

a small state into larger. But he would not take a wide field to sustain his views, nor would he go across the Atlantic to find examples. It was not long since Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were separate Provinces; and every one who knew the history of these Provinces, knew they had advanced more rapidly since the union than they did in the same length of time when separated. About twenty years ago, a few residents in Cape Breton got up an agitation for a dissolution of the union, but it was frowned down by the thinking people throughout the Province. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were at one time united, and subsequently separated, and the statesmen of both Provinces were so satisfied of the advantages of their being reunited, that a conference was held at Charlottetown last summer to devise the means for a legislative union of these Provinces and Prince Edward Island, which was terminated by the proposition from Canada for the more extensive union now under consideration. If, however, all this can be said in favour of confederation, must have been urged on the other side? Confederation, like all questions involving great changes, and affecting important interests, had met considerable opposition, and it was well that it should be so, for it was not desirable to change, except for some great advantage, and the more such a matter was opposed, the more thoroughly would its details be examined. Some opposed confederation, doubtless, from interested motives, either because they saw in it pecuniary loss to themselves, or a lessening of their personal, social, or political importance, some doubtless, from conscientious motives. He (hon Attorney General) did not mean to attribute interested motives to any of those who differed from him, but their existence ought not to be overlooked, and every objection should be carefully weighed, and, if possible, removed. If this were not practicable, and should well-founded objections preponderate, the union should be abandoned.

He (hon Attorney General) would briefly refer to the objections urged against the proposed confederation. It had been objected, that in going into the union, we were giving up our independence—our right to independent legislation. Every savage entering society gave up a portion of his independence, but did he lose by the change? True, if we went into confederation, we would give up a portion of our present control of our affairs. But he did think that we would be well quit of it. What was the history of this colony since we had a local Legislature? It was not one on which we could look with satisfaction. Why, since 1832 we were violently agitated, every four years, with party strife, aggravated by the rancour of religious differences; and our representatives came together excited by the bitter feelings towards each other. And after they met, the object of one party in that House was to hold on to office, and of the other to turn them out; and in the nearly equal division of parties which prevailed, it was found that neither the one party nor the other could do much for the promotion of the public good. If the strife of parties should have a narrower scope and have less bitterness, as the objects contended for would have less importance, from the concession of power to be made to the general government, would it not be a great benefit to the community? On the other hand, if we gave up some power which we at present held, would we not have an equivalent in the share we should receive in the general government? Another objection urged against going into a Confederation with Canada, was that she had a local debt of over sixty millions of dollars, which the confederation must assume. But of what importance was that debt, as compared with the resources of that magnificent province? If she had a large debt, she had the public works for the construction of which the greater portion of it was incurred. Our debt could not be diminished; and what had we to represent a