Instead of our finding allies in the Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland Delegates—as it might have been supposed we would—when advocating the interests of Prince Edward Island, we found them closely united in their views with the Canadian ministry; and, in no instance, did one of the Delegates of the other Maritime Provinces, vote in our favor.

Although the hon. and learned gentleman, Mr. Haviland, has, this evening, displayed great ability, as a special pleader, in favor of the Union; he has not, in my opinion, advanced a single fact or argument, calculated to prove that, were we to enter the Union, it would, in any way, be conducive either to our present or future prosperity; or, in any way, to damage the arguments advanced, or the position assumed, by those who oppose it. I give him credit for the ability which he has displayed in the advocacy of a bad cause; but I cannot refrain from observing, at the same time, that, had he been on our side—the Anti-Unionist side—and had he spoken with that happy, energetic, and fervid flow of eloquence, with which he spoke against the Union, last session, in the House of Assembly he would have secured us the victory to-night.

[Hon. Mr. Haviland explained that the Hon. Mr. Coles was in error in saying that he (Mr. H.) opposed the Union as now projected—that is Federal Union. What he opposed, last Session, in the House of Assembly, was a Legislative Union.]

Hon. Mr. C.—In his advocacy of the Union, the hon. and learned gentleman has not indeed said, as the Hon. Colonial Secretary has done, that the terms of Union proposed to us, are just and liberal, but he has said that he is willing to accept the terms such as they are. I, however, Sir—believing that the terms of Union offered to us are neither just nor liberal, nor in any way as advantageous as we have a right to expect they should be—I feel it to be a duty unreservedly to express my sentiments concerning them. Should the people be in favour of Union—although I am very far from believing they will—I shall have to submit to their decision. Still, however, even were that the case, I should feel myself called upon, in the conscientious discharge of my duty, as a representative of the people, to oppose the Union, in my place in the House of Assembly, with all the ability I possess; and that I certainly will do.

REV. GEORGE SUTHERLAND.—Mr. Chairman, I think it right that all classes of the citizens should be heard on this important question. We have heard several of the delegates and certain members of parliament—it is but fair that the sentiments of others should be known. It is one thing to be popular, another thing to be right. It is well when both can be combined; but if they cannot be, let me be right rather than popular. This subject is one which deeply concerns the whole country. All my sympathies, all my aspirations, Sir, are in favor of Union. I wish to look over this vast territory stretching from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island and call that country my own. I wish to be a member of this New British American Empire—that go where I may in all its great extent I may feel myself no stranger, but at home. It seems to me that such a scheme has charms for all, but especially for young and enterprising and aspiring men. I cannot understand how any young man of noble mind can be hostile to the project, if it can be accomplished on honorable terms. It has been said that the scheme originated in the recent difficulties of Canada. No, Sir, they may have been the immediate occasion of the late Conference, but, Sir, the subject has been before the minds of the leading men of British America ever since Lord Durham was in Canada, nearly thirty years ago; and, sir, it has ever enkindled their noblest aspirations, and claimed their best attention. From that day to this, the best minds in these Provinces,—educated, enterprising men,—have looked forward to the time when these Colonies should form one nation, inferior in nothing that constitutes greatness to any nation on the face of the globe. I wish, sir, that Prince Edward Island shall form a part of this nation—I wish that she may join her sisters, and go into this great Confederation. Will you keep her out? Will you keep her back when the others advance? No, no! Give her a place with the rest, and she will nobly perform her part. This, sir, is not my native land, but I am deeply attached to it. It is the birth-place of my children, and in its interests I must ever be identified. Nova Scotia is my native land, but all that can elevate, all that can advance Prince Edward Island, must ever claim my warmest sympathies and ardent efforts. Do you suppose, sir, that I would ever be a party to anything that would degrade her before the world—to anything that would retard her industry—to anything that would blast her prospects? No—never! Therefore it is that I desire to see her enter the Confederation, because I believe she would share in the greatness and prosperity and glory of this new Empire. Is it said that this is the "glory" argument? It is the glory argument. But it is something more than glory. Here are the foundations on which true national glory rests. Here are all the elements to form a glorious nation—the territory, the health, the strength, the virtue, which form the glory of a nation. Here is the wide field for our aspiring and noble-minded youths. Since I came to the Island I have always taken the deepest interest in the education of the young. And now, sir, I would like to enter a school, and say: "My sons, there is a noble field for your highest ambition. Although you are natives of Prince Edward Island, British America is yours. If you have the energy, the talent, the enterprise and the integrity, there is nothing to prevent you becoming Prime Minister of British America, Chief Justice of British America, or Governor of Prince Edward Island." To this last office some would take exception. Why? is not a man—a man wherever he is found? Is he any the worse for being born on this side the Atlantic? I have not one word to say against the representatives of our Queen on this Island; they have all been excellent men, and especially the gentleman who now represents Her Majesty. But why may not a colonist aspire to this position? If he possess the necessary ability and integrity, why should he not rule his native land?

