and when they revolted against the Mother Country they acted as separate sovereignties, and carried on the war by a kind of treaty of alliance against the common enemy. Ever since the union was formed the difficulty of what is called "State Rights" has existed, and this had much to do in bringing on the present unhappy war in the United States. They commenced, in fact, at the wrong end. They declared by their Constitution that each state was a sovereignty in itself, and that all the powers incident to a sovereignty belonged to each state, except those powers which, by the Constitution, were conferred upon the General Government and Congress. Here we have adopted a different system. We have strengthened the General Government. We have given the General Legislature all the great subjects of legislation. We have conferred on them, not only specifically and in detail, all the powers which are incident to sovereignty, but we have expressly declared that all subjects of general interest not distinctly and exclusively conferred upon the local governments and local legislatures, shall be conferred upon the General Government and Legislature. We have thus avoided that great source of weakness which has been the cause of the disruption of the United States. We have avoided all conflict of jurisdiction and authority, and if this Constitution is carried out, as it will be in full detail in the Imperial Act to be passed if the Colonies adopt the scheme, we will have, in fact, as I said before, all the advantages of a legislative union under one administration, with, at the same time, the guarantees for local institutions and for local laws, which are insisted upon by so many in the provinces now, I hope, to be united. I think it is well that, in framing our Constitution—although my honorable friend the member for Hochelaga (Hon. Mr. DOROX) sneered at it the other day, in the discussion on the Address in reply to the speech from the Throne—our first act should have been to recognize the sovereignty of Her Majesty. (Hear, hear.) I believe that, while England has no desire to lose her colonies, but wishes to retain them, while I am satisfied that the public mind of England would deeply regret the loss of these provinces—yet, if the people of British North America, after full deliberation, had stated that they considered it was for their interest, for the advantage of the future of British North America to sever the tie, such is the generosity of the people of England, that, whatever their desire to keep these colonies, they would not seek to compel us to remain unwilling subjects of the British Crown. If, therefore, at the Conference, we had arrived at the conclusion, that it was for the

interest of these provinces that a severance should take place, I am sure that Her Majesty and the Imperial Parliament would have sanctioned that severance. We accordingly felt that there was a propriety in giving a distinct declaration of opinion on that point, and that, in framing the Constitution, its first sentence should declare, that "The Executive authority or government shall be vested in the Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and be administered according to the well understood principles of the British Constitution, by the Sovereign personally, or by the Representative of the Sovereign duly authorised." That resolution met with the unanimous assent of the Conference. The desire to remain connected with Great Britain and to retain our allegiance to Her Majesty was unanimous. Not a single suggestion was made, that it could, by any possibility, be for the interest of the colonies, or of any section or portion of them, that there should be a severance of our connection. Although we knew it to be possible that Canada, from her position, might be exposed to all the horrors of war, by reason of causes of hostility arising between Great Britain and the United States—causes over which we had no control, and which we had no hand in bringing about—yet there was a unanimous feeling of willingness to run all the hazards of war, if war must come, rather than lose the connection between the Mother Country and these colonies. (Cheers.) We provide that "the Executive authority shall be administered by the Sovereign personally, or by the Representative of the Sovereign duly authorized." It is too much to expect that the Queen should vouchsafe us her personal governance or presence, except to pay us, as the heir apparent of the Throne, our future Sovereign has already paid us, the graceful compliment of a visit. The Executive authority must therefore be administered by Her Majesty's Representative. We place no restriction on Her Majesty's prerogative in the selection of her representative. As it is now, so it will be if this Constitution is adopted. The Sovereign has unrestricted freedom of choice. Whether in making her selection she may send us one of her own family, a Royal Prince, as a Viceroy to rule over us, or one of the great statesmen of England to represent her, we know not. We leave that to Her Majesty in all confidence. But we may be permitted to hope, that when the union takes place, and we become the great country which British North America is certain to be, it will be an object worthy the ambition of the statesmen of England to be charged with presiding over our destinies. (Hear, hear.) Let me now invite the attention of the House to the provisions in the Constitution respecting the legislative power. The sixth resolution says, "There shall be a general legislature or parliament for the federated provinces, composed of a Legislative Council and a House of Commons." This resolution has been cavilled at in the English press as if it excluded the Sovereign as a portion of the legislature. In one sense, that stricture was just—because in strict constitutional language, the legislature of England consists of King, Lords and Commons. But, on the other hand, in ordinary parlance we speak of "the King and his Parliament," or "the King summoning his Parliament," the three estates—Lords spiritual, temporal Lords, and the House of Commons, and I observe that such a writer as Hallam occasionally uses the word Parliament in that restricted sense. At best it is merely a verbal

criticism. The legislature of British North America will be composed of King, Lords, and Commons. The Legislative Council will stand in the same relation to the Lower House, as the House of Lords to the House of Commons in England, having the same power of initiating all matters of legislation, except the granting of money. As regards the Lower House, it may not appear to matter much, whether it is called the House of Commons or House of Assembly. It will bear whatever name the Parliament of England may choose to give it, but "The House of Commons" is the name we should prefer, as showing that it represents the Commons of Canada, in the same way that the English House of Commons represents the Commons of England, with the same privileges, the same parliamentary usage, and the same parliamentary authority. In settling the construction of the Lower House, that which peculiarly represents the people, it was agreed that the principle of representation based on population should be adopted, and the mode of applying that principle is fully developed in these resolutions. When I speak of representation by population, the House will of course understand, that universal suffrage is not in any way sanctioned, or admitted by these resolutions, as the basis on which the constitution of the popular branch should rest. In order to protect local interests, and to prevent sectional jealousies, it was found requisite that the three great divisions into which British North America is separated, should be represented in the Upper House on the principle of equality. There are three great sections, having different interests, in this proposed Confederation. We have Western Canada, an agricultural country far away from the sea, and having the largest population, who have agricultural interests principally to guard. We have Lower Canada, with other and separate interests, and especially with institutions and laws which she jealously guards against absorption by any larger, more numerous, or stronger power. And we have the Maritime Provinces, having also different sectional interests of their own, having, from their position, classes and interests which we do not know in Western Canada. Accordingly, in the Upper House,—the controlling and regulating, but not the initiating branch, (for we know that here as in England, to the Lower House will practically belong the initiation of matters of great public interest), in the House which has the sober second-thought in legislation—it is provided that each of those great sections shall be represented equally by 24 members. The only exception to that condition of equality is in the case of Newfoundland, which has an interest of its own, lying, as it does, at the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence, and more connected, perhaps, with Canada than with the Lower Provinces. It has, comparatively speaking, no common interest with the other Maritime Provinces, but has sectional claims of its own to be protected. It, therefore, has been dealt with separately, and is to have a separate representation in the Upper House, thus varying from the equality established between the other sections. As may be well conceived, great difference of opinion at first existed as to the constitution of the Legislative Council. In Canada the elective principle prevailed; in the Lower Provinces, with the exception of Prince Edward Island, the nominative principle was the rule. We found a general disinclination on the part of the Lower Provinces to adopt the elective principle; indeed, I do not think there

was a dissenting voice in the Conference against the adoption of the nominative principle, except from Prince Edward Island. The delegates from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, as one man, were in favor of nomination by the crown, as being the system which is most in accordance with the British Constitution. We resolved then, that the constitution of the Upper House should be in accordance with the British system as nearly as circumstances would allow. An hereditary Upper House is impracticable in this young country. Here we have none of the elements for the formation of a landlord aristocracy—no men of large territorial positions—no class separated from the mass of the people. An hereditary body is altogether unsuited to our state of society, and would soon dwindle into nothing. The only mode of adapting the English system to the Upper House, is by conferring the power of appointment on the Crown (as the English peers are appointed), but that the appointments should be for life. The arguments for an elective Council are numerous and strong; and I ought to say so, as one of the Administration responsible for introducing the elective principle into Canada. (Hear, hear.) I hold that this principle has not been a failure in Canada; but there were causes—which we did not take into consideration at the time—why it did not so fully succeed in Canada as we had expected. One great cause was the enormous extent of the constituencies and the immense labor which consequently devolved on those who sought the suffrages of the people for election to the Council. For the same reason the expense—(laughter)—the legitimate expense was so enormous that men of standing in the country, eminently fitted for such a position, were prevented from coming forward. At first, I admit, men of the first standing did come forward, but we have seen that in every succeeding election in both Canadas there has been an increasing disinclination, on the part of men of standing and political experience and weight in the country, to become candidates; while, on the other hand, all the young men, the active politicians, those who have resolved to embrace the life of a statesman, have sought entrance to the House of Assembly. The nominative system in this country, was to a great extent successful, before the introduction of responsible government. Then the Canadas were to a great extent Crown colonies, and the upper branch of the legislature consisted of the gentlemen chosen from among the chief judicial and ecclesiastical dignitaries, the heads of departments, and other men of the first position in the country. Those bodies commanded great respect from the character, standing, and weight of the individuals composing them, but they had little sympathy with the people or their representatives, and collisions with the Lower House frequently occurred, especially in Lower Canada. When responsible government was introduced, it became necessary for the Governor of the day to have a body of advisers who had the confidence of the House of Assembly, which could make or unmake ministers as it chose. The Lower House in effect pointed out who should be nominated to the Upper House; for the ministry, being dependent altogether on the lower branch of the legislature for support, selected members for the Upper House from among their political friends at the dictation of the House of Assembly. The Council was becoming less and less a substantial check on the legislation of the Assembly; but under the

system now proposed, such will not be the case. No ministry can in future do what they have done in Canada before, they cannot, with the view of carrying any measure, or of strengthening the party, attempt to overrule the independent opinion of the Upper House, by filling it with a number of its partisans and political supporters. The provision in the Constitution, that the Legislative Council shall consist of a limited number of members—that each of the great sections shall appoint twenty four members and no more, will prevent the Upper House from being swamped from time to time by the ministry of the day, for the purpose of carrying out their own schemes or pleasing their partisans. The fact of the government being prevented from exceeding a limited number will preserve the independence of the Upper House, and make it, in reality, a separate and distinct chamber, having a legitimate and controlling influence in the legislation of the country. The objection has been taken that in consequence of the Crown being deprived of the right of unlimited appointment, there is a chance of a dead lock arising between the two branches of the legislature; a chance that the Upper House being altogether independent of the Sovereign, of the Lower House, and of the advisers of the Crown, may act independently, and so independently as to produce a dead lock. I do not anticipate any such result. In the first place we know that in England it does not arise. There would be no use of an Upper House, if it did not exercise, when it thought proper, the right of opposing or amending or postponing the legislation of the Lower House. It would be of no value whatever were it a mere chamber for registering the decrees of the Lower House. It must be an independent House, having a free action of its own, for it is only valuable as being a regulating body, calmly considering the legislation initiated by the popular branch, and preventing any hasty or ill considered legislation which may come from that body, but it will never set itself in opposition against the deliberate and understood wishes of the people. Even the House of Lords, which as an hereditary body, is far more independent than one appointed for life can be, whenever it ascertains what is the calm, deliberate will of the people of England, it yields, and never in modern times has there been, in fact or act, any attempt to overrule the decisions of that House by the appointment of new peers, excepting, perhaps, once in the reign of Queen Anne. It is true that in 1832 such an increase was threatened in consequence of the reiterated refusal of the House of Peers to pass the Reform Bill. I have no doubt the threat would have been carried into effect, if necessary; but every one, even the Ministry who advised that step, admitted that it would be a revolutionary act, a breach of the Constitution to do so, and it was because of the necessity of preventing the bloody revolution which hung over the land, if the Reform Bill had been longer refused to the people of England, that they consented to the bloodless revolution of overriding the independent opinion of the House of Lords on that question. (Hear, hear.) Since that time it has never been attempted, and I am satisfied it will never be attempted again. Only a year or two ago the House of Lords rejected the Paper Duties Bill, and they acted quite constitutionally, according to the letter and, as many think, according to the spirit of the Constitution in doing so. Yet when they found they had interfered with a subject which the people's



nouse claimed as belonging of right to themselves, the very next session they abandoned their position, not because they were convinced they had done wrong, but because they had ascertained what was the deliberate voice of the representatives of the people on the subject. In this country, we must remember, that the gentlemen who will be selected for the Legislative Council stand on a very different footing from the peers of England. They have not like them any ancestral associations or positions derived from history. They have not that direct influence on the people themselves, or on the popular branch of the legislature, which the peers of England exercise, from their great wealth, their vast territorial possessions, their numerous tenantry, and that prestige with which the exalted position of their class for centuries has invested them. (Hear, hear) The members of our Upper House will be like those of the Lower, men of the people, and from the people. The man put into the Upper House is as much a man of the people the day after, as the day before his elevation. Springing from the people, and one of them, he takes his seat in the Council with all the sympathies and feelings of a man of the people, and when he returns home, at the end of the session, he mingles with them on equal terms, and is influenced by the same feelings and associations, and events, as those which affect the mass around him. And is it, then, to be supposed that the members of the upper branch of the legislature will set themselves deliberately at work to oppose what they know to be the settled opinions and wishes of the people of the country? They will not do it. There is no fear of a dead lock between the two houses. There is an infinitely greater chance of a dead lock between the two branches of the Legislature, should the elective principle be adopted, than with a nominated chamber—chosen by the Crown, and having no mission from the people. The members of the Upper Chamber would then come from the people as well as those of the Lower House, and should any difference ever arise between both branches, the former could say to the members of the popular branch—"We as much represent the feelings of the people as you do, and even more so; we are not elected from small localities and for a short period; you as a body were elected at a particular time, when the public mind was running in a particular channel; you were returned to Parliament, not so much representing the general views of the country, on general questions, as upon the particular subjects which happened to engage the minds of the people when they went to the polls. We have as much right, or a better right, than you to be considered as representing the deliberate will of the people on general questions, and therefore we will not give way." (Hear, hear.) There is, I repeat, a greater danger of an irreconcilable difference of opinion between the two branches of the Legislature, if the Upper be elective, than if it holds its commission from the Crown. Besides, it must be remembered that an Upper House, the members of which are to be appointed for life, would not have the same quality of permanence as the House of Lords; our members would die; strangers would succeed them, whereas son succeeded father in the House of Lords. Thus, the changes in the membership and state of opinion in our Upper House would always be more rapid than in the House of Lords. To show how speedily changes have occurred in the Upper House, as regards life members, I will call the attention of the House

to the following facts:—At the call of the House, in February, 1856, forty-two life members responded; two years afterwards, in 1858, only thirty-five answered to their names; in 1862 there were only twenty-five life members left, and in 1864, but twenty-one. (Hear, hear.) This shows how speedily changes take place in the life membership. But remarkable as this change has been, it is not so great as that in regard to the elected members. Though the elective principle only came into force in 1856, and although only twelve men were elected that year, and twelve more every two years since, twenty-four changes have already taken place by the decease of members, by the acceptance of office, and by resignation. So it is quite clear that, should there be on any question a difference of opinion between the Upper and Lower Houses, the government of the day being obliged to have the confidence of the majority in the popular branch, would, for the purpose of bringing the former into accord and sympathy with the latter, fill up any vacancies that might occur, with men of the same political feelings and sympathies with the Government, and consequently with those of the majority in the popular branch; and all the appointments of the Administration would be made with the object of maintaining the sympathy and harmony between the two Houses. (Hear, hear.) There is this additional advantage to be expected from the limitation. To the Upper House is to be confided the protection of sectional interests; therefore is it that the three great divisions are there equally represented, for the purpose of defending such interests against the combinations of majorities in the Assembly. It will, therefore, become the interest of each section to be represented by its very best men, and the members of the Administration who belong to each section will see that such men are chosen, in case of a vacancy in their section. For the same reason each State of the American Union sends its two best men to represent its interests in the Senate. (Hear, hear.) It is provided in the Constitution that in the first selections for the Council, regard shall be had to those who now hold similar positions in the different colonies. This, it appears to me, is a wise provision. In all the Provinces, except Prince Edward, there are gentlemen who hold commissions for the Upper House for life. In Canada, there are a number who hold under that commission; but the majority of them hold by a commission, not, perhaps, from a monarchical point of view so honorable—because the Queen is the fountain of honor,—but still, as holding their appointment from the people, they may be considered as standing on a par with those who have Her Majesty's commission. There can be no reason suggested why those who have had experience in legislation, whether they hold their positions by the election of the people or have received preferment from the Crown—there is no valid reason why those men should be passed over, and new men sought for to form the Legislative Council of the Confederation. It is, therefore, provided that the selection shall be made from those gentlemen who are now members of the upper branch of the Legislature in each of the colonies, for seats in the Legislative Council of the General Legislature. The arrangement in this respect is somewhat similar to that by which Representative Peers are chosen from the Peers of Scotland and Ireland, to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. In like manner, the members of the Legislative Council of the proposed Confedera-

tion will be first selected from the existing Legislative Councils of the various Provinces. In the formation of the House of Commons, the principle of representation by population has been provided for in a manner equally ingenious and simple. The introduction of this principle presented at first the apparent difficulty of a constantly increasing body until, with the increasing population, it would become inconveniently and expensively large. But by adopting the representation of Lower Canada as a fixed standard—as the pivot on which the whole would turn—that Province being the best suited for the purpose, on account of the comparatively permanent character of its population, and from its having neither the largest nor least number of inhabitants—we have been enabled to overcome the difficulty I have mentioned. We have introduced the system of representation by population without the danger of an inconvenient increase in the number of representatives on the recurrence of each decennial period. The whole thing is worked by a simple rule of three. For instance, we have in Upper Canada 1,400,000 of a population; in Lower Canada 1,100,000. Now, the proposition is simply this—If Lower Canada, with its population of 1,100,000, has a right to 65 members, how many members should Upper Canada have, with its larger population of 1,400,000? The same rule applies to the other Provinces—the proportion is always observed and the principle of representation by population carried out, while, at the same time, there will not be decennially an inconvenient increase in the numbers of the Lower House. At the same time, there is a constitutional provision that hereafter, if deemed advisable, the total number of representatives may be increased from 194, the number fixed in the first instance. In that case, if an increase is made, Lower Canada is still to remain the pivot on which the whole calculation will turn. If Lower Canada, instead of 65, shall have 70 members, then the calculation will be, if Lower Canada has seventy members, with such a population, how many shall Upper Canada have with a larger population? I was in favor of a larger House than one hundred and ninety-four, but was overruled. I was perhaps singular in the opinion, but I thought it would be well to commence with a larger representation in the lower branch. The arguments against this were, that, in the first place, it would cause additional expense; in the next place, that in a new country like this, we could not get a sufficient number of qualified men to be representatives. My reply was that the number is rapidly increasing as we increase in education and wealth; that a larger field would be open to political ambition by having a larger body of representatives; that by having numerous and smaller constituencies, more people would be interested in the working of the union, and that there would be a wider field for selection for leaders of governments and leaders of parties. These are my individual sentiments,—which, perhaps, I have no right to express here—but I was overruled, and we fixed on the number of one hundred and ninety-four, which no one will say is large or extensive, when it is considered that our present number in Canada alone is one hundred and thirty. The difference between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and ninety-four is not great, considering the large increase that will be made to our population when Confederation is carried into effect. While the principle of representation by population is adopted with respect to the popular

branch of the legislature, not a single member of the Conference, as I stated before, not a single one of the representatives of the government or of the opposition of any one of the Lower Provinces was in favor of universal suffrage. Every one felt that in this respect the principle of the British Constitution should be carried out, and that classes and property should be represented as well as numbers. Insurmountable difficulties would have presented themselves if we had attempted to settle now the qualification for the elective franchise. We have different laws in each of the colonies, fixing the qualification of electors for their own local legislatures; and we therefore adopted a similar clause to that which is contained in the Canada Union Act of 1841, viz., that all the laws which affected the qualification of members and of voters, which affected the appointment and conduct of returning officers and the proceedings at elections, as well as the trial of controverted elections in the separate provinces, should obtain in the first election to the Confederate Parliament, so that every man who has now a vote in his own province, should continue to have a vote in choosing a representative to the first Federal Parliament. And it was left to the Parliament of the Confederation, as one of their first duties, to consider and to settle by an act of their own the qualification for the elective franchise, which would apply to the whole Confederation. In considering the question of the duration of Parliament, we came to the conclusion to recommend a period of five years. I was in favor of a longer period. I thought that the duration of the local legislatures should not be shortened so as to be less than four years, as at present, and that the General Parliament should have as long a duration as that of the United Kingdom. I was willing to have gone to the extent of seven years; but a term of five years was preferred, and we had the example of the New Zealand carefully considered, not only locally, but by the Imperial Parliament, and which gave the provinces of those islands a general parliament, with a duration of five years. But it was a matter of little importance whether five years or seven years was the term, the power of dissolution by the Crown having been reserved. I find, on looking at the duration of parliaments since the accession of George III. to the Throne, that excluding the present parliament, there have been seventeen parliaments, the average period of whose existence has been about three years and a half. That average is less than the average duration of the parliaments in Canada since the union, so that it was not a matter of much importance whether we fixed upon five or seven years as the period of duration of our General Parliament. A good deal of misapprehension has arisen from the accidental omission of some words from the 24th resolution. It was thought that by it the local legislatures were to have the power of arranging hereafter, and from time to time of readjusting the different constituencies, and settling the size and boundaries of the various electoral districts. The meaning of the resolution is simply this, that for the first General Parliament, the arrangement of constituencies shall be made by the existing local legislatures; that in Canada, for instance, the present Canadian Parliament shall arrange what are to be the constituencies of Upper Canada, and to make such changes as may be necessary in arranging for the seventeen additional members given to it by the Constitution; and that it may also, if it sees fit, alter the boun-

daries of the existing constituencies of Lower Canada. In short, this Parliament shall settle what shall be the different constituencies electing members to the first Federal Parliament. And so the other provinces, the legislatures of which will fix the limits of their several constituencies in the session in which they adopt the new Constitution. Afterwards the local legislatures may alter their own electoral limits as they please, for their own local elections. But it would evidently be improper to leave to the Local Legislature the power to alter the constituencies sending members to the General Legislature after the General Legislature shall have been called into existence. Were this the case, a member of the General Legislature might at any time find himself ousted from his seat by an alteration of his constituency by the Local Legislature in his section. No, after the General Parliament meets, in order that it may have full control of its own legislation, and be assured of its position, it must have the full power of arranging and rearranging the electoral limits of its constituencies as it pleases, such being one of the powers essentially necessary to such a Legislature. (Hear, hear.) I shall not detain the House by entering into a consideration at any length of the different powers conferred upon the General Parliament as contradistinguished from those reserved to the local legislatures; but any honorable member on examining the list of different subjects which are to be assigned to the General and Local Legislatures respectively, will see that all the great questions which affect the general interests of the Confederacy as a whole, are confided to the Federal Parliament, while the local interests and local laws of each section are preserved intact, and entrusted to the care of the local bodies. As a matter of course, the General Parliament must have the power of dealing with the public debt and property of the Confederation. Of course, too, it must have the regulation of trade and commerce, of customs and excise. The Federal Parliament must have the sovereign power of raising money from such sources and by such means as the representatives of the people will allow. It will be seen that the local legislatures have the control of all local works; and it is a matter of great importance, and one of the chief advantages of the Federal Union and of local legislatures, that each province will have the power and means of developing its own resources and aiding its own progress after its own fashion and in its own way. Therefore all the local improvements, all local enterprises or undertakings of any kind, have been left to the care and management of the local legislatures of each province. (Cheers.) It is provided that all "lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals and other works, connecting any two or more of the provinces together, or extending beyond the limits of any province," shall belong to the General Government, and be under the control of the General Legislature. In like manner "lines of steamships between the Federated Provinces and other countries, telegraph communication and the incorporation of telegraph companies, and all such works as shall, although lying within any province, be specially declared by the Acts authorizing them, to be for the general advantage," shall belong to the General Government. For instance, the Welland Canal, though lying wholly within one section, and the St. Lawrence Canals in two only, may be properly considered national works, and for the general benefit of the whole Federation. Again, the census, the

ascertaining of our numbers and the extent of our resources, must, as a matter of general interest, belong to the General Government. So also with the defences of the country. One of the great advantages of Confederation is, that we shall have a united, a concerted, and uniform system of defence—(Hear.) We are at this moment with a different militia system in each colony—in some of the colonies with an utter want of any system of defence. We have a number of separate staff establishments, without any arrangement between the colonies as to the means, either of defence or offence. But, under the union, we will have one system of defence, and one system of militia organization. In the event of the Lower Provinces being threatened, we can send the large militia forces of Upper Canada to their rescue. Should we have to fight on our lakes against a foreign foe, we will have the hardy seamen of the Lower Provinces coming to our assistance and manning our vessels. (Hear, hear.) We will have one system of defence, and be one people, acting together alike in peace and in war. (Cheers.) The criminal law too—the determination of what is a crime and what is not and how crime shall be punished—is left to the General Government. This is a matter almost of necessity. It is of great importance that we should have the same criminal law throughout these Provinces—that what is a crime in one part of British America, should be a crime in every part—that there should be the same protection of life and property as in another. It is one of the defects in the United States system, that each separate state has or may have a criminal code of its own,—that what may be a capital offence in one state, may be a venial offence, punishable slightly, in another. But under our Constitution we shall have one body of criminal law, based on the criminal law of England, and operating equally throughout British America, so that a British American, belonging to what Province he may, or going to any other part of the Confederation, knows what his rights are in that respect, and what his punishment will be if an offender against the criminal laws of the land. I think this is one of the most marked instances in which we take advantage of the experience derived from our observation of the defects in the Constitution of the neighboring Republic. (Hear, hear.) The 33rd provision is of very great importance to the future well-being of these colonies. It commits to the General Parliament, the “rendering uniform all or any of the laws relative to property and civil rights in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and rendering uniform the procedure of all or any of the courts in these provinces.” The great principles which govern the laws of all the provinces, with the single exception of Lower Canada, are the same, although there may be a divergence in details; and it is gratifying to find, on the part of the Lower Provinces, a general desire to join together with Upper Canada in this matter, and to procure, as soon as possible, an assimilation of the statutory laws and the procedure in the courts, of all these provinces. At present there is a good deal of diversity. In one of the colonies, for instance, they have no municipal system at all. In another, the municipal system is merely permissive, and has not been adopted to any extent. Although, therefore, a legislative union was found to be almost impracticable, it was understood, so far as we could influence the future, that the first act of the Confederate Government should

be to procure an assimilation of the statutory law of all those provinces, which has, as its root and foundation, the common law of England. But to prevent local interests from being over-riden, the same section makes provision, that, while power is given to the General Legislature to deal with this subject, no change in this respect should have the force and authority of law in any province until sanctioned by the Legislature of that province. (Hear, hear.) The General Legislature is to have power to establish a general Court of Appeal for the Federated Provinces. Although the Canadian Legislature has always had the power to establish a Court of Appeal, to which appeals may be made from the courts of Upper and Lower Canada, we have never availed ourselves of the power. Upper Canada has its own Court of Appeal, so has Lower Canada. And this system will continue until a General Court of Appeal shall be established by the General Legislature. The Constitution does not provide that such a court shall be established. There are many arguments for and against the establishment of such a court. But it was thought wise and expedient to put into the Constitution a power to the General Legislature, that, if after full consideration they think it advisable to establish a General Court of Appeal from all the Superior Courts of all the provinces, they may do so. (Hear, hear.) I shall not go over the other powers that are conferred on the General Parliament. Most of them refer to matters of financial and commercial interest, and I leave those subjects in other and better hands. Besides all the powers that are specifically given in the 37th and last item of this portion of the Constitution, confers on the General Legislature the general mass of sovereign legislation, the power to legislate on "all matters of a general character, not specially and exclusively reserved for the local governments and legislatures." This is precisely the provision which is wanting in the Constitution of the United States. It is here that we find the weakness of the American system—the point where the American Constitution breaks down. (Hear, hear.) It is in itself a wise and necessary provision. We thereby strengthen the Central Parliament, and make the Confederation one people and one government, instead of five peoples and five governments, with merely a point of authority connecting us to a limited and insufficient extent. With respect to the local governments, it is provided that each shall be governed by a chief executive officer, who shall be nominated by the General Government. As this is to be one united province, with the local governments and legislatures subordinate to the General Government and Legislature, it is obvious that the chief executive officer in each of the provinces must be subordinate as well. The General Government assumes towards the local governments precisely the same position as the Imperial Government holds with respect to each of the colonies now; so that as the Lieutenant Governor of each of the different provinces is now appointed directly by the Queen, and is directly responsible, and reports directly to Her, so will the executives of the local governments hereafter be subordinate to the Representative of the Queen, and be responsible and report to him. Objection has been taken that there is an infringement of the Royal prerogative in giving the pardoning power to the local governors, who are not appointed directly by the Crown, but only indirectly by the Chief Executive of the Confederation, who is appointed by the Crown. This

