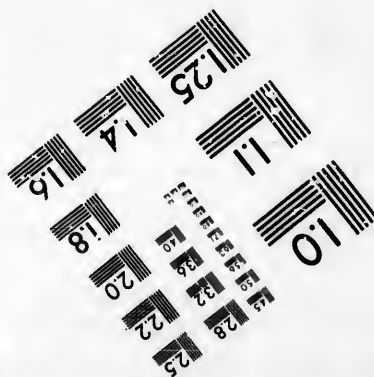
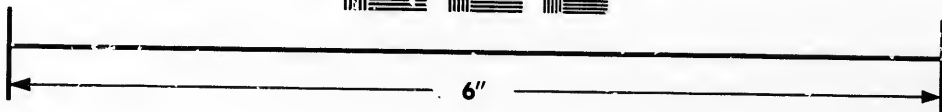
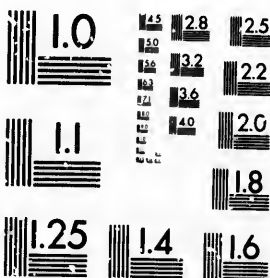


IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

1.5 1.8 2.0 2.5 3.2 3.6 4.2 4.8 5.4 6.0 6.3 7.2 8.0 9.0 10.0 12.0 15.0 18.0 20.0 22.5 25.0 28.0 30.0 32.0 36.0 40.0 45.0 50.0 54.0 60.0 63.0 70.0 75.0 80.0 90.0 100.0

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



**Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques**

10

**© 1981**

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured covers/  
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/  
Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated/  
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing/  
Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps/  
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/  
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations/  
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material/  
Ralié avec d'autres documents
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/  
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/  
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- Additional comments:/  
Commentaires supplémentaires:

- Coloured pages/  
Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged/  
Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated/  
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/  
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached/  
Pages détachées
- Showthrough/  
Transparence
- Quality of print varies/  
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material/  
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Only edition available/  
Seule édition disponible
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/  
Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/  
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

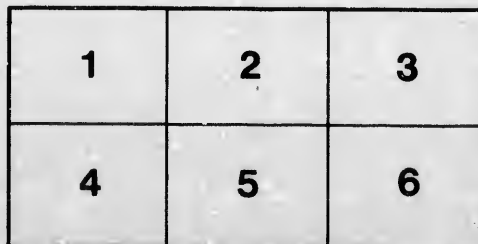
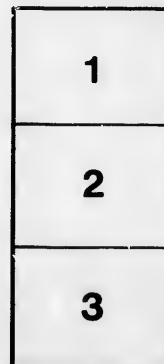
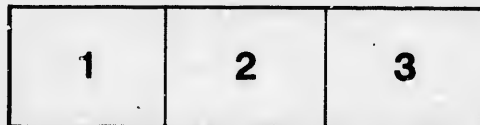
Library of the Public  
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

La bibliothèque des Archives  
publiques du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

ails  
du  
odifier  
une  
image

rrata  
o

elure,  
à

CO

PRI

**CONFEDERATION**  
**CONSIDERED ON ITS MERITS ;**

BEING

AN EXAMINATION

INTO THE

PRINCIPLE, CAPABILITIES, AND TERMS  
OF UNION,

AS

APPLICABLE TO NOVA SCOTIA.

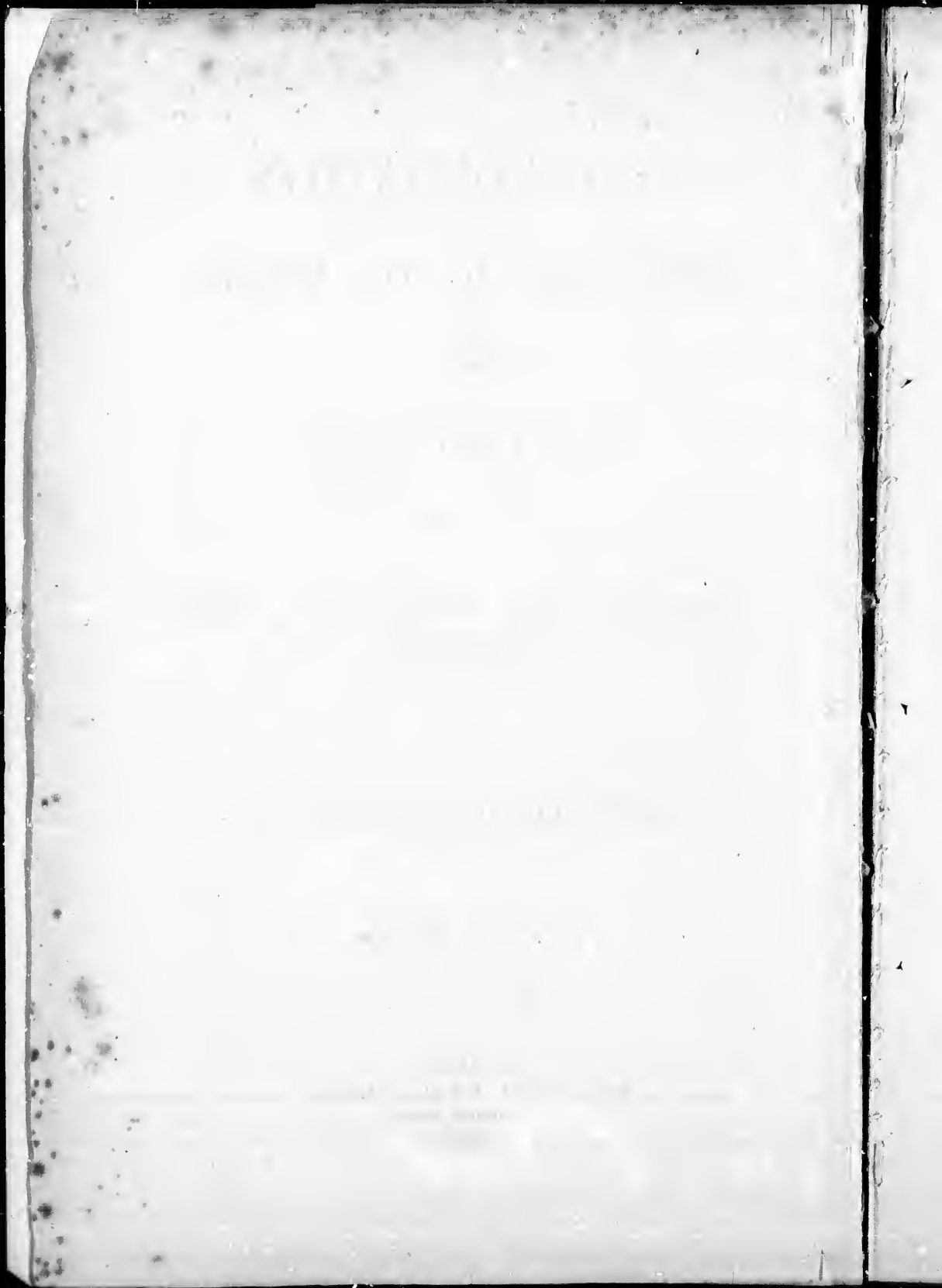
---

BY A NOVA SCOTIAN.

---

*Judge Marshall ?*

HALIFAX :  
PUBLISHED BY R. T. MUIR  
135 Granville Street.  
1867.



# CONFEDERATION

## CONSIDERED ON ITS MERITS.

---

### INTRODUCTORY.—THE PRINCIPLE AND CAPABILITIES OF UNION.

THERE are certain general and universally accepted principles, which lie at the foundation of all truth. The old aphorism, that "Union is strength," enunciates one of these. Mankind have accepted it as a maxim, embodying, in the fewest words possible, a truth which has been confirmed by all past experience and observation, as well as sanctioned by the highest wisdom. If we wish to carry out any important or difficult object, to fight down any formidable opposition, we naturally look around us for any help we can get, we seek to strengthen our position, by concentrating every influence against that which stands in our way. We do this without any teaching from without, but instinctively feeling and believing in the everlasting truth of the axiom, that union is strength, and that to the party who can bring the greatest amount of that strength, whether physical, or moral, to bear, will undoubtedly fall the victory.