large portion of it, but the pauperism resulting from the failure of our fisheries? But, it is said, we would be subject, by the union to a large increase of taxation. He did not intend to go into the question of the tariff. He would leave that to those who had studied that part of the subject more particularly, and were more competent to deal with it than he was. He would, however, make one or two general observations upon this point. In the first place, much use had been made, on the other side, of a Customs' return showing that the Canada tariff was, in many respects, higher than our own, and was one which, if applied to us, would, as alleged, increase our taxation 30 or 40 per cent. and it had been said in argument, with reference to the return,—"See how much more you will pay for this article, and how much more for that." With as little reason and logical force might he (hon A. Gen) take up the same return, and pointing to the other articles, say,—"See how much less, under confederation, you will pay for some other articles, your grog, for instance, you will get for little or nothing. You will pay no duty on lines, twines and fishery materials, &c." But in truth, neither one side nor the other of such an argument, affected the point really at issue. He considered that nothing, for or against the union, could be drawn from contrasting the tariff of the two countries, and for this plain reason, that the Canada tariff, being framed for Canada alone, was wholly inapplicable, in many particulars, to the very different commercial interests of the lower provinces; and the first thing which the united Legislature would have to attend to, would be to frame such a tariff (very different from the present) as would suit the general interest, and not the trade of Canada alone. It seemed to him, therefore, to be a waste of time to discuss the effect of the existing tariffs on this question. Further, let it be noticed, on the question of increased taxation under the union, that as by the rapid growth of the other provinces in population and wealth, the area of taxation would increase rapidly year by year, and as (the expense of governing 20,000 people being very little more than that of governing 10,000) the taxation would not increase with the numbers of the tax-payers, the actual burden of taxation, on each individual, would year by year, be lessening. In this advantage we should share, not by our own growth, but by the growth of the other provinces, so that, under this union, we would have this result, which we could never have out of it, namely, that the larger it became, the more would the burden of taxation be lessened to our stationary population, to be spread over the increasing population of the sister colonies. Let the clamours about increased taxation under our present little. Further he (hon A. Gen) would ask, having regard to the present condition of this colony, with its debt in spite of the most rigid economy on the part of the government, increasing, year by year, how long it will be, remaining as we are, before our own tariff rises to the highest figure of that of Canada. We must pay our debts, and pay the necessary cost of government, support our starving poor, and sustain the public credit, with what means (our present revenue being insufficient) but by increased taxation? It has been just for years past. It is now 1½ per cent., and is yet insufficient. How long will it be before, of our own accord, and from sheer necessity, we lay on our people duties beyond what our excited alarmists fear to be union? On the other hand, supposing, for the sake of argument, that we do pay more duties under the union than we are at present subjected to, of what importance will that be to our people, if, as we assume, by the opening of other fields of labour, and by means of the other advantages to spring to them from the union, their ability to bear further taxation is increased in an equal or greater proportion? Will we not, in effect, benefit by the change? To put