provision was inserted in the Constitution on account of the practical difficulty which must arise if the power is confined to the Governor General. For example, if a question arose about the discharge of a prisoner convicted of a minor offence, say in Newfoundland, who might be in imminent danger of losing his life if he remained in confinement, the exercise of the pardoning power might come too late if it were necessary to wait for the action of the Governor General. It must be remembered that the pardoning power not only extends to capital cases, but to every case of conviction and sentence, no matter how trifling—even to the case of a fine in the nature of a sentence on criminal conviction. It extends to innumerable cases, where, if the responsibility for its exercise were thrown on the General Executive, it could not be so satisfactorily discharged. Of course there must be, in each province, a legal adviser of the Executive, occupying the position of our Attorney General, as there is in every state of the American Union. This officer will be an officer of the Local Government; but, if the pardoning power is reserved for the Chief Executive, there must, in every case where the exercise of the pardoning power is sought, be a direct communication and report from the local law officer to the Governor General. The practical inconvenience of this was felt to be so great, that it was thought well to propose the arrangement we did, without any desire to infringe upon the prerogatives of the Crown, for our whole action shews that the Conference, in every step they took, were actuated by a desire to guard jealously these prerogatives. (Hear, hear.) It is a subject, however, of Imperial interest, and if the Imperial Government and Imperial Parliament are not convinced by the arguments we will be able to press upon them for the continuation of that clause, then, of course, as the over-riding power, they may set it aside. (Hear, hear.) There are numerous subjects which belong, of right, both to the Local and General Parliaments. In all these cases it is provided, in order to prevent a conflict of authority, that where there is a concurrent jurisdiction in the General and Local Parliaments, the same rule should apply as now applies in cases where there is concurrent jurisdiction in the Imperial and in the Provincial Parliaments, and that when the legislation of the one is adverse to or contradictory of the legislation of the other, in all such cases the action of the General Parliament must overrule, ex-necessitate, the action of the Local Legislature. (Hear, hear.) We have introduced also all those provisions which are necessary in order to the full working out of the British Constitution in these provinces. We provide that there shall be no money votes, unless those votes are introduced in the popular branch of the Legislature on the authority of the responsible advisers of the Crown—those with whom the responsibility rests of equalizing revenue and expenditure—that there can be no expenditure or authorization of expenditure by Address or in any other way unless initiated by the Crown on the advice of its responsible advisers. (Hear, hear.) As regards the financial features of the scheme, the arrangements made as to the present liabilities of the several provinces, and the future liabilities of the Confederation, on these kind and kindred matters, I have no doubt that my honorable friends, the Finance Minister and the President of the Council, will speak at full length, and that they will be able to show you that this branch of the subject has received the fullest



consideration. I feel I would be intruding myself unnecessarily on the House, if, with my inferior knowledge of those subjects I were to detain you by venturing to speak of them, when I know that they will be so ably and fully gone into by my two honorable friends. The last resolution of any importance is one which, although not affecting the substance of the Constitution, is of interest to us all. It is that "Her Majesty the Queen be solicited to determine the rank and name of the federated Provinces." I do not know whether there will be any expression of opinion in this House on this subject—whether we are to be a vice-royalty, or whether we are still to retain our name and rank as a Province. But I have no doubt Her Majesty will give the matter Her gracious consideration, that She will give us a name satisfactory to us all, and that the rank She will confer upon us will be a rank worthy of our position, of our resources, and of our future. (Cheers.) Let me again, before I sit down, impress upon this House the necessity of meeting this question in a spirit of compromise, with a disposition to judge the matter as a whole, to consider whether really it is for the benefit and advantage of the country to form a Confederation of all the Provinces; and if honorable gentlemen, whatever may have been their preconceived ideas as to the merits of the details of this measure, whatever may still be their opinions as to these details, if they really believe that the scheme is one by which the prosperity of the country will be increased, and its future progress secured, I ask them to yield their own views, and to deal with the scheme according to its merits as one great whole. (Hear, hear.) One argument, but not a strong one, has been used against this Confederation, that it is an advance towards independence. Some are apprehensive that the very fact of our forming this union will hasten the time when we shall be severed from the Mother Country. I have no apprehension of that kind. I believe it will have the contrary effect. I believe that as we grow stronger, that, as it is felt in England we have become a people, able from our union, our strength, our population, and the development of our resources, to take our position among the nations of the world, she will be less willing to part with us than she would be now, when we are broken up into a number of insignificant colonies, subject to attack piece-meal without any concerted action or common organization of defence. I am strongly of opinion that year by year, as we grow in population and strength, England will more see the advantages of maintaining the alliance between British North America and herself. Does any one imagine that, when our population, instead of three and a-half, will be seven millions, as it will be ere many years pass, we would be one whit more willing than now to sever the connection with England? Would not those seven millions be just as anxious to maintain their allegiance to the Queen and their connection with the Mother Country, as we are now? Will the addition to our numbers of the people of the Lower Provinces in any way lessen our desire to continue our connection with the Mother Country? I believe the people of Canada East and West to be truly loyal. But, if they can by possibility be exceeded in loyalty, it is by the inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces. Loyalty with them is an overruling passion. (Hear, hear.) In all parts of the Lower Provinces there is a rivalry between the opposing political parties as to which shall most strongly express and most

effectively carry out the principle of loyalty to Her Majesty, and to the British Crown. (Hear, hear.) When this union takes place, we will be at the outset no inconsiderable party. We find ourselves with a population approaching four millions of souls. Such a population in Europe would make a second, or at least, a third rate power. And with a rapidly increasing population—for I am satisfied that under this union our population will increase in a still greater ratio than ever before—with increased credit—with a higher position in the eyes of Europe—with the increased security we can offer to immigrants, who would naturally prefer to seek a new home in what is known to them as a great country, than in any one little colony or another—with all this, I am satisfied that, great as has been our increase in the last twenty-five years since the union between Upper and Lower Canada, our future progress, during the next quarter of a century, will be vastly greater. (Cheers.) And when, by means of this rapid increase, we become a nation of eight or nine millions of inhabitants, our alliance will be worthy of being sought by the great nations of the earth. (Hear, hear.) I am proud to believe that our desire for a permanent alliance will be reciprocated in England. I know that there is a party in England—but it is inconsiderable in numbers, though strong in intellect and power—which speaks of the desirability of getting rid of the colonies; but I believe such is not the feeling of the statesmen and the people of England. I believe it will never be the deliberately expressed determination of the Government of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) The colonies are now in a transition state. Gradually a different colonial system is being developed—and it will become, year by year, less a case of dependence on our part, and of overruling protection on the part of the Mother Country, and more a case of a healthy and cordial alliance. Instead of looking upon us as a merely dependent colony, England will have in us a friendly nation—a subordinate but still a powerful people—to stand by her in North America in peace or in war. (Cheers.) The people of Australia will be such another subordinate nation. And England will have this advantage, if her colonies progress under the new colonial system, as I believe they will, that, though at war with all the rest of the world, she will be able to look to the subordinate nations in alliance with her, and owing allegiance to the same Sovereign, who will assist in enabling her again to meet the whole world in arms, as she has done before. (Cheers.) And if, in the great Napoleonic war, with every port in Europe closed against her commerce, she was yet able to hold her own, how much more will that be the case when she has a colonial empire rapidly increasing in power, in wealth, in influence, and in position. (Hear, hear.) It is true that we stand in danger, as we have stood in danger again and again in Canada, of being plunged into war, and suffering all its dreadful consequences, as the result of causes over which we have no control, by reason of their connection. This, however, did not intimidate us. At the very mention of the prospect of a war some time ago, how were the feelings of the people aroused from one extremity of British America to the other, and preparations made for meeting its worst consequences. Although the people of this country are fully aware of the horrors of war—should a war arise, unfortunately, between the United States and England, and we all pray it never may—they are still

ready to encounter all perils of that kind, for the sake of the connection with England. There is not one adverse voice, not one adverse opinion on that point. We all feel the advantages we derive from our connection with England. So long as that alliance is maintained, we enjoy, under her protection, the privileges of constitutional liberty according to the British system. We will enjoy here that which is the great test of constitutional freedom—we will have the rights of the minority respected. (Hear, hear.) In all countries the rights of the majority take care of themselves, but it is only in countries like England, enjoying constitutional liberty, and safe from the tyranny of a single despot or of an unbridled democracy, that the rights of minorities are regarded. So long, too, as we form a portion of the British Empire, we shall have the example of her free institutions, of the high standard of the character of her statesmen and public men, of the purity of her legislation, and the upright administration of her laws. In this younger country one great advantage of our connection with Great Britain will be, that, under her auspices, inspired by her example, a portion of her empire, our public men will be actuated by principles similar to those which actuate the statesmen at home. These, although not material, physical benefits, of which you can make an arithmetical calculation, are of such overwhelming advantages to our future interests and standing as a nation, that to obtain them is well worthy of any sacrifices we may be called upon to make, and the people of this country are ready to make them. (Cheers.) We should feel, also, sincerely grateful to beneficent Providence that we have had the opportunity vouchsafed us of calmly considering this great constitutional change, this peaceful revolution—that we have not been hurried into it, like the United States, by the exigencies of war—that we have not had a violent revolutionary period forced on us, as in other nations, by hostile action from without, or by domestic dissensions within. Here we are in peace and prosperity, under the fostering government of Great Britain—a dependent people, with a government having only a limited and delegated authority, and yet allowed, without restriction, and without jealousy on the part of the Mother Country, to legislate for ourselves, and peacefully and deliberately to consider and determine the future of Canada and of British North America. It is our happiness to know the expression of the will of our Gracious Sovereign, through Her Ministers, that we have her full sanction for our deliberations, that Her only solicitude is that we shall adopt a system which shall be really for our advantage, and that She promises to sanction whatever conclusion after full deliberation we may arrive at as to the best mode of securing the well-being,—the present and future prosperity of British America.—(Cheers.) It is our privilege and happiness to be in such a position, and we cannot be too grateful for the blessings thus conferred upon us. (Hear, hear.) I must apologize for having gone perhaps too much into tedious details with reference to the questions bearing on the Constitution now submitted to this House.—(Cries of “no, no” and “go on.”)—In conclusion, I would again implore the House not to let this opportunity pass. It is an opportunity that may never recur. At the risk of repeating myself, I would say, it was only by a happy concurrence of circumstances, that we were enabled to bring this great question to its present position. If we do

not take advantage of the time, if we show ourselves unequal to the occasion, it may never return, and we shall hereafter bitterly and unavailingly regret having failed to embrace the happy opportunity now offered of founding a great nation under the fostering care of Great Britain, and our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria. (Loud cheers, amidst which the honorable gentleman resumed his seat.)

## HON. GEORGE E. CARTIER

is Attorney-General, East, (and the real leader of the eastern section of the Ministry.)

Mr. Cartier is one of the most active men in Parliament, and has at least made himself a very prominent one in it. He has won his place in such a way, however, that men mention his name with a smile, and this is the more so in the West of Canada.

This minister is not as ready in legislation as most of his colleagues, but makes up for it by his activity and the use of his tongue. If he has any notable quality it is that he can speak. Of this he seems to be too well aware, and therefore favors the country too much in that way. In French he can speak for hours, but not very well. If his hearers think that he takes up too much of the time of the House, he does not see it, and uses his tongue as if that organ were untiring.

Mr. Cartier is member for an important constituency, namely, "Montreal East," in which the most of the electors are of French origin. It is tacitly agreed that a French Canadian shall represent this division; and, as long as Mr. Cartier holds office, he will be the elect of it, which shows that influence and not merit wins for him the plurality of the votes.

This minister began political life as member for Vercheres, in 1848, which he represented until 1861. He was Provincial Secretary from January 1855 to May 1856, and it can not be said that he, if left to himself, makes a very good secretary. In 1856 he became Attorney-General, East, and in 1858 he

resigned with the Government. Again he became Attorney-General, East, and held the office until 1862, in which year the ministry were defeated. For two years he had to languish in opposition, and, at the end of that period, he, for the third time, became Attorney-General, East, in the coalition ministry. This brings him up to his present position in the Government.

Mr. Cartier is really the leader of a large part of the French Canadians. He may be said to have taken the place of the late Mr. Morin, who had the lead of the party for some years. It is only in times of political quiet between the two races in Canada East that Mr. Cartier can retain his lead of the strong party who now follow him, for if any great question were to arise, in which he lent his influence to the English interest, as usual, his friends would have to break off from him, in order to be true to the interests of their race. If he were to desert his English friends he, of course, could retain the lead of his party, but it is very doubtful that he would be a match for the Rouge leader without the aid of his present friends of British origin. For instance, he could not be elected for "Montreal East."

In the debates on Confederation, Mr. Cartier, as usual, used his tongue freely, and was of great service in answering the questions of the French Canadian opponents of the scheme. From the 3rd February to the close of the great debate he was untiring, and in this energy lies his chief merit. The writer cannot give a verbatim speech of the Attorney General East in this debate, and, therefore, appends what will be found at the end of this brief sketch.

In 1835 Mr. Cartier was admitted to the Bar. He did not do very well at it, and to "get up his name" he went into politics and made a little noise two years later, 1837-38. At first this did him no good, but, in the end, it did, for it gained him influence with his *compatriotes*, and this influence he has now lent to the English interest.

Mr. Cartier was born in 1814. He is, therefore, about 52 years of age, and has been 18 years in Parliament.

The following is a synopsis of the speech made by Mr. Cartier, in the House, February 7, 1865 :

ATTY. GEN. CARTIER rose to continue the debate on Confederation. He said that he approached this subject with a certain amount of diffidence, knowing it was not the first time he had had the honor of speaking upon it in the Lower Provinces and elsewhere. He felt that this was a momentous occasion, as for anything that he said on this grave question he was responsible to his constituents and the country. Respecting this grave question, it had been said that the Taché-Macdonald Government had taken upon themselves the solution of a problem which was not at the time of its formation before the country, and had not even been mooted. Those saying so were ignorant of the parliamentary history of the past few years. He would briefly refer to the history of this great question, as far as it had been brought before the Parliament and country. When the Cartier-Macdonald Government was constructed, after the downfall of the Brown-Dorion Administration, a programme of the policy of the former was laid before Parliament. Among the subjects contained in this programme of 7th August, 1858, was one referred to in the following terms: "The late Government felt themselves bound to carry out the law of the land respecting the seat of Government, but, in the face of the recent vote on that subject, the Administration did not consider themselves warranted in incurring any expenditure for the public buildings, until Parliament has had an opportunity of considering the whole question in all its bearings; and the expediency of a Federal Union of the British North American Provinces will be anxiously considered, and communication with the Home Government and the Lower Provinces entered into forthwith on the subject; and the result of this communication will be submitted to Parliament at its next session. The Government will, during the recess, examine into the organization and working of the public departments, and carry out such administrative reforms as will be conducive to economy and efficiency." Here was this scheme of a union of the provinces mentioned in the programme of the Cartier-Macdonald Government, in 1858. He merely

quoted this passage to show that neither Parliament nor the country was now taken by surprise with regard to this scheme. (Hear, hear.) We had had general and special elections since 1858, and to pretend that this subject, which had been so often canvassed, was new to the country, was to assert an untruth. At the close of that session, Sir Edmund Head, in his Speech proroguing Parliament, made use of the following language:—"I propose, in the course of the recess, to communicate with Her Majesty's Government, and with the Governments of the sister colonies, on another matter of very great importance. I am desirous of inviting them to discuss with us the principles on which a bond of a federal character, uniting the Provinces of British North America, may perhaps hereafter be practicable." In accordance with that announcement of policy, a deputation was sent to England, composed of his then colleagues, Hons. Messrs. Galt and Ross and himself. We pressed the matter before the Imperial Government, whom we asked to authorize a meeting of delegates from the British North American Governments to consider this subject and report upon it, said report to be communicated to the Colonial Secretary. Of course we wanted at that time to act with the sanction and approval of the Imperial Government. We pressed the matter as strongly as we could before it. Of all the provinces that responded to the call of the Imperial Government, Newfoundland, he thought, was the only one which professed her readiness to appoint delegates when the opportune moment arrived. (Hear, hear.) Although the other provinces were not opposed to Confederation, still, as the question had not been brought conspicuously before their people, they did not like then to join in the measure and in the proceedings which the Canadian delegates had urged upon the Imperial Government in 1858. At this time the Canadian delegates had a duty to perform towards the illustrious Administrator of the Government, Sir E. Head, to fulfil the promise he had made, on proroguing Parliament, by pressing the measure upon the attention of the Imperial Administration. The Canadian Government also kept its promise to report to the House the result of the mission to England at the next session of Parliament. The honorable gentleman here read the despatch dated October, 1858, which was transmitted to the Imperial Government, setting forth the sectional difficulties which had arisen between Upper and Lower Canada, principally on account of the former's demand for increased representation in Parliament, on the ground of its much larger population. Every one who knew anything of his past public course was aware that he was opposed to the principle of representation by population while Upper and Lower Canada were under one Government. He did not regret his opposition. If such a measure had been passed, what would have been the consequence? There would have been constant political warfare between Upper and Lower Canada. True it was that the members from Upper Canada, being in the majority, it might have been imagined they would have carried everything before them; but as far as justice to Lower Canada was concerned, such might not have been the case. The consequence of representation by population would have been that one territory would have governed another, and this fact would have presented itself session after session in the House, and day after day in the public prints. (Hear, hear.) The moment this principle had been conceded



as the governing element, it would have initiated between the two provinces a warfare which would have been unremitting. (Hear, hear.) He wished that Upper Canada should understand him in this matter. He was accused of being opposed to Upper Canada's rights, because during fifteen or twenty years he had to oppose his honorable friend the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. Brown). His honorable colleague took the ground that representation should be arranged according to population in each section of the province. He (Hon. Mr. Cartier) had resisted that position, believing that the moment such a principle was applied, his honorable friend, who, no doubt, wanted to maintain the peaceful government of the country, would have been disappointed in his wish. It would have given rise to one of the bitterest struggles between the two provinces that ever took place between two nations. He did not mean to say that the majority from Upper Canada would have tyrannized over Lower Canada; but the idea that Upper Canada, as a territory, had the preponderance in the Government by a large number of representatives, would have been sufficient to generate that sectional strife to which he had alluded. In 1858 he first saw that representation by population, though unsuited for application as a governing principle as between the two provinces, would not involve the same objection if other partners were drawn in by a federation. In a struggle between two—one a weak, and the other a strong party—the weaker could not but be overcome; but if three parties were concerned, the stronger would not have the same advantage; as when it was seen by the third that there was too much strength on one side, the third would club with the weaker combatant to resist the big fighter. (Cheers and laughter.) He did not oppose the principle of representation by population from an unwillingness to do justice to Upper Canada. He took this ground, however, that when justice was done to Upper Canada, it was his duty to see that no injustice was done to Lower Canada. He did not entertain the slightest apprehension that Lower Canada's rights were in the least jeopardized by the provision that in the General Legislature the French Canadians of Lower Canada would have a smaller number of representatives than all the other origins combined. It would be seen by the resolutions that in the questions which would be submitted to the General Parliament there could be no danger to the rights and privileges of either French Canadians, Scotchmen, Englishmen or Irishmen. Questions of commerce, of international communication, and all matters of general interest, would be discussed and determined in the General Legislature; but in the exercise of the functions of the General Government, no one could apprehend that anything could be enacted which would harm or do injustice to persons of any nationality. He did not intend to go into the details of the question of Confederation, but merely to bring before the House the most conspicuous arguments in order to induce members to accept the resolutions submitted by the Government. Confederation was, as it were, at this moment almost forced upon us. We could not shut our eyes to what was going on beyond the lines, where a great struggle was going on between two confederacies, at one time forming but one confederacy. We saw that a government, established not more than 80 years ago, had not been able to keep together the family of states which had broke up four or five years since. We could not

deny that the struggle now in progress must necessarily influence our political existence. We did not know what would be the result of that great war—whether it would end in the establishment of two confederacies or in one as before. However, we had to do with five colonies, inhabited by men of the same sympathies and interests, and in order to become a great nation they required only to be brought together under one General Government. The matter resolved itself into this, either we must obtain British North American Confederation or be absorbed in an American Confederation. (Hear, hear, and dissent.) Some entertained the opinion that it was unnecessary to have British North American Confederation to prevent absorption into the vortex of American Confederation. Such parties were mistaken. We knew the policy of England towards us—that she was determined to help and support us in any struggle with our neighbors. The British Provinces, separated as at present, could not defend themselves alone, and the question resolved itself into this: shall the whole strength of the empire be concentrated into Prince Edward Island, or Canada, as the case may be, in case of a war with the United States—or shall the provinces be left to fight single-handed, disunited? We were not sufficiently united. We had our duties, with regard to England, to perform. In order to secure the exercise of her power in our defence we must help her ourselves. We could not do this satisfactorily or efficiently unless we had a Confederation. When all united, the enemy would know that, if he attacked any part of those provinces—Prince Edward Island or Canada—he would have to encounter the combined strength of the empire. Canada, separate, would be, although comparatively strong in population and wealth, in a dangerous position should a war ensue. When we had organized our good defensive force, and united for mutual protection, England would send freely here both men and treasure for our defence. (Cheers.) He had stated before audiences in the Lower Provinces that, as far as territory, population and wealth were concerned, Canada was stronger than any of the other provinces, but at the same time was wanting in one element necessary to national greatness—the maritime one; and that, owing to the large trade and commerce of Canada, extensive communication with Great Britain at all seasons was absolutely necessary. Twenty years ago our commerce for the year could be managed by communication with Great Britain in the summer months only. At present, however, this system was insufficient, and for winter communication with the sea-board we were left to the caprice of our American neighbors, through whose territory we must pass. He had also alluded to the bonding system, which if the Americans were to withdraw, Canada would be left in winter without any winter harbors. Canada, having two or three elements of national greatness—territory and population—wanted the maritime element; and as he had said,—the Lower Provinces had this element and a sea-board, but not a back country or large population, which Canada possessed—and for the mutual benefit and prosperity of all the provinces, all these elements ought to be united together. Those who pretended that the British North American Provinces would be in as safe a position, remaining separate, while they belonged to the British Crown, as under Confederation, were under great misapprehension. Now was the time for us to form a great nation of the several provinces. Now

was the time to look the matter in the face and adopt the only safe and prudent course open to us in the shape of Confederation. He maintained it was necessary for our own commercial interests, prosperity and efficient defence. That was what we had now to discuss, and not the manner in which Confederation was to be brought about, which would be discussed when the details of the scheme came up for consideration. At present the question was: Was Confederation of the British North American Provinces necessary in order to increase our strength and power and secure to us the continuance of the benefits of British connection? He had no doubt that the measure was necessary for those objects. It would be observed that the English-speaking opponents of the scheme in Lower Canada pretended a fear of this element being absorbed by the French Canadian; while the opponents, composed of the latter origin—of men who might be called the old Papineau Tail—whose sole idea was annexation to the United States—said they were afraid of the extinction of French Canadian nationality in the great Confederation. The annexation party in Montreal, including the followers of Mr. John Dougall, the proprietor of the *Witness*, opposed the scheme on the ground of supposed danger to the British of Lower Canada. The annexation party could not, however, be supposed to be sincere in their opposition to the scheme—except in so far as they desired to carry Canada into the American Union. The absorption of this province into the United States had long been contemplated, as would be seen from the 7th article in the original draft of the American Constitution, which he would read. It was as follows: "Art. 7. Canada, according to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this union; and shall be equally with any other of the United States, solemnly bound to a strict observance of, and obedience to, these articles; as shall be also any other colony which shall be admitted into this Confederacy. The eleven votes in Congress shall be increased in proportion as the Confederacy is extended. But, except Canada, no other colony shall be admitted into the Confederacy without the assent of eleven or more votes, as the case may require, by the Confederation being extended." By that article, no new state could go into the union except by the vote of the number of states required to admit a new partner. But, as regarded Canada, no such assent was required; on knocking at the door of the union, she would, as a matter of course, be admitted. (Hear, hear.) The honorable gentleman went on to say that the papers lately contained a report of a meeting at the *Institut Canadien* of Montreal, where it was resolved that it was for the interests of Lower Canada—in the interests of the French Canadians—were the province to become a part of the American Union.

Hon. Mr. Dorion said that was not the case. The honorable gentleman had misquoted what had passed there.

Hon. Mr. Cartier said he was right. If resolutions were not passed, sentiments were expressed to that effect. Then the organ of the Institute—*L'Ordre*, he thought—had set forth that the interests of Lower Canada would be better secured by annexation to the United States than entering into a Confederation with the British American Provinces. It was no wonder, then, that the French Canadian annexationists betrayed their purpose in

opposition to British North American Confederation, and that their English-speaking colleagues pretended a fear of the rights of their class being jeopardized under Confederation. We knew their object in this—that they were aware that as soon as this project was adopted, there would be no avail in any cry of separation to form a part of the American Union. (Hear, hear.) There had been a good deal of fault-finding and complaint as to the proceedings of the delegates having been conducted with closed doors. Such a course was an absolute necessity. Every one could understand that if all the difficulties arising among the representatives of the five colonies, during the Conference, had gone every morning to the public, it would have been impossible for the delegates to continue to meet, or compromise any of the difficulties that might be expected to spring up. Besides, the proceedings of the American Congress of 1782 was held with closed doors, and their proceedings were not published while matters were progressing. With regard to this, he would quote from a letter of Col. Mason, a member of the Convention:—“All communications of the proceedings are forbidden during the sitting of this Convention; this, I think, was a necessary precaution to prevent misrepresentations or mistakes; there being a material difference between the appearance of a subject in its first crude and indigested shape and after it shall have been properly matured and arranged.” On the same principle the Conference at Quebec very properly sat with closed doors. (Hear, hear.) We wished, however, that the British Canadian public should know the result of our labors when concluded, and that result the Parliament and people of Canada had before their consideration, and it was for them to discuss its merits. We, on this side of the House—the members of the Government and their supporters—had come to the conclusion that Federation was desirable and necessary; and we were ready to hear the honorable gentlemen on the other side who necessarily, from their standing, were supposed to have devoted their attention to it and appreciated their position, stating what in their opinion would be sufficient in order to maintain ourselves as a British colony on this side of the Atlantic, and to increase in wealth and power. He was aware that some members of the House, and a number of people in Upper Canada, in Lower Canada, and in the Lower Provinces, were of opinion that a Legislative Union ought to have taken place instead of a Federal Union. He would say, however, at the outset, that it was impossible to have one Government to deal with all the private and local interests of the several sections of the several provinces forming the combined whole. (Hear, hear.) The next question to be considered, therefore, by those who had set to work to discover a solution of the difficulties under which we had labored, was—what was the best and most practicable mode of bringing the provinces together, so that particular rights and interests should be properly guarded and protected? No other scheme presented itself but the Federation system, and that was the project which now recommended itself to the Parliament of Canada. Some parties—through the press and by other modes—pretended that it was impossible to carry out Federation, on account of the differences of races and religions. Those who took this view of the question were in error. It was just the reverse. It was precisely on account of the variety of races, local interests, &c., that the Federation

system ought to be resorted to, and would be found to work well. (Hear, hear.) We were in the habit of seeing in some public journals, and hearing from some public men, that it was a great misfortune indeed there should be a difference of races in this colony—that there should be the distinction of French Canadian from British Canadian. Now, he (Hon. Mr. Cartier) desired on this point to vindicate the rights, the merits, the usefulness, so to speak, of those belonging to the French Canadian race. (Hear, hear.) In order to bring these merits and this usefulness more prominently before his hearers, it would be only necessary to allude to the efforts made by them to sustain British power on this continent, and to point out their adherence to British supremacy in trying times. We were all conversant with the history of the circumstances which had brought about the difficulties between England and her former American colonies in 1775. Lower Canada—or rather he should say, the Province of Quebec, for the colony was not then known by the name of Canada, but was called the Province of Quebec,—contained the most dense population of any British colony in North America at that time. The accession of Lower Canada was of course an object of envy to the other American colonies, and strenuous efforts were made by those who had resolved to overthrow British power on this continent to induce Canada to ally herself to their cause. As early as 1775, the French Canadians were solemnly addressed in a proclamation by General Washington, who called upon them to abandon the flag of their new masters, inasmuch as they could not expect anything from those who differed from them in language, in religion, in race, and in sympathies. But what was the conduct of the French Canadian people under these circumstances—what was the attitude of the clergy and the seigniors? It was right in treating this chapter of our history to render justice to whom justice was due, and it was truth to say that the seigniors, forming, as they did, the educated class of our population at that early epoch, had fully understood that the object and aim of those who appealed to them was the downfall of the monarchical system in America. (Hear, hear.) A few years only had elapsed at that time since the transfer of the country and its population from the Crown of France to the Crown of Great Britain; but even within that brief interval of time they were enabled to appreciate the advantages of their new position, notwithstanding the fact that they were still struggling and complaining. The people, as well as the clergy and aristocracy, had understood that it was better for them to remain under the English and Protestant Crown of England rather than become republicans. (Hear, hear.) They were proof against the insidious offers of George Washington; and not only so, but when the Americans came as invaders, they fought against the armed forces of Arnold, Montgomery and others. (Cheers.) Attempts were made to excite hostility to Federation on the ground that, under the regime of a local legislature, the English Protestant minority would not be fairly dealt with. He thought the way in which the French Canadians had stood by British connection, when there were but few British in the province, was a proof that they would not attempt to deal unjustly now by the British minority, when their numbers were so much greater. On this point, appealing to the evidence of history, he would quote from the work which he had already quoted. At a time when there were, perhaps, hardly

a few hundred English Protestant residents in Lower Canada, the address in the name of Washington, to which he had already briefly referred, was circulated throughout the country by Arnold's invading army. The honorable gentleman here read a number of extracts from General Washington's proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of Canada. It made the most earnest appeals to the Lower Canadians to join the other colonies. "We rejoice," said General Washington, "that our enemies have been deceived with regard to you; they have persuaded themselves—they have even dared to say—that the Canadians were not capable of distinguishing between the blessings of liberty and the wretchedness of slavery; that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the people of Canada. By such artifices they hoped to bend you to their views, but they have been deceived. \* \* \* Come then, my brethren, unite with us in an indissoluble union; let us run together to the same goal. \* \* \* Incited by these motives, and encouraged by the advice of many friends of liberty among you, the grand American Congress have sent an army into your province, under the command of General Schuyler—not to plunder but to protect you—to animate and bring forth into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To co-operate with this design, and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes, which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children, I have despatched Colonel Arnold into your country with a part of the army under my command. I have enjoined upon him, and I am certain that he will consider himself, and act as in the country of his patrons and best friends. Necessaries and accommodations of every kind which you may furnish he will thankfully receive and render the full value. I invite you, therefore, as friends and brethren, to provide him with such supplies as your country affords; and I pledge myself not only for your safety and security, but for an ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation—let no one flee as before an enemy. The cause of America and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous American citizen, whatever may be his religion or descent. The united colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption and arbitrary dominion may create. Come then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty—against which all the force of artifice and tyranny will never be able to prevail." It appeared by this address that the most tempting offers and promises had been made by the republican general; but they had failed, nevertheless, to accomplish the desired effect. This, however, was not the only trait of this nature in the history of the French Canadian people. There was another despatch, or rather proclamation, issued in 1778, by Baron D'Estaing, commander of the French fleet, which was acting in aid of the American revolutionary party. The honorable gentleman read some extracts from this proclamation, as follows:—"I shall not ask the military companions of the Marquis of Lévis, those who shared his glory, who admired his talents and genius for war, who loved his cordiality and frankness, the principal characteristics of our nobility, whether there be other names in other nations among which they would be better pleased to place their own. Can the Canadians, who saw the brave Montcalm fall in their defence—can they become the enemies of his

nephews? Can they fight against their former leaders, and arm themselves against their kinsmen? At the bare mention of their names, the weapons would fall out of their hands. I shall not observe to the ministers of the altars, that their evangelic efforts will require the special protection of Providence, to prevent faith being diminished by example, by worldly interest, and by sovereigns whom force has imposed upon them, and whose political indulgence will be lessened proportionably as those sovereigns shall have less to fear. I shall not observe that it is necessary for religion that those who preach it should form a body in the state; and that in Canada no other body would be more considered, or have more power to do good than that of the priests, taking a part in the Government, since their respectable conduct has merited the confidence of the people. I shall not represent to that people, nor to all my countrymen in general, that a vast monarchy, having the same religion, the same manners, the same language, where they find kinsmen, old friends and brethren, must be an inexhaustible source of commerce and wealth, more easily acquired and better secured by their union with powerful neighbors, than with strangers of another hemisphere, among whom everything is different, and who, jealous and despotic sovereigns would, sooner or later, treat them as a conquered people, and doubtless much worse than their late countrymen, the Americans, who made them victorious. I shall not urge to a whole people that to join with the United States is to secure their own happiness, since a whole people, when they acquire the right of thinking and acting for themselves, must know their own interest. But I will declare, and I now formally declare in the name of His Majesty, who has authorized and commanded me to do it, that all his former subjects in North America, who shall no more acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain, may depend upon his protection and support." D'ESTAING had appealed to their ancestry and their prejudices; he had invoked the names of LEVIS and MONTCALM, and endeavoured to influence their clergy; but the French Canadians understood their position too well. If they had their institutions, their language and their religion intact to-day, it was precisely because of their adherence to the British Crown. Had they yielded to the appeals of WASHINGTON and Baron D'ESTAING, it is probable that there would not have been now a vestige of British power on this continent. But, with the disappearance of British power, they too would have disappeared as French Canadians. (Hear, hear.) These historical facts taught that there should be a mutual feeling of gratitude from the French Canadians towards the British, and from the British towards the French Canadians, for our present position, that Canada is still a British colony. (Hear, hear.) He had had occasion, a moment ago, to refer to the French Canadian clergy in connection with D'ESTAING's address, and he would say this, to their honour and credit, that, if to-day Canada was a portion of the British Empire, it was due to the conservatism of the French Canadian clergy. (Cheers.) It was a pleasure to him thus to be able to quote from these old documents proof of the honour, loyalty, and liberality of the French Canadian people. He (Hon. Mr. CARTIER) was as devoid of prejudice as any honorable gentleman in this House; but when he heard or read the statements occasionally made, that there was some danger that, under the Federation system, the French

