

certain rights are given to the General Government. Suppose there is a conflict between the two Governments, where is the appeal? In the United States they have an appeal to the Judges of the land; but here the General Government has an arbitrary veto and we have to submit. I think this is a very serious defect in the Constitution. Then in regard to this representation by population. We should look simply to the passing hour when framing a Constitution, but should look into the future, and lay the foundations broad and deep, in order to meet the requirements of coming time. How is this eighty cents per head on the present population going to provide for our local wants fifty years hence, for we know that the wants of a country increases with the population? We will have to resort to direct taxation. We will now see the amount we pay for Roads and Bridges, and what Canada pays; for when we are invited to join our interest with Canada, we should see how she provides for her own people. We know that we have to pay \$119,000 a year for our Roads and Bridges, and that it is insufficient to provide for them; but the Canadians pay, on an equal amount of population, only \$15,000 for that purpose. For Education we give \$13,000; in the same proportion Canada gives \$5,000 or \$6,000. The late Surveyor General says this taxation is a "great bugbear." Bugbear, forsooth! It may be for those who occupy high positions and get their £600 a year, and do not much for it; but it is of vital importance to those who have to labor, and it is a question that affects the great mass of the people in this or any other country. Then in reference to this Intercolonial Railway. Was it stated by those who advocated this Union that, as a compensation for the advantages we were to derive from this road, we were to contribute to the Canal system? Do you think Mr. George Brown would change his mind on this Railway question, unless he felt there was an advantage to be gained for this Canal system, for he is a man that has ever been characterized as having an eye single to the interests of Upper Canada. Those Canals will not only be of no advantage to the people of the Lower Provinces, but will be an injury to them if the Intercolonial Railway is built, because they would take the traffic in another direction instead of going on this Railway to Halifax. We will have to pay our share for extending those Canals, which are going to be an injury to us. Hon. members say there will be two parties in Canada, and the Lower Provinces will hold the balance of power. I am prepared to admit that, in general politics; but when we come to matters of local expenditure they will be united in one. By way of illustration, we will say: my hon. colleague and I are in opposition, and take different sides in politics; but when a Bill comes before the House for an appropriation of money for the County which we represent, we work side by side. If \$20,000,000 or \$30,000,000 was to be levied upon the people of the Confederacy for the extension of those Canals, those parties would be united as one; their political differences would not divide them, but they would act together, and form one unbroken phalanx. In seventeen years Upper Canada—taking the ratio of increase for the last twenty years—would have a numerical majority of representatives over all the rest, whereas we get no increase, but are liable to decrease; because if Lower Canada increases faster than we do, our number will be reduced. Numerical

strength is power, and they will use that power whether it be for our advantage or disadvantage. We are told we enter this Confederacy upon the most favorable terms, and that Canada is going to build our railway. Where is the money to come from if they are not able to pay the interest on their own debts? Their expenditure has been more than their receipts except last year; they have exhausted every resource; they have their toll gates on the roads, and they resort to the most obnoxious taxes to which no country resorts, except in the last extremity; they have imposed their stamp duties, which are never imposed until every other means of raising money has failed. If we entered this Confederation we would have these stamp duties, and our taxes would be increased and applied to the Canal extension in Canada, and the opening up of the North-Western Territory. It is provided in the Scheme that "the communications with the North-Western Territory, and the improvements required for the development of the Trade of the Great West with the seaboard, are regarded by this Conference as subjects of the highest importance to the Federated Provinces, and shall be prosecuted at the earliest possible period that the state of the finances will permit." Who is to determine when the state of the finances permit? Who is to determine when the North-West Territory is to be opened up? It will be Canada, for she has the unlimited power of taxing the Confederacy, and her part of the tax will be more than made up by the increased expenditure. Who then can say we go into Confederation under more favorable circumstances than Canada? She can make the Canals entirely free in order to attract the trade within her own bosom; her debt being contracted for rebel losses, and the expenditure on these Canals will never be productive, which will never yield two per cent. Our debt is incurred in constructing Railroads in the Province which would become the property of the Confederation. We go into this Union with a debt of \$7,000,000, and if our railroad pays six per cent, which it may do after Western Extension and the connection with Nova Scotia are built, we will go in without any debt at all; we will give up our revenue of \$700,000, and receive 80 cents a head, amounting to \$201,000. The control of our railroad will be in Ottawa, and any man who has a charge against the road will have to go to Canada to get redress. That accounts to my mind why it was that public officials connected with the Railway became active partisans in favor of this Scheme; never did I see the powers of Government so completely prostrated; they used their influence upon all persons who held office, and all those who expected to get office; they controlled thousands and thousands of votes in this country; but the people of this country were true to their own interest, and resisted the influences brought to bear, and rose in their power and rejected the Scheme with indignation. I should like to have some one here to speak on behalf of that delegation; they have two of the delegates in the Upper House, for the people could not reach them, but every one of them the people could reach they hurled from place and power. Everything that was in the power of the Government to do, was done to carry the election; they told the people of Fredericton they would secure the seat of Government for ever. Was that fair to appeal to people's prejudices and local feelings in order to influence them on this

great question? Why was it that the officers in the Post Office Department took an active part in this election? It was because every man connected with the Post Office would become independent of the people of this country. When the Custom House officers in this Province were appointed in England, the people were not treated as well as they are now. Neither would the people of this Province be satisfied, or their interests served, by having their officers only responsible at Ottawa. It is said now that our Legislature is too small to work out the principles of Responsible Government; for after it is divided into two parties it is difficult to find men competent to discharge the duties of those offices. Let us imagine this Legislature reduced to a mere Municipality. Would any man of talent accept a seat in it? and this Legislature would have to keep up all the officers in the Government, as they have now in conducting the administration of the country. To do what? To issue Tavern Licenses and fix bella on sheep, as the hon. member for York has remarked. Under the provisions of this Bill they have agreed to give Newfoundland \$150,000 per annum. According to that, the people of this Province will have to pay Newfoundland twelve or thirteen thousand dollars a year; that is our portion of what is paid for her mines and minerals. I can conceive Newfoundland refusing to go into Confederation, and this was a bribe offered her to induce her to enter. I put it distinctly to the country, whether they are willing to invest to the extent of \$13,000,000 a year for ever in those mines and minerals which are utterly valueless. Then again, it was agreed that all engagements entered into for defence, should be assumed by the General Government. It is well known that a delegation went home from Canada, and it was supposed they went in connection with this business, and we would be bound to contribute our share towards any expense so incurred. Is it not surprising that this Government should give its consent to a proposition of that kind, that they should go blind fold into an arrangement when they had no voice in regard to how much should be expended. Then again we could derive no advantage commercially, because Canada can manufacture articles much cheaper than we can. I will state to you the reasons which Mr. Annand gives why Nova Scotia did not accept the offer of free trade from Canada. Some two or three years ago when it was pressed upon Mr. Tilley and himself by the Canadian Finance Minister:—

"BECAUSE WE FELT that as in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia there existed a number of infant manufactures, it would be unfair to the manufacturers, without notice or opportunity to meet their means in other pursuits, to bring them into competition with the more advanced manufactures of Canada; and secondly, because the Provinces had agreed to assume heavy liabilities, viz. 3 1-2 thirds each of the cost of the Intercolonial Railway, we felt it would be unwise to jeopardise so large amount of revenue. The following memorandum, under date 18th Sep., 1862, signed by the Premiers of the three Provinces, is conclusive on this point:—

The delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Government of Canada having under consideration the report of the Hon. the Finance Minister of Canada, of the 8th September instant, on the subject of Intercolonial Reciprocity, agree—