this idea in figures, what did it matter to a man if you increased his taxation 5 per cent., if, at the same time, you increased the value of his labour 10 or 15 per cent? But supposing further, the Canadian tariff of 20 per cent., retained on the anti-confederate, was it to be supposed that the same amount of duty would be received as would now be produced by that rate of duty? No such thing. The effect would be a change of trade, not increased taxation paid by our people. In place of British manufactures, they would use articles produced in Canada and the other provinces, where they now manufactured extensively, and which manufactures would be largely imported here, and would pay no duty at all. At present our merchants imported British manufactured goods to supply our wants; but, under confederation, they would find it to their advantage to import from Canada, by which our people would be very much benefited, by being supplied, at a lower price, with articles as good, and sometimes very much better than those they get now. Those of our merchants whose capital was employed in the manufacture or importation of British goods, would, for a time, suffer by the change, but the people at large would benefit, and we are here to legislate, not for the benefit of the few, but of the many, doing no unnecessary damage, nevertheless, to any interest in the community. It had been objected that Canada imports largely of manufactured goods from England. But for the same reason that the wealthy citizens of London wore French kid gloves, French silks and such like foreign articles, at a higher price than the better articles manufactured at home; and he did not think the importation of British manufactured goods into Canada, to the extent of 15 or 16 millions of dollars, was very large after all for a population of about three millions, especially when we took into consideration what went over the border, on account of the tariff of the United States being so much higher than that of Canada. It was idle to suppose that there should be such extensive manufactures in Canada, unless the people consumed the goods. We knew they manufactured largely. He (hon A. Gen) would say that it seemed to him treating this important matter in a very unworthy way, to limit it to our present circumstances. We were legislating for future generations, for all time to come, for posterity principally; and it was a contracted view to take of such a question, to raise objections to the existing tariff of Canada, which might change from year to year, and was a consideration of so temporary a character; and he must say, moreover, that he deprecated the tone and manner in which the motives and the conduct of our Canadian friends had been treated by those opposed to the union. They had, in the most open and candid manner, stated their own desire for confederation and their reasons for it. They concealed nothing, but placed the proposal on the broad ground that the scheme would be for the advantage of the other provinces as well as of the Canadas. We had the assurance of the Governor General, referred to in his Excellency's speech, that there was no desire on the part of the Canadian ministry to fasten their tariff upon us. And yet the Canadian advocates of confederation had been spoken of as being influenced solely by a desire to get hold of this fine Island, and turn it into its valuable resources and wealthy population to their own profit and advantage by means of the proposed union. Certainly if these were the feelings with which we are to regard our Canadian brethren, the less we have to do with them the better. But he (hon A. Gen) did not feel so. He regarded the proposal for a union in the same light as in private life he would regard the offer of partnership, upon fair and legitimate terms, from a wealthy and influential firm, of high character, unlimited resources, large means and extensive credit, to a small trader living in his neighbourhood, without any prospect of becoming anything beyond a small trader, but whose alliance was sought simply because the latter had some advantages of position, water privileges, or the like, which the other desired. In the present case we were the small trader, Canada the wealthy, prosperous one, and as in private life, such an offer would be accepted with alacrity, so should we gladly accede to the proposal now made to us. It had been objected that Canada would draw us into war with the United States. If Canada should be drawn into war, we knew that whether we had confederation or not, we could not avoid taking part in it, for it would be a war between Great Britain and the United States, in which all the colonies would be involved. It was said that Canada had an extensive frontier which it would require a large force to defend. But if Canada had an extensive frontier, that of her neighbour was equally extensive, and it would soon be a question which was the stronger. If we looked to the history of Canada we would find how she on former occasions held her own against great odds; and we all knew that she was prospering more rapidly in population and material property than the adjoining States of the neighbouring republic. He would again observe that we are not legislating merely for the present, but for future generations; and we know that a few years would place Canada on an equality, in this respect, with her southern neighbour; and in connection with this branch of the subject it should not be forgotten that we would under it be much better able to resist successfully the encroachments of France upon our fishing grounds than we are at present. Now we dare not even arrest a French craft trespassing on our waters lest the act should excite the ill-will of our allies. Under confederation what would hinder our strictly enforcing our treaty rights with that nation? It was objected that the details in the terms of Confederation were not such as were in some respects satisfactory. No document ever drawn up could be regarded as perfect; but it seemed to him that there would be a difficulty in arranging terms that on the whole would be less objectionable. As to the question of taxation, it could not be shown that a high tariff of duties would be more acceptable to the people of Canada, New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, than to those of this colony; and as to the appropriation of the revenue for objects of public utility, we would all be represented in the Federal House of Commons, as each separate district in Newfoundland was in the House of Assembly of this colony, where we could not give a shilling to one district but all the others claimed an equal share. So we would be represented in both branches of the Federal Legislature where our representatives would look out for the interests of Newfoundland. It should be recollected that the General Government would be composed of representatives of Canada and all the other provinces and colonies of the Confederation, and that they would feel bound to consult the wishes and to promote the prosperity of all. He believed these statesmen would deal fairly with us as they expected we should do with them. The report of the conference showed an amount of political sagacity and judgment which must satisfy us that the statesmen from whom it emanated were men of no common minds; and he would be slow indeed to find fault with the resolutions. Objection had been taken to the phrase in the representation allowed to us. But the representation was based on a fair principle. Was it unfair that we should have a small representation when our numbers would not entitle us to more? Would a confederation based on injustice in this particular be likely to be permanent? As to the division of the funds drawn from our revenue, the general government assumed a certain portion of our expenditure and took the whole of our Customs' revenue, and in

