who is not in this building, and I shall deal with him with greater delicacy than if he were here; but my duty as a public man compels me to sink every consideration of false delicacy in dealing with this question, and place it before my fellow-countrymen free from all disguise. I believe that the time has come when man should speak to man plainly and unhesitatingly, and when men who have taken up the position that the opponents of Union have, should be exposed to the naked gaze of the people of the Province. Need I tell the House that in the same paper which sends broadcast over the face of this country these unfounded calumnies, we see Mr. Howe over his own signature assisting the hon, mem-

ber by his pen. Before I touch upon that part of the subject, let me first call attention to the fact that the hon, member, at the close of my observations on Thursday last, addressed a challenge to me to show that he was at all responsible for ever having committed himself in any shape whatever to the Union of B. N. America; and I am here now to accept that challenge and to prove from the journals of this Legisture that if there is a gentleman in this House exposed to suspicion-if we wanted an inconsistent course of conduct on which to base an imputation it is to be found in the career of the hon, member simself, and of the gentle-man whose month-piece he is in this Legislature. This hon, member who now say; that he has yet to hear the first argument in frour of Union, declared that "so many were the advantages of Union" that the time had arrived when it was necessary to deal with the

Near the close of the session of 1861, the hon. Mr. Howe, then leader of the government of

which passed in animously.

"Whereas the subject of a Union of the North American Provinces, or of the Maritime Provinces, from time to time have been mooted and discussed in all the Colonies.

"And whereas, while many advantages may be exactly and whereas, while many advantages may be exactly such a union, either of all these Provinces, or a portion of them, many and serious obstacles are presented, which can only be overcome by mutual consultation of the leading men of the Colonier, and by free communication with the Imperial Government.

ment.

Therefore resolved, That His Excellency the a Lieutenant Governor be respectfully requested to put himself in communication with His Grace the Colonial Secretary and His Excellency the Governor General, and the North American Colonies in order to ascertain the policy of Her Mulesty's Gusernment and the opinions of the other Colonies, with a view to the enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests, and upon which the public mind in all the Provinces ought to be set at rest."

rest." Ration of it al Trompe, bas ne mestale r The hon, member does not require to say "hear, hear," to direct the attention of every intelligent gentleman in this house and country to his shameful inconsistency. At a time when these gentlemen held the responsible in the second that we have the second that the second that we have the second that we have the second that the second that we have the second that we have the second that the second that we have the second that the second that we have the second that t

government of which he was a member bring-ing down to the house a resolution affirming in the most emphatic language that ever in the most emphatic language of ent than themselves upon this question of Union. The Sun says:

Union; and in the face of that declaration The Sun says:

Hon, Mr. Howe was received with most hearty. you now see the hon member standing up and endeavoring to repudiate his former sentiments so unequivocally expressed. The man who pledged his character as a statesman, as a man of integrity, to the statement that the great advantages accruing from a Union of British North America should be considered by that universal favorite in this country—the by all the Provinces, now wentures to come into the House and tellions that he has "yet to hear the first argument in favour of that Union." I ask you if a public man, after an exhibition like that, is in a position to ask that the slightinfluence he can exercise by argument and est weight should be given to any declaration persuasion in favour of a Union of these protest he may make? He may throw his base insignations into the face of this deliberative Assembly he may degrade himself by at tempting to degrade this House, but it will avail nothing with every man who knows that the gentleman who brought here a great ques-tion of public policy, and pledged his public character to its support, now unblushingly declares that it was a farce, a delusion, and a deception, which he had been passing upon this deliberative Assembly. If I stood in such a position, I would forgive the hon, member if he attributed base and dishonorable mo ives as the reason why I had been influenced to adopt a course so untenable and so at variance with the public policy to which I stood pledged as a public man.

I am going now to deal with another gentle-man, outside of these walls, who brough that resolution here and declared himself in the face of this country as the great exponent of Union. The action of the house upon the above resolution was followed up by Mr. Howe addressing, in his capacity of Provincial Secretary, a circular to the Governmen's of Canada, New Brunswick, and P. E. Island, asking them to agree to a Conference for the purpose of discussing this important question of a Union of British North America, We come now to 1863, when the Hon. D'Arcy Mc-Gee visited this city to advocate this Union. I need not remind the house that a gentleman whom the hon, member for East Halifax has had the good taste to designate an "expatriated rebel," at this moment occupies a position as one of the most distinguished statesmen of British North America, I speak of the Hon. D'Arcy McGee, a gentleman who possesses the finest mind, the most wonderful eloquence, the most facile pen, and who has devoted all the powers of his mind, all the influence of his position, during the past ten years, to the work of uniting, consolidating, and strengthening the people and resources of British North America. Can the hon member designate in no other style the man whom her Majesty the Queen and her ministers have delighted to honour, who, whatever the indiscretions of his youth may have been, has devoted himself in British North America to speak down and write down the antagonisms of race and of religion, and has contributed more than any other to unite the friends of British rule in these colonies. What was the language of Mr. Howe when this eminent statesman came among us in 1863? He visited this city year after year, and exercised his talents, as he has always done in Canada, for the elevation of our common country. He came on an invita-tion to Halifax and delivered an address in Temperance Hall on the union of British North America, and what was the opinion of Mr. Howe, as expressed on that occasion, of the man who came to this House and pledged his public reputation to the declaration that so great was the advantages of union that the Legislature ought to move in the matter for the purpose of bringing it to a happy consummation. Mr. Howe rose and seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. McGee in these words, as reported at the time:-

