Confederation. All that we have yet heard is the sanction of the Colonial Minister to the holding of a Conference in Canada, consisting of representatives from all the Provinces, to consider the large subject of Union, and his opinion that the Report of that Conference upon the whole was creditable to the assembly delegates. And this much too has been localized felicitously to please Canada, owing to the heading to which the politicians have become inured in what formerly, indeed, have been those their statesmen who tell us that we shall be compelled to go into Canada, and that unless we enter the proposed Confederation we shall not get a single ship or man from the Mother Country to defend our Home Government had yet to inform us of the fact. In fact it seems to be a maxim in regard to the Union movement. The Colonial Minister stated in effect in one of his despatches that if the people of the Colonies were desirous to enter into a Union, Her Majesty's Government would throw no obstacle in the way. This, indeed, somehow no such thing has been said up by some hon members of this House. Indeed Mr. Carewright does not appear at all satisfied with some portions of the Report. He has taken exception to the provision with regard to the prerogative of pardon, and to the principle of having a fixed number of members in the Legislative Council. To the latter principle I made strong objections at the Conference, and fortunately for me I also referred to the matter in the public prints before the Colonial Minister's despatch was received. My reason for opposing such a principle was that the members of the Legislative Council were to be nominated from the existing Councils of the different Provinces, a number of them would be old men, who had been obstructives, and might remain to all their lives, consequently a dead-lock would probably soon occur between the two branches of the Legislature, in which case an appeal would have to be made to the Imperial Government to settle the dispute. They have had quite enough of disputes in Canada already. In that Province, Sir, the parliament buildings have been burned, and the Stars and Stripes thrown out to the winds. Such proceedings, Sir, have never been seen in the Lower Provinces. (Cheers.) And are we now to be told that we must enter a Union with them, and submit to such taxes as they may choose to impose? The amount to be allowed this Colony under the proposed scheme is some £55,000 a year, and more than this we are not to receive for local purposes though our revenue should increase to £200,000. What does Mr. Galt say respecting allowances to the local governments? In explaining this part of the Report he remarks:—

"Now one objection to confederation was made on the ground of expense, and in order to meet this, every effort had been made to reduce the cost of the Local Governments, so that the local machinery should be as little costly as possible, for it would not do to affront the intelligence of the people, and tell them we had devised an expensive kind of machinery to do a very insignificant amount of work. *The gentlemen from the Lower Provinces had been asked what reductions they could make in the Government of the several colonies, and the figures he was about to give would be most satisfactory as showing the disposition of those gentlemen, who had reduced their requirements to the lowest sum.* In her estimate of outlay for 1864 for objects of local character the Province of Nova Scotia had provided for an expenditure of no less than $667,000, but had undertaken to perform the same service in future under a confederation at $371,000; or a reduction of 49 per cent. The expenditure of New Brunswick in 1864 for the same objects was estimated at $404,000. From causes explained at the time and shown to be satisfactory, she proposed to reduce the expenditure to $303,000, and at the same time undertook within ten years to make a further reduction of $63,000, making a total reduction to $290,000. *Prince Edward Island would reduce her expenditure from $120,000 to $124,000, and Newfoundland from $479,000 to $350,000. In regard to Upper and Lower Canada he would not undertake to say what reduction would be made; but he could show that under the scheme proposed they would have the means of limiting the present outlay which was, taking the average of the last four years, $2,021,879. Besides that there would be an additional revenue accruing to the interest on the excess of their sinking fund, amounting to $100,000, making their full share of the revenue of the general outlay of Canada for which they would become a charge under the proposed Confederation, $1,921,879. Besides these there would be certain other charges, which would become necessary to make provision out of the general revenue for the purpose of assisting their Local Legislatures to carry on the machinery of Government. It was proposed to assign to them from the general revenue of each province the amount of its local revenue, and then to give them from the public funds of the general subsidy to enable the machinery to work. The subsidy was formed on the basis of Nova Scotia. It was, at first, proposed to give it on the basis of New Brunswick, but this was subsequently modified, so that the former, which had consequently been taken as the basis. The estimate was that 80 cents a head on the population of Nova Scotia would be sufficient to enable her to work her local system. She would want $304,000. In the case of Upper Canada, 80 cents a head was considerably more than she required, so the present day, and in the case of Lower Canada was at least adequate with the present local expenditure, which would be insufficient for her. But it was felt that it would be unfair to fix the subsidy from the lowest basis. It was impossible to draw a line so fine. So it was agreed that the subsidy should be put upon a footing which would be sufficient to enable the Government to carry on the business of the country, and that the expenditure of each of the provinces should be put upon a footing which would bring them down to the lowest point, at least, practical, then, from becoming larger. Therefore the subsidy proposed to be given to local legislatures was fixed, not at an increasing rate according to population, but at the rate which existed at the census of 1861. By the census, as the population increased, the subsidy would not increase with it. Upper and Lower Canada would thus get within a trifling sum of a million dollars. And when their population increased in 1871 to a million instead of two and a half, would get no more. *If, then, increased their expenditure in proportion to the growth of population they would be obliged to resort to direct taxation; and he thought they might trust the people that would be called upon to watch over the local Governments lest they should resort to direct taxation. He thought no surer check could be put upon them than this fixing the grants they were respectfully to receive.*"