return they gave us an annual allowance, which was larger than the average of what we had for years past, applicable to the branches of expenditure which we were to continue to bear. It was objected that this revenue would not increase with our increasing population. But we received an amount which was adequate to all our wants. And was it not better that we should have a certain allowance from the general funds, which would not fall, than to have to depend upon a revenue liable to such fluctuations as we experienced at present; and supposing our population were to increase, it must be from new sources of employment, which would create additional wealth, and there would be a corresponding reduction in certain portions of our expenditure. But supposing that our revenue should not be sufficient to meet an emergency, and that we required a larger amount, had we not the general government and Legislature to appeal to?

Mr. GLEN.—But they said the confederate government would give a specific sum, and no more; for whatever more we might require we must resort to direct taxation.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—Yes, as a general rule, it was so; but if any special emergency arose, we might fairly go to them, and our claim would, there can be no doubt, be favorably considered. It was objected that the General Government and Legislature were invested with large powers of taxation. But how could a confederation be formed without such powers? How could we form a confederation which we expected to be permanent, and to become, in the course of time, large and powerful, without such powers of taxation? Large powers were necessary to sustain national existence. Some exigency might arise, when, for the preservation of our nationality, great efforts must be made, and the exercise of extensive powers resorted to.

Lastly, there was a consideration of much importance, which must not be overlooked in the discussion of this object. It had already been put in this House, in the shape of a question, but it had received no satisfactory reply—What did those who opposed confederation—who were disposed to reject the advantages now offered to them, propose as the means whereby they would, in the absence of Confederation, raise the country from its present depression? Were they prepared to take the helm, and find means and ways by which our people were to be elevated from poverty and demoralization to comfort and independence? Look at our present position. Struggle as we may, even with a fair revenue, we cannot keep from going into debt every year for our current expenditure. This past year, the casualty of a North East wind blowing for a few weeks in the spring of the year occasioned us a debt of nearly £4,000. It was answered—"Oh let us have good fisheries, and we are all right." But in the first place, who is to command these good fisheries, and secondly, suppose we had them, what does the history of the colony show? That when we had good fisheries we never laid by for a rainy day, or paid off a shilling of debt; but, on the contrary, got deeper into debt every year, whether the fisheries were bad or good. The best that could happen to us was an alternation of series of good and bad fisheries. And what would be the result of this, judging from experience? As time rolled on, our debt increasing year by year, while our resources were diminishing, and a third of our population, for a third of the year, were in a starving condition. The end of all this it was not difficult to discover—certain, inevitable national bankruptcy; and if so, where was the hope, in our present isolated state, for the future of Newfoundland? Go into confederation, and these evils are, to a great extent, certainly mitigated; and, as we contend, prospects are held out to us and our children of a state of things raised far, in every respect, socially, politically and commercially, above our present condition. It has been said—"Better bear the ills we have than change for others that we know not of," and that by entering into confederation, it might be "out of frying pan into the fire." But this is a mistake of those who say so. We are in the fire already; and unless we make a desperate effort for our own relief, we shall shortly have nothing of us remaining but a heap of ashes. He (hon A. Gen) did see nothing before the country, if this proposal was rejected. He said it to the house and he said it to the country. That was not a matter for the present time, but for the future. Nations did not grow to maturity in a few years. Generations passed away before the result of changes came to maturity. But that confederation would come, and it was for us now to consider it; and he did say that as he would not hesitate to embark in it all he was worth himself, so he would recommend the same course to others. We had not had many years of legislation, and while we had the opportunity, it appeared to him that it was a duty we owed to the country to take advantage of the offer now made to us, and to embrace a change which, in his judgment, would lead on to fortune.

Mr. SHEA.—Did the hon gentleman mean, when he spoke of the large powers of taxation reserved to the General Government, that they could resort to direct taxation?

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—Certainly. The power was necessary, it should be, where the constitution was a written one. It was a power the exercise of which might be essential to the very existence of the confederation. But as it was also reserved to the local Legislatures as a means for the defrayal of their local expenses, it was evident, he thought, except perhaps in the matter of excise on spirits, which might be regarded as part of the Customs' laws, it was a power to be exercised by the General Government only in extreme cases. The hon gentleman then moved the following resolution:—

Resolved,—That having under their serious and most deliberate consideration the proposal for the formation of a Federal Union of the British North American Provinces, upon the terms contained in the Report of the Convention of Delegates held at Quebec on the 10th October last, the Despatch of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated Dec. 3, 1864—the observations of His Excellency the Governor in relation to this subject in his opening Speech of the present Session—and the Report of the Newfoundland Delegates,—this Committee are of opinion, that having regard to the comparative novelty and very great importance of this project, it is desirable that, before a vote of the Legislature is taken upon it, it should be submitted to the consideration of the people at large—particularly as the action of the other Provinces does not appear to require that it should be hastily disposed of; and as (the present being the last session of this Assembly) no unreasonable delay can be occasioned by this course; and they therefore recommend that a final determination upon this important subject be deferred to the next meeting of the Legislature.

