

no other authority for that than what has been said in this debate. No doubt a much more practicable scheme might be found, but any modification of the present scheme would not change the grand principle of it.

I do not enter into figures at all. That has been done elsewhere. I certainly supposed from the action of the Government last winter, and from what were supposed to be the unchanged opinions of the representatives of the people that the question would not come up during the present session, or during the present assembly. I lament that the Solicitor General should feel it his duty—perhaps he would say his privilege—to introduce and pass the measure during the present session.

Hon. Mr. Dickey.—I should like to set my honorable friend who has just sat down right on a question of fact. I endeavoured to do so during his speech, but he declined to be corrected. He stated unequivocally that the first time the Union of the Colonies was referred to by the Imperial Government was in a despatch from the Colonial Secretary, in reply to the despatch of Lord Monck enclosing the resolutions forming the Quebec Scheme. I told him that he was in error, and gave him the date—1st October, 1864—of a previous despatch from the Colonial Secretary in which the subject is mentioned. In this despatch of 1st October, 1864, to the late Lieutenant Governor, the Colonial Secretary says: "I have to thank you for the interesting intelligence you have conveyed to me, and to state with reference to your request for authority to permit certain members of your Executive Council to repair to Quebec, there to resume the discussion of this subject, that I have received an intimation from Lord Monck that he intends communicating with me upon it; and as time is important, since it is proposed that the meeting shall take place early in October, I have no hesitation in giving you at once the required permission." In this despatch, then, written before the Conference, it will be seen that the Colonial Secretary gives his sanction and approval to this union.

The honorable gentleman has said a good deal about the Quebec scheme. Now we have the assurance of the Solicitor General that the whole question of the scheme of union is to be thrown open. The Quebec Scheme will probably be referred to, but for the present it is laid aside, and the delegates to be appointed will start *de novo*. The new delegates will be appointed on a very different principle from that on which their predecessors at the Quebec Conference were appointed. All Canada will only have the same number of delegates as two of the Maritime Provinces. We are in no danger of having a worse scheme from this new conference, but we are pretty sure to have a better one for the interests of the Maritime Provinces.

The honorable gentleman has done me the honor to say that I spoke without any heart. I think I may return the compliment. I must give him credit for the tone and temper of his speech. It was mild and non-committal to a degree, and furnished a good many strong arguments for union.

In public I have never concealed my opinion on two important points, first, that I had serious objections to the Quebec Scheme, and second, that I was not so sanguine as to the benefits to be derived from union as some of my colleagues. The honorable gentleman must not then expect me to act a part. I cannot and will not affect enthusiasm which I do not feel. I think it is our interest to assent to the resolution, and that the result will be for the best interests of Nova Scotia. May I be excused for adding, in conclusion, the hope that my opinion will have some weight, considering the attitude I have previously taken on this question.

Hon. Mr. Brown.—I am much obliged to the honorable and learned member, for he has helped to confirm the statement that I made that all the impressions favorable to Confederation received by the Colonial Secretary were from solicitations on this side of the water. The despatch, which he (Hon. Mr. Dickey) read from, was an affirmative reply to a despatch asking for permission for the Nova Scotia delegates to attend the Conference at Quebec. Certainly when Her Majesty's loyal subjects here asked leave to join with the delegates at Quebec, the British minister agreed to it at once. All the British newspapers referring to the wish of the Imperial authorities for this union say that they wish no scheme to be adopted, which is not acceptable to the people of these colonies.

Hon. Solicitor General.—I expect that all the British North American colonies will be represented at this new delegation. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick will be, and also Newfoundland, and probably Prince Edward Island. Four colonies at all events will be represented. The whole subject will then be entirely open. The British Government have no desire that any change should take place which would not be beneficial to the whole of the Provinces, and I am sure that they will not lend themselves to any scheme which is shown to them to be unfair; but, on the contrary, that they will be willing to make any modification which can be shown by any of the Provinces to be just and right.

Hon. Mr. Brown.—There might be a scheme for Union of the Colonies leaving the revenue of each colony to itself, furnishing its quota of charge to the General Government. That is a point which the people of Nova Scotia understand as well as the members of Government. The whole public—every one that buys and sells goods—is quite alive to the importance of the Tariff, and when they believe that the duties are going to be raised from 50 to 100 per cent. over what they now pay, and when they see that the duties thus raised are going to be expended in a distant portion of a new State, they have just reason to be afraid of this new scheme. There may be other points worthy of consideration, but I am only giving a reason why the people are justified in not assenting to this Quebec Scheme.