"Mr. Howe went on to remark that it would be injustice to the lecturer to say more, further than he was with him in all he said He was for a Union of all the British North American Provinces, but he was for an Intercolonial Railroad urst. Then the road w uld bring about the Union. It would enable the Canadians to see our faces, to become familiar with us, and to see the number of 1000 ton-ships which we were building, which with our other wealth and resources, we are willing to throw into the one great stock. He thought a Union should not be delayed till we had drifted into difficulties. How short sighted were the English statesmen of old who lost them the thirteen States, when the difficulty could have been arranged in a month, the horrors of the Revolutionary war prevented, and all our race living at peace and harmony at present without the bickering and animosity which prevail in their midst. Talk of the fall of Quebec being a source of sorrow to the inhabitants of this Province. It would be more If the St. Lawrence were in the hands of our enemies, we should be compelled to beg permission to tear down the British flag. What he wished for Nova-Scotia was that she may be the frontage of a mighty Colony upon which it may be truly said the sun never set. No man can look upon Halifax and its environs, its harbour, its citadel and say it was made for this Province slone (au as) is mails ven

"The United States has drifted into a civil war; and we may drift into a tight place from which it will be difficult to extricate ourselves. The States might as at us; but if we had a railway by which troops could be sent from Quebec or other military stations to the threatened point, we would be saved. Mr. Howe said, that he hoped when Mr. McGee returned to Canada he would be able to say, "I have been down among those prople who live on ash and lobsters, and there I seen keen politicians bickering upon small topics, but when the great subject of national union was brought before them then all minor difference was disregarded, and I found them uniting and pushing and cheering me on in this labor of

On that occasion, therefore, Mr Howe stood forth to endorse everything that Mr McGee had stated in to endome everything that Mr McGee had stated in reference to this great question of intercolonial Union. Did the man who stood them, as he does now, at Mr. Howe's back, call the scheme of Union a snare and a delusion! No, he stood there to publish those sentiments of Mr ripwe in his own p per, for the purpose of proving that that gentleman was a farseeing patric, who recognized the position which British North America must occupy and the measures that were necessary to her necessity. But that Mr. Howe, then leader of the government of sures that were necessary to her security. But that this Province, moved the following resolution, is not all. In 1864, subsequent to my having carried is not all. In 1864, subsequent to my having carried is not all. In 1864, subsequent to my having carried which passed unanimously. this Province by a large deputation of Canadians, headed by Mr. MoGee, upon the invitation of prominent merchants of this city, who came forward and contributed their means towards receiving their contributed their means towards recovering search remains and destruming by a resolution that it was of the greatest commencial and political importance that there is no the construction of the country were sitting on the Government of the country were sitting on the country demands. They cannot not have the country demands. They cannot not the strict on the country demands. They cannot not have the country demands. They cannot not guests, and declaring by a resolution that it was of

position of Ministers of the Crown, we find the | ing whether the larger Union could not be carried made by Mr. Howe on the occasion in question, as given by the Sun newspaper which is new engaged in aspersing the character of public men more consistent than themselves upon this question of Union.

