and their future are the subjects, and the consideration should be approached with an earnestness, and the decision made under a sense of responsibility not to be exceeded in the discharge of the most solemn religious duty.

Hon Mr. WARBURTON.—Mr. Speaker, I did not think that the question would be taken up this evening. As, however, it has come up for discussion, and as it is expected that every member will give expression to his views on the question, I shall briefly state my opinions. I have always been opposed to the scheme. If we are to have a Union I would prefer a Legislative Union. Federal one, under which this Union would become a nonentity, with no power save that of taxing the people. Last Session we sanctioned a delegation for a specified purpose—to confer on the subject of a Union of the Maritime Provinces. The Hon Col Secretary has stated that Union is strength. It may be so; but a composition of the character recommended by the Report before us, would only be a Union of the Lion with the Lamb; we would be devoured by the Canadians. The hon member for Belfast told us that under the Union we should pay less taxes. I cannot see how that can be the result. If we have to defray our proportion of the expenses of an army and navy, and of the fortifications necessary for the protection of Canada. The operation of the tenant system in this Island proves that our people cannot pay the rates imposed in that country. The Act which passed this House last Session precludes the idea of any relief being afforded to the tenantry under Confederation, for a law once passed must be obeyed. I, for one, opposed its passage, and we have no reason to suppose that the United Government would abolish it; for, if they should do so there would be no security for any man's property. I agree that we have no influence at the Colonial Office. While I believe that the tenantry would have a better chance of freeing themselves from the Rent Roll system under the stars and stripes, I myself will never consent to live under any other than the old flag of Britain, under which there are no people on this continent who enjoy as much freedom from taxation as ourselves. In Canada it is well known that the taxation is heavy; we increased our Tariff, but the people do not feel the operation of it as they would that of a system of direct taxation, such as obtains in Canada. This system properly adjusted would, I admit, be found to be the cheapest; but the people cannot be persuaded to adopt that view. There is a great and inexperable dread of direct taxation. The principle of representation by population, as embodied in the resolutions of the Conference, I cannot agree to; for, under it in the Confederate Parliament we should have no influence. Sir, I believe that nine tenths of the people of the Island are opposed to a Union either Federal or Legislative. I myself shall use all my endeavors against it while there will be a throughput the country, and if my constituents disapprove of my conduct they can readily get some one else to represent them. We have heard hon members enlarge upon the glory of Confederation and assisting to bringing the Island within its embracing folds, would obtain some high office in Canada from the Confederate Government, but considerations of that nature do not weigh with me. In conclusion, I repeat that I am opposed to a Union of any kind, but if we are to have one, I prefer a Legislative one to the mongrel scheme adopted at Quebec.

The Debate was then adjourned.

MONDAY, March 27

House resumed consideration of the papers relating to the Union with the Colonies.

Hon Mr HENSLEY.—Mr Speaker, I have heard it stated that all the talent on this House was enlisted on the side of the Union; assuming such to be the case, and I am not in the habit of making assertions which, under such a state of fact, must, of necessity, be productive of no benefit, I am happy to console myself by the reflection, that we have, at least, a numerical superiority, as there are some 25 or 26 members who are opposed to "all the talent" on this question. A question of this magnitude should be approached free from politicalor party bias. When the matter of Confederation was under discussion last Session the idea was expressed, and very generally acquiesced in, that united with only the Maritime Provinces, we would be shorn, and quotations from speeches of the Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia were made, as on the absumption of that Province to show that claims with Canada were addduced to warrant the opinion. Well, Sir, if such would probably be the effect of our connection with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, I am only prime in that conclusion that we would be entirely swamped, we cast in our lot with Canada. No doubt that Province is rich, and its country is very captivating, if we really were a separate and solitary people; but, I cannot recognise its force when we come to call to mind that we are part and parcel of the great British Empire. The important question "Shall we be taxed?" has not been settled by the action of the Quebec Convention. It is quite clear that we are not. That Convention was held without any authority from this House, and the Delegates had no power to argue to any conclusion on the subject, but will have to come, hereafter to the House for its sanction. I regret that they adopted an formal document as this one before us, as it needs no comment to show the idea the would that they possessed power to treat and make a binding arrangement. It has been said and, indeed, that we shall be spirited into this Confederacy; I would ask what foundation exists for such an assertion? Whence does it arise? We have no despatches before us indicating such an eventuality; in fact, the documents submitted to us lead to the belief in my mind that we shall be allowed to deal with this matter as we please. I believe that the fact is that the Canadians finding a general Union of the Colonies would be of service to themselves, sent Delegates here with the view of commending their project into the favorable consideration of the Legislature of the Lower Province, and I do not blame them for doing so. The terms of the Report before us are, in my opinion, very unfavorable to this Island. On the scale of representation proposed, we would be without the slightest influence in the United Parliament. It is true that, if we went into the proposed Union, we would have no right to expect as large a number of representatives as either of the Lower Provinces, but then, if, or why should we throw away our independence which we now enjoy? There would, of course, be an increased tariff under the Union, and before I can admit the force of the argument that Canada and New Brunswick will supply us with boots, shoes, spirits and other articles of manufacture and at a lower rate than we can get them at present, I should like to be satisfied, as to their present ability, to supply themselves with those articles. Such returns of importations into these two Provinces, for the year 1863, as we have before us, seem to me rather to indicate an entirely different state of things in that respect. Now, Mr. Speaker, if the people of these two Colonies cannot, with a high protective tariff, furnish the articles I have specified in quantities sufficient for their own requirements, it is not to be supposed that they can supply them to us. Our chief, because most advantageous, trade is with the United States and Great Britain, and aslong as we shall find it to our advantage that it should be so, it will naturally seek those channels; and if we come under the influence of a higher Tariff we shall be taxing our best customers and crippling our most profitable channels for commercial interchange. I cannot think that Great Britain will look favorably on a scheme which, so far as these Lower Colonies are concerned, will have the effect of placing heavier duties on the importation of her manufactured goods.