Now, Sir, this is the opinion of the Finance Minister of Canada, who may be considered as good authority in regard to the contemplated working of the Quebec scheme; and he urged it in an address to his own constituents at Sherbrooke, as a reason why they should gladly accept that scheme. Here we may see the pitiable condition to which this Island would be reduced under Confederation:—our revenues taken away, scarcely enough allowed us to work the machinery of the local government, and should more money be required when our population increased, it would have to be raised by direct taxation. The people of this Colony were battling four years to gain responsible government, and since obtained, I believe it has given general satisfaction. But, Sir, were we to adopt this Report, it would deprive us of our constitution and leave us no corresponding benefit in return. It is urged that as a compensation for our loss we would become part of a great union that in time would form a mighty nation. But I ask what greater nationality can we enjoy than that with which it is our pride and privilege at present to be connected! What greater flag can wave over us than the time-honored banner of Old England! I do not think that Great Britain wishes to throw us off; on the contrary, I believe that her statesmen see that the separation of the Colonies from the parent state would cause trouble. Sir, I look upon this talk about the Mother Country casting us off from her apron strings, and this shaking of the stars and stripes in our face, as only stories intended to frighten the timid. Let us remain true to the Mother Country and she will stand by us. Separate as we are from the other Colonies, our hands are just as strong and our hearts as willing to aid in the defence of the Empire, as they could be under any scheme of political union

