

Provinces to the territories of their Republic, had they invaded Canada. Their desire for this annexation is as strong as ever; they are only waiting for a favorable opportunity to again attempt its accomplishment; and the cheapest and most effectual means of preventing it would be to place the Provinces in a position to defend themselves—*to give them that self-reliance, that compactness of physical strength, that unity of action, and increased dissemination and intensity of national feeling, which can be given to them by Confederation, and by Confederation only.* The Imperial Government desired to see it accomplished; and willing as the Mother Country was to spend her blood and treasure in defence of these Provinces, so long as they continued faithful in their allegiance to her, and true to the glorious Constitution and glorious old Flag of England, her ministers certainly had a right to state their views upon the question. It had been said that the Despatches of the Hon. Mr. Cardwell, on the subject of defence, were meant to be a putting of the screw upon us. He, however, did not look upon them in that light. If these Provinces were not true to their allegiance, and willing to defend themselves, according to their ability, there was no end of the complaint on the part of Great Britain, to defend them. That complaint would cease the moment we refused to exert ourselves for the preservation of British institutions and British connection. Should the Confederation, however, take place and its accomplishment afford Great Britain a satisfactory evidence of the willingness of the united peoples of those Provinces to listen to her counsels, and, if possible, to anticipate her wishes for their own benefit, she would probably be found ready to yield to them a largely increased share of national privileges, attended, however, with proportional national responsibilities. Here expressed wish that these Provinces should take upon themselves, the charge of providing and sustaining the naval and military forces necessary to their security against internal disorder and foreign aggression, was proof positive of that. The bestowal that charge would alone, it could not be doubted, give to the Federal Government an important rank as a national Government, and would ensure to it a degree of moral weight, not only in every section of the Confederation, but also with foreign powers. It was not to be presumed, however, that the Federal Government, although, in some sense, it would be independent, could, without some very material modification of the relation of the Provinces to the Mother Country, perpetrate the power of taxing war, and of concluding treaties of peace and commerce, on its own account, as the Government of an entirely independent country. The power of regulating the intercourse and relations of the Confederate Provinces would, on the contrary, be confined to such adjustment of trade and commercial intercourse and relations with foreign states, as could not be prejudicial, in any very material or aggressive degree, to the interests of Great Britain, and thus would not involve the actual divestiture of all authority over them. One of the greatest bugbears, however, which had been conjured up by our anti-confederates, "to fright our people from its propriety," in its consideration of the great question, was the enormous amount of taxation which Confederation, if effected, would entail upon it. Baseless and ridiculous, as on that score he held the predictions and calculations of our anti-confederate prophets and financiers to be, he would not,

then make any attempt to disprove or refute them; but would rest satisfied with merely observing that, should they become the chosen or accepted guides and counsellors of the people, the too probable effect would be that, whilst steering our vessel of state so as to avoid the rock, the *Scylla* of Confederation taxation, they would, unavoidably, if not deliberately direct her course, so as to be engulfed by the *Charybdis* of American debt. That debt amounted to the most amazing and enormous sum of two hundred and thirty three millions of dollars. The prospect of being allowed to participate in that prodigious burthen could not, he thought, be openly and successfully held out as any very strong inducement to our people to prefer Annexation to Confederation, or to incline their voluntariness to withdraw themselves from the assured protection of the old and glorious Flag of Britain, in order to seek precarious and doubtful refuge beneath the Stars and Stripes. He would like some of those exact financiers, to whose calculations he had just referred, to show how much per head of our population, in the event of our annexation to the United States, the burthen of our proportionate share of that debt would amount. The prospect of its insignificance, as compared with that to which they would have to submit under Confederation, would surely be very inviting!—The Hon. Colonel Gray, in his eloquent and argumentative speech upon the question, which had, most deservedly been listened to with every evidence of respectful attention by both sides of the House, had, in one of his sentences, spoken as if he thought that the question of Confederation should have been made a Government question; and the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Coles) had eagerly seized upon and echoed it, in the hope he (Hon. Mr. Haviland) imagined that it might prove an apple of discord.

Hon. Colonel GRAY explained that his own acts, with reference to the question, at the time when he had the honor to be the Leader of the Government, were sufficient to prove that such could not be his opinion. From the first, he had looked upon the question as one, which could only be constitutionally decided by the voice of the people at the polls; and, both in his legislative and executive capacity, he had spoken and acted accordingly.

Hon. Mr. HAVILAND, resuming his speech, said, he was glad to find the opinion of the Hon. and gallant Colonel, on that point, exactly coincided with his own; and such, indeed, he said, it was evident it must have been from the very inception of measures by the Government of the Colony for its due consideration; for the gentlemen who were chosen by it to represent the Island at the Quebec Conference, were selected so as fully to represent the two great political parties of our little state. That Delegation was composed of the Hon. Colonel Gray, President of the Executive Council, the Hon. W. H. Pope, Colonial Secretary, and of the Hon. E. Palmer, Attorney General, as representatives of the Government or Conservative party; and of the Hon. G. Coles, Leader of the Opposition, the Hon. E. Whelan, who was not suspected of entertaining any great love for the Government, the Hon. Andrew McDonald, who had never been a conservative, and himself, (Hon. Mr. Haviland) who, at that time, was not a supporter of the Government, having, some time before, for reasons to which it was not then necessary