

have gentlemen politically opposed to each other been brought to co-operate on this question, but the greatest mind of the country who have ever taken a prominent share in public affairs are endorsing this action. It is unnecessary for me to weary the House with any lengthy observations. I am not surprised that Mr. Howe should have brought forward this great question of Colonial Union. At a time when party conflict raged in this country as never before, in 1861, the opposition party in this House stated that they were prepared to sustain their opponents in a measure that was calculated to advance the Union of British North America. At that time the advocacy of that subject was popular to the last degree; nor was it till the last moment that men were found unpatriotic enough to ignore their own previous actions in order to antagonize a great national movement, in order to obtain an unfair advantage over the Government of the day. Although by the dissemination of inflammatory productions, by conjuring up the frightful bogey of taxation, a large body of the people have been brought to look upon the Quebec scheme with disfavor. I am proud to know that the best minds of this country give their hearty sanction and are prepared to sustain their movement to unite British North America by every means in their power. Is it strange that such should be the case? What future can Nova Scotia have apart from a Union of British North America.

Look at the comparatively insignificant position we occupy and tell me, surrounded as we are by hostile tariffs, with a mere handful of population, what future can we look forward to unless it is in connection with the consolidation of British North America under one government. Looking only at the commercial aspect of the question—the expansion of our trade and our great facilities for manufactures, is it a matter for surprise that the most intelligent men in this country have combined, as they have never done on any other question? The geographical position we occupy, can be of little service, and the great resources we possess are all comparatively useless and can never obtain full development except, as Mr. Howe has said, by making this province the Atlantic frontage for a mighty British American country. Let us turn our attention to the question of an Inter-colonial Railway. Great as may be its commercial advantages, though it may make Nova Scotia the wharf of British North America, everybody knows that it has been stated time after time by Mr. Howe as laying the very foundation of the security and advancement of British America. He said he wanted the Inter-colonial Railway because it would bring about Union. For twenty long years the ablest public men had combined all their talents and energies to bring about the construction of this great work, but all their efforts have proved futile. The moment however the Inter-colonial Union is consummated, the Inter-colonial Railway becomes an accomplished fact.

The delegates came back not only with the evidence that the general scheme gave that these Provinces would have all the legitimate influence that they were entitled to, but with the proof that the twenty millions of dollars required to build the Inter-colonial Railway were secured by Inter-colonial Union. But the great commercial advantages derived from Union have been so fully detailed on the platform and in the press in a manner that must carry conviction to every intelligent mind, that it is altogether superfluous for me to dwell on this part of the subject. No man can look at the position of our country without recognizing as once that, surrounded, as we are, by hostile tariffs, our great facilities for manufactures must lie dormant. If, therefore, we wish to develop enterprise, and make this country a great hive of industry, we must, without delay, carry out this scheme of Inter-colonial Union. The Reciprocity Treaty has been swept away, and no intelligent man, whether opposed to the Quebec scheme or not, can fail to see that the basis on which our previous prosperity rested has been affected to a large extent and that there should be found some counterbalancing means by which our common interests may be promoted. Important, however, as these matters are, there is another question to which I have hardly referred, which lies at the foundation of the whole argument. Whilst I am prepared to support this Union under the belief that our political and commercial prosperity is indissolubly bound up in the measure, I would say that I would accept it as some sacrifice, for the purpose of adopting the only means by which I could hand down to my children the priceless boon of British connection. I must here again invite the attention of the House to the following observations of Mr. Howe on this subject, and for which the hon. member is responsible, for he was a member of the Government who brought them here. In a state paper in the Journals of 1862 Mr. Howe declared:

"The United States thus have been suddenly transformed from peaceful communities, pursuing lawful commerce, to a military Republic. The British Provinces survey these phenomena without fear, but not without emotion; and they ask, as the first measure of indispensable precaution and obvious defence, that the Inter-colonial Railroad shall be completed without delay."