Separation or isolation is the natural condition of a community or a State only when in its infancy. Union is one of the strongest instincts of an advancing civilization. Every movement upward or onward is sought and effected by a combination of interests or influences, by a bringing together of forces moral or material, which had formerly been inert, or had endeavored to act apart. The lower the state of civilization, we invariably find, that in the same proportion is the smallness and weakness of the community. Two thousand years ago, Cæsar found England parcelled out among a multitude of petty chiefs and kings, whose strength was wasted in internal dissensions. The Saxon Heptarchy was a step forward; the annexation of Wales another; and the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland what gave Britain a first place among the nations, and by uniting three kingdoms, converted what was comparative weakness into a Power the mightiest that has yet appeared in the world. No: is this



a solitary instance; it is but the working out of a fixed law, of which every page of history and all past experience afford countless illustrations. No one is so weak as the man who can not count upon a friend. No State is so helpless in every respect as that which has neither strength in itself, nor forms a part of the strength of others. It is without recognised *status*, and is destitute of all influence. Smallness and weakness are in this case synonymous with insignificance, and in the present age every nation in the world is acting upon this truth, and endeavoring by combination or union of some sort or another to add to its strength. The long disunited States of Italy have at length gathered around a common centre, and as an aggregate become one of the great powers of Europe. Denmark was robbed, simply because she was weak, and Belgium, with all her industry and intelligence, and love of liberty, is looked upon as an appanage that will probably become a portion of France, because she is not big enough to hold her own. We have witnessed the tremendous struggle and sacrifice made by our Republican neighbors, rather than suffer the disintegration of their common country. Had they permitted themselves to be cut up into two or three separate republics, they knew full well that much of their future strength would have expended itself in mutual jealousies, or occasional hostilities, and that they would have forfeited that political status and influence they possessed among the nations of the world. The lesson is thus commensurate with the truth it enforces, and no State can afford to ignore it with impunity.

The great characteristic of the nineteenth century is its unprecedented material progress. The great lever in this progress—whether it be national or individual—is combination, co-operation, Union of powers and appliances in one shape or another, to effect the end in view. Union of skill and capital has covered half the world with a gigantic network of railways. Union of wealth and science, striving after a common object, laid the Atlantic Cable, and built those magnificent lines of ocean steamers, which have expanded so immensely the colossal commerce of Great Britain.

The desirableness of Union, therefore, is a point that cannot be controverted, when looked at as a principle of action. To stand alone is not only to be stagnant, but to be swallowed up

by that which is in progress. This is the grand danger. Isolation does not mean immunity from foreign danger, it rather invites it.

If, what has been stated is true, if the reasoning has in it a truth which compels our assent whether we will or not, then it follows as a result which can scarcely be disputed that the policy of Union, as regards Nova Scotia, is at once a policy of prudence, of interest, and the highest wisdom. Five Provinces acting together as a whole, having a common purpose and common interests at stake, could act with more effect, could speak with more authority and significance than any one of them by itself. The voice of three millions of people would be listened to with more attention by the outside world, than that of three hundred thousand. This fact is so patent that it does not admit of argument, and yet it involves, and in reality is, the whole question of Union, which has been the subject of so much acrimonious discussion within and without this little Province.

In discussing this subject of Colonial Union, and inviting my fellow Colonists to a calm and impartial consideration of its bearings and interests, I have no intention to inquire into its previous history, or animadvert upon the consistency of this man, or the selfish purposes of that. All that is as foreign as it is unnecessary to a clear exposition or understanding of the subject. It will be enough to show the position of this Province and its people, and endeavor to arrive at a right conclusion, as to what will be best for their interest, and that of those who will come after them.

#### THE POSITION AND WANTS OF NOVA SCOTIA.

Nova Scotia, then, is a British Province, enjoying the priceless privilege of British laws, British connection, and a free Constitution. It possesses a fertile soil, and a bracing climate. It is well wooded and watered. Its extensive line of sea coast is indented by noble and well protected harbours. Its shores are frequented by countless myriads of the most valuable descriptions of fish. Its mineral resources are all but inexhaustible; while its abundant water-power, its possession of coal, and its geographical position, taken together, point it out as a country peculiarly fitted for the growth of manufactures of every description, and of becoming naturally a

great and commanding emporium of trade and commerce. On a fair field, then, it is tolerably evident that, in these respects, this Province possesses natural advantages, which ought to enable her, not only to hold her ground, but to distance those around her in the race of competition. We have but to view the present, and look back into the past, to find to our discomfort that this is not so. There are coal and iron ore, but capital has been slow in gathering round it, and realising their capabilities. Considered partially, we may be called a prosperous people. There is great wealth in the city of Halifax—greater, it is said, than in any other city of its size in British America. But we must not conceal from ourselves that this wealth is, after all, in the hands of the few. Our farmers are for the most part poor, and sometimes find it difficult to command a ready market for their produce. Our fishermen are not in a better condition; and our mechanics do not always find it easy to secure employment all the year round. Our manufactories are few and on a stunted scale; so that openings for young men and women are so rare, that year by year witnesses hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of both sexes, seeking for profitable employment in a foreign country, and compelled to sever the ties of kindred and home, and become the denizens of another State. This is not a satisfactory state of things; and above all, unsatisfactory that such should be the case with a Province which is not yet half settled, which has only five millions of its thirteen millions of acres of land even granted by its Government. It requires no argument to satisfy reasoning and reflecting people, that with its soil and teeming natural resources, both by land and water, this might not be, that it ought not to be. It is sad that so much of the bone and sinew of the land should be drained off by the pressure of necessity, to form a part, and no unimportant part, of the bone and sinew of a rival State. Our farmers and fishermen, our mechanics, and even our professional men, would prefer to keep their sons and daughters within their own borders if they could. But they cannot, and the stream of youthful emigrants, seeking to better their fortune in the neighbouring Republic, knows no diminution. These are facts which every eye can see that chooses to look for them, and if we retain our present political isolation, they will continue to be facts in spite of us.

This, then, is the state of the question. We are in possession of a fine country, finely situated, with inexhaustible natural resources, and capabilities for supporting three times its present population. We have a few very rich men, a greater number that are moderately so, but who are unable or unwilling to use their means for creating manufactures, or providing profitable and encouraging employment to the surplus youth of the general body of the people. The material is confessedly there, but is lying unused from want of appliances, to our great loss. If we continue as we are, politically isolated, from every thing we can see, this state of things must continue also—a state which many an affectionate head of a family, in every county throughout the Province, laments every day of his life.

#### THE DIFFICULTY AND ITS REMEDY.

I now come to consider the remedy for this, or rather whether a Union of these British North American Provinces holds out a reasonable prospect of such a remedy. We have felt the weakness arising out of isolation, and how helpless we are, as individual Provinces, against the hostile commercial legislation of the United States; and every one must feel that, should the Government of that country persevere in a system of prohibitory duties, and Nova Scotia continue as she is, a most formidable bar will be placed against her commercial progress. United to the other Provinces, acting together as one people, by bringing our influence, our energy and resources to bear in one direction, and for one common object, the result would be widely different. The population of the united Provinces is at this moment close upon four millions of people, with an area of country in round numbers of 400,000 square miles. The natural resources of the Provinces may be said to be at once inexhaustible in extent, and invaluable in character. They possess within themselves every element of future greatness and prosperity. No country in the world stands before Canada for agricultural capabilities, while she possesses some 280,000 square miles of forest, containing the finest descriptions of timber. Her mines of copper are of great value, and her inland fisheries of vast importance. New Brunswick possesses great lumbering and manufacturing resources. While to Nova Scotia appertain both the advantage

of geographical situation, and the capacity, in virtue of her mineral resources, of becoming the manufacturing centre of the Confederation. We have but to point to the fact, that though the great coal fields of our Province have been worked to a greater or less extent for half a century, we have made little or no progress in manufactures: we have been content to raise what coal we could merely as an article of home consumption or foreign export. The consequence has been that our progress has been one incessant struggle, and the youth of our population, unable to find employment at home, have been obliged to seek it in a foreign country.