whatever. The union which I advocated was one that would give us inter-colonial free trade and a uniformity of customs. But here in this Report we have a constitution under which we may be taxed at any rate the Canadians think proper. At present we hold the power of taxation in our own hands; under Confederation, it would be placed almost entirely beyond our control, as well as the power to say what portion of these taxes in money, upon the people of the Colony should be expended for objects in which they are immediately interested. In regard to the meeting of the Conference at Charlottetown, I may say that the Government having behaved so honorably to me by giving me a commission as a delegate without asking my compliance to any particular course, I was disposed not to persist in some of my views. If the administration of the day were inclined to enter the proposed Union. I yielded more of my principles than I would ever do on such an occasion again. When the Canadian delegates came down to that Conference they offered a scheme which they laid down were representation by population for the Lower House, and a nominated Upper House to consist of 60 members—20 for Upper Canada, 20 for Canada East, and 20 for the Lower Provinces. Representation by population, however, appeared to be the leading principle for which they contended. I enquired what they would be willing to concede to us for giving up the privilege of taxing ourselves, and for handing over our revenue; and they asked what I thought we would ask for. I said £200,000, sterling, or £300,000, currency; and that this money should be placed into our hands, entirely at the control of the Colony for the payment of proprietors' estates. This proposition, I understood, was assented to. I had also private conversations afterwards with Hon. Mr. Brown and Hon. Mr. Cartier, and they assured me that I should be clear with the impression that a grant to the amount, and on the conditions which I have stated, was to be given to this Colony for the purchase of lands, I did not offer that opposition at Quebec to some of the first clauses of the Report, which I otherwise would have done. I found that two of the leading members of our Government were in favor of Union, and providing that anything like fair terms were allowed this Island, I was disposed to throw no obstacle in the way. I little thought then, however, that such a constitution as this was to be brought down here. We had been in Conference only a few days when the question of representation in the Upper Branch came up for consideration. On account of the Newfoundland delegates taking part in the proceedings, and it being proposed to give that Colony 4 members in the Legislative Council, the Canadian ministers retired into their council chamber, and returned with the proposition that 24 members should be allowed to each of the two sections of that Province. Lower Canada stood out for equal representation in the Upper Branch as a security against the superior influence which the Upper Province would possess in the Lower House on the principle of representation by population. When the question of representation in the House of Commons came up for discussion, this principle was ably and strenuously contended for by the Hon. George Brown; and well it might, for he knew that it would enable Upper Canada to maintain the control of the General Legislature for ever. Representation by population will give the two Canadas 100 of a majority over all the Lower Provinces in the House of Commons, and by each of the Canadas having as many members in the Legislative Council as the whole of their eastern sisters, they will together always command a majority there of 24 over us, so that the only principle on which we, in the Maritime Colonies, can expect justice will be thrown by the quarrels of the two western Provinces. In view of this, I ask what prospect is there for us if we give up our revenue, but to put our hands in our pockets and pay our own expenses. We cannot hope to contend with the influence, which will be brought to bear against us, in Canada. What did we see in Toronto but an establishment fitted up with every convenience, which was presented to the Hon. Mr. Brown in consideration of his advocacy of Upper Canada's interests? And then again in Lower Canada, the Hon. D'Arcy McGee had been presented with a house, furnished complete to the silver plate on the table, for his advocacy of the interests of Montreal. These examples show what is to be gained by able and persevering politicians in Canada; but here we have no reward save the sense of right in defending the interests of our country. (Cheers.) It has been said by some of the advocates of the Quebec scheme that we should not blame the Canadians if it contains objectionable provisions, for, at the Conference, votes were taken by provinces. They were not at fault in all cases; in a few instances the delegates from the Lower Provinces were most to blame. Several of the Canadians were in favor of the elective principle for the Legislative Council; but nearly all the delegates from the Lower Provinces declared against it. They seemed to be carried away with the idea of the members of the Upper House being taken from the existing Legislative Councils in the several Colonies, and voted that they should be appointed for life. On this question the delegates from the other Lower Provinces acted in a most selfish manner. They even agreed to the Canadian proposition that the number of Councillors should be fixed. This, as I have already stated, I consider a very objectionable feature in the new constitution. We know that in Nova Scotia they had to break through the warrants of Her Majesty and appoint additional Councillors to carry a measure of government. We also know that in Britain it is sometimes found necessary to create new Peers in order to carry certain measures. But I wish to explain further in regard to the action taken in the Conference on the question as to whether the Legislative Council should be elective or nominative. After the motion in favor of making it elective was lost—as I held the opinion that if it were not elective, it ought to be constituted, as nearly as possible, on that principle—I submitted a resolution to test the Conference on the point. When I did so, I was under the impression that it would be placed on record. During the first few days after the Delegates met, all motions were put down, and also the names of the movers and seconders, the understanding being that business was to be conducted according to the practice of the Canadian Parliament. Subsequently, however, it was agreed that the votes should be taken by Colonies, and that no record should be kept of the proceedings. But to show that the clause as it stands in the Report did not pass without an effort on my part to modify it, I will read the resolution which I submitted:

"*Resolved*, That at the first and all subsequent elections of members to serve in the Upper Branch of the Federal Legislature, they shall be chosen by a majority of both branches of the Local Legislatures from such properly qualified persons in the Colony as shall be of upwards of thirty years of age; one-half of the said Council to go out every four years after the first election. Those who shall go out at the end of the first four years to be decided by lot, and the drawing to take place during the first Session of the Federal Legislature."

I considered it advisable that the men who should represent each Province in the Legislative Council, as they would be few in number, ought to be appointed by, and possess the confidence of, both branches of the local legislature. This provision I deemed especially necessary in regard to the interests of this Island, for it is extremely doubtful, should the Union take place, whether we shall ever have a single representative in the General Government; and if otherwise, we at least cannot expect more than one. My motion, however, was lost. I will not accuse my brother delegates from this Island, who voted against it, of being actuated by the same motives as the majority from the other Provinces evidently were. These saw the difficulty of the Confederation scheme receiving the sanction of the present Legislative Councils of the several Provinces unless their leading members felt secure