

her representative to be appointed by herself; but he will be advised by ministers responsible for the acts of the Government, and whom an adverse vote in the Lower House of the Legislature would at once displace from power. In the States, one result of their institutions is the extinction, or, perhaps, more properly the total ignoring of the rights of the minority. Where, however, the British principle obtains, the rights and privileges of a minority are maintained to them in law. One reason for the feeling alleged by the hon. member for the city (Mr. Brockton) that the limited market is to be found in the limited market open for their manufactures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are of but small consequence. Once remove the barriers of hostile tariffs, and free-trade with four millions of people will at once be the result. Union will have the effect of benefiting all parties, and removing the feelings of antagonism arising from different tariffs. Not many years since, the Englishman was estranged from the Frenchman. No international sympathy had existed between the two quantities for many centuries; but now a treaty of commerce mutually beneficial has united them, so that one country will not move without the other. Their Union has made these hereditary antagonists the barterings of peace and civilization. So would it be with us. If hon. members had the opportunity of associating with the statesmen of Canada, and if they saw the great resources and made themselves acquainted with her institutions, I am confident that some, at least, would feel that their previously formed opinions were of a very contracted nature, and were based on a defective knowledge of facts. We have been told that Canada is bankrupt—that her dependencies are at a discount—that she is sunk in corruption—that it would be madness to unite our fortunes to a country in that condition. Sir, all this is delusive. The debt is seventy-five millions of dollars; of that twenty-five millions are represented by Canals; an amount about equal in Railways, of which she has two thousand miles. The purchase of the Seigneurial Tenure and the cost of the great Victoria Bridge will represent a large proportion of that debt. True it is that Canadian Debentures had fallen in the English market, but that was in consequence of the Trust affair. British capitalists fearing that war might arise out of that occurrence between England and the States, Canada being a portion of the Empire, her securities were naturally depreciated; but I can tell hon. members that on receipt of the Report of the Conference in England, they advanced 15 per cent. I have now, Sir, given you my individual views on this vital question, which I am convinced will resolve itself either into a Confederation, or an application to us of the Monroe Doctrine, by absorbing into the United States. I, for one, am not prepared to sacrifice the constitutional privilege we at present enjoy, and I trust that the inhabitants of these two separate Colonies will soon sing in chorus from Newfoundland to the extreme boundary of Upper Canada.

"Let us be firm and united,

One country, one flag for us all;

United our strength will be freedom,

Divided, we each of us fall."

Mr. HOWLAND.—Mr. Speaker, the hon. and learned member for Georgetown will probably think it vain for me to place my views on this great question side by side with his opinions. We have been told that since the result of the elections in New Brunswick, discussing the subject in this House is only like a disputation in a mere debating club, as our decision can lead to no practical result. But, Sir, the principles involved in the scheme concocted by the delegates at Quebec are still the same, and I look upon it as our duty to give our sentiments freely on this question. We know not how soon another deliberation may be originated, and advantage taken of our indifference should we evince such on this occasion. Before this debate is concluded, Sir, I hope the Hon. Solicitor General will find that his glowing description of the benefits of Confederation has vanished into thin air. With respect to the subject before the House, there is one thing very apparent to those who were here last Session, namely, that the resolution then passed has not been adhered to. On that occasion the argument of the Leader of the Government was that it would be very unbecomingly not to appoint delegates to confer on the subject of Union with others to be appointed by the five neighboring Provinces; but so careful were hon. members in regard to

the matter that they placed it on the records of this House that no action should be taken on the question until the delegates appointed should report to the Legislature of the Colony. Now, Sir, we have among the papers laid before this House, a document which purports to be a report from the delegates authorized to confer on a Legislative Union of the Lower Provinces, but which I take to be no report. It merely states that the delegates met at Charlottetown, then adjourned to Halifax; then to St. John, and then to Canada, where it was decided to postpone the consideration of the question of a Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces. But the subject which the people of this Island are now called upon to consider is the Report of a delegation not authorized by this House, and one by which the constitution of this Colony is to be wrested from us. In considering the question of Confederation, we ought to view it not as it would affect us at present, but as it would probably operate upon the interests of this Colony in all time to come. The principle of representation by population in the Lower House is borrowed from the American system; yet the Quebec Conference did not follow out the same model with respect to the constitution of the Upper Branch. In the neighboring Republic each State has the privilege of sending two representatives to the Senate, no matter how small its population. New York with its population of 3,097,394, has only the same number of Senators in Congress as the State of Rhode Island with its population of 147,545. The difference between the population of these two States is as 20 to 1, greater fully than it is between that of Upper Canada and this Island; yet while this Report allows Upper Canada 24 members in the Legislative Council of the Confederation, this Colony is only allotted 5. Instead of all the Provinces being allowed the same number of members each in the Upper House, according to the principle of the United States' constitution, each of the Canadas is to have as many Councillors as all the Lower Provinces put together. Then, again, the members of this body are to be appointed for life, a system which would undoubtedly bring about a dead lock, the very state of affairs in Canada which Confederation is intended to remedy. In the 17th paragraph of the Report we are told "the basis of representation in the House of Commons shall be population, as determined by the official census every ten years; and the number of members at first shall be 194." Of this number Upper Canada is to have 22, and Lower Canada 65—in all for Canada 147. The remainder of the 194 is distributed as follows: Nova Scotia 19, New Brunswick 16, Newfoundland 8, Prince Edward Island 5—in all for the Lower Provinces 48. By this arrangement it will be seen that Canada will have 100 representatives in the House of Commons more than the aggregate of all the other Colonies. Representation by population might be very well for Canada herself, but in general usage of the Colonies it would operate injuriously for the Maritime Provinces, as they could not expect to protect their interests when they would have to contend with 100 of a clear majority over their own representation. This principle would give the city of Montreal with its 101,000 inhabitants one representative more than this Island. Quite different is the representation of Great Britain, for while London has about the same population as Scotland, that city has only 16 members in the House of Commons, while Scotland has 53. But it may be argued that as our population increases our representation will increase. This is very doubtful. Indeed, under the operation of the 20th and 21st clauses of the Report it seems probable that we might lose our representation altogether. Lower Canada is always to have 65 members, and the representation of the other Colonies is to be arranged every ten years so as to give each the same ratio of population as she will then possess. Now, should the population of Lower Canada increase more rapidly than that of this Island, which is almost certain to be the case, our representation would decrease, and we would be left perhaps without a member at all. To show at least that