It may be asked, In what respect will Confederation affect this for the better? I answer that it must affect it, almost at once, in many respects. It will strike down forever all inter-Provincial tariffs; every port in all the Provinces will admit the productions of each, free of duty. An *esprit*, or pride of country, will be created, whose tendency will be to build up and consolidate the trade and commerce and industrial resources of the united Provinces, by fostering each department where most favorably situated. What has hitherto prevented the full development of Nova Scotian resources, and the growth of manufactures? Every body will at once answer: the want of capital and the want of a market. And the answer is a true one. Now, Confederation will not only direct Provincial capital to the most advantageous points, but will draw towards them British capital, by inspiring confidence. Capital will purchase skill, and skill and capital are all that will be wanted, after the consummation of Confederation, to place Nova Scotia on a far more favorable basis than that now enjoyed by Massachusetts, as the manufacturing centre of the United States. This latter State has to import her coal from Nova Scotia, pays her mechanics higher wages than can be got in Nova Scotia, and labors under many other minor disadvantages; yet in the face of them all, she produces annually, it is said, what is worth \$517,000,000. Here, then, is a State smaller, in point of extent, than our own Province, realising in money value annually more than all the British Provinces taken together; and effecting this, too, with a soil far inferior to that of Canada, with no mineral resources of her own, with an inland navigation, and water power not to be compared for a moment to those of the British

Provinces. I would ask the people of Nova Scotia to consider what it is that has secured for Massachusetts this position. The skill, the capital and industry of her people, is the ready answer. But what, if this State of Massachusetts had thought fit to remain out of the Union, and refused to make common lot with the other States! The result would have been inevitable ruin to her, and to-day she would have occupied a far less satisfactory position, commercially speaking, than either Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. Her manufactures alone have made her rich and great, and they have been profitable because, through Union, she was able to find a large and unfettered market for her various commodities. That busy State, to which nature has been so niggard in every thing but geographical position, has thus become a hive of industry, and a source of ever growing wealth. The sons and daughters of Nova Scotia have found there remunerative occupation, which their native Province was unable to give them. And all this has come to pass, by carrying out at the beginning, that very policy of Federal Union, which has at a late hour been sought and adopted by these Provinces.

Under its fostering influence, however, Nova Scotia within a short time will take her proper and natural position. It has been already stated that the population of the united Provinces amounts to four millions of people, and for a large proportion of that four millions Nova Scotia must, and will become, the seat of manufacture. Coal can be raised to the pit's mouth, it is said, for one dollar, or one dollar and ten cents a ton; while Massachusetts is obliged to purchase it at seven or eight dollars. This determines the whole question, even if she did not possess other advantages in iron ore, in water communication, and in other ways, over the Republican State. With Union, both Provincial and British capital will flow in to develop her mineral resources, and turn them to profitable account for manufacturing purposes. The consequences are evident. Instead of a stream of emigration to the States from each of her counties, the current will be turned the other way, and avenues will be found at home for the enterprise and industry of the whole of her people. Along her rivers, her lines of railway, and near her seaboard, as well as in the vicinity of the great coal fields, manufactories will arise, which will at once enrich us as a people, and offer constant

and encouraging employment to our youth. If Union then will give us all this, will start us as it were in the path of progress and prosperity, does it not seem the height of madness or of the most criminal folly, to be throwing obstructions in its way? The statements made are, every one of them, based upon the logic of facts, and justified and fortified by all past experience. Before the Union, Scotland was sufficiently poor, though she possessed then all the material resources she has now. The progress she has made, and the wealth she has accumulated around her coal regions, read more like a romance than a plain matter of fact. The same may be said of the North of England, and of the coal producing portion of the little kingdom of Wales. And it must be evident to every reasonable and reflecting man, that if a policy of isolation had obtained in these places, their position to-day would have been even more backward, than that of any of these Provinces.

#### THE CASE OF BELGIUM.

But if we wish to see most clearly what have been the advantages of combination of interests and action in a coal-producing State, this will be made most apparent by taking a country, in point of area, not greatly exceeding our own. In 1834, Belgium was without a railway system, and was dependant for intercommunication upon the old-fashioned resources. The Government initiated a system of railways, which, within twenty years, formed a net-work stretching altogether to nearly one thousand miles. Let the result be marked. In 1835, the whole value of her exports and imports was £10,760,000 sterling. In 1845, it had risen to £27,000,000; in 1855, to £47,760,000; in 1860, to £72,126,000; and in 1864, to £97,280,000. This immense trade, therefore, which still continues to expand, Belgium owes to the fact that she is a coal-producing country, and that she now possesses railway communication with the most important points on the Continent of Europe. Within less than thirty years, a country scarcely larger than Nova Scotia, and with a population not greater than that of the British Provinces, has increased its trade tenfold, by adopting and carrying out that very policy which the Union party in this Province have just brought to a successful termination. Here, then, is a country, which, within less than a generation, has by means of its railway

system, by the developement of its mineral resources, built up a trade four or five times greater than that of these united Provinces at the present time. But if we wish to understand this truth more fully, let us take Holland, the neighbor of Belgium, of about the same size, and possessing a population quite as intelligent and industrious. In 1839, the trade of Holland was equal to £28,500,000; that of Belgium to £15,480,000; while in 1862 the trade of Holland was only £59,000,000, that of Belgium had risen to £78,000,000.

These are important facts, and lead to still more important conclusions. They prove not only what this Province is capable of, but what must be her destiny should she follow out the policy which has just been inaugurated. We see that, as she is now situated, her wealth depends upon her fisheries and her mines; but that the growth of the latter is stunted and rendered next to impossible, by want of capital, of united action and of railway intercommunication. We will suppose that the summer of 1867 will see the Union of the Provinces a substantial fact, and the Intercolonial Railway commenced, to be finished within three years, uniting us commercially with the other Provinces and the United States. The career of progress will then begin; and even should we advance only at the rate at which Belgium has advanced within the last ten years, we may be well satisfied. But our progress will in all likelihood be more immediate, and in a far larger ratio, for the plain reason that we will turn up what may be called virgin soil, and will be able to command, in all likelihood, an unlimited market. Belgium, by means of her coal fields, and with the appliances of capital and skill, is entering into competition with England in the manufacture of many descriptions of machinery. In the same way the Province of Nova Scotia, within a very few years, when her mineral resources become more widely known, and capital flows in upon her, will be able to supply the wants, not only of the Confederacy, but become the rival, and the successful one, of New England, in manufacturing to a large extent for the people of the United States. The expedient of high or prohibitory duties on articles of foreign produce, by this latter country, will be swept away by the force of common sense and public opinion, in course of time—probably of a short time; and should Nova Scotia be then able to take advantage



of her position, the foundation of her future wealth and strength will be placed on a sure basis.

Such, then, is the lever which Confederation will place in our hands, unless Nova Scotia is to be an exception to all previous experience, in every country under similar circumstances. The raw material lies ready for use; and if we are true to ourselves, no power or influence from without can harm us. If we are resolved to accept the principle as a mere apple of discord,—if, with blind and unreasoning passion, we are determined at all hazards to spurn from us every offered advantage, then it may be that even this golden opportunity may be lost to the present generation, and reserved for those whom the bitter lesson of adversity will teach wisdom. But I have no such foreboding. The essence of the principle has in it an inherent justice, which extends or offers its benefits to every class alike,—to the capitalist, the trader, the manufacturer, the agriculturist, the fisherman, and the mechanic. I believe that no man, whatever his circumstances or calling, has any reason whatever to apprehend loss or injury in the event of Union. It looks not to the interests of a class, but the prosperity of a State, which embraces every class.