Canadians would have too much power, and that the power thus obtained would be used to the prejudice of the British and Protestant minority—the history of the past, in many instances, was the best reply to such attacks. (Hear, hear.) Baron D'ESTARIG issued his tempting proclamation in 1778, and it was sent into Canada frequently afterwards, and circulated at the instigation of ROCHAMBEAU and LAFAYETTE; but our clergy and our aristocracy, the leaders of our people in these days, saw that it was not their interest to cast their lot with the democratic element—they knew the hollowness of democracy. (Hear, hear.) We found ourselves at the present day discussing the question of the Federation of the British North American Provinces, while the great Federation of the United States of America was broken up and divided against itself. There was, however, this important difference to be observed in considering the action of the two peoples. They had founded Federation for the purpose of carrying out and perpetuating democracy on this continent; but we, who had the benefit of being able to contemplate republicanism in action during a period of eighty years, saw its defects, and felt convinced that purely democratic institutions could not be conducive to the peace and prosperity of nations. We were not now discussing the great problem presented to our consideration, in order to propagate democratic principles. Our attempt was for the purpose of forming a Federation with a view of perpetuating the monarchical element. The distinction, therefore, between ourselves and our neighbours was just this:—In our Federation the monarchical principle would form the leading feature, while on the other side of the lines, judging by the past history and present condition of the country, the ruling power was the will of the mob, the rule of the populace. Every person who had conversed with the most intelligent American statesmen and writers must have learned that they all admitted that the governmental powers had become too extended, owing to the introduction of universal suffrage, and mob rule had consequently supplanted legitimate authority; and we now saw the sad spectacle of a country torn by civil war, and brethren fighting against brethren. The question for us to ask ourselves was this: Shall we be content to remain separate—shall we be content to maintain a mere provincial existence, when, by combining together, we could become a great nation? It had never yet been the good fortune of any group of communities to secure national greatness with such facility. In past ages, warriors had struggled for years for the addition to their country of a single province. We had, too, for instance, in our own days, the case of NAPOLEON III., who, after great expenditure of blood and treasure in the Italian difficulty, had acquired Savoy and Nice, by which he had obtained an addition of nearly one million inhabitants to France—only one million souls; and if any person were for a moment to make a calculation of the value of the provinces acquired on one side, and the great cost on the other, he would at once see the great disproportion between the one and the other, and so ascertain the fact that the territory acquired did not compensate the outlay. Here, in British North America, we had five different communities inhabiting five separate colonies. We had the same sympathies, and we all desired to live under the British Crown. We had our commercial interests besides. It was of no use whatever that New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and



Newfoundland should have their several custom houses against our trade, or that we should have custom houses against the trade of those provinces. In ancient times, the manner in which a nation grew up was different from that of the present day. Then the first weak settlement increased into a village, which, by turns, became a town and a city, and the nucleus of a nation. It was not so in modern times. Nations were now formed by the agglomeration of communities having kindred interests and sympathies. Such was our case at the present moment. Objection had been taken to the scheme now under consideration, because of the words "new nationality." Now, when we were united together, if union were attained, we would form a political nationality with which neither the national origin, nor the religion of any individual, would interfere. It was lamented by some that we had this diversity of races, and hopes were expressed that this distinctive feature would cease. The idea of unity of races was utopian—it was impossible. Distinctions of this kind would always exist. Dissimilarity, in fact, appeared to be the order of the physical world and of the moral world, as well as in the political world. But with regard to the objection based on this fact, to the effect that a great nation could not be formed because Lower Canada was in great part French and Catholic, and Upper Canada was British and Protestant, and the Lower Provinces were mixed, it was futile and worthless in the extreme. Look, for instance, at the United Kingdom, inhabited as it was by three great races. (Hear, hear.) Had the diversity of race impeded the glory, the progress, the wealth of England? Had they not rather each contributed their share to the greatness of the Empire? Of the glories of the senate, the field, and the ocean, of the successes of trade and commerce, how much was contributed by the combined talents, energy and courage of the three races together? (Cheers.) In our own Federation we should have Catholic and Protestant, English, French, Irish and Scotch, and each by his efforts and his success would increase the prosperity and glory of the new Confederacy. (Hear, hear.) He viewed the diversity of races in British North America in this way: we were of different races, not for the purpose of warring against each other, but in order to compete and emulate for the general welfare. (Cheers.) We could not do away with the distinctions of race. We could not legislate for the disappearance of the French Canadians from American soil, but British and French Canadians alike could appreciate and understand their position relative to each other. They were placed like great families beside each other, and their contact produced a healthy spirit of emulation. It was a benefit rather than otherwise that we had a diversity of races. Of course, the difficulty, it would be said, would be to deal fairly by the minority. In Upper Canada the Catholics would find themselves in a minority; in Lower Canada the Protestants would be in a minority, while the Lower Provinces were divided. Under such circumstances, would any one pretend that either the local or general governments would sanction any injustice. What would be the consequence, even supposing any such thing were attempted by any one of the local governments? It would be censured everywhere. Whether it came from Upper Canada or from Lower Canada, any attempt to deprive the minority of their rights would be at once thwarted. Under the Federation

system, granting to the control of the General Government these large questions of general interest in which the differences of race or religion had no place, it could not be pretended that the rights of either race or religion could be invaded at all. We were to have a General Parliament to deal with the matters of defence, tariff, excise, public works, and these matters absorbed all individual interest. Now, he could ask those self-styled nationalists who accused him of bartering fifty-eight counties in Lower Canada to John Bull, and his honorable colleague beside him (Hon. Mr. BROWN)—he would ask them, under what supposition could they think it possible for any injustice to be done to the French Canadians by the General Government? (Hear, hear.) He came now to the subject of Local Governments. We could easily understand how a feeling against the Federation project was raised in the minds of a few of the British residents of Lower Canada by fears of such difficulties as those which occurred in the days of Mr. PAPINEAU, relative to the passing of laws relating to commercial matters. (Hear, hear.) These difficulties had been of a very inconvenient nature, Mr. PAPINEAU not being a commercial man, and not understanding the importance of these measures. He considered Mr. PAPINEAU was right in the struggle he maintained against the oligarchy at that time in power; but he had never approved of the course he took with reference to commercial matters, and in opposition to measures for the improvement of the country. But this precedent could not be urged as an objection to Federation, inasmuch as it would be for the General Government to deal with our commercial matters. There could be no reason for well-grounded fear that the minority could be made to suffer by means of any laws affecting the rights of property. If any such enactments were passed, they would fall upon the whole community. But even supposing such a thing did occur, there was a remedy provided under the proposed Constitution. The magnitude of the scheme now submitted was, perhaps, the reason why those who had not made themselves conversant with the question felt some apprehension in contemplating it; but, when we came to discuss it clause by clause, he would be ready to state that no interest would be harmed in any way if Federation took place. It was true that opposition was being offered in Montreal, by Mr. JONX DOUGALL, of the *Witness*. (Hear, hear.) And, while referring to the opponents of Federation, he could not help adverting to the strange manner in which extremes met and worked in unison to oppose Federation (Laughter.) For instance, we had the party who formerly composed what might be styled Mr. PAPINEAU'S Tail—the extreme democratic party,—joined with Mr. DOUGALL'S Tail. (Hear, hear, cheers, and laughter.)

Mr. Perrault—And members of the clergy oppose it. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. Cartier said the honorable gentleman was mistaken. The clergy were for it. But the honorable gentleman would have an opportunity of speaking afterwards. This scheme, he repeated, met with the approval of all moderate men. The extreme men, the socialists, democrats and annexationists were opposed to it. The French Canadian opponents of the project were, it appeared, afraid that their religious rights would suffer under the new arrangement. Fancy the celebrated *Institut Canadien*, of Montreal, under the lead of citizen BLANCHET, taking religion under their protection.

(Laughter.) Mr. DOUGALL loudly proclaimed that the British Protestant minority would be entirely placed at the mercy of the French Canadians. He (Hon. Mr. CARTIER) thought the arguments of the young French gentlemen belonging to the national democratic party who cried out that their religion and nationality would be destroyed, ought in all reason to be sufficient to satisfy the scruples and calm the fears of Mr. DOUGALL. The *True Witness*, which was also one of the enemies of the scheme, said that if it were adopted the French Canadians were doomed; while his brother in violence, the *Witness*, said that the Protestants were doomed. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) At a meeting recently held in Montreal on the subject, he (Hon. Mr. CARTIER) observed that Mr. CHERRIER had enrolled himself among the enemies of the project. Well, this fine, quiet, old gentleman had announced that he had come out of his political retirement for the purpose of opposing Federation. All he (Hon. Mr. CARTIER) could say was that he never knew Mr. CHERRIER was a strong politician. However, it appeared that he had come out once more on the political stage for the purpose of opposing this villainous scheme, which was intended to destroy the nationality and religion of the French Canadians—all brought about by that confounded CARTIER! (Laughter and cheers.) Allusion had been made to the opinion of the clergy. Well, he would say that the opinion of the clergy was for Confederation. (Hear, hear.) Those who were high in authority, as well as those who occupied more humble positions, were in favor of Federation, not only because they saw in it so much security for all they held dear, but because it was just to their Protestant fellow-subjects as well, because they were opposed to political bickering and strife. This opposition to a state of political dissension and trouble was the general feeling of the clergy, and because they saw in Confederation a solution of those difficulties which had existed for some time, due regard being had to just rights, they were favorable to the project. The fact, however, was that when we saw such extreme opponents as Mr. CLERK, of the *True Witness*, Mr. DOUGALL, of the *Witness*, and the young gentlemen of the *Institut Canadien* combined to resist Confederation, because each party argued it would produce the most widely different results—we might look upon this fact, he repeated, as one of the strongest arguments in favor of Confederation. (Hear.) We had, on the other hand, all the moderate men, all that was respectable and intelligent, including the clergy, favorable to Federation. (Hear, hear, and oh, oh.) He did not, of course, mean to say that there were not respectable opponents to the project—what he did mean, however, was that it met general approval from the classes referred to. He was opposed, he might as well state most distinctly, to the democratic system which obtained in the United States. In this country of British North America we should have a distinct form of government, the characteristic of which would be to possess the monarchical element. When we had Confederation secured, there was not the least doubt but that our Government would be more respectable—that it would have more prestige, and command more respect from our neighbors. (Hear, hear.) The great want under the American form—the point which they all admitted formed the great defect—was the absence of some respectable executive element. How was the head of the United States Government

chosen? Candidates came forward, and of course each one was abused and vilified as corrupt, ignorant, incapable and unworthy by the opposite party. One of them attained the presidential chair; but even while in that position he was not respected by those who had opposed his election, and who tried to make him appear the most corrupt and contemptible being in creation. Such a system could not produce an executive head who would command respect. Under the British system, ministers might be abused and assailed; but that abuse never reached the Sovereign. Whether we were made a kingdom or a vice-royalty—whatever name or grade was assigned to us—we would undoubtedly have additional prestige. He would now conclude his remarks by asking honorable gentlemen to consider well this scheme. It was his hope, his cherished hope, that it would be adopted by the House. The time was opportune, as his honorable colleague (Atty. Gen. MACDONALD) had so ably stated last evening; the opportunity might never offer itself again in such a facile and propitious manner. We knew we had, in all our proceedings, the approbation of the Imperial Government. So if these resolutions were adopted by Canada, as he had no doubt they would, and by the other Colonial Legislatures, the Imperial Government would be called upon to pass a measure which would have for its effect to give a strong central or general government and local governments, which would at once secure and guard the persons, the properties and the civil and religious rights belonging to the population of each section. (Loud cheers.)

## HON. A. J. FERGUSON BLAIR

is President of the Council.

Mr. Blair is a man well fitted for the post, and one of the best members of the ministry. Being of the Reform party of the West, he is one of the three members who now hold office. He is noted for his good principles, and, being a man of fortune, he can be free from the pecuniary sins charged to some of his colleagues, which have drawn a great deal of censure upon them. This gentleman may now be regarded as the leader of the Reform party in the West, and the chief of the three of that party who fill seats in the Cabinet.

This Minister is member for the Brock Division, and, therefore, is of the Upper House. On his taking a seat in the present Cabinet, he was re-elected by acclamation by the electors of that important constituency, who put great trust in his good sense and probity.

Mr. Blair is an old legislator, having been about 15 years in Parliament. He was first elected in 1848 for Waterloo, and was again returned for it in 1851. In 1854 he was elected for the South Riding of Wellington. In 1860 he was elected to the Legislative Council, and in 1862-'63 he was a member of the Macdonald-Sicotte, and Macdonald-Dorion ministries. In the short time that these two guided the affairs of the Province, Mr. Blair did the duties of his office with quiet efficiency, and won the respect of all men. At that time there was sharp work done

by both sides,—by the one to hold office, and by the other to turn the first out; yet, in all the intrigue, Mr. Blair was free from anything that might be called a trick.

In 1863 this minister was sent for by the Governor-General to form a ministry (on the resignation of the Macdonald-Dorion Ministry,) in which he did not succeed, owing to the political questions at issue. He could not count upon an adequate number of votes to carry on the government, so nearly equal were the two great parties at that time of sharp antagonism.

After a short time, Mr. Blair saw his opponents, who were no more able to retain office than the Reform party, obliged to seek a coalition on certain terms, of which one was the great scheme of Confederation,—and the result was the present ministry. It is likely that he will see this scheme carried while he fills the office of President of the Council, and see, also, as one of its effects, the West with a legislature of its own.

As President of the Council, this gentleman, of course, gives his name and influence to all the schemes of the Ministry; but it is in that of Confederation that he takes the most interest, as a Reform man, for it would give to the West of Canada a legislature of its own, a thing now so ardently sought for by that section, failing increased representation in the present legislature.

Mr. Blair is a member of the Bar, like so many other men in Parliament, which is accounted for by the fact that the Bar fits men for speaking in public and for legislating. His legal attainments fit him for

a seat on the Bench ; and, if he should wish to retire from political life in that way, no one will say that he is not qualified for the position. Mr. Blair practiced with success at the Bar, and won a name for good sense and uprightness in his profession.

The name of Blair was assumed in 1862 by this gentleman, on his succeeding to the Blair Estate in Scotland. He is a man of wealth, partly acquired, and is very well known in the division which he represents. In point of wealth, he is, the writer believes, the second or third man of the Ministry, and has all the advantages which money gives to a man who seeks a high station in political life.

The course of Mr. Blair has been quite straight. He has been always on the Reform side, and has advocated its views untiringly. In the course of the last four years he has been with his party twice in power, and then twice held office, as has been before observed. For a long time he was out in the cold, but his term of office, though it was a brief one, made up for his many efforts to carry the Reform flag into power.

## HON. ALEXANDER T. GALT

is Minister of Finance.

Mr. Galt is an able man at finance, and keeps the public accounts in very fair order.—a task that is growing less easy every year. He is also a good legislator, and is very careful in all he says or does. No man is perfect, and Mr. Galt is said by his opponents to be—too diplomatic.

In the House this minister is apt at giving fiscal statements, doing it in a quiet, business-like way. He was put at the head of the Commission sent to the government of the United States, in February last, to negotiate a new treaty of trade. In this he failed, not from any want of tact, but because the "Committee of Ways and Means" with whom he treated were not friendly to free trade with Canada or any of the Provinces, and therefore asked too much for reciprocity.

Mr. Galt began public life in 1849, as member for Sherbrooke, and has held his seat ever since. In 1858 he was appointed Minister of Finance, and four years later he went out with the Ministry. In 1864 he came back to office, and he now is in his former position.

By his friends Mr. Galt is likened to Mr. Gladstone, for his ability and clearness of views. He is a free trader in principle, but his last tariff was made protective by the pressure of popular opinion. Mr. Galt is not a very strong party man. He began public life on the side of the Liberal *Rouge* party,



but he renounced his connection with them at the general election in the winter of 1857-58, on the ground that he found them too impracticable. Since then he has given the Conservative-party a liberal support, and they, seeing his fitness for the office, in 1858 made him their financial head.

Mr. Galt is a member of the Board of Railway Commissioners, and the writer of "Canada from 1849 to 1859."

He was born in 1817 and is, therefore, about 49 years of age, 17 of which he has passed in Parliament. He is the son of Mr. John Galt, the novelist.

This minister can speak well, in a quiet, serious way. As a sample of his style of addresses, I give below his speech at Cornwall on the 2nd March last.

Hon. Mr. GALT said:—Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, I can scarcely add one word to the fervid acknowledgments that have been made by my friends the Attorneys General East and West for the kind manner in which you have entertained us here to-night, though I am sure that on the many occasions on which it has been our pleasure to meet our friends, there has not been one when we have met with a heartier welcome than we are receiving from the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry. (Hear.) I am to-night permitted to respond to the toast of "Canadian Enterprise and Canadian Progress," and no place in which to do so is fitter than the present. When we look back at the difficulties that have been encountered by the first settlers who came here, and see what advancement they have made—when we observe what public men they have given to the country, and reckon up the benefits these men have conferred on their fellow subjects—we see that in no portion of Canada could this toast be more effectively proposed than in the Market Hall of Cornwall. (Hear, hear.) But there are circumstances which, on this occasion more than on others, induce me to ask you to lend me your especial attention,—I refer to the position in which the Trade and Commerce of this Province is at this moment placed. It would not under these peculiar circumstances, be fit for me or any of my colleagues to meet any large body of our countrymen without saying something in reference to the Past, and something also in relation to the Future. (Hear.) It is well, Sir, for Canada that when we are threatened with an interruption of our commercial intercourse with the adjoining country, we have been blessed by a beneficent Providence with a bountiful harvest and good prices for that harvest; that just when we are obliged to look to other markets for our future trade, a fuller measure of the

benefits of our Creator has been showered upon us than for many years before. Within my recollection Canada was never in so prosperous a condition as it is at this present time. I judge by the returns, which are submitted to me in my official capacity, which show the extent of our exports and our imports, our dealings with England and all foreign countries, and I there see that in the last seven months we have sold ten millions of dollars worth (\$10,000,000) more than we have bought—a thing which has never before occurred,—and when I make this statement, I make one which certainly ought to bring forth feelings of thankfulness, and also of pride and self-reliance. [Applause.] It is well, Sir, that we should have such sentiments; it is well that we should feel that we are, that we *are* able to meet the difficulties which may arise from the fact that on the 17th of this month our Trade Relations with the United States will probably be subjected to serious disturbance. [Cheers.] The Government has been accused in the past with having acted with apathy in regard to this question. We were charged last Session with not having given due attention to it, for, we were told, the salvation of this country (if I may use the word) depended upon the maintenance of the Reciprocity Treaty. We informed Parliament that we were awake to the necessities of the time, and to the interest we had in continuing the freest possible intercourse with our neighbours in the United States—that our attention had been constantly directed to the subject, and that when the proper time came the people would be aware that the Administration had not been wanting in their duty in this respect. And when I appear before you this night, it is for the purpose of stating that we are ready now and at all times to enter into a statement and a defence of our policy on this question. [Hear, hear.] What I would ask any gentleman in these three counties, or in any part of Canada—what was the position of the country a few months ago? What did many men—the real enemies of the country—say would be the result of the cessation of our communications with the United States? More than its due importance. Sir, was given to that Trade, and the country was apparently willing to surrender for it more than ought to be given. The Government, however, did not share that feeling; they believed it was right to do what was fair, but to do no more than what was fair. [Cheers.] The attention of the Government was given to this subject in their negotiations in England, and the British Government, in the frankest way, authorized the British Minister to act with us upon the question. As long ago as July last my hon. friend Mr. Howland and myself were deputed by our colleagues to visit Washington. We there saw the British Minister and the American authorities also, and we perceived it was exceedingly improbable that any negotiations for a Treaty could be carried on at that time. We were indeed told that it was no use making any formal propositions to the American Government. When Congress was on the point of meeting it was again thought expedient that a representation from the Canadian Cabinet should go to Washington. Mr. Howland was then prevented by engagements from going, and I went alone. The result of my communications with the American authorities was an intimation that while they were willing to proceed by legislation, they were not willing to proceed by Treaty. I acquainted my colleagues with this, and stated the very grave doubts which existed in respect to the conclusion of satisfactory arrangements.

The subject received the most anxious consideration at the hands of the Government, and it was in conformity with the suggestions received from our own Minister and from Mr. Seward also, that a delegation went down again. It will be my duty to give all these statements very fully in another place; I may therefore pass over the historical part of the subsequent proceedings, and confine myself to stating what the intention and policy of the Government were. I shall not refer particularly at this moment to the resignation of Mr. Brown. It is not proper, especially in Mr. Brown's absence, that I should do so. Explanations respecting that will be given at the proper time to Parliament, but I say that his colleagues were unanimous as to the manner in which the question of Reciprocity should be treated, and that the course the Government determined to pursue was one we conceived to be alike consistent with the interests and dignity of Canada. We were determined that nothing should be proposed to be given to the United States that should not be conceded to Canada also, but we were not prepared to say that we would have a treaty and nothing but a treaty at a time when the United States had declared through their organs that no Treaty could be made and that it was unconstitutional to make a treaty—we were not prepared to refuse what could be got even though we were unable to get all we wished. (Hear.) It is of very little consequence whether the trade be maintained by legislation or by treaty, provided this trade be carried on upon an equitable basis. (Hear, hear.) A great deal has been said in regard to the course of the negotiations we have carried on at Washington. It has been asserted that a surrender has been made of the dignity of Canada—that we offered extravagant concessions to the United States, and so forth. With your permission, sir, I will occupy a very few minutes in disposing of these accusations. (Hear.) The first thing I shall notice is the fault found in the manner in which the Free List was proposed to be treated. We found that the principal ground the Americans had in opposing freedom of trade with us was connected with the taxation under which their people are laboring. They said that British people should not come into their markets without bearing similar burdens to their own. But they never asked, and we never proposed that they should tax our exports without our having the same liberty to tax theirs. It was never proposed that if they chose to put a duty of one cent or of twenty cents on a bushel of Canadian wheat imported into the States, we should not have the option of putting an equivalent duty on American wheat imported into Canada. The Americans never dreamed of asking that they should impose duties on Canadian products which Canada should not have the right of imposing on theirs. And though we have been charged with assenting to, and indeed, even of proposing such a thing, I hope the men of Stormont, Dundas and Glengary will refuse to believe that their representatives would concede to a foreign country anything they would not claim for themselves. [Applause.] It was proposed to leave the canal, fisheries and transit questions in the same position as at present—that so long as other matters were satisfactory, the existing arrangements respecting them should go on—and I cannot conceive how it is possible that any man can make it a charge against the Government of Canada that we should be willing to continue agreements which have been beneficial, provided arrangements in other respects were satisfactory. [Hear.] It has been

charged against us, again, that we went out of our way to offer to enlarge our canals. Now, I think, it will have been observed by any man who is in the habit of reading the papers, that there has been a pressure upon us for years to effect this enlargement—every body knows that, from one end of the country to the other. Why, the matter was expressly included in the resolutions of the Quebec conference. The subject was alluded to in the speech from the throne at the opening of the session when my hon. friend Mr. Howland first entered the Government. And only last August, in my place in Parliament, I made the declaration, with the assent of my colleagues, that the Government were prepared to enlarge the canals provided they had the assurance that the American Trade would be permitted to go through them. What more did we propose in Washington than just what we had laid down as our policy before? The canals are Canadian canals, and if they are to be enlarged it must be by Canadian means and under Canadian laws. [Hear, hear.] It has been said, too, that we agreed to make the legislation of Canada subordinate to the United States, and we have been charged with having done so in two ways, the first being that the legislation of the United States was to be contingent on ours. The fact is that the Americans were quite willing to let their legislation precede ours. They were willing to pass the necessary Acts of Congress at once, before the 17th of March, although they were told our Legislatures would not meet and be able to act before that time. If I understand logic at all, the party to whom the option is left is in the stronger position, and therefore if there was any subordination at all it was not on our side. But Sir, and gentlemen, it is perfectly childish to talk or think of such a thing when great countries are dealing with great interests—and I say that Canada and the United States are both great countries and that their mutual interests are great. The men who on such a matter would sticke on minor points of form would be unworthy of their position. It is not by standing up for such minor points that a man preserves his self-respect, but by holding fast to those great points in which more than mere *etiquette* is concerned, and when the negotiations are examined, if it is found that Mr. Howland and myself were found wanting in this, then condemn us, and I will accept the verdict; but I will accept the verdict of no men who would condemn us because we did not insist on such a punctilio, even if the punctilio were against us. [Loud applause.] The *second* way in which we stand charged with having agreed to subordinate our legislation to the U. States, is in the matter of our excise duties; it has been said that we agreed to accept American legislation in reference to them. Now, on the 9th of August last I declared in Parliament that our Government were prepared to consider with the American Government such an arrangement of excise taxes as would prevent illicit trade across the frontier, and this was the amount of the proposition we made to the Com. mittee at Washington, for we by no means proposed to enact any scale the Americans might adopt, but to take such a scale as experience might show to be the most desirable for revenue purposes. We agreed in the interest of amity and good friendship to use all the means a friendly power could use to prevent an illicit trade in spirits, &c., being carried on across the border—a trade, too, of such a nature as to result in the demoralization of the people along the frontier. That course was one that was adopted as the policy of the

