

guished writer in the United States, which are exceedingly apposite to the subject under discussion, and which, with the permission of the House, I will read.

The writer is speaking of the necessity of a concentrated power, where offence or defence is concerned and says :

"A Government authorized to declare war, but relying on independent States for the means of prosecuting it—capable of contracting debt and of pledging the public faith for the payment, but depending on thirteen distinct Sovereignties for the preservation of that faith, could only be rescued from ignominy and contempt by finding those Sovereignties administered by men exempt from the passions incident to human nature."

I think that these observations made by the writer in the serenity of the closet, not under the influence of the excitement of a partizan, are entitled to great consideration and weight.

There is another point to which I wish to draw the attention of the House, and from which some valuable hints may be had from the same source. Many persons have been frightened into the idea that a union would be injurious to the best interests of the Province. They will perceive that the same style of argument was used against the adoption of clauses in the Constitution of the United States.

I read from the same author :

"This feature of the Constitution gave rise to most animated discussion, in which reason was employed to demonstrate the mischiefs of the system, and imagination to pourtray them in all the exaggerations which fear and prophecy could invent. Looking back, indeed, to that period with the calmness with which we naturally review events and occurrences, which are now felt only as matters of history, one is surprised at the puerility of some of the objections, the absurdity of others, and the overwrought coloring of almost all which were urged on this head against the Constitution. That some of them had a just foundation need not be denied or concealed, for the system was human, and the result of compromise and conciliation in which something of the correctness of theory was yielded to the interests or prejudices of particular States, and something of inequality of benefit borne for the common good."

I would ask if that is not the same ordeal that we are passing through now, and precisely the same as any country, that attempts any organic change in its constitution must experience.

The objections to it were not more exaggerated, than that these which are urged against the scheme, now before the people of this country.

If he had wished to describe what had taken place in New Brunswick, and was now going on in this province, it would have been difficult to have done so, in more graphic terms than that used by the writer he had just quoted.

Now sir, I have said that British statesmen look upon Union, as the best mode of providing for the defence of these Colonies, in time of danger, and from the remarks of Lord Derby, it would be seen that he never contemplated the possibility of its being rejected by the Colonies,

but rather looked upon it as a thing already passed. But what says the press of England, that exponent of public opinion, what says the *London Times*, which every Englishman reads, and which however much it may be sneered at by some, largely moulds the opinions, not only of the British nation, but of the civilized world. What do we find in its columns on the subject?

"But for war, and the forays, raids, and other outrages that lead to it there is no reason why every province should not be politically independent of its neighbor. We unite for security, and the greater the danger, or the more powerful the possible aggressor, the larger the union necessary for self-defence. To England it is a matter of very little importance whether she sends one Governor or half-a-dozen to her American Colonies and the relations of those communities, one with another are only a matter of local convenience. But we are approaching a very different state of things. The Government at Washington sees, as it believes the beginning of the end, and now announces, with more confidence than ever, that this is the last campaign and that this very summer will see Federal unity not only restored but ready for Federal action. They make no secret of their intentions to present an enormous list of demands, which they are quite aware we shall not acknowledge, and which, indeed, they do not wish us to acknowledge."

"In the event of a war with the states it is clear that all our Provinces must be placed under one military command. Do what we will, no unity of administration that we can establish will be equal to that of the invader. If this disadvantage be urged as an argument against the very attempt, it is our duty to reply that the Provinces farthest outlying from the colonial centre, and most obnoxious to the attack of the foe, are just those which would most depend upon our aid. That gives us a special voice in their case. If the Maritime Provinces seriously intend to adhere to the British Crown, it is impossible to say what fleets, what garrisons, what ironclads, what ordnance we shall have to pour into Halifax and the other ports, all at our cost. Having, then, an additional right to speak in this case, we venture to say that if Nova Scotia and New Brunswick seriously intend to be loyal they ought to act accordingly, and declare for Confederation."

M. Foster in his address uses this language. "Therefore we had a right to call upon the North American colonies by organization and union to assist in their own defence, and to prove their patriotism by a willing contribution of money and of men."

Now I would ask are we in the face of all this prepared to tell the people of England that we dispise their advice and reject their counsel. That although it is the opinion of British statesmen and the British press, and the British people, that union is our only safety, we think differently. We will be loyal only in our own way. We will accept the protection of the British forces and fleets, but this must be given on our terms, not on theirs. Is this the course we should adopt?