

perfectly independent of one another, and not subject to any authority bearing equally on them all, may have agreed (notwithstanding the inconveniences of confederation) to become confederate for the purpose of strengthening themselves to resist a common enemy. So much they may have done. But we do not understand how provinces like ours, which have no existence independent of each other, but are all subject to the same authority, need have recourse to confederation for the purpose of cementing a union which already exists. Confederation, by marking more strongly the lines of demarcation between them, spoken of by Lord BROUGHAM, renders any more intimate connection between them for the future impossible. We are like bars of iron strongly welded together, which men should try to unite more strongly to each other by tearing them asunder to reunite them with shoemaker's paste. Some will answer, "True! the Federal principle has always and in every case proved a failure, but the cause lay in the weakness of the central power. We shall obviate that inconvenience, by establishing a central power strong enough to preserve our Confederation from that danger." But then it will be no longer a Confederation; it will be a legislative union—a union which the most zealous advocates of Confederation reject as incompatible with the various interests of the different provinces. If you succeed in establishing this central power, with strength enough to bear sway over the local powers, the latter will no longer have an exclusive existence; they will become the authorized delegates of the central power, their officers and every vestige of confederation will disappear from your Constitution. If you absolutely resolve to adopt the Federal principle, you cannot do it without adopting at the same time all its inconveniences. The weakness of the central power is not the fruit of the Federal system; it is its root, it is itself. This is the reason why states which are perfectly independent of each other, adopt the Federal principle solely as a means of defence against foreigners, because the central power in a confederation cannot be other than weak. We already possess, under our present Constitution, and without confederation, a central power stronger than any power which you can create, and to which we submit without complaint, because it is perfectly compatible with the existence of our local powers—I

mean the power of England. It is exercised by men who live too far from us to hearken to the bickerings of race or of party, or to be mixed up with them in any way. But if that central power was wielded by men taken from among ourselves, men who have taken part in our quarrels and animosities, and who would make use of it to give effect to the views of their party, it would become insupportable. As it now exists, we feel it only by the benefits it confers. Having thus shown the serious inconveniences innate in the Federal system, let us see whether there be anything exceptional in our position, operating in our favor, and allowing us to hope for immunity from those evils which have befallen all former confederations. What is our position? In what respects is it more favorable than that of other confederations? Let us begin with Lower Canada; its population is composed of about three-fourths French-Canadians, and of one-fourth English-Canadians. It is impossible, even for the blindest admirers of the scheme of Confederation, to shut out from their view this great difference of nationality, which is certainly fated to play an important part in the destinies of the future Confederation. When Lord DURHAM wrote his celebrated report in 1839, he said, when speaking of the English-Canadians of Lower Canada:—"The English population will never submit to the authority of a parliament in which the French have a majority, or even the semblance of a majority." A little further on, he added:—"In the significant language of one of their most eminent men, they assert that Lower Canada must become English, even if to effect that object it should be necessary that the province should cease to belong to England." Whatever errors Lord DURHAM may have fallen into in judging the French-Canadians, he certainly cannot be reproached with having shewn too great severity towards the English-Canadians. He merely depicted their sentiments, as they manifested themselves in his day. Since then, things have undergone a change. And last autumn, at Sherbrooke, the Honorable Minister of Finance presented to us a very different picture, when he said:—"For five and twenty years harmony has reigned in Lower Canada, and the English and French populations have entered into a compact to labor together to promote the common interests of the country." This picture is a true one at the present time, as was also