

HON. MR. TUPPER.—I was desirous that we should give a little more consideration to this great question, and therefore asked that this debate should be delayed for a few days. The House of Assembly have not yet passed the similar resolution of the House. Let us wait until New Brunswick has passed the measure.

The resolution before the House asks whether the people of Nova Scotia want Confederation or not. I think the question can be very easily settled. Let it go to the people and let them decide, and I shall not have a word, then, to say.

Now, sir, I differ from the honorable gentleman opposite. He stated that seven-eighths of the people of Nova Scotia were in favor of Confederation. I believe that seven-eighths of them are against it, as was proved by the meetings which were held in the country, and the petitions which were sent to the Legislature during the last session. This year the people were led to believe that it was abandoned,—at least for the present. If Confederation was to be urged on this session, why was not this resolution laid on the table at the opening of the session? The people then would have known it and prepared themselves accordingly. The course which has been adopted has taken the people by surprise, and it seems to me like taking an advantage of them. The people have been deceived by the Government supporters who opposed it last session, and this introduction of the subject without the consent of the people is another act of deception.

I greatly regret being obliged to oppose honorable gentlemen who have been so long in this House, and honorable gentlemen who are so expert in the Law, but, sir, I have a duty to perform under the commission which I hold from Her Majesty. This question is to be decided not in England, nor in Canada, but here. A more important or more exciting question has never been brought before the people of Nova Scotia. I also regret being obliged to oppose the leaders of this great question of Confederation. I believe that they are all honorable gentlemen who have been brought up "at the feet of Gamaliel," but there is one thing which I think they have forgotten, that is the prophet's interpretation of the dream, when he told the chief butler not to forget him. It is just possible that we may have to go to Joseph yet for another interpretation.

I do not understand how honorable members who, last session, spoke at such length against Confederation, and came back here this session with the same mind, and remained so until twelve or fifteen days ago, can then turn round and tell the House and country that they are for Confederation. The people should know why this sudden change has taken place. The people certainly put confidence in them up to that date. It looks to me like something that is not right. What I want carried out is stability.

The honorable member from Pugwash (Hon. Mr. Pineo) told us that the Quebec scheme was very hastily got up. Let us not be hasty now about passing this measure. It certainly is no great thing for the House to wait, after a man has made a speech one year against Confederation, and the next year makes one in favor of it. What are the people to say to such a thing?

The honorable member (Hon. Mr. Pineo) referred to the Reciprocity Treaty. We had that Treaty without Confederation. It has now been abrogated, and I do not see how Confederation will help us to regain it.

Then he told us about the Fenians. Everybody is as ready to fight the Fenians without Confederation, as with it. We have been told that we are leaving our old parents. We are not leaving our old parents now, but when we confederate we are leaving them. It has also been said that if we are not for Confederation, that we want the stars and stripes,—that we desire annexation to the United States. That is an insult to the loyalists of Nova Scotia, and an insult to common sense.

The honorable member from Cumberland (Hon. Mr. Dickey) told us that we ought not to say the same thing over again. That is very well for an honorable member who has turned. That gentleman also told us that we should set our house in order. That is very good advice, but let us take care that we do not put it out of order. I would ask the honorable member if the people of England do not hold public meetings to decide on every great question? The hon. member also told us that Confederation has nothing to do with Retrenchment, the School Bill, &c. I would ask him one question. Suppose a man has committed a crime—is he not to be punished because he has committed two other crimes previous-

ly? We have also been told that Confederation has done much good because it has broken up party. Now, if there are no parties in the country, why not appeal to the people? If the honorable member had been possessed with that spirit before, the people would not have been so much afraid. A burnt child dreads the fire. Now the people of Nova Scotia have been distracted by party more than the country could afford, and it has been ruinous to them. Must the same thing be kept up now at a great loss of time and money? Is the country to be bought and sold—made traffic of—to frighten people or make a party? Or are we to have peace at our homes?

Are we to be told that Confederation is to be put through, and that the Legislature care for nobody who is opposed to it? I do not believe that the effort will succeed. This Legislature should care for everybody,—I mean for the whole people of Nova Scotia.

We have been told that the Queen is in favor of Confederation. If so, would not the Queen herself say, on a great question like this, appeal to the people of Nova Scotia before you pass it? That is common sense. Then we are told that all the Lords and great men in Europe are for Confederation. Are they to decide for the people of Nova Scotia without an appeal being made to the people themselves? Is it not the fact that all over Europe public meetings are held to decide on every great public question? If this is not law, it is equity.