Mr. KENT rose with great pleasure to second the resolution which the hon Attorney General had just proposed. Nothing could be fairer than that resolution. It was in perfect accordance with the views of the mercantile body and the desire of the people of this town as expressed in the petition which had been presented to this house. That certainly was the most important question that had ever been brought before that legislature, and it carried, would result in a political and governmental revolution. That resolution in question reminded him (Mr. Kent) of an anecdote he once read of an old Quaker lady who said that there

were three things in this world which she could never understand. The first was why little boys threw stones at the apple trees to bring down the apples, when if they only waited until the apples were ripe they would drop off the trees; the second was why people should persist in going to war to be killed, when if they remained at home they would certainly die in due course; and the third was why young gentlemen should run after young ladies, when if they only waited, the young ladies would run after them. (Laughter.) Now the spirit of the resolution was in perfect accordance with the theory of the Quaker lady. Our adhesion to confederation was a foregone conclusion, and only required time definitely to settle it. He (Mr. Kent) felt that it was impossible for him to elaborate this subject in the masterly manner in which the hon Attorney General treated it. The learned Premier had brought to bear on this question the stores of a richly cultivated mind, and the result of the study and reflection which he had bestowed upon it, he had this day given to this House. And he (Mr. Kent) must say that an abler discourse he never listened to. It was creditable to the people that they had taken this normal view of the great question, and to see they did not give up the advantage they possessed for that which they regarded as entirely theoretical and not calculated to ameliorate the condition of the country. He (Mr. Kent) was perfectly satisfied with this delay. It would enable the question to be more closely investigated by the community at large, and he had no doubt that the force which seemed to be at present entertained would disappear, leaving the matter before the morning sun. It was not fair to argue this question as if there was no change in our condition. Our relative condition, and connection with the mother country was greatly altered. If we refused to enter into this confederation, would we have the influence of the mother country, on one side, and the antipathy of the Federal Union on the other? And then, when we were met, as we assuredly would be, by a hostile tariff in their ports, what would be our condition? Their strength would be our weakness. In 1861 there was a select committee appointed by the Imperial Parliament, to enquire and report upon the military expenditure of the Colonies, and in the evidence taken before it, Mr. Gladstone recorded the following opinion:—"I would almost venture to say, without speaking of cases in which circumstances are altogether peculiar, that no community which is not primarily charged with the ordinary business of its own defence, is really, or can be, in the full sense of the word, a free community. The privilege of freedom and the burdens of freedom are absolutely associated together; to bear the burden is as necessary as to enjoy the privilege, in order to form that character which is the great ornament of all freedom itself." Here was an opinion that it was necessary for the preservation of its freedom, that every country should pay for its own military defences. Surely the military defences of Canada ought not to frighten us, especially when we reflected on her almost boundless resources, and mercantile wealth. But the retention of the colonies by the parent state since the establishment of free trade, seems to be of secondary consideration altogether; and in supporting this he (Mr. Kent) would quote the language of Lord Grey, used in his evidence before the committee already referred to. "In the last century the possession of colonies, of which the trade was to be monopolized by the mother country, was believed to be a source of wealth to a nation. Hence to wrest from each other their colonial possessions, was regarded by European nations as an object of great importance; and it was regarded almost a sufficient object for a war, to capture one or two sugar colonies. But it is now generally understood that monopolizing the trade of colonies is contrary to the true interest of both parties, and that nothing, therefore, is gained by conquering colonies for this purpose." Hon. gentlemen who had spoken adverse to this question, said that we were going to abandon the British flag. Such an assertion was a palpable absurdity. But our present position was in his (Mr. Kent's) estimation, tantamount to it, for it tended to alienate the affections of the British people from us. He was glad to see the alarm which this question had created. It showed the value which the people placed on our representative form of government; and he believed that the successful working of our present form of government, instead of being an argument against Confederation, was in favour of it. It had been a normal school for us, and had fitted our public men for occupying a high platform in the great confederation which he believed would, in the future, be an influential and powerful nation. He (Mr. Kent) saw no hope for this country if she remained in her present position. The late government had been compelled to consolidate a debt of some £45,000, and he believed that the present would be compelled to do the same, and so on with every succeeding government, until we stood on the brink of national insolvency. This question of Confederation had been so ably argued that he (Mr. Kent) had no intention of saying anything further on it. The matter was to go before the country for the people to negative or adopt as they pleased, and he only trusted that whatever might be the conclusion arrived at, it would be the one best adapted for promoting the substantial welfare of the country.