I wish to know if the delegates are to meet first on this Continent, and then in England. If on this Continent I should prefer it. No doubt the British Government would acquiesce in any fair scheme.

Hon. Mr. Anderson.—I do not intend to occupy much time, as this subject has been already so fully discussed. I would merely remark that I am decidedly in favor of Union. It is true that this Province is at present very prosperous, but is it optional with us to remain in our present isolated condition? I think not. I differ with my honorable friend from Yarmouth. The British Government have shown us that they are decidedly in favor of Union, and that they expect us to assent to it. Not only does the Imperial Government urge this question upon us, but the entire press and people of England are urging it in every possible way. How then can we refuse to do that which is, in my judgment, so reasonable and so just? Are we in a position to defend ourselves? Can we defend the Fisheries of this country? Are we prepared to meet any invading foe?

The honorable member from Yarmouth says we are prepared, that we can fight our own battles. Perhaps so, but without the aid of Britain's fleets and armies we would, I fear, make but a feeble resistance. But, however that may be, I hope and believe there will be found a majority in this branch of the Legislature prepared to meet the wishes of the British Government, and to vote for the resolution proposed by the honorable Solicitor General. We are invited by the Solicitor General to state any changes we think desirable. I would, therefore, suggest that the delegates be instructed to obtain some modifications in the Quebec scheme. As regards representation in the General Parliament, I should like to see the number of representatives from Nova Scotia increased; if it can be done in a fair and honorable way.

As to the mode of raising the Local Revenue I differ *in toto* from the decision arrived at by the Quebec Conference. The Local Revenue, so far as Nova Scotia is concerned, is to be derived from three sources, viz.: the Crown Lands, and the Royalty on Gold and Coal. In 1863, the year prior to the meeting of the delegates at Quebec, the net revenue (exclusive of the subsidy of 80 cents per head to be allowed by the General Government) amounted to \$46,158.19, viz.:

Crown Lands.....	\$ 4,188.05
Gold Fields.....	7,933.34
Royalty on Coal.....	34,031.80

being equal to 14 cents per head.

In Canada the net revenue from Crown Lands alone amounted to \$603,028.07 being equal to 24 cents per head, or nearly 75 per cent more than we would receive. But in New Brunswick, the difference is still greater. There they would receive \$138,431.23, viz.:

Crown Lands.....	\$13,594.98
Export duty on Timber and Lumber.....	61,830.25
To be allowed by the General Government for 10 years an Annual Grant of.....	63,000.00

being equal to 54 cents per head, or nearly 400 per cent. more than we would receive in Nova Scotia. On this point I think

our delegates should be instructed to make better terms than were made for us at the Quebec Conference.

In my judgment the fair and equitable mode would be to have the proceeds from these sources placed in the hands of the General Government, and let an equal amount be allotted per head, according to the population, to Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. I ask no more and will be satisfied with no less. If some such scheme be carried out you could go into the English or any other market, and offer the millions of acres of territory possessed by the General Government at something like a uniform rate, leaving it to settlers to choose for themselves whether they would go to Canada, New Brunswick, or Nova Scotia.

The debate was then adjourned until Monday.

MONDAY, April 16th.

Hon. Solicitor General moved that the debate be resumed.

Hon. Mr. Tupper moved that it be delayed a few days. There was other business before the House, and there was abundance of time to spare.

Hon. Solicitor General was at a loss to know what was the object of the honorable member, unless it was to throw difficulties in the way. He (Solicitor General) thought the application came with a bad grace, after the delay which had been already granted. There might be some reason for asking further delay, if the question under consideration was new, but it had been discussed until it was thread-bare.

Hon. Mr. PINEO.—I believe, sir, that it will be in the recollection of honorable members that the last time I addressed the House on this subject, now some 12 months since, I opposed Confederation on the Quebec scheme. I opposed it because I felt that the details of that scheme did not give equal justice to the Maritime Provinces,—particularly to Nova Scotia. I mentioned on that occasion some of the defects in the scheme, and it is not necessary to recapitulate them now. I think that I then made no charge against the delegates, and said that they could under the circumstances. They were surrounded by uncommon festivities, as my colleague (Hon. Mr. Dickey) stated on that day. I felt that they did as I probably should have done under similar circumstances. They had too little time for the careful consideration of what was just and necessary for the interests of this Province. I am always glad to conform to the views of the British Government as far as possible, but had this measure been proposed to us 12 months ago, I should either have voted against it, or remained neutral. At present, seeing what has passed under our notice since, I am inclined to support the Resolution for reasons which I shall endeavour now to explain.