And then we are told that all the Governors in the land are in favor of Confederation. I do not believe that they would decide so important a question without first appealing to the people. It is said that all the Judges and Admirals are in favor of this measure. Judge Marshall is not in favor of it, and we have not the opinions of any other Judges. We are told that all the bishops and clergymen are in favor of it. I am sorry to differ from them, but I can tell them that Confederation is not gospel, and that they should not diminish from the Bible.

It has been said that all the lawyers are in favor of this union.

Hon. Mr. Pineo.—Then you have both law and gospel for it. (Laughter)

Hon. Mr. Tupper.—I have observed that these gentlemen always ransack all law for a precedent when they have to make up a case, and they can always find law to suit themselves. This is a case on which we might quote the whole world as authority.

We should not do anything knowingly contrary to the wishes of the people. To force people against their will, will make a party in Nova Scotia that will last for ages. Let us take warning by other countries. See what a forced union has done in the United States.

We are told that this question cannot go to the people because there are other things which have been done by the present Government which the people do not like. So much the worse,—that does not help the argument. If the people are in favor of Confederation, there can be no danger in appealing to them, and if against it, it is not fair to insist upon so great a change in the constitution of the Province without their consent, and to excite them when there is no necessity for it.

A crisis has come upon the country. No war, no famine, no storm, no Fenians have ever frightened the people of Nova Scotia so much as Confederation. The majority of the members returned at the last election were sent to this Legislature to carry out retrenchment, and to oppose railroads. Instead of that new offices have been created, large salaries given to the Conservatives, and the Liberals turned out of office without any notice. And then comes up Confederation, and the people are told not to say a word,—that all party politics are done away with. The people were amazed because they had been so often deceived. Then we were told that the Liberal party are to blame for all the sins that have ever been committed. Could the Liberal party go to the rescue of the Government? I say no. If there were any members of the Liberal party who wished to leave it, they should have called the party together, and given their reasons, and stated that they were done with the party. Are the Liberal party to be told that they are opposed to all progress, and that they are lawless, &c.? Are the people of Nova Scotia to be sneered at, knocked down, mocked, railed at, gibed, ridiculed, jeered, and hissed at? When it is done to one, take care that it is not done to all. Are the merchants to be told that they want no improvement in commerce because they are opposed to Confederation? Are all the farmers and fishermen to be told, for the same reason, that they are

Annexationists, and that they want to go and join the United States? Who, I ask, made the country? Are all the men in Nova Scotia who have held commissions under Her Majesty, to be told that they are disloyal, and want the stars and stripes, because they are unfavorable to this measure? Are men that have the interests of the country at heart to be told that they are *swash bucklers*?

Now, Sir, if this resolution passes, the same thing will happen as has already happened,—only in a different way. The very same men will be sent to Canada on the new delegation as were sent on the last. I might as well have my name F. T. as it is, as to have it T. F. Lawyers are not the right men to barter Nova Scotia away. If the country is to be valued and handed over to Canada at a valuation, the arbitrators should be merchants, for we have been told that in the arrangement we must give and take; and who are there that understand that, as well as merchants?

The hon. member from Halifax (Hon. Mr. Anderson) told us that our delegates at the Quebec Conference made a bad bargain as regards the Crown Lands. They were not sent to Quebec or to Canada, but to unite the Maritime Provinces. If they had done that, all would have been well, but they tell us now that they were not satisfied with the star which they saw. It led them astray. If the people had not stopped them last Session, would they not have been steering for that star ever since? Now, however, the delegates say that they have found another star, and that they are sure that they are right now. Suppose that a merchant in Halifax ordered his ship to New York, and after the Captain had got out of the harbor he took it into his head to go up the St. Lawrence, would the merchant not discharge him as soon as possible? The delegates remind me of a captain who told the man at the helm to steer for a certain star. When the captain came up to see if all was right, the sailor told him that he had lost the star, but that he had found another one twice as good as the first one.

What I want is a railroad to Canada, and a uniform currency. The delegates themselves say that they did not want to go to Canada. What I wish to see carried out in Nova Scotia is progress, stability and freedom.

HON. MR. PATTERSON.—Looking at the importance of this question, and the great interests at stake, I would rather evade all responsibility by not speaking on the subject at all. I cannot consider it, without feeling that a member who addresses this House upon it, and records his vote in favor of the resolution, takes upon himself a responsibility of no ordinary character. I never felt this responsibility so much as at the present moment. Ever since the question was moved practically, I have endeavored to give it my most serious consideration; and I am free to confess, that, at first, I did not look on it with much favor. However, having since given the question more consideration, and viewing it not solely as it affects Nova Scotia, but as it regards all the colonies, and the empire at large, I have become convinced that the Union proposed will be a benefit to all concerned. In arriving at that conclusion I am free to confess that when I see other gentlemen, far more capable of forming an opinion than myself,—when I see them from the same premises arrive at diametrically opposite conclusions, I feel that I may be mistaken.