Government in August last, and it is the only course which honest, fair-dealing Statesmen could adopt with a neighbouring country like the United States. What should we have said to the authorities at Washington when we went to negotiate for a Commercial Treaty, if we had adopted such a system as would lay their whole frontier along two thousand miles open to illicit trade? That position is one I could never have consented to occupy, and one in which my friend Mr. Howland, would never have consented to back me up. [Cheers.] All we asked from the men at Washington, Sir,—all I hope we shall ever ask from them—was fair play. We asked them for no advantage in their market which we were not prepared to give them. We asked them to take no precaution on their side which we were not willing to take on ours. We asked them to take no further steps against the Fenians now, than we took against the raiders a year ago. And I am bound to say that in the interviews we had with these gentlemen at Washington—great and large and populous as their country is, and elated, as I may say they are, with the termination of their civil war—they met us with all the consideration that could have been shown to the emissaries of a country equal to theirs in population and standing. We failed to agree with them—we held a certain position for our people, and they held another, which we thought a mistaken one, for theirs; but we parted with mutual respect, and, I hope, with mutual kindly feelings, and in this we did our duty to the people of this country, towards whom an irritation has existed there based more on imagination than reality. [Hear, hear.] Again, it has been charged that in proposing to add articles to the former Free List, advantage was to be given to the Americans. What we said was this. "Let us see whether the Reciprocal Free List, which has benefited both countries so much, cannot be extended to certain classes of manufactures." We had faith in the ability of our people to manufacture; we knew we had a cheaper country; we believed we had a people equal in intelligence; we thought if our people had a fair start in the race, that being more lightly burdened, they would win it. If we were wrong, we were wrong in our estimate of the abilities of our people to compete with the Americans, and not in what was our conception of our duty towards them. [Loud cheers.] Once again, Sir, it has been said that our intention was to discriminate against our own Mother Country. A more flagrant violation of truth was never written. [Cheers.] Such an idea never entered the brain of any of the Delegates. We would never consent to treat our fellow subjects in Great Britain—with whom we are connected by the bonds of blood and of affection, worse than a foreign power. Whatever we were prepared to give to the United States, we were prepared to give to our mother country, aye, and more too. We were and are, and I hope shall be for centuries, willing to spend our last man and our last shilling for her. How can it be supposed that we would dream for a single instant of putting her productions on an inferior footing to those of the United States? I desire to give the most emphatic contradiction to any such statement as this. [Loud applause.] There are some points, Sir, in newspaper articles by which I have been assailed, respecting which I feel some degree of soreness, and I shall not hesitate to make you, gentlemen, my confidants to-night. My friend Mr. Howland and myself have been made the subjects of attack ever since we left Washington, day after day and week

after week, in the columns of the leading journal of Upper Canada. Now I am well aware that the editor of the *Globe* and the Hon. George Brown are quite distinct individuals. [Laughter.] And I am quite sure that the Hon. George Brown, as a late member of the Government, is perfectly incapable of giving to the editor of the *Globe* any information which he promised to keep from the public until the meeting of Parliament. Were it otherwise, I should this very night make a great attack, a most violent attack, upon that honourable gentleman. [Renewed laughter.] But I think instead of assailing him, I may take the liberty of saying that the *Globe* has very greatly misrepresented my friend Mr. Howland and myself, and that not in the interest of the country, but in the spirit of a very narrow-minded unprovokedness. [Hear, hear.] If it be the case that the interests of the country were liable to injury by the public statement of the reasons of the differences that arose between Mr. Brown and his colleagues, why did he agree to wait until Parliament met before he told the public what these reasons were, when, if he shared the opinion of the *Globe*, he must have felt that the honor and interests of the country required their immediate disclosure? [Loud cheers.] It is singular that the editor of the *Globe* should be less patriotic than the proprietor of that paper. Nor does it seem fair for a man who has the use of a press and speaks every morning to 20 or 30,000 readers, to circulate his views, when a reply is out of the question. Mr. Brown will, no doubt, state his views when Parliament meets, and I intend to reply to him in the same way then. But to-night I cannot do so. I must be content now to attack the Editor of the *Globe*. [Hear, and laughter.] What has the course of that paper been—has it been in the interest of this country or not? When it has represented that our object was to give concessions to the Americans which we would not give to our own mother land, was not this certainly calculated to stir up, in that mother country, a hostile feeling to this Province? Are not our efforts to keep up a friendly feeling at home being neutralized every day by the statements that the government of this country are disposed to concede to the United States privileges not to be conceded to England? [Cheers.] Was it not said that Confederation was imperilled by the course we took? If this were so, how was it, I should like to know, that in the negotiations at Washington the delegates from the Lower Provinces were heart and soul with us? Let me here pay a well deserved compliment to the Hon. Mr. Smith, of New Brunswick. He is the head of the anti-confederate Government of that Province, but on every point of our negotiations he went as strongly with us as if he had been one of ourselves. And when I have paid this compliment to Mr. Smith, who is our opponent in party politics, let me tell you of the impression we carried away about Mr. Henry, who represented Nova Scotia, who has gone for Confederation through good report and evil report,—who believes that the Union will come, and come quickly too—who has taken up his cross in this respect, and is willing to carry it to the triumphant end. He, Sir, like Mr. Smith, agreed with us on every point; with an entire absence of selfishness, he agreed on the proposals we submitted to the Committee of Congress; he thoroughly agreed, too, in the rejection of the proposal made to us, and that, too, although there was some little appearance of a desire to wean the Maritime Delegates from their alliance with us, they representing fishing

and sea-trading communities, and we an agricultural country, with, in some respects, different local interests. [Hear, hear.] I regret our failure at Washington. We proposed what I think it would have been the interest of the Provinces and of the United States to have adopted, viz., that a reasonable moderate scale of duties should be framed on articles that had been on the free list, which should be mutually adopted by Canada and the United States, so that the trade between the two countries should not be interrupted, but should flow on to the mutual advantage of both, in its natural and most convenient channels. We proposed that these duties should be gradually reduced, as the United States were able to take burdens off their own people. I know, however, that the general feeling throughout the country, from one end to the other, is not one of great regret that the negotiations have failed, but rather the contrary, and that the people seem glad that they are brought to try their own strength. I nevertheless express my great regret at our failure, because I believe we cannot suddenly change our customers without inconvenience, and because, as a practical man, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that there will be a great disturbance of trade resulting from the termination of the treaty. I am not without hope that the time is not remote when the United States will restore the trade to a satisfactory footing, and I am sure that six months hence the course the Government has taken in endeavouring to secure its continuance, will meet our hearty approval. What has been the effect of our policy already—both in Canada and in the United States? a policy so loudly condemned by our opponents. When I look around me to-night I can see that the effect has been most beneficial here, for every man in Canada feels that we have gone as far as we ought to have gone, and that we have met with a very inadequate response. Every man in Canada feels we must wake up and be independent of these people; that we can have nothing to do with them while they hold their present views; that we will not submit to anything like extortion or wrong at the hands of our neighbours; that we have offered them bread and they gave us a stone; and that we should now take our own course and try the thing out to the end. [Cheers.] And what has been the effect in the United States? I would ask any reflecting man what was the tone of the American people towards us two or three months ago? You could not then find one newspaper that would say a single word in favour of Reciprocal Trade. Now, however, many of the leading papers of the United States are saying that their people were wrong, and that our people were right; and is it nothing to have gained that position? Is it nothing to have gained the unanimous support of our own people, and to have induced probably the one half of the American people to avow that their rulers ought to have made an arrangement with us? Our policy, then, though it may not have accomplished all we could have desired, has yet accomplished much. [Loud applause.] The United States markets, Mr. Chairman, will be closed against us on the 17th of March. The people there will soon feel, we hope, that the course they are taking is an erroneous one, which will entail additional burdens upon themselves, and I believe it will not be long before different counsels will prevail, but we cannot hinge the policy of this country upon any such contingency as that. It is necessary for the Government to consider now, and it will be necessary for Parlia-

ment to consider soon in the most earnest way how they will deal with the commercial future of Canada, and what its Trade policy shall be. [Cheers.] It is perfectly clear that the Union with the Lower Provinces must speedily be carried out. We must complete our communications with them, and have our mutual commerce as free as possible. The Government have sent a commission to the West Indies and Brazil to forestall the action of the American Government. It is the intention of this Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission whenever they have made their report to Parliament. With regard to the markets of England and France, the two great consuming countries of Europe, it can scarcely be imagined that they can be made more free than they now are. But it is the duty of the Government to endeavour to make such arrangements with the Colonies of these Powers, and with Spain and her colony Cuba, as will secure the reciprocal interchange of some of their products and ours. [Hear, hear.] It is plain that the Government will have to propose to Parliament a complete revision of our system of taxation; for the burdens of the people will have to be readjusted to stimulate the great agricultural interest of the Province, and to make Canada at once the cheapest country to live in, and the most attractive country in the world for the labor and capital of foreign lands. [Hear, hear.] Our policy must be one of development and not of stoppage—development not of Canada alone, but of all the vast territory stretching from Newfoundland on the one hand to the Pacific on the other. We may have to postpone for a time the enlargement of the canals that has been spoken of for several years, because we have not yet the assurance that the American trade will be permitted to use them, but this will leave us all the more means for opening up the great North-West. [Hear.] The opening up of these lands, Eastward and Westward, and especially Westward, will entail the inauguration of a new system of emigration. Immigration is what the New World must look to—and the fact that my hon. friend Mr. McGee is at the head of the department which has charge of that subject, must give the people confidence that emigration will be directed in the best manner for the hard-working sons of labour who come to Canada as a refuge from all parts of the world. [Cheers.] I am sure, Mr. Chairman, I ought to apologise for having detained the meeting so long. [No.] While your kindness forgives me, you will be glad to hear me conclude. [No, no.] I will only say this in conclusion, that if I rightly understand the spirit of this meeting—if I rightly understand the spirit of the people of Canada—the hopes and plans of those who think that the abolition of the Reciprocity Treaty will produce a sordid desire for Annexation, will totally fail. [Cheers.] If there are people who could be biassed by considerations such as these, they are unworthy to belong to any free country on the face of the earth. But, thank God, the spirit of British institutions is instilled deep into our hearts, and a bold, manly love for freedom which forbids any such thing as that. [Cheers.] We know how to hold out the right hand of friendship, but if it is refused we know how to draw it back again. Continually have the Government of this country laboured to perform their duties to the neighbouring people, but we expect the same from them.—with less we will not be contented. While we love our institutions, we will not interfere with theirs; and while we respect theirs,



we expect respect from them for ours. [Loud cheers.] The difficulties of societies create great men; out of the difficulties of nations may spring great progress. [Hear, hear.] We have been in the habit of relying too much on the mother country, and too little on our own strong right arms, and this may be a lesson that is being given us for the purpose of teaching us to be more self-reliant. We are rising into a sort of national existence—an existence we hope to see maintained for ages under the rule of the Sovereign of Great Britain. The position we shall hereafter occupy will be one of higher importance and more note in the eyes of the world than that we have hitherto held as an ordinary colony, and it will entail on us greater responsibilities. Perhaps the trial we are now undergoing, is but one of the preliminary trials which are to determine whether we are fit for such a higher state of national existence. And when I look on the countenances of the men of Stormont, Dundas and Glegary, I know that they are ready, and I have faith that all the broad country on either side of your counties' limits is ready, too, for whatever the Future may have in store. [Rounds of applause.]

## HON. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

is Commissioner of Crown Lands.

Mr. Campbell is a man of wide influence in the West, and brings a good deal of ability to the Cabinet. He is the second leader of the Conservative party in the West, and has been firm in his politics at all times, and under all reverses.

The post of Commissioner of Crown Lands does not require a man of brilliant qualities. It only needs one with good, general ideas of the wants of the country, and its resources,—the way to open up those resources, and to attract settlers to wild lands. For these duties Mr. Campbell is well fitted; and he is also a good legislator.

This gentleman is member of the Legislative Council for the Cataraqui Division. He was elected in 1858, and has sat for it ever since. In 1864 he came into office as Commissioner of Crown Lands, with the Coalition Ministry. There is no man in the House looked up to with more respect than this gentleman, who has won his way by his high character. In fact, from the time he entered Parliament he has been regarded as a prominent man in his party, which is the Liberal Conservative. The influence of this minister lies in central Canada, and, of course, mostly in his constituency. He is also well known west and east of it.

Mr. Campbell is a member of the Bar of Upper Canada, and a Queen's Counsel. He is also a Bencher of the Law Society.

Like most of the members of the Legislative Council, Mr. Campbell is a man of some wealth. He is in the vigor of life, and will apparently live long to serve the Province as a legislator, or in any other capacity.

This minister can speak well, and is ready in debate. During the debates on Confederation, he was the leading advocate in the Upper House of the scheme, and showed tact and good sense in his arguments. He made no effort at fine speaking, but appealed to common sense and patriotic feelings. He had a persistent opponent in the Hon. Mr. Currie, who threw checks in his way at every step, but got over them with tact.

In such a scheme as Confederation, it was no easy task for a member of the House to meet all the objections to it, and answer all the questions put to him, yet through this task Mr. Campbell went with ability on the 6th, and again on the 17th February, 1865. So often was he interrupted, that his speech cannot be given together, but the following is the main part of it, delivered in the Upper House, February 17 :

My hon. friend from Niagara (Mr. Currie) says "Hear, hear." My hon. friend cavils at every statement which is made, attempts to throw doubt and distrust upon the figures which have been produced in advocacy of the measure, and has not restrained himself from using every method of opposition which his imagination could invent or his ability turn to account. I must say that I can hardly believe an honourable gentleman to be in favour of the scheme, who takes every opportunity to attack it, and, when accused of hostility, shelters himself under objections to the details. (Hear, hear.) It shows to me that his feelings are not sincere, but that he desires to upset the very foundations on which Confederation rests, not perhaps because he is opposed to Confederation in the abstract, or a Confederation such as he would like to see established, but because he desires to thwart and defeat the efforts of those who have been honestly and industriously engaged in

bringing about the scheme which is now before this House. I say, honorable gentlemen, if the people could express their opinions as we may express ours to-night, they would all concur in the first resolution. (Hear, hear.) Well, gentlemen, it being granted that we are all in favor of union, how are the details to be settled? Is it possible that the nearly four millions of people who compose the provinces to be affected by the union, should meet together *en masse* and settle those details? It is not possible, and those who argue that the scheme should originate with the people, know very well that it is not possible. Well, then, could the parliaments of all these provinces assemble together and agree upon a scheme of Confederation? Look at the difficulties that we have to encounter on every point of the details in carrying the scheme through this House, and judge for yourselves whether the parliaments of all the provinces could meet together, and originate and decide upon the details of Confederation. There is no other practicable way than that delegates should meet together as they have done, and frame resolutions on the subject, upon which the act constituting the union could be founded. Honorable gentlemen have asked who authorized those delegates to meet together for the purpose of framing those resolutions. Honorable gentlemen know very well that the present Government of Canada was formed for the very purpose of considering and submitting a scheme of this kind. My honorable friend from Niagara again takes shelter under the statement that what the Government proposed to do was to bring down a scheme for the Confederation of Canada alone, and that the bringing of all the provinces into the Confederation was only a secondary idea. The honorable gentleman knows very well that that statement of the case is a mere pretence. Everybody knew that the Government would endeavor to overcome the difficulties which presented themselves in working the government of Canada, either by one project or by the other. The honorable gentleman has quoted from the Speech from the Throne delivered at the close of last session, in which an allusion was made to the formation of a Federal union between the two sections of this province, and not to a Federal union of all the provinces. Why does he not refer to and quote from the Speech from the Throne at the opening of this session? My honorable friend will find there, and I suppose he will place the expression on even terms with the other, the following:—

“At the close of the last session of Parliament I informed you that it was my intention, in conjunction with my ministers, to prepare and submit to you a measure for the solution of the constitutional problem, the discussion of which has for some years agitated this province. A careful consideration of the general position of British North America induced the conviction that the circumstances of the times afforded the opportunity, not merely for the settlement of a question of provincial politics, but also for the simultaneous creation of a new nationality.”

Now, my honorable friend says in effect that we were not right, when the opportunity presented itself of endeavoring to carry out the idea, in seizing upon it, and endeavoring to combine these provinces in one nationality, under the common flag of Great Britain, and under the rule of a Viceroy of the British Crown. Every honorable gentleman feels in his heart that we

were not only right and patriotic in thus assembling, but that we were doing that which was promised to the Legislature of this province at the close of last session of Parliament. Honorable gentlemen, I am surprised and grieved that my honorable friend from Niagara, whom I know to be a patriotic and loyal subject of Her Majesty, does not feel it his duty to unite with us in bringing about that which is so dear to all of us—a closer connection with the Mother Country, and a better means of perpetuating British institutions on this continent. (Hear, hear.) My honorable friend says the whole scheme is characterized by concessions to the Lower Provinces. Why, honorable gentlemen, place him in any portion of the Lower Provinces and let him listen to the opposition that is made there to the scheme, and he will find that the whole cry of those who, like him, do not reflect on the necessity of yielding something for the common good, is, that everything has been conceded to Canada. It is said, "We are going to be united with a province which is infinitely beyond us in point of population and wealth, and whose public men are able to command, by their ability, a much larger influence than our public men." They profess to believe that they are coming under the shadow of Canada, and that everything which they desire for themselves will be trampled under foot. My honorable friend, forgetting those duties which he owes to the Government, and forgetting the duty which he owes as a patriotic citizen to his country, contents himself with finding fault with the details of a scheme which he believes will be for the benefit of the country, and picks holes in every part of those details which he does not happen tally to understand. He not only complains that the people of Canada have not been consulted, but that in every respect the interests of Canada have been bartered away. Does he forget that the members of the Government all love their country, and have interests as great and as dear to them as the rest of the people of Canada? Is it likely that my honorable friend at the head of the Government, the honorable and gallant Knight, would give up everything that is dear to his race and to the people of this province? Is it likely that any of us would ruthlessly throw away any advantage which we could reasonably retain? On the contrary, if my honorable friend could be brought to look upon the measure with that liberality which ought to characterize a public man, he would concede that, although we had to give away some things, we did that which was best for the interests of our country. Let him find himself surrounded, as we were, by diverse interests—peculiarities here, prejudices there, and strong interests in the other direction, and let him produce, if he can, a scheme which, on the whole, is more advantageous to the people of this province, or which promises better for the country at large than that which is now on the table of this House. Let him do this, and then I will forgive him for the illiberality which he exhibits towards those who have honestly endeavored, to the best of their united ability, to arrange the scheme which is now under your consideration. (Hear, hear.) I could forgive my honorable friend altogether, if, like my honorable friend opposite, he took the ground that the scheme ought to be delayed until after a general election. But, instead of that, he leaves no stone unturned to prejudice this House against the measure. It seems to me that if he could prejudice the House sufficiently against it to insure its

defeat, as a whole, he would leave no stone unturned to accomplish it. So far from showing that he is in favor of the scheme, I cannot for one moment imagine how any one can believe him to be a sincere friend of Confederation under any circumstances. It is all very well to say "I am in favor of the scheme, but opposed to some of the details." Was not every one of those details tested and tried in all its bearings, so far as such a thing was possible, by gentlemen as intelligent and well informed upon the subjects embraced as any honorable gentleman in this House? Every honorable gentleman now listening to me knows very well that it was not possible to adopt a scheme that could not be found fault with. No matter what scheme was put upon the table of this House, even if my honorable friend had been able to submit a scheme infinitely superior to this, does anybody believe that certain honorable gentlemen in this House would have supported it? The resolutions may be objectionable here and objectionable there, but it is for honorable gentlemen to consider all the circumstances out of which they have grown, and consider whether, under those circumstances, they ought not to be adopted as a whole by the House. Honorable gentlemen say, where is the advantage to be gained by Canada from Confederation? Well, now, can any honorable gentleman in his senses believe that the removal of the obstacles to intercourse between the provinces, the doing away with the customs duties, and the developing the trade of the St. Lawrence, is no advantage to Canada? Can it be said that to open up commerce with three millions of people along the St. Lawrence and the lakes will be of no advantage to the people of the Lower Provinces? Can any Briton, advocating as he does the continuation of our connection with the Mother Country, say—"I would rather be alone, be an Upper Canadian and be left to myself, and that my fellow-colonists be left to take care of themselves." Then my honorable friend asks: "Where is the additional military strength?" Does my honorable friend pretend to deny that there is no additional strength in union over isolation? Does any man pretend to say that eight hundred or a thousand men belonging to a regiment are just as strong in units as when they are combined in a regiment and directed by the intellect of one man? And just so the forces of all these provinces are comparatively weak in their present isolated state. If we could say to the United States that we had the control of four millions of people to guard our frontier and repel attack, would not that form a strong barrier of defence? Would that be no weapon in the hands of a government desirous to avert an appeal to force of arms? It is the strength of a large number of people wielded by one mind, affording a power vastly superior to that which Canada alone could bring into the field, and giving the Government, when negotiating, an opportunity to point to what might possibly result from that power being called into active service. How can men be so lost to all that is true and useful and patriotic as to oppose a union of the powers of defence, and to oppose a scheme which is alone likely to afford the means of maintaining, for any long period of years, that connection with Great Britain which we all regard as so valuable? My honorable friend from Niagara took occasion, in the course of his remarks, to throw doubt upon one or two of my statements, and particularly in regard to the value of the mineral deposits of Newfoundland. I stated that I could satisfy

the House that there were mineral deposits in Newfoundland of a valuable character. I will not detain the House by reading it at length, but I hold in my hand a copy of a report that was made on that colony in 1840, stating that those deposits consisted of galena, gypsum, marble, gold, iron, copper, &c. There are most important lead mines in operation, and Professor SHEPARD states that he saw 3,500 pounds of pure galena thrown from a vein at a single blast. He goes on in this report to describe the very convenient position of the mines, showing that they can be approached very closely by vessels drawing twelve or fifteen feet of water. This report plainly shows that my honorable friend was mistaken in supposing that there were no valuable minerals in Newfoundland. But suppose, for the sake of argument, that there were no minerals there; suppose we were simply giving the Province of Newfoundland \$150,000 a year for the purpose of getting that island into the Confederation, would it not be better to have the Confederation complete than to refuse to agree to that condition? One would suppose, from the manner in which some honorable gentlemen treat the question, that the various sums to be annually paid to the Lower Provinces were to be paid by Canada alone; but it is nothing of the kind,—they are to be paid by the whole Confederation, the population receiving the benefit contribution as much per head to the amount as that of the Province of Canada. What does my honorable friend suppose the Province of Newfoundland gives up to the Confederation in return for the \$150,000? It transfers to us the whole right of property in its unsold lands, and the whole of its general revenue. In 1862, it had a gross revenue of \$480,000, only \$5,000 of which was from local sources, and it is calculated that the colony will bring a revenue of \$430,000 per annum to the Confederate purse, while the total amount it will receive will be \$369,200 per annum out of which to defray its local expenses. Is there anything so marvellously outrageous in that? In addition to the fact that Newfoundland will pay the Confederation \$130,000, and receive \$369,000, we have a complete yielding to the Federal Government of all her territorial sources of revenue. And so it is with all the provinces. Each of them will contribute to the general revenue, or to the Confederate purse, more than they will receive from it, so that the revenue of the whole country will show a surplus. The honorable gentleman from Niagara evidently contemplates much more by his amendment than my honorable friend opposite, who has so ably supported it, contemplates. My honorable friend who supported the amendment contemplates a delay until there shall be an expression of the people taken through a dissolution of Parliament. Well now, how can a dissolution of Parliament be brought about in a constitutional manner? Suppose this scheme to receive the support of an immense majority of the Lower House, as it plainly does, and also of a large majority in this House, how, I would ask, under our system of government, can a dissolution be brought about? A dissolution is unknown to the British Constitution, as carried out in this province, except when a measure, originated by the Government, does not receive the support of Parliament. Receiving the support of more than two-thirds of the representatives of the people, as the present Government does, how is it possible that Parliament could be dissolved to suit the views of a small minority? That is asking quite too much, even

if it were possible to grant it. (Hear, hear.) What, therefore, do honorable gentlemen ask, when they ask that the scheme be submitted to the people? They ask us as a Government to leave that which we consider the safe, sound, British constitutional mode of procedure, and resort to the American system of obtaining assent to constitutional alterations, by taking the votes, yea and nay, of the individual members of the whole community. What sort of a conclusion could be arrived at by that mode of procedure? Is it possible that any hon. member of this House desires that the people should have the opportunity of saying yea or nay to each clause of these resolutions? I am satisfied that is not what my honorable friend from Niagara desires, because he only asks for a delay of a month; and my honorable friend opposite does not desire it, because he knows the British Constitution and loves it too well to contemplate such a course for a moment. What conclusion, then, can we arrive at, but that those who oppose the passage of the scheme through this House, by moving and supporting amendments to it, are desirous of defeating it, and make those amendments for that purpose? (Hear, hear.) I am satisfied, from the best information I can obtain, that the passage of the amendment would have a very great tendency towards defeating the measure. It has to be agreed to in both branches of all the other legislatures, and then in the Imperial Parliament. All the other legislatures are now waiting upon the action of this House. They are waiting to know whether honorable gentlemen of the Legislative Council of Canada concur in the scheme—whether you are satisfied to put on one side small objections to minor matters of detail—to put on one side your individual opinions on this point and on that point, and give it your support as a whole. Every person who reflects upon the subject must be satisfied that that would have to be done under any circumstances. Do you desire to have a union of all the British American Provinces, or do you desire to remain as you are? That is the issue. For myself, I feel that our connection with the Mother Country cannot be maintained for any great length of time without such a union. What have we found in the utterances of the public men of England from year to year? Have we found them asserting, with more and more vehemence every year, that we were not doing our duty on this side of the water in relation to our defences? If Great Britain should get into a war with the United States from circumstances over which we had no control, still our destinies were linked in with those of the great empire of which we form a part, and it is our duty under all circumstances, to do something more than we have yet done, to prepare for events that may happen from one cause or another. But suppose that during the past summer armed forces from the United States had entered Canada in pursuit of raiders escaping into this province from the other side of the border, as they might have done had not Gen. Dix's order been withdrawn; and had we found that our integrity as a member of the great Empire was not respected, and Great Britain had coincided with the views of our Government and declared war against the United States, because that country had exercised liberties in one of her provinces to which no foreign power was entitled, where then would have been the cause of the war? It would have lain in the assertion of the right of the people of this province to maintain the position of an integral portion of the British Empire. Well,



supposing the cause of a war with that nation to have been elsewhere, still we must partake with the Empire in upholding its integrity, and must stand or fall with that Empire. Shall we say that we will contribute nothing towards our defence except to keep up the volunteers, and depend entirely upon what the Mother Country, for prudential reasons, may do for us? Is that a feeling that any honorable member of this House ought to be actuated by in relation to this or any other question? I am sure no honorable gentleman would be willing to sit down and fold his arms under the protection which the money and arms of Great Britain give us; and I am sure my honorable friend from Niagara himself would not unite in such a view plainly expressed. Still, my honorable friend thinks these resolutions ought not to pass this House, but ought to be postponed indefinitely, leaving the colonies in the divided condition in which they now are. I believe, on the contrary, that the interests and destiny of this country are bound up in the union now contemplated taking place. Suppose, as many believe, the end of that unfortunate fratricidal strife in the United States is at hand, and a reconciliation takes place at any reasonable time between the Northern and Southern States, I am quite sure the maintenance of the integrity of these provinces will depend upon this union having been consummated. If the scheme is postponed now, it is postponed indefinitely. For years past the effort has been making to get the Lower Provinces to assent to a union with Canada, and, if the question is now postponed, there is no knowing whether we shall ever be able to get their assent to it again or not. Action in the parliaments of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, is now hanging upon the proceedings in this House. If you pass an amendment, it will indicate to them that the people of Canada are not warily in favor of the scheme. Honorable gentlemen, are you ready to take the responsibility of declaring that the people of Canada are opposed to Confederation? There is no knowing when circumstances will allow of its being brought to this forward stage again. Those of you who know what difficulties and objections were met with—the selfish interests of the various sections of this and of the other provinces, which we had to overcome—must feel that a very great advance was made when the measure was brought to the present forward stage. When again will it be likely to happen that the representatives of the various provinces will be brought together to consider the question? When will it again happen that the governments of the several provinces concerned will be able to lay upon the table of their respective legislatures a scheme so complete in all its details as this is? It is impossible to say when that happy coincidence of circumstances will again occur. Then my honorable friend from Niagara says, “You have not given us the scheme in detail. You have not given the whole of it. The House has not before it the proposed Constitution under which Upper and Lower Canada are hereafter to meet. You have not told us what are to be the rights and the powers of the local legislatures.” Well, honorable gentlemen, all I can say is, that it would be impossible, and not only impossible, it would be useless for the Government to have brought down this scheme at the same time that they submitted the scheme now before the House. Until this scheme passes, until it shall be adopted in the other provinces, until we know whether or not we are to form

portions of a Confederate Government, there is no occasion for introducing the scheme relating to the local legislatures. But, honorable gentlemen, is it likely or can it be possible for such a scheme to be adopted without the sanction of both branches of the Legislature? The plan, whatever it may be, for the constitution of Upper and Lower Canada, is it a matter which the ministers of the Crown can carry in their pockets and put in force without the sanction of Parliament? No, it is a measure which must hereafter be laid on the table of this House, which must be debated, and upon which we shall all have an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion before it comes in force. At the proper time, a full opportunity will be afforded to those who dissent from the views of the Government in regard to the constitutions of these provinces, of expressing their opinions, and of seeking to give effect to them. The same may be said in regard to the objections taken to the Intercolonial Railway. It is asserted that the Intercolonial Railway is something that we ought never to have agreed to. But honorable gentlemen will acknowledge as a general proposition, that union is impossible without the railway, and such as believe that union is important and necessary, must be content to take the railway as a condition which is indispensable. But, honorable gentlemen, the Government cannot of itself build the Intercolonial Railway. There is no power either in this Government or the Government of the other provinces to build it. We must come down to Parliament for the sanction—not to this Parliament, but to the Confederate Parliament, and the Confederate Parliament will have an opportunity of saying upon what terms we shall build the Intercolonial Railway. The fullest opportunity will be afforded for discussion before either the Intercolonial Railway is built, or the constitutions are adopted for Upper and Lower Canada. The former will be submitted to the Confederate Parliament; the latter, should the resolutions now before the House pass, to the present Parliament of Canada; for that must necessarily be a matter for the disposal of the Legislature of Canada. I am not one of those who would, as suggested, desire to take shelter behind the resolutions before the House for any unworthy purpose; but this I will say, that the amendment now before the House ought not to receive its sanction. I am quite satisfied that no honorable member of this House, who is really and truly an advocate of this scheme, and who believes that Confederation of all the provinces is important and desirable, will be found voting for this amendment, which would place a barrier in the way of Confederation, such as, perhaps, we could not overcome. Fancy the number of years during which this matter has been contemplated. As my honorable friend who sits near me pointed out, it is a measure which has long been agitated. He shewed you that for years and years it has engaged the attention of almost every person who took any kind of interest in the public affairs of this country. I have only one thing to add to my honorable friend's elaborate statement on this point, and that is, to quote an extract from the resolutions proposed in this House many years ago by an honorable friend of mine, whom I am glad, and whom every one of his fellow members is glad to find still occupying his accustomed place in this House—I refer to my honorable friend Hon. Mr. MATHESON. In 1855, my honorable friend proposed a series of resolutions in this House against the elective principle, the

last of which is in language prophetic of the result which now we are testing by actual experience. The resolution is in these words:—

8. *Resolved*,—That as the subject of a union of the whole of the British North American Provinces has for years occupied the public attention, it would manifestly be unwise to complicate future arrangements by a change in the Constitution of one of those provinces, which has not been sought for, and which this House believes, would not be acceptable to the others. It is, therefore, the opinion of this Council, that any proceedings on the subject at the present juncture would be premature, unwise, and inexpedient.