Hon Mr DAVIES.—This question, Mr Speaker, is, in my opinion, forced upon us. If the States were now in the same position as they were before the outbreak of the Civil War, I would oppose any measure of the sort, but they have now become a great military country, whose boast it has long been to carry out the Monroe doctrine, and to spread the principles of Republicanism over the whole Continent. The Imperial Government has expressed its willingness to aid us. It has said, "Show that you can towards your own defence, and we will supplement your efforts." We are too small a people for separate and independent action, and that the termination of the present Civil War is at hand may be inferred from the fact that the captain of a blockade-runner told me during the last winter that the game was up; and we are all aware of the state of feeling which arises in the Northern States and Great Britain, which will tend to a final expression in an attempt to realise their oft-repeated vision

No boundless Union contains one power,
But the whole liquidess continent is ours.

Frequent allusion has been made to the debt of Canada. Into that debt has been principally incurred in the construction of public works of great value and utility. If we should be invited into the United States we would be compelled to assume for, greater or less, those debts to which we would be liable if united in Confederation. I agree that Confederation would exercise a certain moral influence in our favor, but would prefer to remain as long as we can in our present state of freedom from taxation. Reference has been made to the unsuccessful attempt made at the Quebec Conference to get a additional member for the Island in the Lower House. I cannot perceive that the additional representative would have, in any appreciable degree, increased our influence in that body. I am not, however, equally satisfied with the proposition of the Upper House. The prices in Canada of the articles quoted by the hon member, Mr Bolger, do not prove that Confederation would enable the people of this Island to purchase them at the same rates; for in Canada it is scarcely worth a farthing to sell at low rates, in consequence of dumping of large quantities at a time. The duty would be added to the cost of tobacco. The truth is, Sir, that Halifax must regulate the prices of West India produce in these Colonies. I would be glad to have the continued protection of Great Britain; but it is well known that these Colonies were to be educated up to a sense of the duties of a nationality. It is but natural that John Bull should at length say, "If they will not defend themselves, let them go!" As I said before, this question is forced on us and face it we must. We cannot doubt that the Americans look with greedy eyes upon the coal fields of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the acquisition of which would be of incalculable advantage to them not only in times of peace, but also in case of a war with Britain or France, or any of the other European powers.

TUESDAY, March 28.

Debate on the Union of the Colonies resumed.