With all due deference, however, to the opinions of others, I feel that I must act out my own convictions. I find that these three or four colonies have no tie to unite them, but the single one of their common allegiance to the British Crown. Each colony looks solely to its own interests, and strives to advance these irrespective of its neighbors,—and then how little do we know of other colonies besides our own! How little intercourse have we with them! We know more about the United States than we do of Canada or New Brunswick. Our young men, instead of going to British territory to improve their fortunes, go to the United States, and even to the Pacific, when nearer home and under the British flag there is territory affording them better prospects. All this is, to a great extent, the result of our present disjointed and isolated condition. Looking at it in this light, I must admit that union offers great advantages. Union appears to me essential to enable us to deal with the questions of an intercolonial nature which are continually arising, and in which the colonies must act jointly.

The British Government has lately conferred on us the power of negotiating treat-

ties of commerce with other countries. That power, if rightly used, is one of the greatest boons which has ever been offered to this Province. As to the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, it was some time in operation before we knew anything about it. Now, sir, I contend, that, whenever we have to deal with a question of this kind, we must have a central Government, representing the whole of the British North American Provinces, and acting with the authority of them all. We have had deputations from time to time, and we find these deputations going from one Province to another; and, the measures on which they agree have to be submitted to several Legislatures, one or other of which may reject them. Situated as we are, it is impossible, when such questions arise, that the interests of the smaller Provinces can be protected, except by representation in a central Government. The Canadian Government represents the interests of some three millions of people; and when any question of this kind arises, the influence of Canada must, to a great extent, overshadow all the rest. Even in this matter of Confederation, we have been told that the position which the British Government has assumed, is the result of Canadian influence, and that the interests of the Lower Provinces have been sacrificed. If this be true it is an instance in point, and I contend, that, in order to neutralize that predominating influence which Canada must exercise, it is necessary for the safety of these Lower Provinces that we should have representation in a Parliament, which creates that Government and controls it; and that any representation, on any fair scheme of union, will protect our interests to a greater extent than they are protected at present. Therefore, sir, instead of Confederation giving Canada the predominating influence, I contend that, for the very purpose of neutralizing that influence, Confederation is necessary. The question of defence is only one of the questions which arises connected with this union.

A discussion took place here on a previous day, as to the time when the British Government first pressed this question of Confederation upon us. It is probable that the honorable member from Yarmouth (Hon. Mr. Brown) was not far wrong in what he said on that point. It will be remembered, however, that before the Convention at Quebec, difficulties had arisen as to the respective liability of the Colonies and the Imperial Government in the defence of the Colonies, and it was felt to be necessary that the real relations existing between the Colonial and Imperial Governments should be definitely settled. The feeling was growing up that it was necessary to settle this question upon some firm and stable basis. It seemed probable that it would lead to an unsatisfactory result, and the British Parliament and people demanded some solution of it. I think that, as a solution of that question, the people of Great Britain were anxious that a union of the Colonies should take place.

Many objections have been made to union with Canada, and one of the most prominent of these is the state of the Canadian finances. Canada has been held up to our gaze as a country in a state of bankruptcy and embarrassment, and we are told that all she wanted union for was to get us to help to pay her debts. Nova Scotia, on the other hand, has been represented as out of debt and with a surplus revenue; and we have been told that, prosperous as we are, there is no necessity that we should have union; and, above all, that we should not join with a country which is in a state of bankruptcy. I think that there has been a good deal of misrepresentation on this point. It is true that sometimes, at the end of the year, Canada has had deficiencies, and when we look at what Canada has been doing, we cannot wonder that difficulties did arise in her finances. In 1853 or 1854 she commenced the construction of her public works. With the aid of English capitalists, by the end of 1863 she had constructed two thousand miles of railway. It is true that they were not constructed as public works; but, out of the \$100,000,000 which they cost, \$30,000,000 were contributed by the Canadian Government. Previous to this she had expended some \$20,000,000 on her Canals. Had we no difficulties when we were constructing our railway to Truro? I have heard it stated that our Receiver General was pressed for money to meet current expenses. I know that while Canada was going on with her public works, we were at a standstill.

Though no person can acknowledge with greater pride than myself that this country embraces within it all the elements of prosperity, it becomes us not to be too much elated or to feel too secure. In order to