#### THE TERMS OF UNION.

But it may be said, and with truth, that the terms of union, or co-partnership, may be one-sided and unfair, that the stronger party may grasp the lion's share, so that our last case would be worse than the first. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that we should understand the conditions of the proposed Union, and find out, by investigation, both its leading features and its details, whether justice has been accorded to each of the Provinces. To be in a position to do this, it will be necessary to understand something of the statistics of the respective Provinces—their population, revenue, debts, commerce, &c., so that we may be in a position to make comparisons and to draw just conclusions.

The aggregate population of the Provinces, destined to form an immediate Union, viz.: Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, may be put down as follows:—

Upper Canada.....	1,802,000
Lower Canada.....	1,288,880
New Brunswick.....	295,084
Nova Scotia.....	370,000
Total.....	3,755,964

Such, then, is the numerical strength of the Confederation, but if I include Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, it will amount to four millions of people. Dividing the whole into one hundred equal parts, it will be found that of these parts 45 belong to Upper Canada, 32 to Lower Canada, 9½ to Nova Scotia, 7½ to New Brunswick, 2½ to Prince Edward Island, and 3½ to Newfoundland; or taking it in another way, if we consider the Island as a unit or one, then Newfoundland will be equal to one and a-half, Nova Scotia to about four, New Brunswick to rather more than three, Lower Canada to fourteen, and Upper Canada to nearly twenty; that is, Nova Scotia is equal to four, while Upper Canada is equal to nearly twenty Prince Edward Islands in point of population. The Province of Nova Scotia contains as nearly as possible one-tenth of the people of the whole Confederacy.

Again, the area of the Provinces is as follows:—

Upper Canada,.....	121,260 square miles.
Lower Canada,.....	210,020 “
New Brunswick,.....	27,105 “
Nova Scotia,.....	18,600 “

Total,..... 376,985 square miles.

So that Nova Scotia, in point of extent, forms about one-twentieth part of the Confederated Provinces. If Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland be added, the total would be 420,000 square miles.

I now come to the debts of the several Provinces. Canada comes into the Union with a debt of \$65,000,000, which is about \$22 to each inhabitant of that Province. Nova Scotia comes in with \$8,000,000 of debt, being as nearly as may be the same amount to each Nova Scotian; while New Brunswick has \$7,000,000 of debt, or about \$23 to each person in that Province. It will thus be seen that so far as the respective debts are concerned, nothing could be fairer than the terms allotted to each. It so happens that the public

debts of each Province have been contracted for almost precisely similar purposes, viz., the building of great public works. The debts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are represented by their railroads, that of Canada by canals and subsidies to her vast railway system. It has been said that the debt of Canada is entirely unproductive, while that of Nova Scotia already makes a small interest return, which will every year become greater. This statement is not correct. The receipts from the railways of Canada last year were about \$11,000,000; the working expenses a little over \$7,000,000; leaving a surplus capable of paying a dividend of three per cent on the capital. The receipts from the Nova Scotia railway last year were \$183,954, and the expenditure \$159,069, leaving a surplus of nearly \$25,000, representing a dividend considerably less than one per cent. In returns, therefore, as well as in rapidity of progress, the superiority is on the side of Canada, and consequently the advantage in our favor.

I will now bring into juxtaposition the revenues of the respective Provinces. The revenue of Canada, from all sources, amounted last year to \$11,000,000, being equal to \$3.55 to each person. The revenue of Nova Scotia during the same period reached \$1,517,306, being equal to \$4.00 to each person. The customs and excise revenue of Canada were at the end of 1865 \$6,963,716; that of Nova Scotia \$1,047,891. It has been stated again and again that the tariff, or, in other words, the taxation, in Canada, is oppressively high compared to that in Nova Scotia. The above figures, taken from official returns, set this question at rest; for they show that, while in customs and excise the taxation is equal to \$2.22 per head in Canada, it is equal to \$2.80 in Nova Scotia. The conclusion so generally come to in this Province, that taxation is much higher than in Nova Scotia, has arisen from the fact that their tariffs are constructed on entirely different principles. Some articles in Canada paying 15 and 20 per cent. tariff, which in Nova Scotia are taxed only 10 per cent., while a great number of articles charged ten per cent. in Nova Scotia are admitted duty free into Canada. Taken in the aggregate, however, taxation in Canada, instead of being excessive, as so persistently represented, is on the whole somewhat lower than in Nova Scotia.

Again, the Post office of Canada yields a net revenue of \$60,000, while ours has always shown a large, though gradually diminishing, deficiency. Nova Scotia, therefore, has both a larger revenue and a larger expenditure per head than Canada—a fact which could not happen were the taxation of the latter Province much higher than that of the former, except on the supposition that the people of Canada are poorer, and do not consume exciseable articles to nearly the same extent—a position which can scarcely be granted.

I think it has been made tolerably clear from the above that, taking into account the population, the extent, the debts and revenues of the respective Provinces, no just complaint can be made by any one. Justice has been meted out not only equally, but judiciously, and if there is any leaning at all, that leaning is, as it ought to be, towards the smaller and the weaker parties.

#### THE BENEFITS TO BE REALISED.

It is impossible, then, to deny that what may be called the commercial terms of the Union are perfectly fair, and when we consider our position and the character of our resources, which this Union will develop, we are bound in all honor to confess that they are eminently favorable. The resources of Canada, which are principally those of the field and forest, are already largely developed; and she seeks to expand them still further and secure herself, in case of hostility, by having access by railway to the Atlantic Ocean. For this end she seeks to build the Intercolonial Railroad, to make common cause with the Lower Provinces, and identify her interests with theirs. Our resources on the other hand have lain dead, from want of means and opportunity to realise them. Both the means and the opportunity will now be afforded. Our internal railway system will be completed without delay, and a great highway will be opened, beginning at Halifax, and stretching across New Brunswick into Canada, and connecting with the United States railways. Interprovincial tariffs will disappear, and in this way the market of the large Province will be thrown open, free and uncontrolled to the enterprise of the smaller.

The oneness of the Confederacy will direct skill and capital to the most available points; and these, or the most prominent

of these, I have no hesitation in saying, will be found within the Province of Nova Scotia. Our mines and minerals, with the facilities of a great railway system will, under a vigorous administration, do for us what they have already done for every part of the world, fortunate enough to possess them, and with means and appliances to use them. Mines and minerals mean manufacturing, and manufactures, as in the case of New and Old England, of Belgium, and other countries, mean public and private wealth, mechanical and material progress.

Union, therefore, will benefit every class and every portion of Nova Scotia. Every interest will feel its influence, but above and beyond all it will nerve and encourage the arm of the industrious and aspiring man.

This is no mere general assertion, which may mean anything or nothing. A moment's reflection will bring home to us the conviction of its truth. The port of Halifax will be the great point of entry for the Confederacy. It will be connected with every part of the Continent by railway; it will be the efflux and influx of an ever growing trade and commerce. It will thus offer a constant market to the farmer, a large home market to the fisherman. It will give employment not only to the surplus of our own population, but absorb, year by year, a considerable immigration. It cannot fail to do so, unless under the contingency that the colonial system is broken up, and by some terrible misfortune, a reign of isolation, dissension, and suffering, should intervene. No one, however, expects this; and on the supposition that the new order of things is to have a fair trial, and the policy of Union will be carried out with tolerable completeness, what will and must be the result? Let us see.

#### WHAT UNION WILL DO FOR THE FARMERS OF NOVA SCOTIA.

According to the census of 1861, about 47,000 persons were engaged on the labors of the farm, making fully one-half of the adult male population of Nova Scotia. Taken as a whole, the occupation of husbandry in this Province has been an arduous, but not a profitable one; the principal reason being the want of a cash market, or a profitable outlet for farm produce. Union will put an end forever to this disadvantage.

The extended system of railways, and their connection with more distant points by steamers, will place the farmers in every part of the Province virtually upon an equality. The produce of Inverness, or Antigonish, or Digby, will bring as much as that of Halifax, or Colchester, or Hants, *minus* the trifling expense of carriage. The tantalising and depressing system of truck or barter will disappear altogether, just as it has disappeared from Canada under the influence of the railway system. The farmer will not require to carry his produce to market unless he pleases, as a fair price will at all times be at his command from parties whose occupation it will be to cater for the metropolitan market. The farmers of the Western counties, of Pictou, of Antigonish, and Cape Breton, will thus have every inducement to improve their mode of farming, to extract as large crops as possible from the soil, because, whether as stock or produce raisers, they will receive a fair equivalent for their labor, an equivalent that will enable them to live in comfort, and make some provision for their families.