My honorable friend at that time looked forward to that which we now see about to take place—a union of these provinces—and he anticipated also that the elective system, if introduced into this branch of the Legislature, would be fraught with difficulty. It has been fraught with difficulty, and it is a difficulty which we must surmount—a barrier which we must strive to overcome. The personal objections which my honorable friend from Niagara division has started, are the poorest kind of objections. It is not what my honorable friend near me, or my honorable friend opposite, possibly thought or said at some remote period, that we have now to consider. We are all more or less exposed to this sort of attack; but fortunately the time during which I have had the honor of being in public life has been so short, and the position I have since occupied has been so obscure, that I am not so much exposed as many others to these accusations; but I am well aware that this is owing to my comparative insignificance. I must say that for my part I am disposed to put aside all these things. I am disposed to put aside all reference to what an honorable member may have done under other circumstances and in other times, and I would merely ask myself this: “Is this Confederation desirable? Do I wish for it as a lover of monarchical institutions? Do I desire it as a subject of the British Empire? Do I wish for the perpetuation of the connection between this country and Great Britain?” If I do I shall waive my objections on this point and the other, in my desire for the success of the principle. This Confederation has been sought after for years, but never until now has it approached so near a consummation—never was it a possibility as it is now a possibility. After years of anxiety, after years of difficulty, after troubles here and divisions there, the scheme is found possible, and I will not put it away from me because I object to this point or to that. If this harness of the Confederation of the country is to be put on, we cannot but expect that it will chafe here and chafe there; but time will give relief and provide the remedy, as it has done in other circumstances before. It was so in regard to the union of 1840. The Lower Canadians had a grievance in the French language being excluded the Provincial Parliament. That chafed, as was to be expected, and provoked remonstrance. And what was the result? The injustice complained of was done away with, and both languages were thereafter permitted to be used. Then it was the desire of the people that the elective system should be introduced into this House. I believe myself that it was a mistake, but a change was desired, and a change was brought about. And so it will be in this case. If change is seriously desired, it will be had. It would be unwise and unstatesmanlike, in my opinion, to declare that because we cannot have our way on this point

or on that point—that because the scheme in all its features is not exactly what we would like it to be—we will not have it at all. Where, honorable gentlemen, is the union effected between any two countries, or any two individuals even, which has lasted for any length of time without mutual forbearance and mutual concessions? Let those honorable gentlemen who have had the good fortune of forming unions, and who can therefore speak from experience, say whether any union can be formed either happy or lasting without forbearance on both sides. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) You must give up all thoughts of union unless you are willing to give and take, and cease persisting for everything you think best. Nobody ever did effect a union upon such terms, and nobody ever will. You must forbear here, and give way there. I trust and believe that in the present instance this will be the opinion of the Legislature of this country. I trust and believe we are satisfied that Federation is desirable in itself, and that, without insisting on this point or on that point, we will be looking confidently forward to the future, when we shall witness, in this country, a population of four millions, with a valuable commerce, and, in point of naval power and supremacy, ranking fourth in the world. (Applause.) Particularly am I surprised that any honorable gentleman from Lower Canada should oppose himself to this union, for by union the people of Lower Canada will regain possession of those countries which were once belonging to their race, and in which their language continues to be spoken. I believe that for them, as well as for us, there is a future in store of great promise, to which we can all look forward with the most confident expectations. And shall we set aside all these promising prospects because we cannot obtain this little point or that little point? I hope honorable gentlemen who favor the scheme see as I see that there is imminent danger in postponing the measure, and I ask them not to pass this amendment, which is brought forward in the poorest of all spirits, which is based on the assumption that honorable gentlemen are not ready to give the country the benefit of their minds and their judgments, but which asks us to wait and go knocking about from door to door, asking what is thought about the scheme upon which we are now called to legislate. Federation is the future safety and salvation of the country. Let us then waive our small objections and vote for Federation. (Applause.)

## HON. THOMAS D. MCGEE

is Minister of Agriculture (with a fine *field* for his labors).

Mr. McGee is one of the most intelligent men of the Cabinet, and has won the repute of being a fluent and witty speaker. This is his best quality, it may be said, though he has some legislative talent also. He can go to much trouble to collect statistics, and is a careful writer on a serious subject.

If Mr. McGee is light and witty sometimes, he can, in the House, be serious and official-like, as becomes a legislator. More discursive and florid than Mr. Macdonald, he is less serious and legislative, and may be said to be inferior to the latter in the qualities of a Minister.

This Minister is member for an important constituency, namely, "Montreal West," most of the electors of which are of Irish origin. It is they who have fought him into his present place,—aided very much by his talent, it must be said. By many it is agreed that a man of Irish origin shall represent the west of the city, as it is that one of French origin shall the east. In view of this, it is likely that Mr. McGee will be elected for the west division as often as he may run for it, be he in office or not, unless he should commit some error that would estrange his countrymen from him—a thing which he is too intelligent to do; though one may see that his growing attachment to the Crown does not well please some of his ultra-Catholic friends, who have some not

very clear ideas about the "wrongs" of their country, etc.

Mr. McGee was first elected in 1857, and sat until 1861, when the constituency was divided into three sections. He has since sat for Montreal West. In 1862, he was in the Reform Administration of that time—in 1864, in the Coalition, where he now is.

If we look back at the political course of Mr. McGee (as one must do in order to write a sketch of him) we cannot help seeing that it is a little irregular; and it is to be hoped by his friends that the rest of it will not be marked by any more deviations.

At the present time this Minister is doing good service in the cause of Confederation by his fluent speech. His influence is mostly among the Irish in central Canada, but it extends to the east and west.

Mr. McGee is a lawyer, but, so far, has not cut a figure at the Bar. It was only in 1861 that he passed, so that he is young at law, if old at politics; and he may in time get a seat on the Bench, for the step from the Cabinet to that seat of honor is easy. Ministers give their late colleague a lift, and he alights upon the Bench. In fact the way to that seat is through the Cabinet, and, no doubt, Mr. McGee has seen that by this time. After he tires of legislation he may wish to pass the rest of his life in court, administering the laws which he has helped to frame.

The following is a specimen of Mr. McGee's talent as a debater, taken from his speech, in the House, February 9, 1865, on Confederation :

MR. SPEAKER, I rise to endeavor to fulfil the promise made in my name last evening by the Lower Canadian leader of this House. After the four speeches that have already been delivered from this quarter of the House, it may very well be supposed that little of essential importance remains to be said. On

Monday, the Attorney General West, in exposing the case for the Government in moving this Address to Her Majesty, went very fully through all the items of the resolutions agreed upon at the Quebec Conference, and gave us a full analysis of the whole project with his own constitutional commentaries upon the proceedings of that body. On the next evening, the Attorney General East gave us his views also, treating chiefly of the difficulties in Lower Canada. The same night, my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, gave us a financial view of the whole subject; and last evening the Hon. President of the Council gave us another extended financial and political address, with some arguments from "the Upper Canadian point of view," as the phrase is. It may well therefore seem that after these speeches little of essential importance remains to be stated. Still this subject is so vast, the project before the House is so vast, and comprehends within it so many objects of interest, the atmosphere that surrounds a subject of this importance is so subtle and fluctuating, that there may be, I am feign to believe, a little joiner-work still left to do—there may be a *hiatus* here and there to fill up; and although, as what is called "the preliminary case" is concerned, the question might perhaps very well have rested with the four speeches already delivered, there may be some slight additional contribution made, and such as it is, in my own humble way, I propose to make it to-night. (Hear, hear.) We all remember that in the nursery legend of the Three Kings of Cologne, CASPAR brought myrrh, and MELCHIOR incense, and BALTASSAR gold, but I am afraid my contribution will be less valuable than any of these, yet such as it is I cheerfully bring it, particularly when there are so many in this and the other provinces who would like to know what my own views are in relation to the present crisis.

With your approbation, sir, and the forbearance of the House, I will endeavour to treat this subject in this way:—First, to give some slight sketch of the history of the question; then to examine the existing motives which ought to prompt us to secure a speedy Union of these provinces; then to speak of the difficulties which this question has encountered before reaching its present fortunate stage; then to say something of the mutual advantages, in a social rather than political point of view, which these provinces will have in their union, and lastly to add a few words on the Federal principle in general; when I shall have done. In other words, I propose to consider the question of Union mainly from within, and as far as possible to avoid going over the ground already so fully and so much better occupied by hon. friends who have already spoken upon the subject.

My hon. friend, the member for Hochelaga, thought he did a very clever thing the other evening when he disinterred an old newspaper article of mine, entitled "A New Nationality," and endeavored to fix on me the paternity of the phrase—destined to become prophetic—which was employed by a very distinguished personage in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the session. I do not happen to remember the article alluded to as one of my first essays in political writing in Canada; but I am quite sure that the almost-forgotten publication in which it appeared was never known, even by name, to the illustrious person who delivered the speech on that occasion. But I will own when I saw my bantling held up to the admiration of the

House in the delicate and fostering hands of the hon. member for Hochelaga. I was not ashamed of it; on the contrary, perhaps there was some tingling of parental pride when I saw what ten years ago I pointed out as the true position for these colonies to take, about to be adopted by all the colonies under such favorable circumstances. I do not think it ought to be made a matter of reproach to me, or a cause for belittling the importance of the subject, that ten years ago I used the identical phrase employed in the Speech from the Throne. The idea itself is a good one, and it may have floated through the minds of many men and received intellectual hospitality, even from the hon. member for Hochelaga himself. One is reminded by this sort of thing, of Puff in the *Critic*. "Two people" happened "to hit upon the same thought, and SHAKSPERE made use of it first—that's all." (Laughter.) My honorable friend is in this respect, no doubt, the SHAKSPERE of the new nationality. (Renewed laughter.) If there is anything in the article he has read to the House which is deserving of disapprobation, he is *particeps criminis*, and equally blameable if not more blameable than myself. He is indeed the older sinner, and I bow to him in that character with all proper humility. (Renewed laughter.) Really, MR. SPEAKER, the attempt to fix the parentage of this child of many fathers is altogether absurd and futile. It is almost as ridiculous as the attempt to fix the name of this new Confederation, in advance of the decision of the Gracious Lady to whom the matter is to be referred. I have read in one newspaper published in a western city not less than a dozen attempts of this nature. One individual chooses Taponia and another Hochelaga, as a suitable name for the new nationality. Now I would ask any hon. member of this House how he would feel if he woke up some fine morning and found himself, instead of a Canadian, a Taponian or Hochelagander. (Laughter.) I think, sir, we may safely leave for the present the discussion of the name as well as the origin of the new system proposed; when the Confederation has a place among the nations of the world, and opens a new page in history, it will be time enough to look into its antecedents, and when it has reached this stage there are few men who, having struggled for it in its earlier difficulties, will then deserve to be honorably mentioned. I shall not be guilty of the bad taste of complimenting those with whom I have the honor to be associated; but when we reach the stage of research, which lies far beyond the stage of deliberation in these affairs, there are some names that ought not to be forgotten.

So far back as the year 1800, the Hon. Mr. UNICLACK, a leading politician in Nova Scotia at that date, submitted a scheme of Colonial Union to the Imperial authorities. In 1815, Chief Justice SEWELL, whose name will be well remembered as a leading lawyer of this city and a far-sighted politician, submitted a scheme. In 1822, Sir JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON, at the request of the Colonial Office, submitted a project of the same kind; and I need not refer to the report of Lord DUNHAM on Colonial Union in 1839. These are all memorable, and some of them are great names. If we have dreamed a dream of Union (as some of you gentlemen say) it is at least worth while remarking that a dream which has been dreamed by such wise and good men, my, for aught we know or you know, have been a sort of vision—a vision foreshadowing forthcoming natural events in a clear intelligence. A vision



(I say it without irreverence, for the event concerns the lives of millions living, and yet to come) resembling those seen by the DANIELS and JOSEPHS of old, foreshadowing the trials of the future; the fate of tribes and peoples; the rise and fall of dynasties. But the immediate history of the venture is sufficiently wonderful without dwelling on the remoter predictions of so many wise men. Whoever, in 1862, or even in 1863, would have told us that we should see, even what we see in these seats by which I stand—such a representation of interests acting together, would be accounted, as our Scotch friends say, “half-daft:”—and whoever, in the Lower Provinces about the same time, would have ventured to foretell the composition of their delegations, which sat with us under this roof last October, would probably have been considered equally demented. (Laughter.) But the thing came about, and if those gentlemen, who have had no immediate hand in bringing it about, and, therefore, naturally, felt less interest in the project than we who did, will only give us the benefit of the doubt, will only assume that we are not all, altogether wrong-headed, we hope to show them still farther, as we think we have already shown them, that we are by no means without reason in entering on this enterprise. I submit, however, we may very well dismiss the antecedent history of the question for the present: it grew from an unnoticed feeble plant, to be a stately and flourishing tree, and for my part any one that pleases may say he made the tree grow, if I can only have hereafter my fair share of the shelter and the shade. (Cheers.) But in the present stage of the question, the first real stage of its success—the thing that gave importance to theory in men’s minds—was the now celebrated despatch, signed by two members of this Government and an hon. gentleman formerly their colleague, a member of the other House; I refer to the despatch of 1858. The recommendations in that despatch lay dormant until revived by the Constitutional Committee of last Session, which led to the Coalition, which led to the Quebec Conference, which led to the draft of the Constitution now on our table, which will lead, I am feign to believe, to the union of all these provinces. (Hear, hear.) At the same time that we mention the distinguished politicians, I think we ought not to forget those zealous and laborious contributors to the public press, who, although not associated with governments, and not themselves at the time in politics, addressed the public mind, and greatly contributed to give life and interest to this question, and indirectly to bring it to the happy position in which it now stands. Of those gentlemen I will mention two. I do not know whether hon. gentlemen of this House have seen some letters on colonial union, written in 1855, the last addressed to the late Duke of NEWCASTLE, by Mr. P. S. HAMILTON, an able public writer of Nova Scotia, and the present Gold Commissioner of that Province; but I take this opportunity of bearing my testimony to his well-balanced judgment, political sagacity, and the skilful handling the subject received from him at a very early period. (Hear, hear.) There is another little book written in English, six or seven years ago, to which I must refer. It is a pamphlet, which met with an extraordinary degree of success, entitled *Nova Britannia*, by my hon. friend the member for South Lanark (Mr. MORRIS;) and as he has been one of the principal agents in bringing into existence the present Government, which is now

carrying out the idea embodied in his book, I trust he will forgive me if I take the opportunity, although he is present, of reading a single sentence to show how far he was in advance and how true he was to the coming event, which we are now considering. At page 57 of his pamphlet—which I hope will be reprinted among the political miscellanies of the provinces when we are one country and one people—I find this paragraph :—

“The dealing with the destinies of a future Britannic empire, the shaping its course, the laying its foundations broad and deep, and the erecting thereon a noble and enduring superstructure, are indeed duties that may well evoke the energies of our people, and nerve the arms and give power and enthusiasm to the aspirations of all true patriots. The very magnitude of the interests involved, will, I doubt not, elevate many amongst us above the demands of mere sectionalism, and enable them to evince sufficient comprehensiveness of mind to deal in the spirit of real statesmen with issues so momentous, and to originate and develop a national line of commercial and general policy, which as will prove adapted to the wants and exigencies of our position.”

There are many other excellent passages in the work, but I will not detain the House with many quotations. The spirit that animates the whole will be seen from the extract I have read. But whatever the private writer in his closet may have conceived, whatever even the individual statesman may have designed, so long as the public mind was uninterested in the adoption, even in the discussion of a change in our position so momentous as this, the Union of these separate provinces, the individual labored in vain—perhaps, sir, not wholly in vain, for although his work may not have borne fruit then, it was kindling a fire that would ultimately light up the whole political horizon and herald the dawn of a better day for our country and our people. Events stronger than advocacy, events stronger than men, have come in at last like the fire behind the invisible writing to bring out the truth of these writings and to impress them upon the mind of every thoughtful man who has considered the position and probable future of these scattered provinces. (Cheers.) Before I go further into the details of my subject, I will take this opportunity of congratulating this House and the public of all the provinces upon the extraordinary activity which has been given to this subject since it has become a leading topic of public discussion in the Maritime and what I may call relatively to them, the Inland Provinces. It is astonishing how active has been the public mind in all these communities since the subject has been fairly launched. I have watched with great attention the expression of public opinion in the Lower Provinces as well as in our own; and I am rejoiced to find that even in the smallest of the provinces I have been able to read writings and speeches which would do no discredit to older and more cultivated communities—articles and speeches worthy of any press and of any audience. The provincial mind, it would seem, under the inspiration of a great question, leaped at a single bound, out of the slough of mere mercenary struggles for office, and took post on the high and honorable ground from which alone this great subject can be taken in, in all its dimensions—had risen at once to the true dignity of this discussion with an elasticity that does honor to the communities that have exhibited it, and gives assurance that we have the metal, the material, out of which to construct a new and vigorous nationality. (Cheers.) We find in the journals and in the speeches of public men in the Lower Provinces a discus-

ion of the first principles of government, a discussion of the principles of constitutional law, and an intimate knowledge and close application of the leading facts in constitutional history, which gives to me at least the satisfaction and assurance that, if we never went farther in this matter, we have put an end for the present, and I hope for long, to bitterer and smaller controversies. We have given the people some sound mental food, and to every man who has a capacity for discussion we have given a topic upon which he can fitly exercise his powers, no longer gnawing at a file and wasting his abilities in the poor effort at advancing the ends of some paltry faction or party. I can congratulate this House and Province, and the Provinces below, that such is the case, and I may observe, with some satisfaction, that the various orators and writers seem to be speaking or writing as if in the visible presence of all the colonies. (Hear, hear.) They are no longer hole-and-corner celebrities; they seem to think that their words will be scanned and weighed afar off as well as at home. We have, I believe, several hundred celebrities in Canada—my friend, Mr. MORGAN, I believe, has made out a list of them—(laughter)—but they are no longer now local celebrities: if celebrities at all they must be celebrities for British North America; for every one of the speeches made by them on this subject is watched in all the provinces, and in point of fact by the mere appearance of political union, we have made a mental union among the people of all these provinces; and many men now speak with a dignity and carefulness which formerly did not characterize them, when they were watched only by their own narrow and struggling section, and weighed only according to a stunted local standard. (Hear, hear.) Federation, I hope, may supply to all our public men just ground for uniting in nobler and more profitable contests than those which have signalized the past. (Hear, hear.) We, on this side, Mr. SPEAKER, propose for that better future our plan of Union; and, if you will allow me, I shall go over what appears to me the principal motives which exist at present for that Union. My hon. friend the Finance Minister mentioned the other evening several strong motives for union—free access to the sea, an extended market, breaking down of hostile tariffs, a more diversified field for labor and capital, our enhanced credit with England, and our greater effectiveness when united for assistance in time of danger. (Cheers.) The Hon. President of the Council also enumerated several motives for union in relation to commercial advantages which will flow from it, and other powerful reasons which may be advanced in favor of it. But the motives to such a comprehensive change as we propose, must be mixed motives—partly commercial, partly military, and partly political; and I shall go over a few—not strained or simulated—motives which are entertained by many people of all these provinces, and are rather of a social, or, strictly speaking, political, than of a financial kind. In the first place, I echo what was stated in the speech last night of my honorable friend, the President of the Council—that we cannot stand still; we cannot stave off some great change; we cannot stand alone, province apart from province, if we would; and that we are in a state of political transition. All, even honorable gentlemen who are opposed to this union, admit that we must do something, and that that something must not be a mere temporary expedient. We are compelled, by warning voices from within and without, to make a change, and a great change. We all, with one voice, who are unionists.

declare our conviction that we cannot go on as we have gone; but you, who are all anti-unionists, say—"Oh! that is bagging the question; you have not yet proved that." Well, Mr. SPEAKER, what proofs do the gentlemen want? I presume there are three influences which determine any great change in the course of any individual or State. First—His patron, owner, employer, protector, ally, or friend; or, in politics, "Imperial connection." Secondly, His partner, comrade, or fellow-laborer, or near neighbor. And, thirdly, The man himself, or the state itself. Now, in our case, all three causes have concurred to warn and force us into a new course of conduct. What are these warnings? We have had at least three. The first is from England, and is a friendly warning. England warned us by several matters of fact, according to her custom, rather than verbiage, that the colonies had entered upon a new era of existence, a new phase in their career. She has given us this warning in several different shapes—when she gave us "Responsible Government"—when she adopted Free Trade—when she repealed the Navigation laws—and when, three or four years ago, she commenced that series of official despatches in relation to militia and defence which she has ever since poured in on us, in a steady stream, always bearing the same solemn burden—"prepare! prepare! prepare!" These warnings gave us notice that the old order of things between the colonies and the mother country had ceased, and that a new order must take its place. (Hear, hear.) About four years ago, the first despatches began to be addressed to this country, from the Colonial Office, upon the subject. From that day to this there has been a steady stream of despatches in this direction, either upon particular or general points connected with our defence; and I venture to say, that if bound up together, the despatches of the lamented Duke of NEWCASTLE alone would make a respectable volume—all notifying this Government, by the advices they conveyed, that the relations—the military apart from the political and commercial relations of this province to the Mother Country had changed; and we were told in the most explicit language that could be employed, that we were no longer to consider ourselves, in relation to defence, in the same position we formerly occupied towards the mother country. Well, these warnings have been friendly warnings; and if we have failed to do our part in regard to them, we must, at all events, say this, that they were addressed to our Government so continuously and so strenuously that they freed the Imperial power of the responsibility for whatever might follow, because they showed the colonies clearly what, in the event of certain contingencies arising, they had to expect. We may grumble or not at the necessity of preparation England imposes upon us, but, whether we like it or not, we have, at all events, been told that we have entered upon a new era in our military relations to the rest of the empire. (Hear, hear.) Then, sir, in the second place, there came what I may call the other warning from without—the American warning. (Hear, hear.) Republican America gave us her notices in times past, through her press, and her demagogues and her statesmen,—but of late days she has given us much more intelligible notices—such as the notice to abrogate the Reciprocity Treaty, and to arm the lakes, contrary to the provisions of the addenda to the treaty of 1818. She has given us another notice in imposing a vexatious passport system: another in her avowed purpose to

construct a ship canal round the Falls of Niagara, so as "to pass war vessels from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie;" and yet another, the most striking one of all, has been given to us, if we will only understand it, by the enormous expansion of the American army and navy. I will take leave to read to the House a few figures which show the amazing, the unprecedented growth, which has not, perhaps, a parallel in the annals of the past, of the military power of our neighbors within the past three or four years. I have the details here by me, but shall only read the results, to show the House the emphatic meaning of this most serious warning. In January, 1861, the regular army of the United States, including of course the whole of the States, did not exceed 15,000 men. This number was reduced, from desertion and other causes, by 5,000 men, leaving 10,000 men as the army of the States. In December, 1862—that is, from January, 1861, to January, 1863, this army of 10,000 was increased to 800,000 soldiers actually in the field. (Hear, hear.) No doubt there are exaggerations in some of these figures—the rosters were, doubtless, in some cases filled with fictitious names, in order to procure the bounties that were offered; but if we allow two-thirds as correct, we find that a people who had an army of 10,000 men in 1861, had in two years increased it to an army of 600,000 men. As to their ammunition and stock of war material at the opening of the war—that is to say, at the date of the attack upon Fort Sumpter—we find that they had of siege and heavy guns 1,952; of field artillery, 231; of infantry firearms, 473,000; of cavalry firearms, 31,000; and of ball and shell, 363,000. At the end of 1863—the latest period to which I have statistics upon the subject—the 1,952 heavy guns had become 2,116; the 231 field pieces had become 2,965; the 473,000 infantry arms had become 2,473,000; the 31,000 cavalry arms had become 369,000, and the 363,000 ball and shell had become 2,925,000. Now, as to the navy of the United States. I wish to show that this wonderful development of war power in the United States is the second warning we have had, that we cannot go on as we have gone. (Hear, hear.) In January, 1861, the ships of war belonging to the United States were 83; in December, 1864, they numbered 674, of which 54 were monitors and ironclads, carrying 4,610 guns, with a tonnage of 510,000 tons, and manned by a force of 51,000 men. These are frightful figures for the capacity of destruction they represent, for the heaps of carnage that they represent, for the quantity of human blood spilt that they represent, for the lust of conquest that they represent, for the evil passions that they represent, and for the arrest of the onward progress of civilization that they represent. But it is not the figures which give the worst view of the fact—for England still carries more guns afloat even than our war-making neighbors. (Cheers.) It is the change which has taken place in the spirit of the people of the Northern States themselves which is the worst view of the fact. How far have they travelled since the humane CHANNING preached the unlawfulness of war—since the living SUMNER delivered his addresses to the Peace Society on the same theme? I remember an accomplished poet, one of the most accomplished the New England States have ever produced, took very strong grounds against the prosecution of the Mexican war, and published the Bigelow Papers, so well known in American

literature, to show the ferocity and criminality of war. He thus made Mr. BURD-OF-FREEDOM SAWIN sing:

Et you take a sonard an' draor it.  
An' go stiek a feller thru.  
Guv'ment won't answer for it.  
God'll send the bill to you!