"Without the road the Provinces are dislocated, and almost incapable of defence, for a great portion of the year, except at such a sacrifice of life and property, and at such an enormous cost to the mother country, as makes the small contribution which she is asked to give towards its construction sink into insignificance. With the railroad we can concentrate our forces on the menaced points of our frontier, guard the citadels and works which have been erected by Great Britain at vast expense, cover our cities from surprise, and hold our own till reinforcements can be sent across the sea; while, without the railway, if an attack were made in winter, the mother country could put no army worthy of the national honor, and adequate to the exigency, upon the Canadian frontier, without a positive waste of treasure, far greater than the principal of the sum the interest of which she is asked to contribute, or rather to risk."

"The British Government have built expensive citadels at Halifax, Quebec, and Kingston, and have stores of munitions and warlike material in them; but their feeble garrisons will be inadequate for their defence unless the Provincial forces can be concentrated in and around them. An enterprising enemy would carry them by coup de main before they could be reinforced from England, and, once taken the ports and roadsteads which they have been erected to defend, would not be over-safe for the naval armaments sent out too late for their relief."

"Therefore, we desire to strengthen our frontier by the completion of a work indispensable to its defence. It is not too much to say that the construction of the Inter-colonial Railroad might save us the cost of a war; for the Ameri-

cans are themselves sagacious enough to see that, with that work completed, surprise is impossible, and the results of a protracted war at least extremely doubtful. Without it, Canada and the Maritime Provinces may be cut asunder, and outlanked at any moment, without the possibility of their population leading upon common points of support and aiding and strengthening each other."

Here you have the deliberate utterances of Mr. Howe and Mr. Annand, as members of the Government, and we accept them in good faith, as the language of sincerity. Yet the hon. gentleman who brought that document here stands forth to-day saying that he will use all the influence he possesses to array the people against the only means by which we can get the railway upon which our common security thus depends.

I read with great satisfaction Mr. Howe's letter of to-day, because I felt that it would be a stain upon our country if an Imperial officer was secretly using the power of his position to thwart the progress of a great movement which the Imperial authorities had declared to be indispensable to the security of these Provinces. Therefore I was glad to find, when salary was no longer in the way, for it had ceased, even at this late hour he had thrown off the mask and avowed himself an enemy of a Union of British North America, declaring that all the principles he had proclaimed publicly on this question were a delusion and a deception, and that the position he was prepared to occupy was to trample down this Union, which he had done more to recommend to the British Government and the people of this Province than any other man and that for the insignificant and unworthy object of getting back into place and power in the Province of Nova Scotia. (Cheers in the galleries.) I regret that I should thus be compelled to deal with an absent man, but his mouth piece is in the House to defend him. With a large portion of that letter I entirely concur, and shall read it to you, as I think it most effectually proves the necessity of an immediate Union of these Provinces:—

"While in Washington Congress was in session, and I had the opportunity, never enjoyed before for so long a period, to study the practical working of Republican institutions, and to see and hear the leading men now mingling in the stirring scenes of American public life."

"On my return home I waited upon the Lieutenant Governor and upon General Doyle, and gave them my impression as to the state of affairs across the border. During the fortnight which has elapsed since, I have given to any body who asked them, in the streets or in society, my opinions with equal freedom. To those who enquired about the Fenian organization, I have said that it was formidable and not to be despised. That it embraced every city and town and village where Irishmen dwell in the United States—that they were liberally of their substance when their feelings were touched, placed large sums of money at its disposal; and that as great numbers of the Fenians have been under fire during the late civil war, they combined, within the order, a fair share of discipline and experience. I have said further that, as the American Government, in disbanding 800,000 men, had permitted each man to carry off his rifle and accoutrements on payment of six dollars, the country was full of arms, of the most approved construction, to be purchased for a song. That as for nine months past, the Government has been selling, at all the military and naval arsenals, ambulances, and every description of war material, at low prices, the Fenians could provide themselves with stores and transportation at a figure far below what they would have had to pay if the articles were purchased at first cost."

"When asked if I thought the Fenians could muster any force that could conquer either or all these Provinces, I have invariably answered no. That, if the Fenians come alone, and if we are true to ourselves we can repel them at every point of the frontier, or should they effect a lodgement speedily drive them out. But the real danger is, that they may not come alone. Unhappily there prevails in the United States a wide spread feeling of hostility to the Provinces arising out of the sympathy for the South which has been strong enough to induce Congress to throw over the Reciprocity Treaty, and an enormous amount of trade. And then, every man who has had a ship captured by the Shenandoah, Alabama, or other cruisers built in England, attributes his loss to the supineness or connivance of the British Government, and is a Fenian of the most irate description."