The opponents of Union may say that we will have a system of railways without as well as with Union; but this is only half the truth. We will have a railway to Pictou, and we may (possibly) have one to Annapolis, even without Union; but this would not bring the desired result. Halifax would thus continue to be but the capital of a small Province, politically and commercially isolated. There would be no Intercolonial Railway, no impulse to trade, no influx of foreign capital. Halifax would be just pretty much as she is, offering a market for a population of some 30,000, and the farmer would feel little if any change. With Union the port of Halifax would be the rival of Montreal; ships from every part would crowd into her, and the demand for the produce of the soil, and the price it would command, would make every farm in the Province worth one hundred per cent. more than it is now, for farming would at once become a paying occupation, and the value of land rise in the same proportion. Nor will Halifax be the only market; for with the developement of our mines, and the rise of manufactories, the consumption will increase and prices rise all over the Province. The men of the Western Counties now find their produce shut out from the States by a prohibitory duty. The stock raisers of Cape

Breton experience the same result, and are suffering in consequence. A Confederation of the Colonies, within three years, or less, will make them independent of the States' market or its tariff. To our agricultural population, then, the back-bone of our country, Confederation will not only bring relief, but it will give strength and independence. The Nova Scotian farmer will no longer need to be anxious about the future of his family, nor dread the approach of manhood or womanhood as the period that must draw away his children from their home, and send them to other lands in quest of a means of support. No; a dozen different avenues will be open for them, as it were, at his own door; those very avenues, which at present tempt them to go abroad. The interest of every tiller of the soil thus lies in the direction of Confederation. Whether he looks to the present or the future, if he listen to the voice of reason and of truth, he will feel that for his own sake, for the sake of his family, for the well-being of his country, it is not only his interest, but that a sacred duty is upon him, to make common cause, and do all he can to sustain the policy of a Union of the Provinces.

#### ITS ADVANTAGES TO THE FISHERMAN.

There is not in any part of the world a hardier or more industrious class than the fishermen of Nova Scotia. In numbers and importance they rank next to our farmers. Their soil is the deep sea, and from its teeming waters they ought, with fair play and under favoring circumstances, to earn a comfortable living. The wealth of our shore and bank fisheries has become a proverb. But in spite of their abundance, our fishermen have remained poor, and their poverty has been enhanced by the fitful jealousy of their rivals. The fruits of their labors are now virtually excluded from the American market, and it is evident that the only thing that will save them and make them independent will be a *market at home*, and by becoming a portion of a Confederation that will have influence enough to obtain for them fair markets abroad. They have tried isolation long enough; they have had to submit to the caprice, the jealousy, and encroachments of a neighboring people, without any effective means of self-pro-

tection. The issue is now to a great extent in their own hands. A united colony will of itself open up a great home market, and still more will it be able to extend, by negotiation, by reciprocity with other countries, the amount of the export of our fisheries. A Union of the Colonies, then, will secure a larger and more reliable market for the produce of our fisheries, and will besides extend to them a more liberal measure of encouragement, more attention, and more effective protection.

#### THE ARTIZAN AND LABORER.

But if Confederation will benefit the farmer and the fisherman, it will benefit to a still greater extent the class of artisans or mechanics. By extending vigorously our great public works, by developing and expanding our resources, and introducing manufactures upon an extensive scale, the policy of Union will create a large demand for every class of tradesmen and mechanics, and hold out to them the inducement of steady employment at good wages. The moment that an impulse has been given to this fresh source of industry, the capitalists will step in to take advantage of it, and the services of the builder, the engineer, the carpenter, the mason, the miner, and of those of many other occupations, will at once be in request—not for a few weeks, not for a season, but steadily and constantly, their number ever increasing with the increasing demand for skilled labor. The Nova Scotian will thus find in his native Province that which, under separation, isolation, and conflicting tariffs, he has hitherto been forced to seek in the United States.

Nor will the advantage be confined to mere manual labor, whether skilled or unskilled. Increased comforts will create or extend new wants, and enable the industrious to share more largely the luxury of intellectual and social enjoyment. Every phase of social life must feel the elevating influence of the change, and implant in us the conviction that, after all, we have got a country worth living in, and with capabilities sufficiently great to satisfy all our aspirations.



## THE OPPONENTS OF UNION.

If, then, there are such prospects before us, why, it may be asked, is it that so many men of large means, and of high intelligence, look upon the approach of Confederation with undisguised apprehension? The question is easily answered. These men are now in possession of the field; they are masters of the situation, and do not care to run the risk of being pushed from their stools. The path has been smooth and easy for them; and although there has been but restricted progress, and more restricted openings for native industry and enterprise, they have been sufficiently large to afford profitable employment to their capital, and give them considerable wealth. But Union will bring competition even to capital: it will introduce an activity, a life and energy, which will likely enough disturb rudely the old ways by enlarging and liberalizing them. But even they will reap the benefit, if they choose to adapt themselves, as I have little doubt they will, to the new state of things. Our banking institutions ought not to be a practical monopoly; and if it should happen that the merchant will have to be satisfied with a smaller per centage of profit, he will more than recover himself by the increased scale of his sales, while his customers will enjoy the benefit. The mercantile policy in Nova Scotia has hitherto been large profits and small sales—an excellent one for the few, but an insuperable obstacle to all enterprise and general progress. It is a system under which no country, as a country, has ever yet prospered.

I have now, I think, shown that Union is in itself a principle of strength, and that wherever it has proved a weakness, or can prove a weakness, it must have arisen—must arise—from a wrong or improper adjustment of the parts. I have proved by facts and figures that, in our case, at any rate, the bargain in its commercial aspect has been as fair as it could well be made; and thus, all other things being equal, I am justified in concluding that the blessings and the benefits that have under the same circumstances flowed to others, will also accrue to us.

## ITS POLITICAL ASPECT.

But there is still another aspect, and a very important one, in which it must yet be viewed; and that is, the political relation in which, as Provinces, we are to stand to each other. The laws, the rights and privileges, under which we are to live, have been secured by an Imperial statute, and to that for a little while I would invite the reader's attention. The compact which binds us is a Federal, not a Legislative Union, like that of England and Scotland. We are to possess a General and a Local Legislature, whose duties are to be kept separate, and be clearly and sharply defined, so that the one may not come in collision with the other. We have a right to be satisfied, that we enter this Union on fair and equal terms, politically speaking; and I think that after an impartial investigation, it will be found that we of Nova Scotia have no material ground for complaint.

The Constitution of the new Confederacy is embodied in an Imperial Act, containing not fewer than 147 clauses. This Act differs in several respects from what is known as the Quebec Basis; and the changes, it may be remarked, are in every instance in favor of the Maritime Provinces. By the Quebec Basis, the support of penitentiaries fell upon the Local Legislature; by the Imperial Act, it has been transferred to the General Government. In the same manner it has been declared that local works, though situated wholly in the Province, if for the general advantage of the Confederacy, shall be provided for out of the general revenue. By the Imperial Act, a further grant of \$60,000 per annum is to come to Nova Scotia out of the general exchequer for local purposes. An attempt has been made to show that this grant is no boon whatever, as a similar *bonus* of \$80,000 has been allowed to Upper Canada; but it should not be forgotten that the population of the latter Province is five times that of our own, so that while the allowance to Nova Scotia is equal to 17 cents a head, that to Upper Canada is something less than five cents. The situation of the smaller Provinces has thus, in this case, also been liberally considered; so that, if we measure the terms by the population, in any way, wherever there is an advantage, it will be found to be invariably on the side of the Maritime Provinces.