Hon Mr. HENSLEY.—Mr Speaker, I shall conclude the few remarks which I was making last evening when interrupted. I was referring to the returns of importations into Canada and New Brunswick for 1863, showing that these Provinces did not manufacture nearly enough of boots and shoes, and other articles of the kind for themselves, and that consequently they could not supply this Colony. As regards tea and molasses which are said to be cheaper in Canada than in this Island, if this be the case it cannot arise from the fact that higher duties are paid on them there than in this Colony. But one of the principal points to which I did not refer last night was military defences. The argument advanced on this feature of the subject by those favorable to Union is that, in order to prepare for efficient military defence we require a central power; I, however, do not see the question in that light. As long as we contribute our quota of men and means, and the other Provinces do the same, I consider it would be quite as efficient a method of providing for defence as any organisation into which we could enter. We are told that the Dominion Government would take control of the general revenue and provide naval and military forces. In the event of a war with the United States, however, we know full well that there would be no chance of success without the aid of Great Britain, and it is difficult to understand how Confederation would increase our ability of resistance. By late papers I observe that the Colonial Minister, Mr Cardwell, has introduced a bill into the Imperial Parliament providing for a Colonial naval force, to be supported by Colonial funds, but to be at the command of the Imperial authorities. It was laid down in regard to the measure that commissions could not be granted by Colonial authorities, they must be issued by the Imperial Government to be valid. If this plan can be pursued in naval affairs, may not a similar scheme be adopted in military matters? All preparations for defence must be arranged under the superintendence of the Imperial Government, and under British commissioned officers; and since this is the case, it is doubtful whether a central Colonial Government would be any advantage. We do not wish to shrink from our duty in regard to defence as subjects of the British Empire. Disagreeable as it might be to be taken away to fight in the neighboring Provinces, still if the order should come it is not at all probable that we would refuse. Where is the necessity of merging all these Legislatures together to have a central power when we are already all organised under the Imperial Government of Great Britain? Another portion of the Report to which I object is that which provides that the expense of railways and canals connecting two Provinces shall be equally borne by all the Colonies. It was said by Mr. Galt the other day in Canada that it was necessary all their railways should have an outlet to the ocean. This is what he terms a geographical necessity; but I do not think that this Island would benefit by these works. We have the same geographical necessity in the winter season that Canada has; our ports are seven months, for we are surrounded by ice, and there is little prospect that anything can be done to improve our position, unless indeed we obtain steam communication over the Straits during the winter, as suggested by one of the delegates the other night. The intercolonial railway will confer very few commercial advantages on this Island. It will no doubt afford facilities for travelling; but its benefits to us will not at all compensate for the amount which we would have to contribute towards it by the terms of the Report. In view, then, of the nature of that Report, I am prepared to support the resolution submitted by the hon Leader of the Government. I do not say that I would be opposed to Union on any terms; but I think that such terms as are contained in the Report are very unfair to this Colony. If agreed to I consider that the interests of the Island would be altogether sacrificed. Our taxation would be greatly increased without corresponding compensation. Some maintain that we should not be alarmed at taxes; they would be no burden providing we had additional scope for trade. But what more scope do we require, as we have already facilities for commerce as extended as the bounds of the British Empire!

Mr. BRECKEN.—I would gladly avoid speaking on this question, feeling, as I do, my inability to deal with it, as its importance and the interests involved in it require. Never in the history of this Island, since it became a British Colony, has a subject of such consequence been submitted for the consideration of its Legislature. If we are to view the proposition for a Union of the British North American Colonies as an optional one, which we may reject without imperilling our position as a dependency of the British Crown, I confess I cannot see in the terms offered to us in the Report of the Quebec Conference anything to induce us to close with the offer. If, on the other hand, the choice is between a Union with the sister Provinces and a severance of our allegiance to the Mother Country, I would say, let us be united, even at a sacrifice of our local interests. But I do not think that the latter is our position, although the advocates of the scheme profess to believe that it is. Why should we be in such a hurry to assume that it is! Previous to the Quebec Conference this question had not been proused upon our attention by the Home Government, although we are now aware that Mr Cardwell's despatch, written after the receipt of the Quebec Report, that the measure is very favourably received by the Imperial Government. Nor is it at all to be wondered at that they should wish to see our present political position changed. Separate Provinces grouped close together with governments independent of each other, separate laws, different currencies and hostile tariffs; and, yet, all paying allegiance to the same Sovereign, is a state of things that will not, in all probability, continue very much longer. I am not opposed to a Union, provided just and equitable terms are secured to us, but it does appear to me that the urgent manner in which this question at this time is pressed upon us, is entirely owing to the action of politicians on this side the Atlantic. It only requires a very slight acquaintance with the politics of Canada to be aware that the political difficulties and complications of that Province had arrived at such a pitch, and had become so perplexing, that party government was almost an impossibility; indeed, it would appear, that impending anarchy threatened them. The Hon. John A. McDonald, Attorney General of Canada West, in Parliament, when moving the Address to Her-