Not many months after the close of last session the American Government gave notice of an intended abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. That notice might well give cause for reflection to most considerate men,—as something serious was likely to grow out of it. Eventually the treaty was abrogated. Then a discussion took place, and other circumstances calculated to create uneasiness occurred. The thinking portion of the community began seriously to consider the situation in which we were placed. The time arrived when it was considered necessary on the part of the Colonies to give notice that no trespassing would be allowed on our fishing grounds, and that any invasion of them would be promptly repulsed. That was all very well if we had the power to carry that notice into effect. But, shortly after the Legislature met, we felt how little we were prepared to repel invasion, and to protect our rights on our fishing grounds. We were willing to put on a bold front, but we soon discovered that occupying the position these colonies now do we were not able to fit out a single gun boat, or to protect a thousand miles of fishing grounds. Then we passed a humble address to Her Majesty asking for assistance. By this we exhibited our weakness and our inability not only to the British Government, but also to the neighboring country. This is one reason which has caused a considerable change in my views since we last met.

Then we have other difficulties. A party called Fenians have mixed themselves up with the Americans. The British Government have sent despatches to the Governors of the different colonies desiring them to impress on the different Legislatures the necessity of union, for the pur-

pose of showing the best front we can, and of evincing our determination to protect ourselves to the utmost of our ability, and also to assure us that in case we unite, nothing will be wanting on their part for our protection. Union, therefore, to my mind, is now more a matter of necessity for us than of choice.

I may say to the Solicitor General that the resolution would commend itself more to my mind, if the word *Union* were substituted for *Confederation*.

The question in fact now comes to this. If we want protection, if we expect the British Government to help us in time of need, we must unite. Almost every thing that has transpired within the last 12 months has tended to impress the necessity of union upon us.

We have heard some threats about annexation to the United States. I should be sorry if there was any man in this Province who would accept this annexation rather than union with Canada.

Then as regards the taxation to which we would be subjected. No sane man I should think would prefer annexation, unless he was willing to pay 100 per cent. more than he would be required to pay by union with Canada. The debt contracted by the United States on account of the late civil war is still unpaid. Therefore in a pecuniary point of view it is our interest to unite with Canada. I should hope that none of us here would be willing to take the stars and stripes instead of the British flag, which has always been our protection in the hour of danger.

My colleague said that he was not very sanguine as to the mercantile advantages of Confederation. I do not myself believe that our financial affairs will be benefitted by the change. I believe that this country is as well off now,—perhaps better than it will be under Confederation. (Hear! Hear! from Hon. Mr. Whitman.)

I accept it more as a matter of necessity than of choice for the public good irrespective of private interest. If we do pay more than now, in shape of taxes, the money so paid will circulate throughout the whole country. Halifax will be the outlet of the whole of the United Provinces. Confederation will be the means of building up this city, and causing this part of the Province to grow with great rapidity. If we do pay a larger amount of taxation than at present, I believe it will eventually all be repaid to us.

I shall be better satisfied if the delegates to be appointed contend for a better division of the revenue than their predecessors did. The honorable member from Halifax (Hon. Mr. Anderson) touched on that question the other day, and I concur in his views. I think that our delegates should contend that the general revenues should be distributed among the different Provinces for local expenditure in proportion to what they contribute. This country is growing, and its resources are becoming more and more developed every year. Our revenue, both from the mines and from the sale of Crown Lands, is increasing annually. Therefore I trust that the delegates to be appointed from Nova Scotia will remember the mistake made by their predecessors. It is not in a week, or a month, or even in two or three months or a year, that proper details can be settled for so important a measure, for when once settled, it is to last for ever, and, before it is finally consummated they should take a long time to consider, lest some mistake should be made.

Having briefly stated my views, and observing all that has transpired within the last twelve months, the threatened attitude of the Colonies at present, and their reliance and dependence on the British Government in time of need, induces me to vote for the resolution now on the table, which I do with much pleasure.

Hon. Mr. Keith.—Ever since this question of Confederation was first mooted, I have always thought that we must at some time or other accept it. I am aware that it will probably injure the business in which I am engaged, but I consider it my duty to act on a higher principle than a regard to my own interests, and to do what is for the benefit of the whole Province.

Hon. Mr. McCully.—Hear! Hear!

Hon. Mr. Keith.—No other step is open to us now but to accede to the resolution. The old motto is "Union is strength, and divided we fall." I hope that the Governor in Council in the selection of the delegates to be appointed will choose men who have the interests of the Province at heart. I have not the least doubt but that the gentlemen so appointed will discharge their duty conscientiously, and faithfully. I am prepared to give my assent to the resolution.