## THE GENERAL LEGISLATURE.

We will now look for a moment at the construction of the general legislature. The Senate of the general legislature is to consist of seventy-two members, nominated by the Crown, and holding their seats for life. The united Colony is for this purpose arranged in three divisions, viz., Upper Canada, Lower Canada, and the Maritime Provinces, each represented by an equal number of Senators, twenty-four. The united population of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia is about 660,000, so that in this instance the estimate by population has been departed from, and as many Senators given to 660,000 people in the Lower Provinces as have been apportioned to 1,802,000 in Upper, or 1,288,000 in Lower Canada. This has been a wise and judicious arrangement, but at the same time every upright and reflecting man must be constrained to acknowledge, that on the part of the Canadas, it has also been a generous and magnanimous one. By the Quebec Scheme Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were each to have had ten members and Prince Edward Island four. By the Act they have each twelve, so that the voice of the Lower Provinces in the Senate will be, numerically speaking, as authoritative, as if it comprised Prince Edward Island.

In the House of Assembly, or as it is to be called the House of Commons, the whole number of members will consist of 181; viz., 82 for Upper Canada, 65 for Lower Canada, 19 for Nova Scotia, and 15 for New Brunswick. An attempt, as disingenuous as it is unreasonable, has been made to persuade our people that by this method of distribution, their voice and influence will be lost; for what say they, can Nova Scotia effect with the aid of 19 votes only out of 181? The population of Nova Scotia, as has been already stated, is 370,000, so that she will have on an average one member to each 20,000 of her people. The population of Canada, Upper and Lower, is about 3,090,000, the number of members 146, giving precisely the same ratio. In the distribution of the seats of a House, which is intended to represent the popular element alone, it would have been an absurdity and a practical paradox, to adopt any other system than that based upon population. Any other scheme would have been an insult and a wrong to one party or another, which would of necessity

have upset every other arrangement. In this case, however, Nova Scotia has obtained her full complement according to population, with a careful proviso, that that ratio will never be infringed upon. What more could we expect, what more, ought we, in reason to desire? But the truth is, the very spirit and essence of constitutional government render injustice to a part, nearly impossible, without affecting the whole. It has indeed happened, that the weaker has had apportioned to it less than its legitimate share, as was the case with Scotland at the time of the Union. Scotland, with one-fourth of the population, had but one-tenth of the representation of England. This was an injustice, but Nova Scotia can put forward no such complaint, as the utmost care has been taken to place all, on the numerical principle, upon an equal footing. Yet, notwithstanding the inequality on the part of Scotland to which we have alluded, instead of the larger and richer kingdom absorbing the smaller, no country in European history at any rate, has made such gigantic strides in wealth and civilization as this same kingdom of Scotland has done, since the time of the Union. In 1707, the year of Union, the entire revenue of Scotland was £110,000 sterling, about a third of that of Nova Scotia at the present time, less than the port dues now collected at the port of Glasgow, much less than the annual income of several of her nobles and gentry, and not one-fiftieth of the revenue she now pays into the British Exchequer. In her case Union put an end to all international jealousies and dissensions, to prohibitive tariffs, and to that mutual isolation which wasted its power in assailing, instead of building up the strength and resources of the two nations. The lesson is pregnant with instruction to every one of us, and as fruitful in results to-day as it was one hundred and fifty years ago, on the other side of the Atlantic.

It will thus be seen that in legislative rights and privileges, those belonging to the Province of Nova Scotia have been amply, and in a spirit of perfect justice and fairness, secured for her. She has entered the Union neither as a dependant nor an inferior, but will take her place in the General Parliament with a position as unchallenged and unchallengeable as the members for the Ridings of Yorkshire in England, or any other portion of the United Kingdom, possess or can claim in the Imperial Legislature. There is no danger whatever of

any infringement upon our rights, or any neglect of our interests. If the Lower Provinces have interests peculiar to their geographical position, they will at all times be strong enough to make their influence felt; for it is well known that in a popular assembly it is impossible to overlook the interests of one section without alarming all the rest. The very variety of class interests, of feelings and opinions, religious and national, throughout the Confederacy, is the strongest possible security that injustice will not be done, simply because no Administration could afford to do it; no Administration could do it at all, and live for any length of time.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF REVENUE.

I will now endeavor to place in a correct and reliable form, the proportions of our public revenue, which, under the Confederation Act, will go respectively to the General and the Local Governments. As this part of the subject is one of great importance and universal interest to the people, I will be careful to place nothing before them whose correctness cannot be proved by reference to official documents. The revenue of the Province of Nova Scotia for the year ended 30th September last, was a little over \$1,500,000, and the expenditure was nearly the same. During the year ended September, 1866, we believe that there has been an increase of revenue to some extent; but as the financial statement has not yet been made, I will content myself with that of the previous year, as a safe and reliable guide. I have, however, before me the "estimated" revenue for 1866, as prepared by the Financial Secretary. Here it is:

#### PROBABLE REVENUE OF 1866.

Customs and Excise Duties,.....	\$1,200,000
Light Duty, .....	38,000
Casual Revenue,.....	70,000
Crown Lands,.....	45,000
Gold Fields,.....	20,000
Hospital for Insane,.....	20,000
Post Office Revenue,.....	30,000
Railway Revenue,.....	200,000
Board of Revenue,.....	2,000
Great Britain, for Sable Island,.....	2,000
Canada, New Brunswick and P. E. Island,.....	4,500
Total, .....	<u>\$1,631,500</u>



<i>The General Government would pay—</i>	<i>The Local Government would pay—</i>
The Licut. Governor, . . . \$15,000	Governmental Departments, say, . . . . . \$15,000
Judges, . . . . . 17,850	Crown Land do., . . . . . 18,500
Pensions, . . . . . 4,800	Mines do, . . . . . 17,595
Governor's Secretary, . . . 1,250	Education, . . . . . 133,595
Statistics, . . . . . 4,000	Legislative expenses, say, 30,000
Prosecutions, . . . . . 2,000	Hospital for Insane, . . . . 30,000
Debt, interest on . . . . . 480,000	Poors' Asylum, . . . . . 12,000
Judiciary expenses, . . . . 1,400	Ferries, . . . . . 12,000
Militia, . . . . . 88,000	Relief of Poor, . . . . . 5,000
Protection of fisheries, . . 40,000	Roads and bridges, . . . . . 165,000
Support of light houses, . . 50,000	Navigation Securities, . . . 20,000
Post Office, . . . . . 65,000	Public Printing, . . . . . 6,000
Revenue expenses, . . . . . 70,500	Miscellaneous, . . . . . 4,000
Railway expenses, . . . . . 150,000	Coroners' Inquests, . . . . 1,400
Drawbacks, . . . . . 16,000	
Steamers, . . . . . 10,000	
Proportion of Legislative expenses, . . . . . 30,000	Total, . . . . . \$465,090
Miscellaneous, . . . . . 10,000	
Sable Island, . . . . . 5,000	
Government buildings, . . 10,000	
Penitentiary, . . . . . 12,800	
Agriculture and Immi- gration, . . . . . 20,000	
Total, . . . . . \$1,103,600	

It will thus be seen, that by including every service, and maintaining each on the same scale as at present, the amount that will have to be paid by the General Government for the requirements of this Province, is \$1,103,600, and for local purposes by the Provincial Government, \$465,000. Immigration and Agriculture have been allotted to the General Government, as it would seem from the Act that a comprehensive system, including both departments, is contemplated by it. To the various local services, the allowances, as given above, are on the same scale as last year in every respect, with the exception of "special road services," which are to be considered as exceptional, and referring only to the particular year for which they were granted.

We have thus seen how the revenue is to be apportioned ; I will now show what department, and how much of it, is available to the General and Local Governments respectively.