On the question of Representation I have something to say. In the Upper House there has been an effort to do us justice. The Lower Provinces have the same number as either of the Canadas. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and P. E. Island although having a population far below either Lower or Upper Canada, have the same number of representatives in the Council as either of those Provinces. The interests of the Maritime Provinces are considered as identical. The business of the Federal Legislature is with *general* matters, and what would affect P. E. Island would also affect Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They will, therefore, stand together and conserve the rights of each other. But do you suppose that any part of the Confederation would seek to destroy another part? Is not the wealth of one the wealth of all—and the prosperity of one the prosperity of all? Canada seek to crush poor Prince Edward Island!—Canada wants a Union with us to make us pay her debts! Well, what will men not say after that? No; Canada would rejoice in our prosperity—Canada would promote, with all her influence, the welfare of the whole Confederation. But it is said what can we do with our five representatives in the Lower House? Would these five stand alone? Are the Provinces to be antagonistic to each other? Will Canada be a unit? Who does not know that there will be two or three parties in both Upper and Lower Canada; and instead of Canada being united against us, you may see men from the extreme West of Canada standing shoulder to shoulder with the men of P. E. Island. I do not say that the Report is perfect, or that the men who framed it were infallible. But they were the ablest men in the Provinces—men of experience as well as talent. Theories may fall to the ground when it is attempted to put them in practice; but here is the matured experience of men long acquainted with the science of government, and with the results of various methods of influencing and controlling their fellow men.—In regard to taxation, two fallacies have been widely propagated on this Island—the loss which we would sustain by imposing a certain tariff out of the Union, when it is manifest that no government has the remotest idea of imposing such a tariff out of the Union, and the imagination that a high tariff must produce a proportionately high revenue. We cannot speak of that as a loss which we have not gained. And who, acquainted with revenues, does not know that up to a certain mark only can you get revenue by a high tariff—that beyond that it becomes prohibition, and importations are few, and income from such a tariff small, and not large. And is it not a certainty that under the Confederation a vast amount of goods would pay no duty. The gain, not the loss, would be ours. But, oh! are we not to be burdened with paying for railways? Should we not bear our share if we share in the benefits? For whom has New Brunswick pushed her railway to Shediac? For whom is the Nova Scotian government extending her railway to Pictou? Is it not for the trade of the Gulf? Is it not specially and mainly for the benefit of P. E. Island? And would we be so mean as to murmur about paying our small quota for such objects? Would there not be something in feeling, while travelling on those railways, that we had contributed for their erection?

I heard to-night some singular statements about the Canals of Western Canada? For whom are these Canals? Are they not for those who have ships? And are the Maritime Provinces to object—is P. E. Island to object that a highway is to be constructed for her ships to pass to the far West without unloading their cargoes by the way? How long will men be blind to their own interests! And Lower Canada will help Upper Canada in securing this! So she should. But would it not be the interest of Lower Canada to detain them by the way, and have the transportation of their freight rather than see them pass her by without, it may be, spending their gold.

