

thousand men would cost some eighty thousand pounds sterling, and material many thousands additional. The annual five days' drill of the Militia would be a heavy charge on the Treasury and individuals. Now, if we were in Confederation the General Government would furnish arms and material, and grant us an annual allowance for maintenance, &c. Again, all who are at all conversant with military matters know that there can be but one arm, one assault, as it were, to work where military matters are concerned; but, if our people prefer it they will find out that it is no small matter. As it must be done in some shape. A few years ago we were liable to the presence of a neighbour with a standing army of eight thousand men, they have seven hundred thousand. There are many other points to which I could allude, showing what would be the result to this Island which would result from Confederation. I might allude upon the good fortune of our young men, were we established a field opened to their ambition; but I shall defer the consideration of that branch of the subject to another time, and now gladly borrow from one of the most distinguished and venerable of the statesmen of British America, when he tells us that the choice offered to the Legislatures of these Provinces, is, "on the one hand, Union under one government; giving to British subjects in their confederate and growing strength, a nationality worthy of their origin; where, putting forth the energies of free men, they and their descendants may, under a Gracious Providence, have the opportunity of rising to degrees of political influence, material prosperity, intellectual and literary attainments, religious, educational and moral progress and refinement of taste and manners, which cannot be reached in small and contracted communities; or, on the other hand, the perpetuation of the present isolated condition of the Provinces, few in number, unequal to the development of our own resources, unable to furnish to our sons professional education, or to retain at home our enterprising youth. We have little prospect for the future beyond a dwarfed existence and ultimate absorption into the neighboring Republic. One of these must be chosen, the other rejected—there is no other alternative." Yes, Mr. Speaker, federation or annexation is what we must regard as our future. And I would ask, have we considered the alternative? Do we imagine that it is remote, something to be thought upon at a future day? Already the warning notes have been sounded, and what steps have these Provinces taken to meet the reality? We know that the feeling in England has been, until very lately, most strongly excited against us, but since this question of Confederation has been agitated a more kindly spirit has been evoked, because, in Confederation, the Mother Country sees at length aroused a disposition heretofore dormant, as awakening to a sense of the duty we owe to ourselves and our posterity, and a determination on our part to unite as one people against the coming storm; and in this case they have promised to stand by us, but I know very little of the people of England, if we do not, before many weeks, hear that the late action of the people of New Brunswick has revived all the old distrust. If we are not, now, true to ourselves, in this great crisis, we may rest assured that England will not send a man to help us in our hour of need. We will find, to our cost that, on the very first outbreak, the Stars and Stripes will wave over us; what then will be the position in which our folly will have placed us? Already the debt of the Northern States is three thousand millions, to their population a tax the interest of which is one dollar per head! How will this suit us! Truly, in that hour it will not be a question of a few cents more or less in a tariff. Fancy every man among us, with five in family being under a yearly tax of forty-five dollars, and for what? The improvement of the country, the construction of railroads, or the erection of cities or palaces? Not by taxation incurred by another people, in sweeping with the besom of destruction, hundreds of thousands, (I

believe the number exceeds two millions) of their fellow men into sterility and burning into a howling wilderness the fairest country the sun has ever shined upon; and this is the alternative the opponents of Confederation offer us. I am told that it is unpopular with us—those who oppose Confederation have gained a vast amount of popularity by decrying it. For myself, I may say so far as reward in this world weighs with me, I know none greater than the approval of my fellow men; but, to obtain even this, I cannot condemn what I truly believe to be for the best interests of us all. Nor can I, for any amount of popular applause, give difference with my lips, to what, in my heart, I disapprove. Probably, as times go, I, too, might have acquired some quasi popularity, if, on my return from Canada, I had denied and repudiated all I had ever said in favor of Union and joined the cry against it; but then I would have lost what I value far more highly than popular applause—self respect. The various details embodied in the Report of the Delegates speak for themselves. Hon members need not to be told that delegates from six Provinces, each representing a diversity of interests, could only by mutual concessions obtain such a united whole as we could all agree in supporting and submitting to the people. That we had arrived at such a result I never for one moment doubted until my return here from Canada. Taken as a whole, I cannot come to any other conclusion than this, that the principles here set forth are well calculated to establish and consolidate a great nationality, and to be the means of elevating British America to a height of wealth, grandeur and prosperity, such as we can never in any other way attain to. And as far as this Island is concerned, as Confederation will bring prosperity to Halifax and St John, whose rise will be ours, as it will bring us an influx of capital to develop the mines of wealth we possess in our fisheries; as it will build up harbors where needed for the interest of that trade; as it will give us manufactures in our own midst with constant employ to our youth of both sexes, summer and winter; the means of banishing the discontent of the tenantry; a Government elected by four millions of people, which will be as formidable in its strength as ours ever has been impotent in its weakness; a Revenue amply sufficient for our local wants as heretofore; and instead of a Legislative Union, such as deprived Ireland of her separate Parliament, we are secured all the advantages of having our own Island Parliament for the management of our local affairs. Also the further representation of nine members in a General Parliament, and nine gentlemen should be able to represent this Island as efficiently as four times that number. Also the hearty support of England with her fleet and army. And as all this can be obtained without any increase of taxation, but, on the contrary, with a great decrease in the amount now paid by the bulk of our people. Although the subject of Confederation has been made unpopular, because neither explained nor understood, yet I am glad to place on record my earnest and hearty advocacy of it, leaving my action to be judged by reflecting minds at a future day; being assured that neither you, Mr. Speaker, nor any other hon member will do me the injustice to suppose that the few observations I have deemed it my duty to make on this momentous question, will be construed into anything approaching a desire to influence any hon member in the vote he may now record; because, Mr. Speaker, both yourself and hon members are aware what an overwhelming majority have made up their minds to oppose it. I grieve, then, but be fully conscious how futile would be such a desire on my part, or on that of any of the advocates of Confederation, at this juncture. I will not, therefore, say more, but conclude by borrowing again from my venerable friend, when I repeat that this is no small affair, the influences of which will die away with the excitement of its discussion; nothing of petty politics, nothing no farther than personal interests; no matter of party strife; our country and its destinies, our descendants