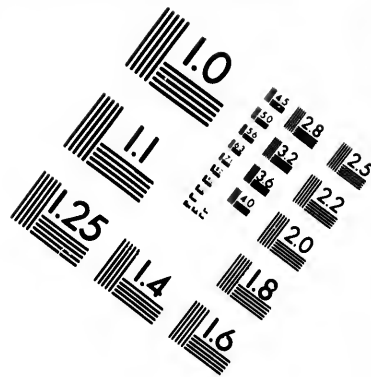
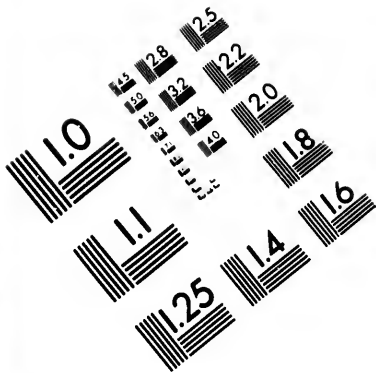
(Laughter.) This was slightly audacious and irreverent in expression, but it was remarkably popular in New England at that time. The writer is now one of the editors of a popular Boston periodical, and would be one of the last, I have no doubt, to induce a Northern soldier to withdraw his sword from the body of any unhappy Southerner whom he had, contrary to the poet's former political ethics, "stuck thru." (Laughter.) But it is not the revolution wrought in the minds of men of great intelligence that is most to be deplored—for the powerful will of such men may compel their thoughts back again to a philosophy of peace; no, it is the mercenary and military interests created under Mr. LINCOLN—which are represented, the former by an estimated governmental outlay of above \$100,000,000 this year, and the other by the 800,000 men whose blood is thus to be bought and paid for; by the armies out of uniform who prey upon the army; by the army of contractors who are to feed and clothe and arm the million; by that other army, the army of tax-collectors, who cover the land, seeing that no industry escapes unburthened, no possession unentered, no affection, even, untaxed. Tax! tax! tax! is the cry from the rear! Blood! blood! blood! is the cry from the front! Gold! gold! gold! is the chuckling undertone which comes up from the mushroom *millionaires*, well named a shoddy aristocracy; nor do I think the army interest, the contracting interest, and the tax-gathering interest, the worst results that have grown out of this war. There is another and equally serious interest—the change that has come over the spirit, mind and principles of the people, that terrible change which has made war familiar and even attractive to them. When the first battle was fought—when, in the language of the Duke of WELLINGTON, the first "butcher's bill was sent in"—a shudder of horror ran through the length and breadth of the country; but by and by, as the carnage increased, no newspaper was considered worth laying on the breakfast table unless it contained the story of the butchery of thousands of men. "Only a couple of thousand killed! Pooh, pooh, that's nothing!" exclaimed Mr. SNODDY as he sipped his coffee in his luxurious apartment; and nothing short of the news of ten, fifteen, twenty thousand human beings struck dead in one day would satisfy the jaded palate of men craving for excitement, and such horrible excitement as attended the wholesale murder of their fellow-creatures. Have these sights and sounds no warning addressed to us? Are we as those who have eyes and see not; ears and hear not; reason, neither do they understand? If we are true to Canada—if we do not desire to become part and parcel of this people—we cannot overlook this the greatest revolution of our own times. Let us remember this, that when the three cries among our next neighbors are money, taxation, blood, it is time for us to provide for our own security. I said in this House, during the session of the year 1861, that the first gun fired at Fort Sumpter had "a message for us." I was unheeded then; I repeat now that every one of the 2,700 great guns in the field, and every one of the 4,600 guns afloat, when-

ever it opens its mouth, repeats the solemn warning of England—prepare—prepare—prepare! (Cheers.) But I may be told by some moralizing friend, Oh! but when they get out of this, they will have had enough of it, and they will be very glad to rest on their laurels. They! Who? The Shoddy aristocracy have enough of it! The disbanded army of tax-gatherers have enough of it! The manufacturers of false intelligence have enough of it! Who is it possible will have had enough of it! The fighting men themselves! I dare say they would all like to have a furlough, but all experience teaches us, it is not of war soldiers tire but of peace; it is not of the sea sailors tire, but of the land. Jack likes to land, and have a frolic and spend his money, so does Jack's brother the fighting landsman—but the one is soon as much out of his element as the other, when parted from his comrades, when denied the gipsy joys of the camp, when he no longer feels his sword, he looks up to it where it hangs, and sighs to take it down and be "at work" again. He will even quit his native country, if she continues perversely peaceful, and go into foreign service, rather than remain what he calls "idle." (Hear.) This is experience, which I beg respectfully to cite in opposition to the seductive, disarming fallacy of my moralizing friend. (Hear, hear.) The Attorney-General East told us in his speech the other night, that one of the features of the original programme of the American Revolutionists was the acquisition of Canada to the United States. They pretend to underrate the importance of this country, now that they are fully occupied elsewhere; but I remember well that the late Mr. WEBSTER—who was not a demagogue—at the opening of the Worcester and Albany Railway, some years since, expressed the hope that the railways of the New England States would all point towards Canada, because their influence and the demands of commerce would in time bring Canada into the Union and increase the New England element in that Union. (Hear, hear.) I think, sir, I am justified in regarding the American conflict as one of the warnings we have received; and the third warning, that things cannot go on in this country as they are, is a warning voice from within—a warning voice from our own experience in the government of these Provinces. (Hear, hear.) On these internal constitutional difficulties existing among ourselves, which were so fully exposed last evening by my hon. friend the President of the Council, I need say little; they are admitted to have been real, not imaginary, on all hands. An illustration was used in another place in explaining this part of the subject by the venerable and gallant knight, our Premier, than which nothing could be more clear. He observed that when he had had five administrations within two years, it was full time to look out for some permanent remedy for such a state of things. True—most true—Constitutional Government among us had touched its lowest point when it existed only by the successful search of a messenger or a page, after a member, willingly or unwillingly absent from his seat. Any one might in those days have been the saviour of his country. (Laughter.) All he had to do was, when one of the five successive governments which arose in two years, was in danger to rise in his place, say "yea!" and *presto* the country was saved. (Laughter.) This House was fast losing, under such a state of things, its hold on the country; the administrative departments were becoming disorganized under such frequent changes

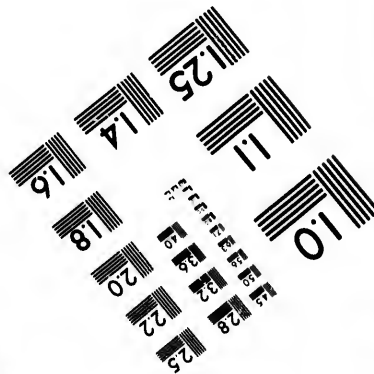
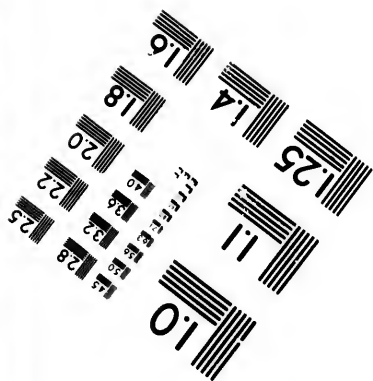
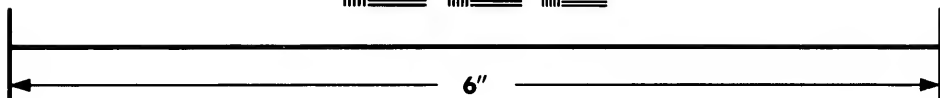
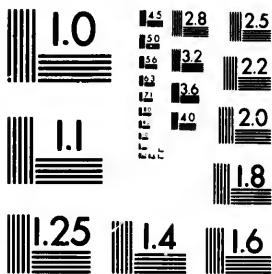
of chiefs and policies: we were nearly as bad as the army of the Potomac, before its "permanent remedy" was found in General GRANT. Well, we have had our three warnings. One warning from within, and two from without. I dare say, sir, we all remember the old class-book story of Mrs. Thrale's "Three Warnings;" how Death promised not to come after a certain individual he had unintentionally intruded on, on his wedding day. I say, unintentionally—for Death is a gentleman, and seldom walks in, unannounced—(laughter)—but he promised not to call upon this particular person, without giving him three distinct warnings. Well, the honorable gentleman in question—I daresay he was honorable, and a member of some House,—he, like all the rest of us, expected to outlive everybody. But in process of years he fell lame, then afterwards, he became deaf, and at last he grew blind: then Death's hour had come, and in spite of some admirable pleading on behalf of the defendant in the case, he had his "three warnings;" like a Parisian editor, his case was closed, his form was locked up, and his impression was struck off the face of the earth, and Death claimed and had, his own. (Laughter.) Now, sir, we have had three warnings, and if we do take heed of them and prepare for the possible future condition into which we may be plunged, woe to us if we are found unprepared when the hour of destiny strikes! (Cheers.) We have submitted a plan preparing us for such a contingency, and the Attorneys General East and West have analysed its constitutional character, while the Minister of Finance and the President of the Council have treated it in its financial aspects. There are some objections taken to the plan, I understand, but I do not believe that any member will get up in this House, and declare that he is an anti-unionist, that he is opposed to all union, and that he considers union unnecessary and inexpedient. (Hear, hear.) I do not know that there is one man out of the one hundred and thirty who compose this House, in view of the circumstances in which we are placed, who will declare that he is opposed to any sort of union with the Lower Provinces. One may say that he does not like this or the other clause—that he does not like this or that feature of the proposed scheme; but still all admit that union of some kind would increase our protection and be a source of strength. Some honorable gentlemen, while admitting that we have entered, within the present decade, on a period of political transition, have contended that we might have bridged the abyss with that Prussian pontoon, called a Zollverein. But if any one for a moment will remember that the trade of the whole front of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia gravitates at present along-shore to Portland and Boston, while the trade of Upper Canada, west of Kingston, has long gravitated across the lakes to New York, he will see, I think, that a mere Zollverein treaty without a strong political end to serve, and some political power at its back, would be, in our new circumstances, merely waste paper. (Hear, hear.) The charge that we have not gone far enough—that we have not struck out boldly for a consolidated union, instead of a union with reserved local jurisdictions, is another charge which deserves some notice. To this I answer that, if we had had, as was proposed, an Intercolonial Railway twenty years ago, we might by this time have been, perhaps, and only perhaps, in a condition to unite into one consolidated Government; but certain politicians and capitalists having defeated







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that project twenty years ago, special interests took the place great general interests might by this time have occupied; vested rights and local ambitions arose and were recognized; and all these had to be admitted as existing in a pretty advanced stage of development, when our Conferences were called together. (Hear, hear.) The lesson to be learned from this squandering of quarter centuries by British Americans is this, that if we lose the present propitious opportunity, we may find it as hard a few years hence to get an audience, even for any kind of union (except American Union) as we should have found it to get a hearing last year for a Legislative Union, from the long period of estrangement and non-intercourse which had existed between these provinces, and the special interests which had grown up in the meantime in each of them. (Cheers.) Another motive to union, or rather a phase of the last motive spoken of, is this, that the policy of our neighbours to the south of us have always been aggressive. There has always been a desire amongst them for the acquisition of new territory, and the inexorable law of democratic existence seems to be its absorption. They coveted Florida, and seized it; they coveted Louisiana, and purchased it; they coveted Texas, and stole it; and then they pitched a quarrel with Mexico, which ended by their getting California. (Hear, hear.) They sometimes pretend to despise these colonies as prizes beneath their ambition; but had we not had the strong arm of England over us, we should not now have had a separate existence. (Cheers.) The acquisition of Canada was the first ambition of the American Confederacy, and never ceased to be so, when her troops were a handful and her navy scarce a squadron. Is it likely to be stopped now, when she counts her guns afloat by thousands and her troops by hundreds of thousands? On this motive, a very powerful expression of opinion has lately appeared in a published letter of the Archbishop of Halifax, Dr. CONSOLLY. Who is the Archbishop of Halifax? In either of the coast colonies, where he has labored in his high vocation for nearly a third of a century, it would be absurd to ask the question; but in Canada he may not be equally well known. Some of my honorable friends in this and the other House, who were his guests last year, must have felt the impress of his character as well as the warmth of his hospitality. (Hear, hear.) Well, he is known as one of the first men in sagacity as he is in position, in any of these colonies; that he was for many years the intimate associate of his late distinguished confrere, Archbishop HUGHES, of New York; that he knows the United States as thoroughly as he does the provinces, and these are his views on this particular point; the extract is somewhat long, but so excellently put that I am sure the House will be obliged to me for the whole of it:—

“ Instead of cursing, like the boy in the upturned boat, and holding on until we are fairly on the brink of the cataract, we must at once begin to pray and strike out for the shore by all means, before we get too far down on the current. We must at this most critical moment invoke the Arbitrator of nations for wisdom, and abandoning in time our perilous position, we must strike out boldly, and at some risk, for some rock on the nearest shore—some resting place of greater security. A cavalry raid or a visit from our Fenian friends on horseback, through the plains of Canada and the fertile valleys

of Newbrunswick and Nova Scotia, may cost more in a single week than Confederation for the next fifty years; and if we are to believe you, where is the security even at the present moment against such a disaster? Without the whole power of the mother country by land and sea, and the concentration in a single hand of all the strength of British America, our condition is seen at a glance. Whenever the present difficulties will terminate—and who can tell the moment?—we will be at the mercy of our neighbors; and victorious or otherwise, they will be eminently a military people, and with all their apparent indifference about annexing this country, and all the friendly feelings that may be talked, they will have the power to strike when they please, and this is precisely the kernel and the only touch point of the whole question. No nation ever had the power of conquest that did not use it, or abuse it, at the very first favorable opportunity. All that is said of the magnanimity and forbearance of mighty nations can be explained on the principle of sheer inexpediency, as the world knows. The whole face of Europe has been changed, and the dynasties of many hundred years have been swept away within our own time, on the principle of might alone—the oldest, the strongest, and as some would have it, the most sacred of all titles. The thirteen original States of America, with all their professions of self-denial, have been all the time, by money, power and by war, and by negotiation, extending their frontier until they more than quadrupled their territory within sixty years; and believe it who may, are they now of their own accord to come to a full stop? No; as long as they have the power, they must go on onward: for it is the very nature of power to grip whatever is within its reach. It is not their hostile feelings, therefore, but it is their power, and only their power, I dread; and I now state it, as my solemn conviction, that it becomes the duty of every British subject in these provinces to control that power, not by the insane policy of attacking or weakening them, but by strengthening ourselves—rising, with the whole power of Britain at our back, to their level; and so be prepared for any emergency. There is no sensible or unprejudiced man in the community who does not see that vigorous and timely preparation is the only possible means of saving us from the horrors of a war such as the world has never seen. To be fully prepared is the only practical argument that can have weight with a powerful enemy, and make him pause beforehand and count the cost. And as the sort of preparation I speak of is utterly hopeless without the union of the provinces, so at a moment when public opinion is being formed on this vital point, as one deeply concerned, I feel it a duty to declare myself unequivocally in favor of Confederation as cheaply and as honorably as possible—but Confederation at all hazards and at all reasonable sacrifices.

“After the most mature consideration, and all the arguments I have heard on both sides for the last month, these are my inmost convictions on the necessity and merits of a measure which alone, under Providence, can secure to us social order and peace, and rational liberty, and all the blessings we now enjoy under the mildest Government and the hallowed institutions of the freest and happiest country in the world.”

These are the words of a statesman—of a mitred statesman—one of that

order of mighty men, powerful in their generation, whose statesmanly gifts have been cast in the strong mould of theological discipline—such men as were XIMENES and WOLSEY. No one more deprecates than I do the interference of clergymen in mere party politics, and I think such is the sentiment also of His Grace of Halifax: but when it is an issue of peace or war, of deliverance or conquest, who has a better, who so good a right to speak as the ministers of the Gospel of peace, and justice, and true freedom? Observe once more these two closing sentences, "I feel it a duty," says the illustrious Archbishop, "to declare myself unequivocally in favor of Confederation as cheaply and as honorably obtained as possible, but Confederation at all hazards and at all reasonable sacrifices. After the most mature consideration, and all the arguments I have heard on both sides for the last month, these are my inmost convictions on the necessity and merits of a measure which alone, under Providence, can secure to us social order and peace, and rational liberty, and all the blessings we now enjoy under the mildest Government and the hallowed institutions of the freest and happiest country in the world." (Hear, hear.) The next motive for union to which I shall refer is, that it will strengthen rather than weaken the connection with the empire, so essential to these rising provinces. Those who may be called, if there are any such, the anti-unionists, allege, that this scheme here submitted will bring separation in its train. How, pray? By making these countries more important, will you make them less desirable as connections to England? By making their trade more valuable, will you make her more anxious to get rid of it? By reducing their Federal tariff will you lessen their interest for England? By making them stronger for each other's aid, will you make her less willing to discharge a lesser than a greater responsibility? But if the thing did not answer itself, England has answered that she "cordially approves" of our plan of Union,—and she has always been accounted a pretty good judge of her own Imperial interests. (Hear, hear.) She does not consider our union inimical to those interests. Instead of looking upon it with a dark and discouraging frown, she cheers us on by her most cordial approval and bids us a hearty "God speed" in the new path we have chosen to enter. (Hear, hear.) But I put it on provincial grounds as well. We are not able to go alone, and if we attempted it we would almost certainly go to our own destruction—so that as we cannot go alone, and as we do not desire union with the United States, it is the duty of every man to do all in his power to strengthen the connection with Great Britain. And how shall we do it? Is it by compelling the Imperial Government to negotiate at Charlottetown, for every man and musket required for our defence, to negotiate again at Halifax, and again at Frederickton, and again at St. John's, and again at Quebec? Is it by having these five separate governments that we are to render the connection desirable and appreciated, or is it by putting the power of these colonies into the hands of one General Government and making the negotiations between two parties only, thereby simplifying the whole transaction and expediting whatever is to be done between the two countries. (Hear, hear.) I will content myself, Mr. SPEAKER, with those principal motives to union; first, that we are in the rapids, and must go on; next, that our neighbors will not, on their side, let us rest supinely, even if

we could do so from other causes; and thirdly, that by making the united colonies more valuable as an ally to Great Britain, we shall strengthen rather than weaken the Imperial connexion. (Cheers.) Let me now, sir, call your attention to the difficulties, past and present, which this great project had to encounter, before it reached the fortunate stage in which we now find it. When it was first advocated by individuals, however eminent, of course, it had but scanty chance of success. (Hear, hear.) That was the first stage; when, as in 1822 and 1839, it found favor with Downing street, it excited the suspicions of the colonists; when it was identified with the Quebec and Halifax railway project, it shared the fate,—it was sacrificed to the jealousies and dissensions which destroyed that particular undertaking. When, as in the case of my hon friend (Mr. GALT'S) motion in 1858, and my own motion in 1860, the subject was mooted in this House by a private member, the Ministry of the day could not allow so grave a measure to succeed in other hands than their own; when, as was the case in 1858, the Ministry committed themselves to it, the Opposition complained that Parliament had not been consulted. When Canada proposed to move, in 1859, Newfoundland alone responded; when Nova Scotia moved, in 1860, New Brunswick alone agreed to go with her; at all events, Canada did not then consent. (Hear, hear.) Of late years the language of the Colonial Office, of Mr. LABOUCHERE, of Sir BULWER LYTTON, and of the lamented Duke of NEWCASTLE, was substantially: "Agree among yourselves, gentlemen, and we will not stand in the way." Ah! there was the rub—"Agree among yourselves!" Easier said than done, with five colonies so long estranged, and whose former negotiations had generally ended in bitter controversies. Up to the last year there was no conjunction of circumstances favorable to the bringing about of this union, and probably if we suffer this opportunity to be wasted we shall never see again such a conjunction of circumstances as will enable us to agree—even so far, among ourselves. By a most fortunate concurrence of circumstances—by what I presume to call, speaking of events of this magnitude, a providential concurrence of circumstances—the Government of Canada was so modified last spring as to enable it to deal fearlessly with this subject, at the very moment when the coast colonies, despairing of a Canadian union, were arranging a conference of their own for a union of their own. Our Government embraced among its members from the western section the leaders of the former Ministry and former Opposition from that section. At the time it was formed it announced to this House that it was its intention as part of its policy to seek a conference with the Lower Colonies, and endeavor to bring about a general union. This House formally gave the Government its confidence after the announcement of this policy, and although I have no desire to strain terms, it does appear to me that this House did commit itself to the principle of a union of the colonies if found practicable. That is my view, sir, of the relations of this House to the Government after it gave it expressly its confidence. Other members of the House take another view of that matter—they do not think themselves committed even to the principle, and they certainly are not to the details of the scheme. (Hear.) After the coalition was formed an incident occurred, which, though not of national importance, it would be most ungrateful of me to forget. An

intercolonial excursion was proposed, and was rendered practicable through the public spirit of two gentlemen representing our great railway, of which so many hard things have been said that I feel it my duty to say this good thing—I refer to the Hon. Mr. FERRIER and Mr. BRYDGES. (Cheers.) Forty members of this House, twenty-five members of the other House, and forty gentlemen of the press and other professions, from Canada, joined in that excursion. So many Canadians had never seen so much of the Lower Provinces before, and the people of the Lower Provinces had never seen so many Canadians. Our reception was beyond all description kind and cordial. The general sentiment of union was everywhere cheered to the echo, though I am sorry to find that some of those who cheered then, when it was but a general sentiment, seem to act very differently, now that it has become a ripened project, and I fear that they do not intend to act up to the words they then uttered. They may, perhaps, intend to do so, but they have a very odd way of going about it. (Laughter.) Well, sir, this was in August; the Charlottetown Conference was called in September, the Quebec Conference in October, and the tour of the maritime delegates through Canada took place in November. Four months of the eight which have elapsed since we promised this House to deal with it have been almost wholly given up to this great enterprise. Let me bear my tribute, Mr. SPEAKER, now that I refer to the conference, to the gentlemen from the Lower Provinces, who sat so many days in council with us, under this roof. (Cheers.) A very worthy citizen of Montreal, when I went up a day or two in advance of the Montreal banquet, asked me, with a curious sort of emphasis—“What sort of people are they?”—meaning the maritime delegates. I answered him then, as I repeat now, that they were, as a body, as able and accomplished a body as I thought any new country in the world could produce,—and that some among them would compare not unfavorably in ability and information with some of the leading commoners of England. As our Government included a representation both of the former Opposition and the former Ministry, so their delegations were composed in about equal parts of the opposition and ministerial parties of their several provinces. A more hard-working set of men—men more tenacious of their own rights, yet more considerate for those of others—men of readier resources in debate—men of gentler manners—men more willing to bear and forbear, I never can hope to see together at one council table again. (Cheers.) But why need I dwell on this point? They were seen and heard in all our principal cities, and I am sure every Canadian who met them here was proud of them as fellow-subjects, and would be happy to feel that he could soon call them fellow-countrymen in fact as well as in name. Sir, by this combination of great abilities—by this coalition of leaders who never before acted together—by this extraordinary armistice of party warfare, obtained in every colony at the same moment—after all this labor and all this self-sacrifice—after all former impediments had been most fortunately overcome,—the treaty was concluded and signed by us all—and there it lies on your table. The propositions contained in it have been objected to, and we were reminded the other evening by the hon. member for Chateauguay, that we are not a treaty-making power; well, in reference to that objection, I believe the Imperial



Government has in certain cases, such as the Reciprocity Treaty, conceded to these provinces the right of coaction: and in this case there is the Imperial Despatch of 1862 to Lord MULGRAVE, Governor of Nova Scotia, distinctly authorizing the public men of the colonies to confer with each other on the subject of union, and writing them to submit the result of their conferences to the Imperial Government. (Hear, hear.) We assembled under authority of that despatch, and acted under the sanction it gave. Everything we did was done in form and with propriety, and the result of our proceedings is the document that has been submitted to the Imperial Government as well as to this House, and which we speak of here as a treaty. And that there may be no doubt about our position in regard to that document we say, question it you may, reject it you may, or accept it you may, but alter it you may not. (Hear, hear.) It is beyond your power, or our power, to alter it. There is not a sentence—aye, or even a word—you can alter without desiring to throw out the document. Alter it, and we know at once what you mean—you thereby declare yourselves anti-unionists. (Hear, hear.) On this point, I repeat after all my hon. friends who have already spoken, for one party to alter a treaty, is, of course, to destroy it. Let us be frank with each other: you who do not like our work, nor do you like us who stand by it, clause by clause, line by line, and letter by letter. Oh! but this clause ought to run thus, and this other clause thus. Does any hon. member seriously think that any treaty in the world between five separate provinces ever gave full and entire satisfaction on every point, to every party? Does any hon. member seriously expect to have a constitutional act framed to his order, or my order, or any man's order? No, sir; I am sure no legislator, at least since ANACHARSIS CLOOTZ was "Attorney-General of the human race," ever expected such ideal perfection. (Laughter.) It may be said by some hon. gentlemen that they admit the principle of this measure to be good, but that it should be dealt with as an ordinary parliamentary subject in the usual parliamentary manner. Mr. SPEAKER, this is not an ordinary parliamentary measure. We do not legislate upon it, we do not enact it,—that is for a higher authority. Suppose the Address adopted by this House to-morrow, is the act of this House final and conclusive? No. It is for the Imperial Parliament to act upon it. (Hear, hear.) It will be that body that will cause the several propositions to be moulded into a measure which will have the form of law, and these resolutions will probably be the *ipsissima verba* of the measure they will give us and the other Provinces. But some hon. gentlemen opposite say, that if there be defects in this measure they ought to be remedied now, and that the Government ought to be glad to have them pointed out. Yes, surely, if this were simply the act of the Parliament of Canada; but it is not to be our act alone. It is an Address to the Throne, in the terms of which other colonies are to agree: and even if we were to make alterations in it, we cannot bind them to accept them. If we were weak and wicked enough to alter a solemn agreement with the other provinces, the moment their representatives had turned their backs and gone home, what purpose would it serve except that of defeating the whole measure and throwing it as well as the country back again into chaos. (Hear, hear.) I admit, sir, as we have been told, that we ought to aim at perfection; but who

has ever attained it, except perhaps the hon. member for Brome. (Laughter.) We, however, did strive and aim at the mark, and we think we made a tolerably good shot. The hon. member for Chateauguay will not be satisfied—insatiate archer!—unless we hit the bull's eye. (Laughter.) My hon. friend is well read in political literature—will he mention me one authority, from the first to the last, who ever held that human government ever was or could be anything more than what a modern sage called “an approximation to the right,” and an ancient called “the possible best.” Well, we believe we have here given to our countrymen of all the provinces the possible best—that we have given it to them in the most imperative moment—their representatives and ours have labored at it, letter and spirit, form and substance, until they found this basis of agreement, which we were all alike confident will not now, nor for many a day to come, be easily swept away. Before I pass to another point, sir, permit me to pay my tribute of unfeigned respect to one of our Canadian colleagues in this work, who is no longer with us—I mean the present Vice-Chancellor of Upper Canada (Hon. Mr. MOWAT), who took a constant and honorable share in the preparation of this project. (Cheers.) Now, sir, I wish to say a few words in reference to what I call the social relations which I think ought to exist and will spring up between the people of the Lower Provinces and ourselves if there is a closer communication established between us, and also in reference to the social fitness to each of the parties to this proposed union. And first, I will make a remark to some of the French Canadian gentlemen who are said to be opposed to our project, on French Canadian grounds only. I will remind them, I hope not improperly, that every one of the colonies we now propose to re-unite under one rule—in which they shall have a potential voice—were once before united, as New France. (Cheers.) Newfoundland, the uttermost, was theirs, and one large section of its coast is still known as “the French shore”; Cape Breton was theirs till the final fall of Louisburgh; Prince Edward Island was their Island of St. Jean, and Charlottetown was their Port Joli; in the heart of Nova Scotia was that fair Acadian land, where the roll of LONGFELLOW'S noble hexameters may any day be heard in every wave that breaks upon the base of Cape Blomedon. (Cheers.) In the northern counties of New Brunswick, from the Miramachi to the Matapedia, they had their forts and farms, their churches and their festivals, before the English speech had ever once been heard between those rivers. Nor is that tenacious Norman and Breton race extinct in their old haunts and homes. I have heard one of the members for Cape Breton speak in high terms of that portion of his constituency, and I believe I am correct in saying that Mr. LE VISCONTE, the late Finance Minister of Nova Scotia, was, in the literal sense of the term, an Acadian. Mr. COZZANS, of New York, who wrote a very readable little book the other day about Nova Scotia, describes the French residents near the basin of Minas, and he says, especially of the women, “they might have stepped out of Normandy a hundred years ago!” In New Brunswick there is more than one county, especially in the North, where business, and law, and politics, require a knowledge of both French and English. A worthy friend of ours, Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, of Chatham, who was present at the earlier meetings of the Conference, owed his first election

for one of these counties, because he was *Pierre Michel*, and could speak to his French constituents in their own language. I will, with leave of the House, read on this interesting subject a passage from a very capital sketch of the French district of New Brunswick in 1863, by Lieutenant-Governor GORDON [it is in GALSTON'S *Vacation Tourist for 1864*], and is exceedingly interesting throughout:—

“The French population, which forms so large a proportion among the inhabitants of the counties of Westmoreland, Kent, and Gloucester, appears to me as contented as the *habitants* of Victoria, but hardly equally as well off. There was an air of comfort and *bien-être* about the large timber two-storied houses, painted a dark Indian red, standing among the trees, the numerous good horses, the well-tilled fields and sleek cattle, which is wanting on the sea coast. We stopped after a pleasant drive, affording us good views of the beautiful peak of Green River Mountain, at the house of a Monsieur VIOLET, at the mouth of Grand River, which was to be our starting point. The whole aspect of the farm was that of the *métairie* in Normandy—the outer doors of the house gaudily painted—the pannels of a different color from the frame—the large, open, uncarpeted room, with its bare, shining floor—the lasses at the spinning-wheel—the French costume and appearance of Madame VIOLET and her sons and daughters, all carried me back to the other side of the Atlantic. After a short conversation with the VIOLETS, we walked down to the bridge, where two log-canoes, manned by Frenchmen—three CYRS and a THIBAUDEAC—were waiting for us, and pushed off from the shore. A turn in the river very speedily hid from us the bridge and farm, our empty carriage, and the friends who had accompanied us from Grand Falls standing on the bank, in the evening sunshine, waving us their farewells, and it was not without pleasure that we felt that the same turn which screened them from our view, separated us for some time to come from civilized life.”

It will be observed that Governor GORDON speaks of four counties in the north of New Brunswick which still bear a marked French character. Well, gentlemen of French origin, we propose to restore these long-lost compatriots to your protection: in the Federal Union, which will recognize equally both languages, they will naturally look to you; their petitions will come to you, and their representatives will naturally be found allied with you. Suppose those four New Brunswick counties are influenced by the French vote, and two in Nova Scotia, and one in Newfoundland, you will, should you need them, have them as sure allies to your own compact body, to aid your legitimate influence in the Federal Councils. (Cheers.) I shall proceed with my outline analysis of the maritime population, in order to establish the congruity and congeniality of our proposed union. In point of time, the next oldest element in that population is the Irish settlement of Ferryland, in Newfoundland, undertaken by Lord BALTIMORE and Lord FALKLAND (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the time), immediately after the restoration of King CHARLES I., soon after 1660. Newfoundland still remains strongly Irish, as is natural, since it is the next parish to Ireland—(laughter)—and I think we

saw a very excellent specimen of its Irish natives at our Conference, in AMBROSE SHEA. (Cries of hear, hear.) To me, I confess, it is particularly grateful to reflect that the only Irish colony, as it may be called, of our group, is to be included in the new arrangements. (Hear.) Another main element in the Lower Province population is the Highland Scotch. Large tracts of Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton were granted after the Peace of Paris, to officers and men of FRAZER'S Highlanders and other Scottish regiments, which had distinguished themselves during the seven years' war. If my hon. friend from Glengarry (Mr. D. A. MACDONALD) had been with us last September at Charlottetown, he would have met clansmen, whom he would have been proud to know, and who could have conversed with him in his own cherished Gaelic.

