

thought we wanted public works, and I supported them in their Railway Scheme of 1856; that undertaking involved us, with other liabilities, to the extent of six millions of dollars. This, in their opinion, was not all we could stand, so they undertook 3 1 2 12ths of the Intercolonial road, estimated to cost three million pounds sterling. According to the cost of the St. John and Shidiac road, as compared with the cost, that amount might be doubled; but we are safe in saying it would cost fourteen millions of dollars, our part of that would be \$5,833,000. Not thinking, even then, that our resources would be exhausted, at the last Session they introduced and carried their Subsidy Bill, providing \$10,000 per mile for 188 miles of road, involving an additional liability of \$1,780,000 more—making in all at close of last Session, \$13,613,000. These acts were upon the statute book, and, of course, they thought and said we were able to carry all this out; if so, it will become them to speak of us as very insignificant and poor and isolated. I thought then, and I think now, they overestimated our resources, and if there were any political trouble, they had time and power to have remedied them—but the discovery was made just when they wanted this great change. I do not profess to be well acquainted with the history of Canada, but it is well known that for many years there has been a great deal of political discord there, and to remedy this I think this scheme was originated. My hon. friend from Albert says they are our brother colonists, and we ought to go in and help them out of their difficulties. It reminds me of a little story told by my colleague, Mr. Hill: A steamboat was coming down the Mississippi; there was on board a tall, grave young man—so grave and sober that he was observed by all the passengers. When the boat arrived at Vicksburg and the passengers landed on the wharf, there was a great fight going on there. This young man brightened up, and asked some of the bystanders if it was a free fight? They said "Yes." Says he, "Has any one a right to go in?" "Yes," said they. He took off his coat and pitched in. In a short time he returned to the boat, with a pair of black eyes and his nose considerably canted, very strongly convinced that it would have been for his interest to have remained out of the fight. Now this man got served as we should had we gone into this Union, with this exception—he got out, we would have had to remain in. It has been stated by some of the advocates of this scheme, that when the Delegates left the Conference, the Governments of each of the Provinces were to use such measures as they thought best to secure its passage in the different Colonies. Those who could get it passed without submitting it to the people were to do so; those who felt sure of carrying it by going to the country were to do so. This, certainly, was not a very uniform mode of commencing this great nationality. I am not aware of what the intention of our Government was on their return home; at the time, I thought they would call the Legislature together at the usual time, discuss the question, and decide it at the General Election which would have been this summer; and not until a very few days before the dissolution did I believe the House was to have been dissolved. It was stated that Mr. Tilley, in answer to a question put to him by Mr. McShane, in Carleton, as to his intention to appeal to the people, said that it would not be decided without an appeal to the people.

Had I been present, I should certainly have concluded from that reply that he did not intend to dissolve the House; but the answer was a perfectly safe one. If he intended to dissolve at once, as he did, he was all right; and if he intended to discuss it, and appeal to the people at the General Election, then he was all right; but which he intended to one but himself knew, but certainly he was not very frank and candid. The advocates of Confederation had in this Province a decided advantage. They had some of the ablest men as lecturers, and certainly they improved the time. They had the influence of the Government, which is certainly very great. They had, I think, four-fifths of the entire Press of the Province. They had that disposition in man, a desire to change, which is very common, and a great many believe their condition is a hard one, and any change would be for the better, and they made the best use of all these advantages; but the people had some common sense and some judgment, and rejected a scheme which would certainly, in my opinion, if adopted, have been destructive to our best interests. One very singular feature in this scheme was, that every colony had got the best of the bargain. Mr. Tilley had in finance outwitted all the rest. In Upper Canada the politicians had made so good a bargain, that they could afford to build several Intercolonial Railroads and then make in the transaction: Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, all had made a wonderful good trade; how all could have got the best of the arrangement and no party the worst, I cannot understand. It might be considered smart to get the best of the bargain, but if it were done knowingly, it could hardly be considered honest, and it did occur, not calculated to add much to the harmony of the Union. One great argument, and one which was used to good effect, was the Railroad. Now, I am free to admit, that the chances were that the road would have been built in Confederation; but not, I think, quite so soon as some people imagined. It depended entirely upon what a majority of the Federal Parliament concluded after the Constitution was complete; it depended upon what a majority of that Parliament might think necessary. They might conclude that the finances were not just at that time in a state to warrant the undertaking. They in Canada played false, so Mr. Tilley said, and they might do so again; but I think they would have built it, and I think further that it would not have paid either them or us after it was built. The immense traffic and the terrible increase of manufactures were all or nearly so in the imagination of the Confederates. This Confederate Parliament was to be conducted by men of the first talent from all the Colonies. Our fifteen representatives would have little influence there, even if they were all united; these fifteen gentlemen could do a great deal more for New Brunswick in our own Parliament, and would be quite as well able to consider these general matters here as there. I have never known this Assembly to decline the consideration of any question on account of its magnitude, particularly the late Government; and we have no right to suppose that our fifteen members would be united in their politics, they would represent both political parties. Human nature would not be changed, and party feelings would not be removed by the new order of things. The hon. member for Restigouche says parties would be so evenly divided that our men by going to either

side could effect their object, that would not be a very moral way to get what we thought belonged to us, to ask our representatives to join any party, right or wrong. That hon. member said the Conference had tried to copy after both the Constitution of Britain and the United States. They have succeeded in getting a good deal of what is not perfect in both, and not a great deal of the good qualities of either. The truth is, Mr. Chairman, that so long as we remain Colonies of England, we do not want any such expensive establishment; we want no such power between the Colonial Legislatures and the Crown. If we are to become separate, then we may copy after the Federal Union, and perhaps improve some upon their system; but until we are separate, we do not want this fifth wheel to our coach. I think there is not a desire in this Province to become independent of England. There may be such desire in Canada West. It has been urged that this arrangement was to bind us more closely to the Mother Country. I think it would have an entirely opposite effect. Union they say is strength. They have had for twenty-five years a union of Upper and Lower Canada. They have had great difficulties, and at last come almost to a standstill. And this Union of the Colonies was the only remedy the politicians of Canada could think of, and it was their troubles, and not ours, that suggested it. In the appointment of the Delegates they commenced a Coalition. The late Government of New Brunswick never used to think any advice or assistance necessary to manage the affairs of the country; in fact they thought the opposition had mismanaged it, but now there was a matter to be carried out that would suit all the political leaders. The unanimity of the delegates, and the different Governments was certainly most remarkable, and only by accident did we discover that any difference of opinion existed; but we have heard that in the Constitution of the Federal Council there was a difference, and that part of the Scheme was carried by the casting vote of the Chairman, who was Mr. Tilley. I think that body should at first at least have been elected, so that the people in the first instance could have chosen that branch of the Legislature, a branch powerful enough if they chose, to stop all legislation. Canada did some seven years ago adopt the elective principle for their Legislative Council, and the British Government evidently thinks it should be so in this Scheme, and suggests it. The Colonial minister objects to two most important principles in this Scheme, said to be so perfect, and hints strongly that there are a goodly number of smaller defects; but here it was to be taken just as it was, being humanly speaking, perfect, and in the Federal Executive Council it would be exceedingly difficult to so compose it with the local and sectional differences as to make it work harmoniously, and in fact I think it would not have worked at all, and am pleased that far that the people have not decided to let them try it. The Scheme does not provide how the local Governments are to be constituted. They are to have a Lieutenant Governor, who shall be appointed by the Governor General; the local Government and Legislature of each Province shall be constructed in such manner as the existing Legislature of each Province shall provide, so each can have about what they like, no uniformity is provided for all the Colonies. This great Confederation was to amalgamate the whole;