"But will not American Government interfere? This question is often put to me, and Mr. answer. I believe and hope they will. Gladstone evidently thinks so. Sir Fred. Bruce is confident they will. But the danger lies here. At this moment the Cabinet at Washington is involved in complications of no ordinary kind. The great Republican party and the President have been at issue, upon the reconstruction policy, for ten weeks, and one Branch has just passed a Bill over the veto by a two-thirds majority. Both parties are appealing to the country for support. The Fenians are said to control a million of votes, and certainly make up a formidable portion of the Democratic party that supports the President. Those who cherish hard feeling against the Provinces and the British Government control a good many more. Out of these complications no human being at this moment can tell what may or may not arise. In the meanwhile a flying squadron has been ordered to the North Atlantic, and a formidable iron ram, with double barrels, is said to be coming with it. Let us hope and pray for the prevalence of peaceful feeling, but let us complete our coast defences and keep our powder dry. There is another source of danger. Eight hundred thousand young men, accustomed to war, to the excitement of raids and to the license of camp life, have been recently disbanded. Should the Fenians make a raid, perhaps, in the first instance, none but Irishmen may come. But should these, when the frost is out of the ground, entrench themselves and hold any part of our territory for ten days, who can say how long all the fighting will be left to the Fenians, and should others come, what wild excitement may not sweep over some of those great border States when a few dead bodies are sent home? Who can tell how many horses may not be saddled in the warlike West? Here are our chances of peace and our peril fairly stated, and to anybody who asked me during the past fortnight, taking the calmest view of the whole field, I am free to admit that, while hoping for the best and counting on the good faith of the American Government, I cannot but feel that circumstances may arise very difficult to control, and that may test the manhood and resources of the Provinces before very many weeks."

The House will remember that when the hon. member for Halifax wrested the paper of which

he was the responsible editor from one of the Quebec Delegates for the purpose of writing down this question of an Inter-colonial Union there appeared in its columns a series of letters entitled "The Ebotheration Scheme;" and it is now known that they were written by Mr. Howe—that has never been denied. What was the first position taken by Mr. Howe, the man who induced the House to declare that so many and so great were the manifold advantages of a Union of all these Provinces, that they should give the Government the power to deal with it? He came out as the avowed enemy of any union whatever, because it was going to destroy Responsible Government. You see the same thing stated in the communication of this morning. If to unite British America under one Government and into one Legislature, is to destroy Responsible Government, where was Responsible Government when the policy to which he had invited the attention of the House was adopted? Again, any Union with Canada was denounced because there were a million of Frenchmen in Canada. Were there any Frenchmen in Canada when that resolution offered by Mr. Howe passed this House? Had there no rebellion in Canada when he persuaded the House to agree to that policy of Union? Having denounced all Union—having trampled under his feet all the principles of his previous life, what more? The next "Ebotheration" article treated us to an eulogium upon Republican institutions such as was hardly ever seen in a British paper. Mr. Howe's language went to prove that the sooner the worthless bauble of North American institutions is swept away and replaced by the priceless gold of Republican institutions the better for us. I can forgive American statesmen holding such language, those who owe their fealty to the institutions of that great Republic; but I am not prepared to hear this language from the same man who on the platform in England, when a delegate from this Province to the Imperial Government, denounced the Republican institutions of the United States, and held them up to the scorn and contempt of every British subject. When his own country is to be conserved—when a great scheme necessary to the security of British America is proposed does he still hold the opinions which he uttered when in England as the result of 30 years study of American institutions? Does he show himself a man of public principle? No! He shows that he can change his opinions as pleasure, and propound whatever views will best suit his interests, and that he is influenced by considerations that ought not to influence any public man, and may thus be induced to sustain one set of principles to-day, and assert others diametrically opposed to these to-morrow.