Hen. Mr. Howe was received with most hearty cheers. His speech was altert and appropriat. He was no stranger among them. His voice had been heard in almost every town in the Provinces of B. itien America, and would again if occasion required it; and he was in hopes of yet seeing the dream of his boyhood realized—the Union of these Provinces in one great federation under the old fing of England, an event which he hoped was at no distant date. We are serry that our space will not allow as to give this gentleman's remarks at greater length. Now what next? The government invited Mr. Howe as the exponent of a large portion of the public sentiment of this country to go upon the Delegation. He told me, as I have stated in his presence, that if there was any great work in which his ser-vices were required he was ready to give us his as-sistance; and accordingly we invited him, and his reply is on the journals of this House. That invitation remember, was tendered after he was aware of the Causdian policy of extending the Union to all the Provinces—after he had endorsed that policy by saying he hoped Union would be secured. Deeply do I deplore that Mr. Howe was unable to attend on that occasion, for I believe that the difficulties and embarrassments that the friends of British American Union have had to encounter in dealing with this great question arose in a large measure from the fact that they were deprived at the Conference of Mr. Howe's rervices. I am only repeating that which we hear from the warmest friends he has in this Prevince, that if he had attended at the Convention there would not be a man who would be more enthusiastic in pressing forward this great scheme than himself. However, he addressed me a letter in which be expressed his deep regret that he could not attend, and said he would be back by the midle of October prepared to assist us in carrying out any measure we agreed upon. Now you see the same man who thus bound himself to assist us in promoting anything that the government of the day and his own political friends might concur in, to day in the "Morning Chronicle" denouncing these gentleman, his own tried political associates, as traitors, and holding them up to the execration of their countrymen all over the province. If there was a spark of grati ude in his heart he should know that the men he is denouncing as conspirators are those to whom he owed the position and all the advantages that he has enjoyed for the past ten years. They are the men who sustained him in this house, who sent him to England and enabled him to secure the Imperial office which he lately held, and this is their reward! If I stood in he position that Mr. Howe stands in to-day on this great question of union, I would forgive the hon, member for denouncing me as a traitor and a conspirator, and feet hat he had reason to insinuate that I was influenced by the most base and unwor hy motives. Having said this much having read the hon member for East Halifax a lesson which he will probably never forget, I come now to the ques ion as it lies before the house. I ask whether we are in a position to deal with this question. It has been denied that we are it has been said that this is a change in the constitution of the country which must be ratified by the people at the polls, if it is to be consitutionally made. What, I ask, gave Nova Scotia her constitution? From what source does it come? Looking at the quarter from which it comes do you find anything to lead us to suppose that there is anything unconstitutional in a Parliament dealing with a question of this character. You find her Majesty's ministers, the very source from which our constitution was received, day by day urging, not that the Legislature shall be dissolved, and an appeal made to the people of this Province, but that the representatives of the people here assembled, in virtue of the constitutional power they possess, should deal with this question. You find the very highest authority in reference to constitutional matters, the British Government, committing itself unhesitatingly to the only statesmanlike position, that the Parliament of the country, the representatives of the people, had the power to deal with all such matters -that the people of a country are assumed to be present in the persons of those whom they have elected to represent them. Is that constitutional doctrine or not? Is it sustained by British practice which is our great exemplar, or opposed even to American practice, or to constitutional usage in any part of the world where constitutional government exists, that the constitution of a country may not be changed by the Parliament? What do you see at this moment in Eugland? When the present Bouse of Commons was elected, the quest on of Reform was hardly mentioned at the Polis; the people had no opportunity of expressing their opinions on the subject; but now you see the Parliament thus elected, preparing to deal with its own constitution, by adding nearly 500,000 electors to its list of voters. Members of Parliament have declared that the change is so fundamental that it will hand over the governing power to a different class; but no one has rendered himself ridiculous by declar-

> pertant change in the constitution of the coun-Is not Congress, at this moment, changing the Constitution of the United States in the most important respects? The time to ascertain whether a question is constitutional or not to obtain a dispassionate opinion from the public mind in the country is not when it is a subject of excitement and controversy. You must go back and study the pages of the history of our country to ascertain if you can find upon the record what are the real and deliberate utterances of public men on both sides of politics. I am prepared to go back and turn up the page of Nova Scotia's history, and give to the house the statements of public men of all shades of politics, that will be clear and conclusive upon the subject. The house will recollect that many years with the subject after having shown that in ago the Hon. Mr. Johnston, when sitting on the the whole history of Great Britain and sofothe Opposition benches, proposed a resolution, pro- United States no parallel can be found for the viding for a Union of British North America. That resolution became the subject of calm and dispassionate discussion, as it should always obtain at the hands of the Legislature. Two of the ablest men who have ever figured in the affairs of the country were sixing on the Govern-

ing the Parliament was not competent to deal

with this question, and bring about this im-

Mr. Johnston thus emphatically recorded his opinion as to the power of the Legislature to change the constitution.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Howe advecated Representation to the Imperial Parliament, which seems like an ignus fatuus to be dancing before the eyes of some hon, gentlemen still. Mr. Howe, however, in the course of his remarks, gave in his adhesion to some such plan as was devised at Quebec. He said :-

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as was devised at Quebec. He said:

"By a Federal Union of the Colonies we should have comething like the neighbouring Republic, and if I saw nothing better I should say at once let us keep our local Legislatures and have a President and Central Congress for all the higher and external relations of the United Provinces. Under a Federal Union we should form a large and prosperous nation, lying between the other two branches of the British family, and our duty would evidently be to keep them both at peace."