<i>To the General Government belong—</i>	<i>To the Local Government belong—</i>
The Customs and Excise \$1,200,000	Casual Revenue, . . . . . \$70,000
Light duty, . . . . . 38,000	Crown Lands, . . . . . 45,000
Post office, . . . . . 30,000	Gold Fields, . . . . . 20,000
Railway, . . . . . 200,000	Hospital for Insane, . . . . 20,000
Board of Revenue, . . . . 6,500	Eighty cents per head (subsidy), . . . . . 264,000
<b>Total, . . . . . \$1,474,500</b>	General subsidy, . . . . . 60,000
	<b>Total, . . . . . \$479,000</b>

It will thus be seen that \$1,474,500 fall to the General, and 155,000 of revenue to the Local Government. From the former, however, is to be deducted \$324,000 paid over to the Provincial Government for local purposes, making \$1,150,000 accruing to the general exchequer, while \$479,000 goes to the local one. Any person who will take the trouble to examine the debtor and creditor sides of this account, the amount to be received and the amount to be disbursed, will see at a glance that by no possibility can it be said that the money of Nova Scotia will contribute towards the aggrandisement, or towards the relieving of the obligations of Canada. \$479,000 will be available to meet the local requirements of the Province, which, even upon the liberal scale of last year, amounted only to \$465,090, leaving a margin for contingencies of some \$14,000. Nor is this all, for it must be remembered that the cost of constructing the Intercolonial Railway is to come out of the General Chest; while the revenue from coal, from the gold mines, and the Crown Land Department, may be expected to increase largely and rapidly. Looking at our coal fields, we are fully justified in prognosticating that within two or three years the yield will be a million of tons, amounting to about \$100,000 of royalty; while it will by no means be an unreasonable expectation to look forward, within ten year's time, to an out-put of coal equal to three millions of tons. Again, the local revenue is of a nature that while a large increase may be expected from



it, there will be no proportionably increased expense attending its collection or management. It will not cost any more to take the royalty on five million tons of coal, than it would on fifty thousand.

#### MISREPRESENTATIONS.

Such then are the commercial, the political and fiscal aspects of this vitally important question. Look at it as we may, test it at every point, it will bear the most ample and the most searching scrutiny. It secures to us all the advantages of a Union of interests and influences, without the slightest sacrifice either of position or of honor. I am well aware that objections have been made against it, and that many entertain sincere though groundless apprehensions as to its result. These objections, however, I have been unable to find any where put together in a tangible or intelligible shape. The arguments against Union, have in no instance, so far as I am aware, got deeper than general declamation, against the character and position of Canada and Canadians. The debt of Canada, the taxation of Canada, and the evil intentions of Canada, have been iterated, and re-iterated, in language more remarkable for its vehemence than its truth. Again, it has been stated that we are about to be *annexed* to Canada, as if the Union had in it, at any rate, something so degrading and humiliating, that in accepting it, we parted with our liberty and entered upon a sort of serfdom. A more infamous calumny was never invented, and its very absurdity is its own refutation. Does the member of the remotest shire in Scotland feel himself in any way inferior to the member of Middlesex in England! Is there a man or woman in Rhode Island, or Connecticut, who does not feel that his or her position in the Union is, politically speaking, on an equality with that of the proudest man in it? So will it be with Nova Scotia in our Union. While the British flag floats over us, ostracism is impossible, and the son of the poorest backwoodsman may, if he has the ability, direct the Government and guide the destinies of the United Colony. Such a charge is but an insult to our reason, a charge which no honest man will make, and no reflecting man will for a moment entertain.

The general charge is in itself gross enough, and absurd enough, but when we find that in addition to this is added,

that of conspiracy against the life of our common country, when we find the names of men, who in all the private relations of life hold, and have always held, an unsullied reputation, associated with all that is basest and blackest in character, it is difficult to believe either one's eyes or ears. We hear the words, treachery, venality, and bribery, broadly and boldly allied with the names of not a few of our public men. These reckless slanders are among the objections to Union, and could they be brought home against any man among us, though this infamy would not indeed affect the merits of the question one way or another, it would most justly consign to everlasting contempt the person who would stoop so low. But though these accusations are repeated every day, no attempt is made, and apparently no intention entertained, of bringing home the disgrace to any one. It will be well to remember who make such accusations. No one knows, no one ventures under his signature, or in open day to prefer the charge and say, I hold here the proofs in my hand. The abuse is, to the disgrace of our press, to be found only in our Colonial newspapers, and can be traced to no one, or at least to no one who has a reputation or a character to lose. Vile words assuredly prove nothing but the vileness of those who give them circulation; and all that I ask, from the people of this Province, is a frank and unprejudiced consideration of the facts stated, and a verdict according to the evidence.

I ask them to look at the character, and enquire into the history of some of the men, to whose names the terms schëmer, traitor, and other creations of a foul imagination, have been appended; and, having done so, look for the accusers, and having put both side by side, ask, and try to find out, which are the more respectable. Such charges cannot affect the character or influence of those against whom they are levelled, for the very sufficient reason that that character is their best refutation. It is quite true, we believe, that there are several members of both Houses of the Legislature, who hesitated, and were in doubt for some time, as to the benefit that Union would confer upon the Provinces; and while they felt thus, they opposed, and very properly opposed, the premature pressure of the question. But what honorable man would venture on that account to bring a charge of baseness and venality against these men, because, with a change of circumstances,

and a fuller consideration of the question, they came to the conclusion that a Union of the Colonies would be a general advantage? I will venture to say that all the gold in the Provincial chest would not have tempted such a man as Mr. Smyth, of Inverness, for example, either to vote or act contrary to what he believed to be the best interests of his county and his Province; and the same may be said of all the others. For when we look to the men, to their public career, and to their private character, we feel convinced that no influence and no temptation would induce them to betray their country. The idle slander is unworthy even of the amount of attention that has been given it.

#### THE SUPPORTERS OF UNION.

If we look around us we will find that a measure which has been represented as so one-sided and ruinous, has been singularly favored in the support it has received. When it was first mooted, the principle of Union had not in these Colonies, so far as we are aware, a single opponent. It was advocated by Lord Durham in one of the ablest reports ever written; and though not acted upon, was approved by every statesman, British and Colonial, of the day. No man was a more eloquent, no man was so fervid and eloquent an advocate of Union, as the Hon. Mr. Howe. He has since changed his ground, and we find no fault with him for having done so. But the facts and arguments he pressed home, the burning words, and the glowing colors in which he set forth the advantages of Union, live to-day in all their freshness and energy, while he has failed entirely in convincing the public mind that that for which he once pleaded with so much earnestness is but a hollow delusion. Still I would complain of no man for turning his back even upon his own most cherished opinions; but we not unreasonably expect that some explanation will be given for the change—an explanation that possesses the merit of being intelligible. This is a part of the subject however on which it is unnecessary to dwell, as it has been exhausted several times over by others. Whatever facts or arguments Mr. Howe can bring forward to-day against a Union of the Colonies are worthy of respect and attention, in proportion to their force and truth. If it can be proved that they outweigh those which a few short years ago he adduced in its favor,

then it is only right and proper that the former be pushed out of sight, and give place to their successors. But while giving to Mr. Howe's arguments all the respect and consideration due to his great ability, we cannot be expected to shut our eyes and ears to the opinions of men who have had a wider and longer experience than he has had, and are possessed of a mind as cultivated, and of a stronger and more evenly balanced intellect. Every British statesman, deserving the name, is a warm supporter of the Union of these British American Provinces, from a conviction which they have again and again expressed, that it would add to their strength, their security, and prosperity. Such was the opinion of Lord Durham and of Lord Palmerston. Such is the opinion of Earl Russel, of Lord Derby, and of Mr. Gladstone, and indeed of every public man in England whose attention has been at all given to Colonial affairs. If wisdom and integrity are entitled to any weight, surely the opinions of these men should not be lightly thrown aside.

But it may be said that they are far removed from the scene, and are ignorant of the practical working of Colonial institutions. This does not affect the principle; but granting its force for the moment, how is it that at least four-fifths of the public men in the Colonies are of the same way of thinking. How is it that men of the highest station and whose advice is treasured on every other topic, should also be of opinion that a Union of these Colonies will be a public benefit? Such men as the Archbishop of Halifax, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Bishop of Arichat, and the great bulk of the clergy of all denominations, can have no political aspirations, no personal objects to subserve, no inducement to injure their people by ruining their country. Yet these men are in favor of Union; and surely it is no undue stretch of argument to take for granted that they are in favor of it, because they believe in their hearts that it will conduce to the material prosperity of their flocks. Any other supposition would be, not only inconsistent with reason, but an utter absurdity.