And I will tell him what I think is to their honor, that the Highlanders in all the provinces preserve faithfully the religion, as well as the language and traditions, of their fathers. The Catholic Bishop of Charlottetown is a MESTYRE; his Right Rev. brother of Arichat (Cape Breton) is a MCKINNON; and in the list of the clergy, I find a constant succession of such names as McDONALD, MCGILLIS, MCGILLVARY, McLEOD, MCKENZIE and CAMERON—all "Anglo-Saxons," of course, and mixed up with them FOURNIERS, GAUVREAUS, PAQUETS and MARTELLS, whose origin is easy to discover. (Cheers.) Another of the original elements of that population remains to be noticed—the U. E. Loyalists, who founded New Brunswick, just as surely as they founded Upper Canada, for whom New Brunswick was made a separate province in 1794, as Upper Canada was for their relatives in 1791. Their descendants still flourish in the land, holding many positions of honor, and as a representative of the class, I shall only mention Judge WILMOT, who the other day declared in charging one of his grand juries, that if it were necessary to carry Confederation in New Brunswick, so impressed was he with the necessity of the measure to the very existence of British laws and British institutions, he was prepared to quit the bench for politics. (Cheers.) There are other elements also not to be overlooked. The thrifty Germans of Lunenburg, whose homes are the neatest upon the land, as their fleet is the tightest upon the sea, and other smaller subdivisions; but I shall not prolong this analysis. I may observe, however, that this population is almost universally a native population of three or four or more generations. In New Brunswick, at the most there is about twelve per cent. of an immigrant people; in Nova Scotia, about eight; in the two Islands, very much less. In the eye of the law we admit no disparity between natives and immigrants in this country; but it is to be considered that where men are born in the presence of the graves of their fathers, for even a few generations, the influence of that fact is great in enhancing their attachment to that soil. I admit, for my part, as an immigrant, of no divided allegiance to Canada and her interests; but it would be untrue and paltry to deny a divided affection between the old country and the new. Kept within just bounds, such an affection is reasonable, is right and creditable to those who cherish it. (Hear, hear.) Why I refer to this broad fact which distinguishes the populations of all the four seaward provinces as much as it does Lower Canada herself, is, to show the fixity and stability of that population; to show that they are by birth British'

Americans; that they can nearly all, of every origin, use that proud phrase when they look daily from their doors, "this is my own, my native land." (Cheers.) Let but that population and ours come together for a generation or two—such are the elements that compose, such the conditions that surround it—and their mutual descendants will hear with wonder, when the history of these present transactions are written, that this plan of union could ever have been seriously opposed by statesmen in Canada or elsewhere. (Cheers.) I am told, however, by one or two members of this House, and by exclusively-minded Canadians out of it, that they cannot entertain any patriotic feeling about this union with New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, and that they cannot look with any interest at those colonies, with which we have had hitherto so little association. "What's Hecuba to me, or I to Hecuba?" Well, I answer to that, know them, and my word for it, you will like them. I have been on seven or eight journeys there, and have seen much of the people, and the more I have seen of them, the more I respected and esteemed them. (Hear, hear.) I say, then, to these gentlemen, that if you want to feel any patriotism on the subject; if you want to stir up a common sentiment of affection between these people and ourselves, bring us all into closer relation together, and having the elements of a vigorous nationality with us, each will find something to like and respect in the other: mutual confidence and respect will follow, and a feeling of being engaged in a common cause for the good of a common nationality will grow up of itself without being forced by any man's special advocacy. (Hear, hear.) The thing who shuts up his heart against his kindred, his neighbors, and his fellow-subjects, may be a very pretty fellow at a parish vestry, but do you call such a forked-radish as that, a man? (Laughter.) Don't so abuse the noblest word in the language. (Hear, hear.) Sir, there is one other argument for this union, or rather an illustration of its mutually advantageous character, which I draw from the physical geography and physical resources of the whole territory which it is proposed to unite; but before I draw the attention of the house to it, I may perhaps refer to a charge that probably will be made against me, that I am making what may appear to be a non-political speech. If it be non-political in the sense of non-partizan, then I plead guilty to the charge; but I think that on some of the points to which I have alluded the country is desirous of being informed, and as many hon. gentlemen have not had time to make a tour of the country to the east of us, those who have had the opportunity of doing so cannot, I think, better subserve the interest of the community than by giving what appears to them a fair, just and truthful sketch of those provinces and their people, and thus informing those in Canada who have not had the opportunity of making observations for themselves on the spot, (Hear, hear.) It was remarked by the late Sir JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON, in his letter to Lord JOHN RUSSELL in 1839, that if the British Government had attempted to maintain the ancient boundaries of New France, in the treaty which acknowledged the United States, it would have been impossible to do so. Those boundaries extend to Ohio on the south, and included much of what is now called by our neighbours "the North-West." There is great force, I think, in this observation. But in relation to what I may call the ground-plan on which we propose to

erect our constitutional edifice, its natural oneness is admirable to contemplate. There is not one port or harbour of all the provinces now proposing to confederate, which cannot be reached from any other by all vessels, if not of 100 great draught, without ever once leaving our own waters. From the head of Lake Superior the same craft may coast uninterruptedly, always within sight of our own shores, nearly the distance of a voyage to England—to St. John, Newfoundland. (Cheers.) We sometimes complain of our inland navigation, that we have it free but half the year round, but what it lacks at one season it amply compensates by its vast capacity. (Cheers.) Last summer, when we visited Halifax in the *Queen Victoria*, which the good people of that blockade running stronghold mistook for a Confederate cruiser, we were the better part of a week steaming away, always in British American waters, within sight of the bold and beautiful coasts, which it was our privilege to call our own. (Cheers.) While we were thus following our river system to the open sea, I could not help often recurring to the vast extent of the whole. If any hon. gentleman who has ever made, and who cannot find time to make, a journey through his own country, will only go to the library he will find an excellent substitute for such a voyage in KERRI JOHNSTON'S *Physical Atlas*, a book that when one opens its leaves, his brain opens with the book. (Laughter.) He will find that our matchless St. Lawrence drains an area of 298,000 square miles, of which only 94,000 are occupied by the five great lakes taken together. I shall not attempt to tread in the path of my two friends who sit next to me (Hon. Messrs. GALT and BROWN) by exhibiting in any detail the prospects of mutual commercial advantages opened up by this union: I have prepared a statement on this subject, giving certain general results,—which I do not present as complete, but only as proximately correct—and which I now beg to read to the House. (Here he read some statistics.) . . . . .

But there is one special source of wealth to be found in the Maritime Provinces, which was not in any detail exhibited by my hon. friends—I allude to the important article of coal. I think there can be no doubt that, in some parts of Canada, we are fast passing out of the era of wood as fuel, and entering on that of coal. In my own city every year, there is great suffering among the poor from the enormous price of fuel, and large sums are paid away by national societies and benevolent individuals, to prevent whole families perishing for want of fuel. I believe we must all conclude with Sir WILLIAM LOGAN that we have no coal in Canada, and I may venture to state on my own authority, another fact, that we have—a five months' winter, generally very cold. Now, what are the coal resources of our maritime friends, to whose mines Confederation would give us free and untaxed access forever? I take these data from the authority in my hand—from the highest authority on the subject—TAYLOR'S *Coal Fields of the New World*:—

“Dr. A. GESNER, in a communication to the Geological Society of London, 1843, states that the area of coal fields in New Brunswick has been recently determined to be 7,500 square miles: 10,000 square miles, including Nova Scotia, but exclusive of Cape Breton. Since his first report he has explored the whole of this vast region, and has found the area covered by that coal formation to be no less than 8,000 square miles in New Brunswick. He says

the most productive coal beds prevail in the interior, while those of Nova Scotia occur on the shores of her bays and rivers, where they offer every advantage for mining operations. The coal fields of the two provinces are united at the boundary line, and belonging to the carboniferous period. The developments of almost every season illustrate more clearly the magnitude of these coal fields, which extend from Newfoundland by Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and across a large portion of New Brunswick into the State of Maine. Mr. HEXWOOD, a geologist of high standing, observes that the beauty and extent of these coal treasures it is impossible to describe. In Nova Scotia, Dr. GESNER'S statements exhibit an area of coal formation of 2,500 square miles, while Messrs. LOGAN, DAWSON and BROWN greatly exceed even that area. Sir W. LOGAN demonstrated by a laborious survey the thickness or depth of the whole group in Northern Nova Scotia to be over 2½ miles, an amount which far exceeds anything seen in the coal formation in other parts of North America; in this group there are seventy-six coal beds one above the other."

I must say, sir, that this is a cheering statement of facts, coming to us on the very highest authority, and I feel warning with the subject, even while making the statement. (Laughter.) These exhaustless coal fields will, under this plan—which is in fact our Reciprocity Treaty with the Lower Provinces—become, hereafter, the great resource of our towns for fuel. I see the cry is raised below by the anti-unionists that to proceed with Confederation would be to entail the loss of the New England market for their coals. I do not quite see how they make that out, but even an anti-unionist might see that the population of Canada is within a fraction of that of all New England put together, that we consume in this country as much fuel per annum as they do in all New England; and, therefore, that we offer them a market under the union equal to that which these theorizers want to persuade their followers they would lose. (Hear, hear.) Sir, another cry raised by the anti-unionists below is, that they would have to fight for the defence of Canada—a very specious argument. What, sir, three millions and one million unite, and the one million must do the fighting for all. In proportion to their numbers no doubt these valiant gentlemen will have to fight, if fighting is to be done, but not one man or one shilling more than Canada, *pro rata*, will they have to fight or spend. On the contrary, the greater community, if she should not happen to be first attacked, would be obliged, to fight for them, and in doing so I do not hesitate to say, on far better authority than my own, that the man who fights for the valley and harbour of St. John, or even for Halifax, fights for Canada. I will suppose another not impossible case. I will suppose a hostile American army, on a fishery or on any other war, finding it easier and cheaper to seize the lower colonies by land than by sea, by a march from a convenient rendezvous on Lake Champlain, through Lower Canada, into the Upper part of New Brunswick, and so downward to the sea—a march like SHERMAN'S march from Knoxville to Savannah. While we obstructed such a march by every means in our power, from the Richelieu to Riviere du Loup, whose battles would we be fighting then? Why the sea-ports aimed at, for our common subjugation. (Hear, hear.) But the truth is, all these selfish views and arrangements are remarkably short-sighted, un-

worthy of the subject, and unworthy even of those who use them. In a commercial, in a military, in every point of view, we are all, rightly considered, dependant on each other. Newfoundland dominates the Gulf, and none of us can afford to be separated from her. Lord CHATHAM said he would as soon abandon Plymouth as Newfoundland, and he is said to have understood how to govern men. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are Siamese twins, held together by that ligature of land between Baie Verte and Cumberland Basin, and the fate of the one must follow the fate of the other. (Hear, hear.) Prince Edward is only a little bit, broken off by the Northumberland Strait from those two bigger brethren, and Upper and Lower Canada are essential to each other's prosperity. Our very physical outline teaches us the lesson of union, and indicates how many mutual advantages we may all derive from the treaty we have made. Mr. SPEAKER, while we in Canada have no doubt of the ratification of the Intercolonial Treaty, by this House and country, I cannot conceal from myself that our friends in the Lower Provinces are fighting a battle with narrow views and vested interests which are always most bitter in the smallest communities. There are coasting trade interests and railway interests at work; and there the strong interests of honest ignorance and dishonest ingenuity. What can these men mean, who are no fools? Do they, too, fancy they can get a Government made to their own private order? Do they think they can go on on the old system? Do they mean to give up the country to the Americans? Why not hang up at once the sign, "these provinces for sale—terms cash?—'greenbacks' taken at full value!" I rejoice to see the unionists of the Maritime Provinces so resolved, so high spirited and so united—and though their victory will not be won without work, yet I feel assured it will be a victory. If the honest and misguided would but reflect for a moment the risks they run by defeating, or even delaying this measure, I am sure they would, even yet, retract. (Hear, hear.) If we reject it now, is there any human probability that we shall ever see again so propitious a set of circumstances to bring about the same results? How they came about we all know. (Hear, hear.) The strange and fortunate events that have occurred in Canada; the extraordinary concessions made by the leaders of the Governments below—Dr. TUPPER, the Nova Scotian Premier, for instance, admitting to his confidence, and bringing with him here as his co-representatives, Hon. Messrs. ARCHIBALD and McCULLY, two of his most determined political opponents—can we ever expect, if we reject this scheme, that the same or similar things will occur again to favor it? Can we expect to see the leader of the Upper Canadian conservative party and the leader of the Upper Canadian Liberals sitting side by side again, if this project fails to work out, in a spirit of mutual compromise and concession, the problem of our constitutional difficulties? No, sir, it is too much to expect. Miracles would cease to be miracles if they were events of every day occurrence; the very nature of wonders requires that they should be rare; and this is a miraculous and wonderful circumstance, that men at the head of the Governments in five separate provinces, and men at the head of the parties opposing them, all agreed at the same time to sink party differences for the good of all, and did not shrink, at the risk of having their motives misunderstood, from associating together for the



purpose of bringing about this result. (Cheers.) I have asked, sir, what risks do we run if we reject this measure? We run the risk of being swallowed up by the spirit of universal democracy that prevails in the United States. Their usual and favorite motto is—

No pent up Utica contracts our powers,  
But the whole boundless continent is ours.

That is the paraphrase of the Monroe doctrine. And the popular voice has favored—aye, and the greatest statesmen among them have looked upon it as inevitable—an extension of the principles of democracy over this continent. Now, I suppose a universal democracy is no more acceptable to us than a universal monarchy in Europe, and yet for three centuries—from CHARLES V. to NAPOLEON—our fathers combatted to the death against the subjection of all Europe to a single system or a single master, and heaped up a debt which has since burthened the producing classes of the empire with an enormous load of taxation, which, perhaps, none other except the hardy and ever-growing industry of those little islands could have borne up under. (Hear, hear.) The idea of a universal democracy in America is no more welcome to the minds of thoughtful men among us, than was that of a universal monarchy to the mind of the thoughtful men who followed the standard of the third WILLIAM in Europe, or who afterwards, under the great MARLBOROUGH, opposed the armies of the particular dynasty that sought to place Europe under a single dominion. (Hear, hear.) But if we are to have a universal democracy on this continent, the Lower Provinces—the smaller fragments—will be “gobbled up” first, and we will come in afterwards by way of dessert. (Laughter.) The proposed Confederation will enable us to bear up shoulder to shoulder; to resist the spread of this universal democracy doctrine; it will make it more desirable to maintain on both sides the connection that binds us to the Parent State; it will raise us from the position of mere dependent colonies to a new and more important position; it will give us a new lease of existence under other and more favorable conditions; and resistance to this project, which is pregnant with so many advantages to us and to our children, means simply this, ultimate union with the United States. (Cheers.) But these are small matters, wholly unworthy of the attention of the SMITHS, and ANNANDS, and PALMERS, who have come forward to forbid the banns of British American Union. Mr. SPEAKER, before I draw to a close the little remainder of what I have to say—and I am sorry to have detained the House so long—(cries of “No, No”)—I beg to offer a few observations *apropos* of my own position as an English-speaking member for Lower Canada. I venture, in the first place, to observe that there seems to be a good deal of exaggeration on the subject of race, occasionally introduced, both on the one side and on the other, in this section of the country. I congratulate my honorable friend the Attorney-General for this section on his freedom from such prejudices in general, though I still think in matters of patronage and the like he always thinks first of his own compatriots—(laughter)—for which neither do I blame him. But this theory of race is sometimes carried to an anti-Christian and unphilosophical excess. Whose words are those—“God hath made of one blood all the nations that

“dwell on the face of the earth?” Is not that the true theory of race? For my part, I am not afraid of the French Canadian majority in the future Local Government doing injustice, except accidentally; not because I am of the same religion as themselves—for origin and language are barriers stronger to divide men in this world than is religion to unite them. Neither do I believe that my Protestant compatriots need have any such fear. The French Canadians have never been an intolerant people; it is not in their temper, unless they had been persecuted, perhaps, and then it might have been as it has been with other races of all religions. Perhaps, on this subject, the House will allow me to read a very striking illustration of the tolerance of French Canadian character from a book I hold in my hand, the *Digest of the Synod Minutes of the Presbyterian Church of Canada*, by my worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. KEMP, of the Free Church, of Montreal. The passage is on page seven of the Introduction:—

“About the year 1790 the Presbyterians of Montreal of all denominations, both British and American, organized themselves into a Church, and in the following year secured the services of the Rev. JOHN YOUNG. At this time, they met in the Recollet Roman Catholic Church, but in the year following they erected the edifice which is now known as St. Gabriel Street Church—the oldest Protestant Church in the Province. In their early Minutes we find them, in acknowledgment of the kindness of the Recollet Fathers, presenting them with ‘One box of candles, 56lbs., at 8d., and one hoghead of Spanish wine at £6 5s’”

(Laughter.) I beg my hon. friends, who may have different notions of Christian intercourse at this time of day, just to fancy doings of that sort. (Hear, hear.) Here, on the one hand, are the Recollet Fathers giving up one of their own churches to the disciples of JOHN KNOX to enable them to worship God after their own manner, and perhaps to have a gird at Popery in the meantime—(great laughter)—and here, on the other hand, are the grateful Presbyterians presenting to these same Seminary priests wine and wax tapers in acknowledgment of the use of their church for Presbyterian service. Certainly a more characteristic instance of true tolerance on both sides can hardly be found in the history of any other country. I cite this little incident to draw from it this practical moral—that those who are seeking, and, in some particulars, I believe justly seeking, the settlement of Protestant education in Lower Canada on firmer ground than it now occupies, might well afford to leave the two great Seminaries of Montreal and Quebec at peace. No two institutions in Christendom ever more conscientiously fulfilled the ends of their erection; and whoever does not know all, but even a little, of the good services they have rendered to both the people and the Government of Lower Canada, to the civilization and settlement of this country, has much yet to learn of the history of Canada. (Hear, hear.) To close this topic, I have no doubt whatever, with a good deal of moderation and a proper degree of firmness, all that the Protestant minority in Lower Canada can require, by way of security to their educational system, will be cheerfully granted to them by this House. I, for one, as a Roman Catholic, will cordially second and support any such amendments, properly framed. I will merely add, in relation

to an observation of my friend (Hon. Mr. Brown) last night on the subject of the Catholic Separate Schools of Upper Canada, that I accepted for my own part, as a finality, the amended act of 1863. I did so because it granted a <sup>1</sup> the petitioners asked, and I think they ought to be satisfied. I will be no party to the re-opening of the question; but I say this, that if there are to be any special guarantees or grants extended to the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, I think the Catholic minority in Upper Canada ought to be placed in precisely the same position—neither better nor worse. (Hear, hear.) At present I shall not add another word on this subject, as I am not aware of the particular nature of the amendments asked for at present, either east or west. (Hear, hear.) All who have spoken on this subject have said a good deal, as was natural, of the interests at stake in the success or failure of this plan of Confederation. I trust the House will permit me to add a few words as to the principle of Confederation considered in itself. In the application of this principle to former constitutions, there certainly always was one fatal defect, the weakness of the central authority. Of all the Federal constitutions I have ever heard or read of, this was the fatal malady: they were short-lived, they died of consumption. (Laughter.) But I am not prepared to say that because the Tuscan League elected its chief magistrates for two months and lasted a century, that therefore the Federal principle failed. On the contrary, there is something in the frequent, fond recurrence of mankind to this principle, among the freest people, in their best times and worst dangers, which leads me to believe, that it has a very deep hold in human nature itself—an excellent basis for a government to have. But indeed, sir, the main question is the due distribution of powers—a question I dare not touch to-night, but which I may be prepared to say something on before the vote is taken. The principle itself seems to me to be capable of being so adapted as to promote internal peace and external security, and to call into action a genuine, enduring and heroic patriotism. It is a fruit of this principle that makes the modern Italian look back with sorrow and pride over a dreary waste of seven centuries to the famous field of Legnano; it was this principle kindled the beacons which burn yet on the rocks of Uri; it was this principle that broke the dykes of Holland and overwhelmed the Spanish with the fate of the Egyptian oppressor. It is a principle capable of inspiring a noble ambition and a most salutary emulation. You have sent your young men to guard your frontier. You want a principle to guard your young men, and thus truly defend your frontier. For what do good men (who make the best soldiers) fight? For a line of scripture or chalk line—for a pretext or for a principle? What is a better boundary between nations than a parallel of latitude, or even a natural obstacle?—what really keeps nations intact and apart?—a principle. When I can hear our young men say as proudly, “our Federation” or “our Country,” or “our Kingdom,” as the young men of other countries do, speaking of their own, then I shall have less apprehension for the result of whatever trials the future may have in store for us. (Cheers.) It has been said that the Federal Constitution of the United States has failed. I, sir, have never said it. The Attorney-General West told you the other night that he did not consider it a failure; and I remember that in 1861, when in this House I remarked the same thing, the only man who then

applauded the statement was the Attorney-General West—so that it is pretty plain he did not simply borrow the argument for use the other night, when he was advocating a Federal Union among ourselves. (Hear, hear.) It may be a failure for us, paradoxical as this may seem, and yet not a failure for them. They have had eighty years' use of it, and having discovered its defects, may apply a remedy and go on with it eighty years longer. But we also are lookers on, who saw its defects as the machine worked, and who have prepared contrivances by which it can be improved and kept in more perfect order when applied to ourselves. And one of the foremost statesmen in England, distinguished alike in politics and literature, has declared, as the President of the Council informed us, that we have combined the best parts of the British and the American systems of government, and this opinion was deliberately formed at a distance, without prejudice, and expressed without interested motives of any description. (Hear, hear.) We have, in relation to the head of the Government, in relation to the judiciary, in relation to the second chamber of the Legislature, in relation to the financial responsibility of the General Government, and in relation to the public officials whose tenure of office is during good behaviour instead of at the caprice of a party—in all these respects we have adopted the British system; in other respects we have learned something from the American system, and I trust and believe we have made a very tolerable combination of both. (Hear, hear.) The principle of Federation is a generous principle. It is a principle that gives men local duties to discharge, and invests them at the same time with general supervision, that excites a healthy sense of responsibility and comprehension. It is a principle that has produced a wise and true spirit of statesmanship in all countries in which it has ever been applied. It is a principle eminently favorable to liberty, because local affairs are left to be dealt with by local bodies, and cannot be interfered with by those who have no local interest in them, while matters of a general character are left exclusively to a General Government. It is a principle coincident with every government that ever gave extended and important services to a country, because all governments have been more or less confederations in their character. Spain was a federation, for although it had a king reigning over the whole country, it had its local governments for the administration of local affairs. The British Isles are a confederation, and the old French Dukedoms were confederated in the States General. It is a principle that runs through all the history of civilization in one form or another, and exists alike in monarchies and democracies; and having adopted it as the principle of our future government, there were only the details to arrange and agree upon. Those details are before you. It is not in our power to alter any of them even if the House desires it. If the House desires it can reject the treaty, but we cannot, nor can the other Provinces which took part in its negotiation, consent that it shall be altered in the slightest particular. (Hear, hear.) Mr. SPEAKER, I am sorry to have detained the House so long, and was not aware till I had been some time on my legs that my physical force was so inadequate to the exposition of these few points which, not specially noticed by my predecessors in this debate, I undertook to speak upon. We stand at present in this position: we are bound in honor, we are bound in

good faith, to four Provinces occupied by our fellow-colonists, to carry out the measure agreed upon here in the last week of October. We are bound to carry it to the foot of the Throne, and ask there from her Majesty, according to the first resolution of the Address, that she will be graciously pleased to direct legislation to be had on this subject. We go to the Imperial Government, the common arbitrar of us all, in our true Federal metropolis—we go there to ask for our fundamental Charter. We hope, by having that Charter that can only be amended by the authority that made it, that we will lay the basis of permanency for our future government. The two great things that all men aim at in any free government are, liberty and permanency. We have had liberty enough—too much, perhaps, in some respects—but at all events, liberty to our heart's content. There is not on the face of the earth a freer people than the inhabitants of these colonies. But it is necessary there should be respect for the law, a high central authority, the virtue of civil obedience, obeying the law for the law's sake, even when a man's private conscience may convince him sufficiently that the law in some cases may be wrong, he is not to set up his individual will against the will of the country expressed through its recognized constitutional organs. We need in these Provinces, we can bear, a large infusion of authority. I am not at all afraid this Constitution errs on the side of too great Conservatism. If it be found too Conservative now, the downward tendency in political ideas which characterizes this democratic age, is a sufficient guarantee for amendment. That is the principle on which this instrument is strong and worthy of the support of every colonist, and through which it will secure the warm approbation of the Imperial authorities. We have here no traditions and ancient venerable institutions; here, there are no aristocratic elements hallowed by time or bright deeds; here, every man is the first settler of the land, or removed from the first settler one or two generations at the furthest; here, we have no architectural monuments calling up old associations; here, we have none of those old popular legends and stories which in other countries have exercised a powerful share in the government; here, every man is the son of his own works. (Hear, hear.) We have none of those influences about us which, elsewhere, have their effect upon government just as much as the invisible atmosphere itself tends to influence life, and animal and vegetable existence. This is a new land—a land of pretension because it is new; because classes and systems have not had that time to grow here naturally. We have no aristocracy but of virtue and talent, which is the only true aristocracy, and is the old and true meaning of the term. (Hear, hear.) There is a class of men rising in these colonies, superior in many respects to others with whom they might be compared. What I should like to see is, that fair representatives of the Canadian and Acadian aristocracy should be sent to the foot of the Throne with that scheme, to obtain for it the royal sanction—a scheme not suggested by others, or imposed upon us, but one the work of ourselves, the creation of our own intellect and of our own free, unbiassed, and untrammelled will. I should like to see our best men go there, and endeavor to have this measure carried through the Imperial Parliament—going into her Majesty's presence, and by their manner, if not actually by their speech, saying—“During your Majesty's reign we have had

Responsible Government conceded to us; we have administered it for nearly a quarter of a century, during which we have under it doubled our population and more than quadrupled our trade. The small colonies which your ancestors could scarcely see on the map have grown into great communities. A great danger has arisen in our near neighborhood. Over our homes a cloud hangs, dark and heavy. We do not know when it may burst. With our own strength we are not able to combat against the storm, what we can do, we will do cheerfully and loyally. But we want time to grow—we want more people to fill our country, more industrious families of men to develop our resources—we want to increase our prosperity—we want more extended trade and commerce—we want more land tilled—more men established through our wastes and wildernesses. We of the British North American Provinces want to be joined together, that if danger comes, we can support each other in the day of trial. We come to your Majesty, who have given us liberty, to give us unity, that we may preserve and perpetuate our freedom; and whatsoever charter, in the wisdom of your Majesty and of your Parliament, you give us, we shall loyally obey and fulfil it as long as it is the pleasure of your Majesty and your successors to maintain the connection between Great Britain and these Colonies." (Loud cheers.)

## HON. JEAN C. CHAPAIS

is Commissioner of Public Works.

Mr. Chapais is one of the four French Canadian members of the Ministry and the third in consequence. He is a man of some influence east of Quebec, and represents that district of country in the Cabinet. Mr. Chapais is not a man of distinguished ability, and owes his appointment to his influence.

This minister was elected in 1851 for Kamouraska, and has sat for it ever since. He has voted steadily with the French Canadian majority on all questions. Having been 15 years in Parliament, he is well versed in legislation, and is one of the leading men of his party.

The office held by Mr. Chapais is a very important one, and it ought to be filled by a man who is alive to the wants of Canada in regard to public works, and also who has some idea as to cost and utility of works,—two things that all of our Commissioners of Public Works have not possessed. It is to be presumed that Mr. Chapais is the man of the Ministry best fitted to fill the office. His profession of store-keeper in the far East, however, does not much qualify him for the department.

On the question of Confederation, Mr. Chapais goes with his leader, Mr. Cartier. He did not speak in its favor during the debates, for he cannot speak well, and left that task to his more fluent colleagues; and here it may be said that Mr. Langevin made a speech long enough for himself and the Head of the

Public Works, so that, if one or two of the four French Canadian members of the Ministry were wanting, the speeches of the two others made a good average for the four.

Mr. Chapais has a fair share of the world's goods, but is not a man of wealth. His profession has been referred to; and it is not easy for any man to make much money east of Quebec, though down in that district a small fortune is regarded as wealth.

Mr. Chapais is a man of about 50 years of age, 15 of which, as before intimated, he has passed in Parliament.



## HON. WILLIAM McDOUGALL

is Provincial Secretary.

Mr. McDougall is one of the three Reform members of the Ministry, and may be regarded as the second in rank of the three. He is a man of ability and of a good deal of influence in the west. Mr. McDougall is also a good writer, and makes a good Secretary.

This Minister was lately put at the head of the Commission sent forth to seek new markets for Canada produce. He made his tour a short one, not going as far as Brazil, but, as it were, starting the work and leaving it to Mr. Dunscombe and his party to go to that distant point. The Provincial Secretary's report of the work done will be very interesting to the country.

Mr. McDougall is a strong party man, and one who acts boldly in all political questions. Like most men, he made his voice heard throughout the Province, and was politically captious, when seeking power, and, now that he has got it, he feels more easy and quiet, changing his views with his change of fortune. He is, however, one of the most able and active men in Parliament.

This Minister began public life in 1858 as member for the North Riding of Oxford. In 1862 he came into office, as Commissioner of Crown Lands, in the Reform Ministry, under the lead of Hon. J. S. Macdonald, and held his seat until 1864, when there was a change of Ministry, and, after a little interval, he

was appointed Provincial Secretary in the Coalition Ministry. This brings him to his present position. He now represents the North Riding of Lanark.

Mr. McDougall has got on well in political life, owing to his energy and boldness. He has won his way, first, by getting up sectional questions in the west, and so drawing friends or backers about him, then using this influence to obtain office. This is only what most men do to gain a political object, and Mr. McDougall is one of those who have succeeded in the effort.

The Provincial Secretary is one of the best debaters in the House, his style being ready and fluent. Of the three Reform members in the Government he speaks the best, and is the most apt in defending the acts of his party.