I believe what the hon. gentleman says in what I have read of his letter is true. It is consistent with all the information that the government possesses. The information coming to us from hour to hour shows the existence and wide spread ramifications of the Fenian organization. What ought to be the conduct of a patriot and a statesman in the face of a danger like that. I believe Mr. Howe has not colored the matter too strongly that these parties are going to make an onslaught upon some portion of these provinces; and the men who will be responsible for all its horrors will be the men who are resisting Inter-colonial Union and indoctrinating our people with sentiments that may shake their allegiance to the Crown. It is only last night the Lieutenant-Governor received a despatch that two hundred Fenians had arrived at Portland; and there is deep apprehension that St. John or Yarmouth may be the first object of attack. In the presence of a common danger like that, the duty of a patriot and statesman would be to sink all differences and combine for the purpose of protecting the rights and liberties of British North America. Let the agitators of British protection be withdrawn and what can Nova Scotia do in the face of such a danger as Mr. Howe depicts? Simply nothing. The hon. member for Halifax told us that the United States of America are looking to British North America, feeling that if they only possessed these Provinces they would become the first Naval Power in the world, and able to dictate their terms to all nations. That statement carries conviction with it to the mind of every man. I will now ask the House if I were corrupted by American gold, enamoured of American institutions, believing that the best thing that I could do would be to transfer this country to the United States of America what are the most effective measures that I could take? Would it not be to keep the Provinces disunited and repel the protection of the mother country, and then button-hole every man whom I could influence, and undermine his confidence in our institutions by whispering into his ear the insidious statement that Great Britain could not protect us—that the power of the United States was too gigantic—that Great Britain herself would fail to protect even the city of Halifax against such ships as were now possessed by the American Government. And when I had indoctrinated the minds of my countrymen with that idea, I would tell them that the best plan is to reject the policy of the Imperial Government. We all know that the feeling of loyalty to one's country, the pride in its institutions, lies to the fact that their institutions are able to afford protection to life and property. Therefore the moment you have carried conviction to the minds of the people that Great Britain is unable to protect us, and that they stand in the presence of so gigantic a power that it has only to will to take us, then you undermine their loyalty. Now we have Mr. Howe in that attitude; since his return, in the streets, and in the clubs, and in the presence of the highest authorities of the land, you find him constantly holding forth the doctrine that Great Britain is impotent to defend this Province—that though British America might unite, yet with even Great Britain at her back, all she could do would not prevent her being swept away when the American Government wished it. If I stood in a position like that, the hon. mem. for Halifax might be justified in making us an object of suspicion and throwing out his taunts and insinuations about base bribes having influenced public men. Here base bribes having influenced public men. Here you see the man who stood but yesterday on the very watch tower of the question of Inter-colonial Union—having indoctrinated the people with the sentiment of Union—having held up Republican institutions to scorn and derision; now standing forth and throwing his whole power into the scale of Opposition to Inter-colonial Union magnifying the power of the United States extravagantly. What more? You have at the same time that this most insidious poison is being instilled into the ear of every one in the community, the leading opponents of Union unhesitatingly avowing preference for Annexation to the United States. (Cheers.) I ask you to put these facts together and I will not require to add these the reasonable utterances of Mr. Annand

on the streets which have been taken back and apologized for on the floors of the House. I say then, under such circumstances, I cannot come to any other conclusion than that the time has come when every man whether public or private, who wishes to save the country and preserve the connection with the mother country, should speak out boldly and manfully, irrespective of any personal consideration. Holding the sentiments I do—believing that the crisis has come when we must decide whether we shall be annexed to the United States or remain connected with the parent state. I would be the blackest traitor that ever disgraced a country if I did not by every means in my power urge upon this Legislature to prove equal to the emergency, and take that course which, in a few months will secure the consolidation of British North America and the connection with the Crown of Great Britain which I believe, which I know it is the sincere wish of the people to secure, and which can alone place these Provinces in a position that will at once give them dignity of position and ensure their safety.