Whatever, therefore, any of us may think of those who are opposed to Union, when we look at those who sustain it, we must be constrained to extend to it at least a fair and patient examination, to judge it by its merits, by the facts and arguments by which it is surrounded, by the light of wisdom and

experience. So judged, we have no apprehensions as to the results in the minds of men who are truly attached to British institutions, and who wish to live and die under the folds of the British flag.

#### WHAT THE CONFEDERATION ACT WILL GIVE US COMPARED WITH THE QUEBEC SCHEME.

The task of adapting and arranging the various, and in some respects, conflicting interests of the different Provinces was a very difficult one, and it is perhaps impossible that all parties should be entirely satisfied. The terms of the Quebec Basis are generally known, and, as has been already stated, wherever an alteration has been made under the Confederate Act, it has been in favor of the smaller Provinces. By the Quebec Scheme, eighty cents a head was to be the subsidy for local purposes to each Province, the standard being the census of 1861. This gave Nova Scotia \$264,000 only. By the Act, eighty cents a head are to be given up to 400,000 of a population, and a subsidy of \$60,000 a year besides, so that the terms of the Imperial Act improve the position of Nova Scotia by these two items alone, to the extent of \$136,000 per annum more for local purposes. By the Quebec Scheme all penitentiaries and hospitals had to be provided for by the Local Governments. Under the Confederation Act, marine hospitals and penitentiaries fall to the keeping of the General Government. In the case of Nova Scotia, this will relieve her in the matter of the Penitentiary alone, to the extent of \$12,800 per annum, besides securing for us a marine hospital. The protection of the fisheries has also been very properly assumed by the Federal Government; and it ought to be remembered that only last year \$40,000 was voted by our Legislature for that purpose. \$14,000 was voted for Agriculture, and \$5800 for Immigration. It will thus be seen that the Imperial Act has improved vastly the financial position of our Province, as compared with the Quebec scheme, and places at her disposal a sum sufficient to meet the local expenditure, upon as liberal a scale as under the isolation principle. We have thus secured all the advantages of Union, without being compelled to make any undue sacrifices. We lose nothing, while the value of our gain can scarcely be estimated, though some idea of it may be obtained by placing before the reader a simple statement of the

## STRENGTH AND RESOURCES OF THE CONFEDERACY.

We become a portion of a Confederacy containing nearly 400,000 square miles; with a population of about 4,000,000; an annual revenue of \$14,000,000; an export and import trade amounting in the aggregate to \$150,000,000; a tonnage which in 1863 numbered 8530 vessels, and nearly a million of tons, and which has increased immensely since that time; 2500 miles of railway in operation, with the Intercolonial, to be completed as quickly as possible—so that there will be a net-work connecting every portion of the continent, from Halifax to New Orleans; several hundred miles of canal; the finest river and lake navigation in the world; forty million acres of land unsurpassed for agricultural purposes; the most extensive and valuable forest lands on the continent; fisheries, whose actual value cannot be calculated; mineral resources greater than those of Great Britain; a fertile soil; a healthy climate; a free constitution; and an industrious, intelligent, and enterprising population. Such are the materials of the new Confederacy; such are the elements of strength and growth it has in it, with room enough to hold thirty millions of people, and ample means to sustain them all; a territory behind it stretching to the Pacific, and rivalling in magnitude that of the Great Republic. Such, then, is the condition, and such are the prospects, of this young State. She starts on her career with much in her favor; and by the blessing of Providence with a high destiny before her. By this very Act of Confederation, our political safety is secured, our freedom as a people guaranteed by the whole resources of the British Empire. We have, therefore, nothing to fear, if internal dissensions and jealousies should not rend us. A great responsibility is upon us—one which involves the future even more than the present. Let us, therefore, be true to ourselves—confident in ourselves and in each other; let the men of the counties of Nova Scotia look to the interests of their sons and daughters, to the claims of family and country, rather than the clamors and selfishness of faction; let them look for counsel to the opinions of the wise and good—to those whose character is above reproach and beyond suspicion, but turn away resolutely and persistently from the preachings and denunciations of the demagogues.

## CONCLUSION.

The lesson of the hour is at once suggestive and instructive. There is an opposition to Union, beyond our boundary line, gathering strength and giving forth utterances, which form the strongest and most convincing argument in its favor that has yet been adduced. Our Republican neighbors appear to look upon the Act of Confederation as a sort of menace to themselves; not that they entertain any apprehension that it will ever become a Power either hostile or injurious to their interests, but because Union means a consolidation of strength; the practical application of a principle which promises to give permanency to our political institutions, as well as to open a career of prosperity to our people. The language of the Governor of Maine was significant enough; and that language, insulting as it was to our manhood, has been endorsed by the Legislature of that State without a dissenting voice. The same language, only more pointed and offensive, has been repeated within the walls of Congress. Confederation has been denounced there, for the very reason that it has been advocated here, viz., that it will build up our strength, give us status and influence among the nations, and a prosperity which the United States do not wish to see so near them. They tell us arrogantly that it is inconsistent with the aspirations of the Great Republic, that a great Confederacy, with monarchical leanings, should grow up beside them. They were satisfied so long as we remained isolated, because they knew well that in such a state absorption into the Republic would be but a matter of time. They were content to wait, and by worrying us with prohibitory tariffs, to force us at last to make common cause with them. Confederation has entirely thwarted this policy; and their disappointment and vexation, as we have seen, find utterance in insulting language. This shows that they, too, are firm believers in the advantages that Union will bring to us, as a people—advantages which they grudge, and will prevent us from realising, if they can find the opportunity. Surely, this ought to bring home conviction to the mind of every man, who is willing to be convinced, that there must be something tangible in Union, after all, seeing that American and British statesmen have come to precisely the same conclusion as to the effect it will produce, though animated by very different feelings towards it.

The path of duty, therefore, is plain before us, and it lies happily in the same direction with that of our honor and our interest. No man who is not a Republican in heart, but will indignantly resent any interference with our liberty of action as a people, or even the shadow of dictation, on the part of a foreign power. Our policy is one of peace, of industry, and good neighborhood; our desire to gather in and consolidate our strength—to utilise our resources, and assimilate our constitution, as far as possible, with that of the Empire of which we are proud to form a part.

A noble inheritance is now at our disposal; let us not be tempted, like the thoughtless or credulous prodigal, lightly to cast it from us. Isolation found and has kept us weak, and battling for mere existence till the present hour. Union opens up fresh fields of enterprise and profit, offers us a tempting and honorable present, and assures us of a glorious future,—a future which will, within the lifetime of the present generation, witness Halifax as a first class city, with its noble harbor crowded with shipping from every part of the globe; will find Cape Breton dotted with mines, and her fertile fields in the highest state of cultivation; will see the mineral resources of the Eastern Counties expanding themselves into manufactories of every description; while the fertile valleys and meadow lands of the West will supply the market of the capital, and bring a comfort and wealth to their owners which they never knew before, rendering them independent of foreign tariffs.

Such are the advantages which Union offers, and which it will extend to every class and to every branch of industry. We ask our people, one and all, to hail it as they would a deliverer, and to close with it as a boon of priceless value, and to feel that a debt of gratitude is due to the men whose untiring efforts have at length secured it, and handed it over to their country, an enduring proof of their ability and pledge of their patriotism.

Such are my convictions of the merits of Union, as applied to this Province, convictions earnestly expressed, deeply and sincerely felt—too deeply to permit me to indulge either in flippant invective, or in personal attack. I appeal to my fellow Colonists to approach the subject in the same spirit; to sift it with candor, and decide by the light of fact and argument, not of preconceived opinion or prejudice. I now leave the subject in their hands, and all that I would ask in its behalf is a fair and unbiassed deliverance.