In the debates on Confederation, Mr. McDougall did not speak much, only making some remarks on the speeches of opposite members, but gave his influence to the scheme. He, no doubt, desires to see it carried, for it would give to the West a legislature of its own. This, or increased representation in the present legislature, has been the object of all his efforts, along with the rest of the Reform party, during the past few years.

The influence of Mr. McDougall lies mostly east and west of Toronto, it being, of course, greatest in his constituency, which is to the east of the city. He is now a man of some means, and in the vigor of life. He was born in 1822, and is, therefore, 44 years of age.

The following is one of Mr. Macdougall's best efforts in speaking, delivered in the House, July 11th,

on Mr. McGivern's motion of Want of Confidence in the Financial and Commercial policy of the Ministry :—

He said he never rose to address this House or other public assembly with greater embarrassment or upon a question involving more important issues. Some time ago he and other members of the liberal party found themselves placed in a position of some difficulty. The member for South Oxford, who had long occupied a prominent, not to say the foremost place, in the party had suddenly entered into negotiations to form a coalition with the Conservative leaders, and they were asked to sustain him in that course. Finding the proposed coalition had a great object in view—no less than laying the foundation of a new empire in North America—he and other members of the party had consented to sustain it. For himself, forgetting in such a crisis his steadfast opposition to the Conservatives, and any reasons he had to complain of the conduct of the member for South Oxford, both personally and as a politician, he consented to sustain his course and to accept the more direct responsibility of an official position. He laid aside all personal feeling—all feeling engendered by the conduct of the hon. member towards the government of the hon. member for Cornwall, of which he was a member, and united heartily with the member for South Oxford in the work undertaken by that course. The members of the liberal party taking office were placed in some measure under a cloud. Their course involved personal as well as political sacrifices. As parties went, they were for a time extinct. If they succeeded, they might hope to justify an apparent abnegation of principles, and union with men whom for many years they had denounced, by the greatness of the end attained by such sacrifice of personal considerations, but only thus. They had some difficulty to persuade their friends in the house and out of it, to acquiesce in the course proposed, but in the end people generally came to the support of them, because of the great objects they had in view. They met with the delegates from the lower provinces at Quebec, and he must say in justice to them, to his conservative colleagues and to the member for South Oxford as well, he believed no assembly of public men in any country ever acted in a more honest and patriotic spirit than the delegates at that convention, in devising a scheme for the future government of these colonies. A scheme was adopted which has been submitted to the criticism of our own parliament and of the press both of the colonies and the mother country, and on the whole received a distinct approval from them. He would not say that the members of the convention did not think they could personally have improved parts of it, but after months had passed and there was time for calmer and more mature reflection, he was satisfied that the measure was a wise one and a very fair compromise of contending claims and opinions. But it met some difficulties in the lower provinces. The Nova Scotia legislature hesitated to adopt it and the people of New Brunswick, when appealed to, refused to assent to it and confided the government to the hands of its opponents. It became necessary to postpone the final portion of the confederation policy, and the coalition found that they had to

carry on the government of the country for a longer time than they had anticipated. While waiting for the assent of the maritime provinces they had to deal with the important interests of the country, and reference to the statute book for the two past years would show in what spirit and how they had dealt with them. The laws of one province had been codified, important modifications made in those of the other. No great interest was neglected. Later it was felt expedient in view of the probable loss of the United States market, to send commissioners to the West Indies and other southern countries of this continent to ascertain how far new markets might be opened up. He was offered the chairmanship of the commission. He felt that while much useful information respecting trade and means of extending it could be procured, yet no great honor was to be gained, no very magnificent results to be obtained from this expedition, and besides there was some personal risk to be run. Those regions were threatened this year with cholera, as well as other diseases incidental to tropical climates. He was reluctant therefore to go and leave what he considered more important duties here, but yielded to the urgent persuasion, not only of his other colleagues, but of the member for South Oxford. He understood when he left that the policy of the past would be continued and all possible causes of dissension avoided between the different parties to the coalition, for they had felt that having a great work to do they should not imperil it. Of course there had been differences of opinion which had led, in some instances, to the postponement of action; in others to concessions on one side or the other, and no one had been more earnest in urging this as a duty on his colleagues than the member for South Oxford. He had insisted that they were bound to make all compromises necessary to carry through the business which could not be postponed, until the great end proposed to themselves had been attained. What was his surprise then when in London, and about to depart thence on his mission for the West Indies, to see in the *Times* a telegram announcing that Hon. George Brown had retired from the Government. He met that day in the streets the Colonial Minister, who was about setting out for Oxford, and stopped his coach to ask him if he knew what it meant. He replied he did not, but had hoped that Mr. Cardwell had a private telegram on the subject. None had been received. Mr. Cardwell, with no little anxiety, asked what effect this would have on confederation: if we were to lose this great measure through Mr. Brown's course. His (Mr. Medougall's) answer was he hoped not, and he promised that, so far as his conduct was concerned, it should not lead to such a result. He went to the West Indies and got through the work to be done there as fast as possible, and at the first moment he felt he could properly leave he came back to Canada. When he got here he learned that the hon. Postmaster-General had declined to follow the course of the member for South Oxford: that he did not think there were any sufficient grounds for his resignation, and that a considerable number of members of the liberal party were of the same opinion. Another leading member of the party had consented to fill the place vacated by Mr. Brown. He found the resignation had been followed by remarks in the journal controlled by the member for South Oxford, not only against the Minister of Finance but the Postmaster-General, calculated either to break up the coalition or cause disunion in the ranks of

the old liberal party, in consequence of which some progress had been made in arrangements to establish a new journal in the interests of the party, upholding the views of members remaining in the coalition, and that being broken off, the member for South Oxford was prepared to transfer his capital and undoubted abilities from the *Globe* to such journal. He (Mr. Macdougall) took the earliest opportunity of seeing the member for South Oxford; he abstained from any conversation with his conservative colleagues on the subject, except in the most general terms, until he had done so, and had full and frank explanations with that hon. member. Part of that conversation was of a confidential character, but he felt he might say this, the hon. member for South Oxford did not advise him to follow his example and resign. Things had taken such a course since his (Mr. Brown's) resignation as to render it advisable he should continue in the cabinet.

Mr. BROWN (interrupting.)—No, I never gave advice to stop in or go out to either of the liberal members now in the cabinet or to the hon. member for Hamilton.

Mr. MACDOUGALL said he so understood the tenor of the conversation, and certainly thought it the duty of Mr. Brown, as a leading member of the liberal party in the cabinet when he joined it, to give advice to those who had consented to serve under and with him in it. He understood the hon. member to say he was quite prepared to support the government of confederation. He (Mr. Macdougall) had protested against the course of the *Globe* as likely to render it impossible to keep the liberal party together until confederation was secured, and endeavored to impress on the hon. member, also, that if he came to Parliament and raised the old cries of extravagance, &c., against ministers, which he had abandoned during the time he was in the ministry, the same evils of division or the destruction of the old liberal party, or of a coalition necessary to attain confederation must result. The *Globe* had, until recently, pursued a more moderate and firmer course. But so soon as the finance minister as the organ of the government had announced his budget he (Mr. Brown) had with all that power of declamation, of which he was so great a master, proclaimed his hostility to ministers, and last night had followed it up by an assault based upon a direct vote of want of confidence, intended if possible, to drive ministers from power. He, for one, would not have consented to pursue a course having for its effect the dissolution of the old liberal party of Upper Canada. The hon. member ought either to have abstained from such opposition or advised the liberal representatives in the government to retire. He talked about dangers to Confederation. The course pursued by the hon. member was alone calculated to endanger or indefinitely delay it. If this vote of want of confidence were carried, there must be either a general election or, at least, an election of members to fill the Treasury Benches. Who could tell in the meantime what accidents might occur? What the effect might be in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick? All of the great scheme of Confederation of real importance was now before the House. Only the question of the distribution of seats was yet kept back. It was of no real influence on the general question, and a matter to be easily remedied later if any error should occur now. Will a general election or prorogation now help Confederation? Or will the passage of the budget

scheme injure it? There could be but one opinion—that not the Government, but the members on the opposite side were putting the cause in peril. He would say a few words respecting a scheme so much objected to as the issue of currency as affecting the banks. That was still under the consideration of the Government. When the scheme was submitted, as it would be in the course of a few days, the hon. members for South Oxford and Chateauguay, who gave their attention particularly to questions of that kind, would have an opportunity of discussing and giving their views upon it to the House. In the meantime the only question fairly before the consideration of the House was that of the tariff. It could not be denied that in 1859, when the present Minister of Finance introduced a measure in favor of *ad valorem* duties instead of specific, the hon. member for South Oxford denounced it as injurious to the best interests of the country, and as opposed to those principles which the liberal party of Upper Canada professed to uphold. Now when this Government, with the same hon. gentleman as Minister of Finance, for causes which he had sufficiently explained, looking to the true interests of the country and the experience which he and others had acquired in the administration of the financial affairs of the Province, came down with a proposition to reduce the tariff, which had been framed on a purely revenue standard, the hon. member for South Oxford resisted the measure, although its principle was one which he had for years professed to favor.

Mr. BROWN (interrupting) said he was rather astonished at the statement made just now by the hon. gentleman. It was not the *ad valorem* principle to which he had objected in 1859, for he had always been in favor of it, but what he did oppose was the mode of addition proposed on that occasion.

Mr. GALT thought his memory as to events of that time was more distinct, and his recollection was that he was greatly surprised at the vote that had then taken place, when the hon. members for South Oxford and Chateauguay were found opposed to things which for years they had professed to favor. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BROWN disputed the statement that he had voted against principles which he now supported.

Mr. MACDUGALL—Well, those members of this House who were members of it in 1859 would, of course, remember what had then taken place. It was quite true that the members for South Oxford and Chateauguay, and others who acted in carrying to completion the great policy with them, did approve of so much of Mr. Galt's tariff as had reference to *ad valorem* duties, but they voted against it. (Cheers and laughter.) Notwithstanding that, they had long contended for that principle as the mode of levying imports which in their judgment was sound. They chose to consider the tariff in other respects so bad, and likely to prove so injurious to the interests of the country, that they voted against it, and the hon. member for South Oxford, after giving a great many figures to prove the unsoundness of the proposals of the Minister of Finance, went on to criticise, as a whole, the scheme then presented. These were the hon. gentleman's words in his own summary of his speech on that measure:—"The hon. gentleman (Mr. Brown) went on to criticise the several provisions of the tariff at great length. While approving of *ad valorem* duties, he denounced the attempts of the Inspector-General (Mr. Galt) to

force the whole trade of this country into a channel at the expense of breaking down all the existing commercial arrangements of the country, and that without even a week's warning: he ridiculed the sliding scale of Mr Galt on sugars and teas as a flimsy cloak for raising the duties on what he himself admitted to be the necessaries of life. He attacked the duty on books, and charged the administration with attempting, by their new postage duty on newspapers, their 20 per cent. on printing materials, and their book import duty, to stop the diffusion of knowledge. He spoke strongly against the duty on steel and iron as materials affecting largely the manufacturing interests of the Province. He urged earnestly on the House the danger to the Reciprocity Treaty from commencing a war against the trade by the Hudson, and wound up with a warm appeal to the House to take up the subject of sweeping retrenchment before considering what new burdens should be imposed on the people." Well, these points, or many of them, at all events, to which the hon. gentleman urged such strong objections in 1859, were by the propositions lately submitted by the Government to be removed, and yet the hon. gentleman found it necessary to oppose the measure, declaring it to be inopportune and improper. (Hear, hear.) Then the hon. gentleman in his speech last night on these resolutions declared that he would not be willing to stand in the shoes of the Finance Minister and become responsible for his policy to the people of Upper Canada or the reform party. Well, all he (Mr. Macdougall) could say to that was, that he did not believe the hon. gentleman represented the views or opinions of the great liberal party of Upper Canada. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BROWN very excitedly rose to address the House, but his voice was drowned amid loud cries of "Order."

MR. MACDOUGALL.—There was another point in the proposed tariff, to which the hon. gentleman also objected. He did not doubt that the people of England would regard favorably the reduction of duties on manufactured goods, but the hon. gentleman asked what would they think of our imposing duties on many necessaries of life—taxes on flour, corn, butter, cheese, animal and almost everything that entered into the consumption of the mass of the people of this country? The hon. gentleman was of course opposed to all those taxes, and fancied people in England to be so concerned about them, and about our internal economy generally, that he made it the ground of complaint, because these imposts would not receive their approval. Well, what did the English public care about taxes imposed on corn and other natural products in this country? (Hear, hear.) We were producers in excess of our wants, of nearly all the articles mentioned. The imposition of duties upon them would have little effect upon their price, and the peculiar circumstances under which the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty and other recent events had placed the country had, in the opinion of the Government—and he believed it would also be the opinion of the people—justified the imposition of a small duty to protect the producers in the Province of coarse grains, for which they had no foreign market. (Hear, hear.) He believed these duties to be necessary in the position in which the country was placed, in consequence of the action that had been taken beyond its limits, and to the reform party of Upper Canada he was ready to leave the

issue which the hon. member for South Oxford had raised in the matter. (Hear, hear.) These were the two great features of the tariff upon which the hon. gentleman had thought it necessary in the interests of the country, as he (Mr. Macdougall) must assume, to join in the attempt to defeat this Government, and to defeat these important measures which the hon. gentleman said he had made such great sacrifices in order to secure. (Hear.) He (Mr. Macdougall) must repeat again that he regretted more than he could well express the necessity in which he found himself, in common with his hon. friend the Postmaster-General, of taking up a position which he feared must necessarily produce difficulty and danger in the future for the liberal party of Upper Canada. He would not have assumed the responsibility of taking this position had it not been forced upon him, but having been driven into it, he must meet it as became one who held a position in the Government. (Hear.) He and his reform colleagues were placed in this position. They must either leave this Government without, as he believed, any just cause—for they agreed thoroughly with their colleagues in the policy which the Minister of Finance had submitted to the House. They believed it was for the true interest of Canada that it should be adopted; they desired, therefore, to see it successful, and they felt that their constituents were of the same opinion. Holding this belief, he said, he and his reform colleagues were called upon, in order to keep pace with the member for South Oxford, to leave the Government, whose policy they approved, to follow him in his opposition and submit meekly to measures which he might propose. He (Mr. Macdougall) was not prepared, as the representative of a constituency in Upper Canada, and as a public man, to take that course. (Loud cheers.) He believed that this Government had, on the whole, governed the country well. He believed that, on the whole, it had satisfactorily performed all its duties as a Government. It was quite true that in matters of expenditure, charges might be made by professional economists and those who contended for retrenchment, and that objections might be found by such that their wishes were not carried out to such a great degree as they expected. These objections, however, might be made against any Government. The same ground of attack had, in fact, been chosen against the administration of the hon. member for Cornwall. It was very easy for an hon. gentleman who had no responsibility to bear in relation to the affairs of the country, to say that such and such reductions could easily be lopped off, here and there, but it was a different thing when one was placed in front of the system which had grown up with the country, and which was deeply engrafted upon its institutions. The hon. gentleman from South Oxford had thrown out the idea that the Ministers had been remiss in their duty in this respect, and that they had allowed extravagances to continue which they could easily have put an end to. Well, he (Mr. Macdougall) must say it was a little unfair and unjust to his late colleague, the hon. gentleman, to make that charge. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman himself had been an influential member of the Government for a year and a half. Why was it that during that time he had not proposed some scheme of retrenchment? Why had he allowed that long period to elapse, if he believed important reductions might have been made in the public expenditure, and that increased taxation might have been



averted, without elaborating and submitting to his colleagues some plan for obtaining these reductions? If he had any such scheme in his head—if he entertained objections to the expenditure then going on, he (Mr. Macdougall) had never heard of it, and he would ask him to state whether he had ever proposed to the administration of which he was a member, a policy of retrenchment—not retrenchment in the matter of a few hundred pounds—(hear, hear)—but a comprehensive scheme which would accomplish the object of saving so much of the public money as would appreciably reduce the charges upon the people of the country? The hon. gentleman had made no such proposition to his (Mr. Macdougall's) knowledge, and he had not left the Government because his colleagues refused to carry out a policy of that kind. (Cheers.) He was much astonished the other day when, in discussing an item in the supplies, the hon. gentleman rose to deny any responsibility for its payment, and declared that it had been made by a departmental order, and not by the authority of an order in council. After this statement, which had caused him considerable surprise, both as to the constitutional doctrine laid down, and also as to the matter of fact involved, he obtained from Mr. Leeklock, of the Executive Council, a copy of the order in council, ordering this very payment. It was dated November 1864, and authorized the payment of \$4,000 to pay Mr. S. B. Foote for arrears found to be due him. (Cheers and laughter.) Here was a copy of the order. (Hear, hear.) He knew the hon. gentleman would say that his name would not be found among those of the Ministers present when it was passed, but every hon. gentleman who was acquainted with the management of public affairs knew that when an order in council was passed, it remained on record, and was accessible to such of the members as might not have been present when it passed. Such was an instance of the expenditure upon which the hon. gentleman now grounded complaint against the Government. (Hear, hear.) Well, this was the position in which the reform members of the Government stood. They did not feel that, in pursuance to this order and their duty to their constituents, as representatives from Upper Canada—they did not feel that, acting in accordance with the interests of the country at large, they would be justified in leaving their places on that side of the House, to take their seats with the other hon. gentlemen opposite. (Hear, hear.) They believed that to do so would imperil the prospects of Confederation, and be an abnegation of the frequent declarations made to this House and to the country. The result was that the hon. gentleman having thrown down the challenge, having announced his determination to destroy this Government if he could, having appealed to the liberal members from Upper Canada to sustain him in this attempt, having also, with some degree of assurance, appealed to the hon. gentlemen who sat on the Government side of the House—having taken this course, he (Mr. Macdougall) and his hon. friend the Postmaster-General, too, made up their minds to stand their ground, to carry out the policy that they had joined the Government to accomplish, and they would meet attack by attack, charge by charge, and fire gun for gun. (Loud cheers.) The hon. gentleman, no doubt had a great power at his control. He had by industry, ability, and the command of means, established a powerful organ of public opinion, and he was able to hold it over the heads of hon. members in the

House, and to coerce them here and in other places out of it. The hon. gentleman had talked of coercion being offered by the Government, but they knew that coercion came more from the quarter to which he referred than by holding in abeyance a few paltry offices in the gift of the Government. Well that state of things must be met. (Hear, hear.) They knew that no tariff could be proposed that would not be objected to either by one interest or another, but they must look to the advantage of the great mass of the people of the country, and in that view this tariff, whatever objections might be made to particular items, was fair, honest, and as well calculated to promote the interests of the people at large as any that could have been submitted to the House. Now, to speak from a party point of view, he had, as he had said, with great regret, felt compelled to take this course to-day. Whatever unpleasantness might arise in consequence of it, was no fault of his. He followed the member for South Oxford into the Government, sustained him while he remained in it, acted with him honestly, cordially, and frankly, and he believed that on the whole no cause of difficulty had arisen between them, but the hon. gentleman compelled him and his colleagues to take the course they now did, and the consequences, whatever they might be, would rest upon him. However it might affect the hon. gentlemen opposite, whatever difficulties it might cause in the country, whatever contests in the constituencies, whatever threats might be handed about from one to another, whatever grievances might be appealed to for redress before the people, he believed the hon. gentleman opposite would not be left alone to hold his newspaper *in terrorem* over the heads of hon. members of this House and the people. (Cheers.) The idea he (Mr. Macdougall) had found in Toronto, when he returned from his West India mission, must be revived and acted upon, and they must have in Upper Canada another organ for the liberal party—an organ that would express the views of that party and of the great mass of the people honestly, and that would free the country from the incubus and the terrorism and the disgrace of the hon. gentleman's newspaper organization. The members of the reform party in supporting this Government so long as it existed under its present organization, at all events, would be called upon to pursue a course more in accordance with the wishes of those who sent them here than opposing the Government because the hon. gentleman opposite was no longer a member of it, and in doing this they would be protected from the bullying of the organ to which he had alluded. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Macdougall) was very much pleased indeed when the member for South Oxford passed a high eulogium upon the Attorney-General East; he was glad to hear it, because, whatever might have been their past party disputes, he did no more than justice to his hon. colleague, who, since the adoption of the policy of the present Government, had pursued a straightforward, modest, and loyal course towards his colleagues in the Ministry, and in regard to the measures which it was formed to accomplish. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Macdougall) could say of his colleague, the Attorney-General West, also, and he believed the member for South Oxford would confirm his statement, that, after the experience he had with him as member of the Government, to which he belonged, he believed him to be disposed to act on all occasions fairly, honestly, and impartially in regard to the measures which came before

the administration. Of course, he (Mr. Macdougall) did not forget the past blunders which had been committed; he did not forget the questions which had long been in dispute between the two parties in Upper Canada, or the position of his hon. friend, who, as leader of the minority from Upper Canada, joined the majority from Lower Canada to pass measures which were distasteful to the majority of the people of Upper Canada, but he would go a step further and say that since he had been in the Government with hon. gentlemen, on every question which had come under their jurisdiction, either executive or otherwise, he had shown himself to be as progressive, as well inclined to support the public interest by initiating good measures, as economical and as liberal as the hon. gentleman opposite. (Cheers. He (Mr. Macdougall) approached this discussion with this experience, with these views, and with these facts, which he could honestly and conscientiously state to this House; for if it had been otherwise, it were needless for him to say he could have remained in Government. If he had found that the Attorney-General West was inclined to force measures which were opposed to the principles of the party with which he was associated, he would quickly have found a reason for following the member for South Oxford, but it was not on this ground that the hon. gentleman had withdrawn from the Government. He found a different excuse on matter of less importance, and with regard to which his colleague, the Postmaster-General, and a large majority of this House, differed from him entirely. Now, that was the position in which they were placed, and he (Mr. Macdougall) believed they would have the means of satisfying the public mind that the Government was conducted as fairly, as honestly, as patriotically in the absence of the member for South Oxford as when he was a member of it. (Cheers.) He believed the measure of Confederation was safe in their hands. The only peril that could menace it was for the hon. gentleman to find a large body to sustain him in the course he had chosen to adopt. The Government would maintain their ground, would carry out the policy they took office to accomplish, and would complete also the schemes for local constitutions necessary under confederation. The hon. gentleman opposite had complained of delay in connection with these last named measures, but why was it that when he was in the Government he had never made any suggestion on the point? If there was any blame to be attached for not having these things discussed at an earlier period, the hon. gentleman was the man to blame. (Hear, hear.) It was not necessary that he (Mr. Macdougall) should occupy the attention of the House any longer. He had stated in as few words as he could the position in which he and two of his colleagues were placed. As liberal members from Upper Canada, their course was clear; they had made up their minds to adhere to the Government. The hon. gentleman opposite had chosen to leave them on an issue of no practical importance, and since then to have assumed an attitude of antagonism and hostility. Let him have all the credit for such a course as that, and let him have all the responsibility of assuming a position which might precipitate a Ministerial crisis in the country, and imperil the cause which the Government were formed to accomplish. He (Mr. Macdougall) did not believe that that would be the effect of the hon. gentleman's opposition, but still that would be his position if the Government were

defeated on this motion. He thought, however, the hon. gentleman would find himself in pretty much the same position as that on which he was placed the other night in this House, when he appealed to his former political friends in Upper Canada to support him on the bill which was then under discussion. It was a measure for the sale of the rectory lands in Upper Canada, which the liberal party had always advocated, but which the hon. gentleman opposed on the grounds that it should be left over for future agitation. He had asked his friends to vote with him against the bill, and he found himself with just two followers from Upper Canada. (Laughter.) It was truly a pitiable spectacle. (Renewed laughter.) He sympathized deeply with these two hon. gentlemen who had been dragged through the mire once at the dictation of the member for South Oxford, and he trusted that the result of the vote would have the effect of causing them in future to adhere more faithfully to the principles of their party. The hon. gentleman found himself with two supporters, but in his paper, which was supposed to give all the news of the day, he carefully suppressed the division. "The motion was put and lost," was all that was given in that journal, but the names of the member for South Oxford and his powerful party were omitted. (Laughter.) He (Mr. Macdougall) had no desire to depreciate the ability of the hon. gentleman; he had been long associated with him in politics, and they had differences sometimes which were of a bitter kind; but this much the hon. gentleman would do him justice to say, that while he was one of his supporters, he always argued with him and pointed out his objections to him when he believed him to be wrong, and that he had never at any time been a subservient follower. (Hear, hear.) He differed from him now, and he would not shrink from assuming the responsibility of that difference. He would leave it to the liberals of Upper Canada to say whether they would allow themselves to be dragged after that hon. gentleman, or honestly and fearlessly pursue that course which they had pledged themselves to pursue, when the Coalition Government was formed. The hon. gentleman hoped, in concluding, that in the discussions which might take place, the courtesies that were due from one public man to another would not be forgotten, and resumed his seat amid loud applause.

## HON. WILLIAM P. HOWLAND

is Postmaster General.

Mr. Howland is the third member of the Reform party in the Ministry, and the least of the three, though his influence in the West is of some consequence. He is very apt at figures, and of a calculating turn of mind. In the West his views are listened to with attention; and, on commercial questions, he is very intelligent. He may be said to be one of the best business men of the province.

This Minister was on the Commission sent, in February last, to the United States Government to negotiate a new treaty of trade, and he was a fit man to associate with Mr. Galt in the mission. A more apt person could not have been selected to talk with the Committee on Ways and Means, for the long time that he has spent in the produce business has made him very sharp on the question of reciprocal free trade.

In 1857 Mr. Howland was elected for the West Riding of York, and has sat for it up to the present time. In 1862 he was a member of the Reform Government of that time, filling the office of Receiver-General. In 1864 he went out with his party, but, in a little time, was induced to enter the Coalition Ministry, in the office of Postmaster-General. Being an attentive official, he makes a good head for the Post Office.

This member is a strong, but quiet, party-man. He may now be regarded as the fourth man in influ-

ence of the Reform party, though the least of the three in office.

In the House this member does not cut a figure (though so good at figures) as he cannot speak well. He took a very quiet part in the debates on Confederation. From his leanings it is likely that he was not much interested in the great question, but was ready to follow the lead of Mr. Brown.

Being a good thinker, Mr. Howland makes a fair legislator, but he has not the ability to urge his views by eloquent argument in the House. His reform views are many, but he has to confine himself to advocating a few of the leading ones. In his quiet, reflective way, this member is a great contrast to his colleague, Mr. McDougall, who thinks less and speaks well and boldly. The two together would make a good committee; and, on committees, the former is very apt.

Mr. Howland is a man of some wealth, made in the produce business. He is a mill-owner, and sends large quantities of flour to the United States market. Owing to this, he took a great interest in the negotiations for a new treaty of free trade with that country. No man in Canada is more fit to talk over the state of a flour market, or to calculate the chances of a rise or fall, than he. It is in this light that Mr. Howland is seen to advantage. On a Corn Exchange he would be a man of note.

The subject of this short sketch is not a native of Canada, he having been born in the neighboring republic. He is a man of about 50 years of age; with the features and look of the people from whom he takes his origin.

## HON. HECTOR L. LANGEVIN

is Solicitor-General East.

Mr. Langevin is the fourth French Canadian in the Ministry, and the least in consequence, though one of the first in intelligence. His influence in the East is considerable, and is increasing.

This member was first elected to Parliament in 1857 for Dorchester, and has since been elected by acclamation. He owes his present place to his talents; and he may be called the second man in talent of his party in the Ministry. A good writer, he is the author of a work entitled "*Canada et ses Institutions*," &c.

The office of Mr. Langevin renders him a sort of deputy of the Attorney-General East. He is a fair, though young, legislator, being well read in law, and knowing the wants of the country, and is active and attentive to the duties of his office.

Mr. Langevin speaks well, and made a good effort in the debates on Confederation. Though too diffuse, his speech was one of the best made on the occasion, and the best of the four French members of the Ministry, only two of whom, however, made speeches on the question. Mr. Langevin has a pleasing address and speaks coolly, like a man who is resolved not to be put out by interruptions. Though not a statesman, he is a man who will wear well with years.

The subject of this sketch was Mayor of Quebec for five years, and also President of the North Shore Railway Co. His energy and intelligence procured

for him those two places of distinction, but of little remuneration.

Mr. Langevin is a Member of the Bar of Lower Canada, practising at Quebec. He has done well at his profession, and is regarded as one of the best men at the Bar. He is a man of means, with a disposition to push on and increase those means by enterprise.

Having entered Parliament in 1857, Mr. Langevin has now been nine years in it, and is about 40 years of age.



## HON. JAMES COCKBURN

is Solicitor General West (and the twelfth member of the ministry.)

Mr. Cockburn is a man of good sense and education, and has some influence in the West. He has not long figured in public life and has yet to win a name; but he has the qualities for a good legislator, and is well versed in law.

The office of this minister renders him a sort of deputy of the Attorney-General, West, who now and then very much requires a steady and attentive man to look after the Crown Law office for the West.

This minister was first elected to Parliament in 1861, for the West Riding of Northumberland, and he sits for it now. He, in 1862-3, gave support to the Reform Ministry of that date, and in 1864 took office in the present government. He may be regarded as a liberal conservative.

Mr. Cockburn is a barrister, practising at Cobourg, and has succeeded at his profession more by steadiness and attention than by brilliant qualities. In Cobourg, and the West riding of the County, he is well known and liked. He is an Englishman and about 40 years of age.

Like most good thinkers, Mr. Cockburn does not speak very fluently, and he is not distinguished in debate.

This ends the list of Ministers, who are classed as follows :—

Conservative, three fourths.....	9
Reform, one fourth.....	3
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	12
	—
Of English origin, two thirds.....	8
Of French do. one third.....	4
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