Having therefore, given the subject the most careful consideration—having submitted the proposition of the hon. member for Richmond to the Government and to the gentlemen who are opposed to us politically, but who are associated with us on this question, we have come to the conclusion that it is our duty to the House and to the country to meet in all frankness the proposal that has been made. We feel that difficulties have arisen in connection with the Quebec scheme which require such an arrangement as has been proposed, in order to remove the objections that exist. I can only say, in reference to this matter, that Canada has accepted the basis of the Quebec scheme by a large majority, and that any alteration in the terms obtained from the Imperial Government must be even more favorable to the Maritime Provinces. I believe that the scheme provided ample security for the interests of Nova Scotia; but at the same time there are none of us who have been associated with it who would not be too glad to obtain any concession that may be still more favorable to the Maritime Provinces. The Imperial Government and Parliament will have an opportunity of largely improving that scheme, and giving us an amount of consideration that otherwise we might not obtain. It must be remembered that let Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick pass any scheme they please, that does not unite British North America. The only means by which we can be united is by an act of the Imperial Parliament. The Government can only say what bill they will submit to the Imperial Parliament; they cannot tell what will come out of that Parliament. This resolution, therefore, provides all the guarantees that can be hid for a plan of Union being adopted by the Imperial Parliament, advised, during the passage of the act, by able and intelligent representatives of all parties, while it is under consideration.

SPEECH OF MR. ARCHIBALD.

Mr. ARCHIBALD said:—After the very long and elaborate address to which we have listened, it would not be good taste on my part to detain the House long, but I feel that occupying the position which I have occupied on this subject, I could not sit silent on the introduction of such a resolution as that before the House. I regret greatly that in the discussion of this subject, it has been thought necessary by the Provincial Secretary to address the House in the impassioned tone and style of the speech to which we have just listened. I do not affect to be surprised at the course he has taken. Perhaps I could hardly have expected him, under the circumstances, to take a different course; still I feel that if there ever was a question in which passion should be allowed, which should be considered with calmness and deliberation, it is this. The question before us is the greatest that could be submitted to this country or its legislature, and requires that we should look at it soberly and thoughtfully, in the light of the events which are transpiring around us. The Pro. Sec. has referred to the action of Her Majesty's Government on the question of Reform, as affording evidence that it is competent for us to deal with the question without necessarily referring to the people. He has alluded to the fact that the effect of the proposition now before the Imperial Parliament is to make an enormous transfer of power from the class that now enjoys it to a different class, and he has said that the right of Parliament to do so has not been questioned there. The case in England is a strong case, but the precedent in our own Legislature is a stronger one. There the legislation proposed is in the line of extending the power of the people. How was it here? The members of the last Parliament came here elected by the people under an almost universal franchise. Yet without any appeal to the people we cut off one-fourth of the entire constituency of the country. Now whether it was right or not is not the point. The question now is the power a Legislature possessed with reference to any change in the constitution. The moment that power is conceded in that case, it is conceded in this. If we can abridge the authority and power of those who elect us, we can deal in the same way with ourselves and with the power of the Legislature. I am free to admit that it is a power which should be exercised only in cases of emergency, and where prompt action is demanded. We have been told, and I am astonished to hear the statement, that we are proceeding to strike down the principles of responsibility which have given freedom of government to the people of this country. Now, what is stamped on the very forefront of the Quebec scheme? That the General Government shall be conducted on the principles of responsibility to the entire people, just as our own now is at this moment, so that the principles of the Federal Government are precisely those which we possess in this country. Our Legislature is left to be moulded as we choose; our local administration, unless we wish otherwise, will be the same as at present; so that every principle of responsibility to the people is retained as it is now. In the local administration the responsibility lies to the people,—in the general administration, to the people of the entire group. The old altars remain—the worshippers have still the same faith; but in the metropolitan cathedral, or to borrow a figure from the Presbyterian church, in the National Assembly, will be those who have the care of all the churches. Therefore, while we leave intact the government of the country, all we do is to have these matters, which are of common and general concern, transferred to the General Legislature. We are told that the time for changing institutions is the time of peace and prosperity, that the only time for union is when we can calmly and deliberately consider all the arguments and objections. Such a doctrine falsifies the entire current of history. When was ever a union effected between independent communities with jealousies and rivalries which independence begets, except under the presence