Here you will see you have not only the authority of the mover of this resolution, but of the Hon. Jos. Howe, who stated that if he did not see a means of accomplishing the object he wished, he would go in favour of a Federal Union of these Provinces, with a general Legislature to deal with the general interests, and Local Legislatures for the management of local affairs in fact just such a scheme as we have propos-

But the point with which I am now specially dealing is the constitutional question. I shall now give you Mr. Howe's views on this subject. When he obtained the unammous permission of the Legislature to deal with the question of the Union of the Colonies, he addressed a letter to all the Governments of British North America, calling their attention to the advisability of holding a Conference in connection with the question. He said :-

"You will perceive that the Colonial Governments are left free to invite all the leading men of all the Provinces concerned, to a discussion of the question of Union, either of all the Provinces, or the Maritime Provinces only: and Her Majesty's Government, it would appear, are disposed to give due weight and consideration to any resolutions to which the Colonial

Legislatures may concur.

It must be obvious that there can be no great progress made towards an adjustment of this question unless the resolutions to be su mitted to the Colonial Legistatures are in substance the same, and in order that uniformity in epi it, and, if possible, in language may be secured.

Here you have from Mr. Howe himself the mode proposed to give effect to the resolution which he in the commencement of his course, as first Minister of the Crown, brought forward for a Union of the Colonies. Not a word escaped from Mr. Young, Mr. Johnston, or any one else, that it was necessary to appeal to the people, in order to effect this important constitutional

Mr Young aid: "It will be apparent. Mr. Chairman, from these views, that while I am favorable to an change :-union of these colonies and keenly alive to the beneits that may be expected to flow from it. I am also are not prepared to pass any resolution that should bind us at the present moment. Till we can at all events decide whether the union we desire shall be tederal or legislative; it is wiser for us to say nothing. That cardinal point being once agreed on by the colonies, the details must be settled; by a convention of the ablest and most experienced. men. Their report would come back to the respective Legislatures for revision or confirmation; and in place of a precipitate movement. a movement might be consummated by general consent, after a deliberate and calm review, and give to British America, under the old flag and surrounded and endeared by the old associations, a government formed on the most approved model, which republicans, might envy and a free people would venerate and defend

So you have the three prominent men of the day committing themselves in the most unequivocal manner to the declaration that under the constitution of the country the mode of dealing with this question was a Convention of public men, and that the scheme should have effect given to it by the people's representatives assembled in Parliament, when Lord Mulgrave, at Mr. Howe's solicitation, addressed a letter to the Co-Ionial Office His Grace the Duke of Newcastle gave his opinion on this point, as follows:-

should see no objection to any consultation on the subject amongs the leading members of the Governments concerned: but whatever the result of such ments concerned: but whatever the result of such consultation might be, the most satisfactory mode of testing the opinion of the people of British North America would probably be by means of resolution or address, proposed in the Legislature of each Province by its own Government."

To this may be added the following opinion of the present Colonial Minister. He says "Her Majesty's Government, anticipate no serious difficulty in this part of the case, since the Resolutions will generally be found sufficiently explicit to guide those who will be entrusted with the preparetion of the Bill. It appears to them, therefore that you should now take immediate measures, in concert with the Lieutenant Governors of the several Provinces, for submitting to the respective Legislatures this project of the Conference; and it, as I hope, you are able to report that these Legislatures sarction and adopt the scheme, Her Majesty's Government will render you all the assistance in their power to carry it into affect."

So, at a time when the question was calmly debated, and when there was no excitement, you have these distinct interances of all these able statesmen, both British and Colonial, that the Parliament of the country has power to change the constitution of the country, and that that is the proper mode of dealing with such a subject. Therefore I say that I am in a position to state that the Legislature is justified in taking such action upon the vital and important question, as in their deliberative opinion is calculated to promote the best interests of the Province and of British North America. It will thus be seen that the issue that has been raised by parties for purposes of their own-who wish to overthrow the existing administration and come into power themselves, is swept away like chaff before the wind on it s W neither constitutional principle nor precedent being found to support their views w normally

After having sustained my position by arguments like these-after having brought the opinions of all these eminent public men to prove the proper and constitutional mode of dealing appeal to the people which has been proposed ---I think the opponents of Union are not in a situation to challenge the right of this house in the exercise of its legitimate functions to pursue such a course as the interest of our common country demands. They cannot find one exami-

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