The committee then rose, and the chairman reported progress—to sit again to-morrow. The house then adjourned until three o'clock to-morrow.

The Newfoundland.

ST. JOHN'S:

THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1865.

We have frequently referred to the necessity of greater attention to Agriculture on the part of our population, and to the large benefits they forfeit by their neglect of this important resource. One of the most valuable elements of the pursuit is the rearing of Sheep, and for this, it is universally admitted, we possess in Newfoundland peculiar facilities and advantages; yet, strange to tell, in spite of these inducements, the want of employment and a wide-spread pauperism make up our unvarying and incessant complaint. While we have to deplore this degrading anomaly of our condition, it is at least somewhat satisfactory to observe that public attention is at last being aroused to the demand for remedial effort, and it is due to the Agricultural Society to say that this appears to be chiefly the result of their persistent and most laudable endeavours. This Body have long devoted themselves in good earnest to inquiries the object of which has been to awaken our people from their pernicious supineness on the subject, and to impress them with a conviction that to this cause they owe much of that want and miserable dependence which have been their lot

In pursuance of their wise short time since, applied procure returns from the Island of the number of which have for a certain time been destroyed by those ferocious amongst us have been so indispensable helps to us to some effective measure against evil we are cherishing to our lasting shame. In to the Legislature by the S we have the truly alarming last five years there have been this Island 4,130 sheep, 228 goats, and in view of food and means of labour is prayed to interpose that relief and protection which so loudly and imperatively cannot permit ourselves to do such an appeal will now Difficulties may be pleaded may stand in the way, but may demand that such obstacles, and that the industry of this cause shall be rescued from related to new and vigorous execution in these late warnings a clear have actually lost, but of the have possessed, had the since removed, for the number in spite of such danger bears which we should have counter of their destruction. We an incalculable supply of goods with it an amount of occupation manufacture of wool, which saved many hundreds of poor and worse calamities. But let us mind now that, as far as there shall be an end of the present staring us in the face.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE

Sir,—I make it a rule to me in the reports of m in the papers published words attributed to me in the in reporting observations of March 7th, are so grossly myself bound to deny that I further, that my observations cency the Governor had a cy. The subject was the pre- tion from the Catholics of Car ment of Directors to the Gram cality. The Daily News report "The board was denied the ne so that it might proceed to met and appointed a teacher; lency appointed two Protestan done for the purpose of creat in the country." Now, Sir, misrepresentation is that it tent on can be gathered from manner in treating the subj- ing His Excellency the Gov- I complained that his name v appear that His Excellency the appointments to the Cath and to verify my statements. the loyal Gazette the annou pointments, all by the Govern exception of the appointment mar School, which are annou the Governor alone. And I publication as tending to lead on the part of the Catholics to a subject about which it excited. This, with past public to comprehend how a hood of Editors are that I let Excellency the Governor.

I am, Sir,

Yours

DIED.—At Spaniard's Bay lingering illness, in the 77th liam Gosse, an old and respect

On Monday last, after a with Christian resignation to the beloved wife of Mr. C years. Her funeral will take p

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT eruption from sores, ulcers, b most diseases of the skin, w persuading use of these adu MAY BE THE CAUSE OF THE rward to sex or the duration way's Ointment and Pills are indolent ulcerations of the b other applications and consid of pain and death. No risk the use of Holloway's medi allays pain, smarting, and from foul matter, represses p as the growth of good heal ultimately form a sound surfi

THE GLORY OF A WOM HAIR.—Marriage is the goal and nothing aids in the m covered, like a splendid h of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Wor Zylolalsamum, or Hair Dress act directly on the roots of t natural nourishment requir them. J. J. Levisin Sole A to whom all orders must be ad

SHIPPING INTE

ENTERED

March 10—Florence, Pattle, l ton & Co

March 14—Florence, Carri Johnston & Co.

LOADING March 9—Georgia, Barbado 10—Balcutha, West Indies, 13—Tiger, Portugal, K. Mc