

Republic. Neither has it anything to do with the question, as to the manner in which the hon. mover of the amendment was ushered into the world, nor whether the Provincial Secretary came into the world properly fashioned, and with full faculties, or half baked. The Provincial Secretary tried hard to prove to the House that he was not a fool, and that he was competent to multiply, and manage the financial affairs of the country. Whether it be so or not, that is not the question at issue. We can examine the public accounts, and judge of them personally. I have a high respect for my hon. friend. We have always enjoyed each other's friendship. These questions are only dwelt upon to divert attention from the real question before the House. Another irrelevant matter brought in was the election for the County of York. Whether my hon. friend gained his election through a change of public feeling in reference to Confederation or not, we know my hon. friend was a delegate to the Conference at Quebec, and in favor of the scheme, and it was natural to conclude that his return gave evidence of a change of feeling on that question.

We find that the Government of this country in bringing this House together have propounded the nature of their policy in reference to Confederation. They promise to lay before this House the correspondence between the Mother Country and the Governor General, relating to a Union of these Colonies, and state that it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it is an object much to be desired that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite under one Government. In reply to that motion is made by the hon. member for Charlotte (Col. Boyd), at the instance and at the request of the Government, which, to my mind, will bind this House, if adopted, to the principle of a union of these Colonies. It says:

"But in any scheme for a Union of the British North American Colonies which may be proposed, it is, in the opinion of this House, absolutely essential that full protection should be afforded to the rights and interests of the people of this Province; and no measure which fails to obtain these objects, should be adopted."

Which means that this House, willing to adopt a scheme for the Union of the Provinces, provided protection shall be afforded to the rights and interests of the people. Now the only way the details of the scheme can ever be adjusted is through the Imperial Parliament, and if we adopt this answer to the Speech, I think it is all the British Government requires us to say. What is the cause of the delay that has taken place in the other branch of the Legislature, in His Excellency's not replying to their answer to the speech. May it not be that the reply given to that answer might indicate to the hon. members of the House before this question is concluded, the construction which His Excellency and His Government put upon the answer to the Speech now under discussion. I think we commit ourselves and the Province to a union by this answer. Is the House willing to adopt it? I, for one, am not authorized to do so by the County of Westmorland. Could not His Excellency reply that he fully appreciated our apprehensions and fears, and while thanking

the loyal commons of New Brunswick in meeting the wishes of the Imperial Government as far as expressing a wish to have these Colonies united, he could assure us that the Imperial Government would carry out no scheme, unless the rights of these people are protected. And how would that be looked after? By sending a delegation to the Mother Country to see that when the Imperial Act uniting these Colonies is drawn up, our rights are protected, as we cannot do this by an Act here. Having conceded the point that we are willing to unite, the Imperial Parliament would have to carry it into effect, because if left to the different Legislatures, you would hardly get two members to agree upon the details of the scheme. I am pledged against Union—against having a Confederate Parliament in Ottawa; therefore, as I was elected on the anti-Confederate ticket, it is my duty to my constituents to vote for this Amendment, and to vote against the Government on that section, and I trust that some hon. member will move an amendment to that section in case this amendment shall be negatived. The union of the British North American Colonies was put to this country in a very hasty manner, in consequence of which the people had not time to consider the merits of the Quebec Scheme, and union in the abstract was the question upon which they decided. Although it is the Imperial policy to unite these Colonies, yet they will not unite unless by our own consent, because the only way in which the constitution of a free, intelligent and independent people can be changed at all, is by revolution or the consent of the people. Although the Imperial Government have the right and power to do so, they do wisely inform us that they will not pass an Imperial Act to unite these Provinces unless it is agreeable with the wishes of the people of this country. If we adopt this paragraph in the Address, we at once forego all further legislation in the matter. The details would be settled upon by an "Imperial Act," and all they want is our consent to be united. Upper and Lower Canada were united by merely giving their consent to a union in the abstract. The Imperial Parliament, by an Imperial Act, settled all the details and united these two Provinces together without submitting any particular scheme for their approval. Therefore, if we pass the answer to the Speech, we will be passive in the hands of the British Government. We convey to the British Government by this Address, through His Excellency, the idea that we agree in the opinion that it would be desirable to unite with the other Colonies, provided our interests are looked after in the details, and that is all that is required by the British Government, but it is not what my constituents sent me here to vote for. The Quebec Scheme should have been debated in this House before it went to the people. They were called upon at six weeks notice to adopt a scheme to change the whole constitution of the country. It was unreasonable to expect the people of this country to adopt a new constitution at so short a notice. I had doubts about it, although it is well known to the hon. members of this House, and particularly to my hon. friend, Mr. Anglin, that I some years ago advocated the principle of Union, and contributed an article to the columns of the *Freeman* in 1863, expressing that opinion, from which I will read an extract:

"As an individual is justified by all honorable and laudable means to promote and raise his position in the social scale, so are a people as a country justified by like means in endeavoring to occupy a proud position in the scale of nations. These Colonies, separated as they now are, one from the other, are isolated and weak; but unite them by this great highway, join them together in bonds of social fellowship, connect them commercially with one tariff, one postal arrangement, one currency, and what will be the sure and certain result? Why it is inevitable, it will be a political connection. Then the ambition and aspirations of our people to have a country which they may call their own, and to speak of their country, would be realized."

In 1863 I also expressed an opinion in favor of the Inter-Colonial Railway, and in favor of uniting these Colonies, on the floors of this House. To show this, I will read an extract from a report of a speech which I delivered in this House that year, published in the *Head Quarters*:

"He looked upon this railway from a broad point of view. It would tend to bind the Provinces together, and bring them into close political and commercial relations, and lead to the three Provinces adopting one political arrangement, one tariff, one currency, and eventually raise these three disjointed Provinces into a great country, inhabited by a great people, possessing a literature and a scientific reputation of its own, and having a Legislature that would command the respect of the world."

Feeling, as I have always felt, an anxious desire to promote the best interests of my native Province, and feeling that it would be best promoted by being united with our sister Colonies, which union must bring about connection by railway, and lead to other benefits, and that unless that connection took place, we must inevitably become united to the neighboring Republic; and being descended from the Loyalists, who had taken up arms in defence of British institutions, I am not prepared to place myself or my posterity in a position that should we become annexed to the United States, a time might come when myself or posterity would be called upon to take up arms to fight against the mother country. Wishing, therefore, to perpetuate British institutions in this country, I have always entertained a desire to see these British North American Provinces united as one Colony with a combined interest under the protection of Great Britain. I have always entertained those opinions, but I was not prepared at so short a notice to agree to a union based upon the Quebec Scheme, for I considered that it required further deliberation before we should accept it. Now there were the people in the County of Westmorland in favor of it at the late election in March, and I should resign my seat before voting in favor of a union of these Colonies, either in the abstract, by implication, or any other way. I expressed feelings in favor of union at the last general election, but I gave reasons why I came out in opposition to so hasty a desire to bring about a union under the Quebec Scheme; and pledged myself most positively to oppose it. When solemn pledges are made to the people, upon which a man is elected to this House,