I am not against P. E. Island getting better terms if she can—I am not for having her interests sacrificed in any way, but I am against hasty decisions in this matter. I do not approve of passing resolutions in all parts of the country condemnatory of a scheme, where only one side, and the worst side of the subject, has been fairly opened up. The people should have time to consider. These ex-parte resolutions are little worth. I believe this Union would be of great benefit to the whole country. If Nova Scotia and New Brunswick go in, shall we stay out? If they decline, it would be useless for us to think of it; but if they accept it will be absurd for us to refuse. Therefore all these hasty resolutions are out of place. We must share the lot of our sisters—we must not stay "out in the cold." If you do, you will drive from your shores every man of noble enterprising spirit, who wishes to stand on a level with his fellow-men. As a clergyman, I may remark, that by the Union of two Synods we lately formed the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces. And what is the result? We have a power, a weight, an influence for good, as well as an enlarged field for the exercise of superior ability, which we never could have in our small separate Synods. And so it would be with this Union. Here would be a field for energy and ability which our limited legislature cannot afford—here would be a field for enterprise which our restricted commerce will not allow—and here would be a weight and power and influence which would be felt all over the world, and which we cannot command in our separate condition. And yet the advocates of this great measure have been spoken of here to-night as men incapable of managing their own affairs, as men approaching the condition of maniacs. Sir, we are able to manage our own affairs, and to comprehend and appreciate this important, this vital project also. Such insinuations are ignoble. Let the subject be fully and fairly discussed on its own merits. I have no fear Sir, of the ultimate result. Pardon me, Sir, if I, a clergyman—yet a citizen—have come forward, in the face of the powerful opposition arrayed against this measure, to express my sentiments before this crowded audience on a question of such vital importance to the welfare of Prince Edward Island.

[The Rev. Gentleman who had been frequently applauded in the course of his Speech, sat down amid prolonged applause.]

BENJAMIN DAVIES, Esq.—Mr. Mayor, The question of a Union with Canada is one of vast importance, one which we should and will, no doubt, carefully consider. On the one hand we are called on to render up all the privileges which we now enjoy, to relinquish to the hands of strangers those civil liberties entailed to us by our father-land. Canada demands our revenue; the power to tax us, to support her enormous debt; to tax us for establishing gigantic railways, and for the cutting and building of canals, which will be of no manner of use to us or our trade; and she also demands the power to tax us towards the support of her military and naval service. These are her demands. Are we going to submit to them? I think not. On the other hand, she purposes to return to us part of the duties collected, and to pay the interest on a sum that will equalize our debt with that of Canada; and she will also allow us a House of Assembly, but with no further power than what is necessary to tax our land for any local improvements we may require. Such is a summary of the stipulations assented to by a majority of our Delegates.

But, Mr. Mayor, I doubt if these delegates had the power even to assent to any propositions touching a Union. We know that the Legislature appointed a Committee to meet Delegates from the Maritime Provinces, and that it was clearly stated that that appointment was made more out of courtesy to an invitation from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, than from any desire on the part of our Legislature to enter into a Union. No, Sir, I presume that from your knowledge of the people of this Island, you are aware that nothing is so hateful to them as the thought of a Union, the threat of which has often been used to quell the turbulence of Radicalism. Sir, it is my opinion these gentlemen had no valid authority to revoke or amend our Constitution; and, even had the offer made to them been ever so advantageous, it would not have been binding. But the terms offered are the reverse, as has been clearly shown by the gentlemen who have preceded me, on the Anti-Union side of the question. I will, therefore, only broach on a few points. In reply to the long array of statistics which has been exhibited for the purpose of showing that our taxes will be but slightly increased under the Canadian Tariff, I would refer to this matter as laid down by Mr. Galt, in the 23d page of his pamphlet, under the head of "Average of the present Tariffs": "Canada 20 per cent, Prince Edward 10 per cent." This simple quotation, Mr. Mayor, upsets all the labours and calculations of our delegates.

But Sir, for my own part, I put little faith in any of the statements which have been made as having a tendency to induce us to think that we are to be benefited in a pecuniary point of view by this grand Union. Sir, I do not believe that the conclusion arrived at by the Delegates, in relation to the amount of the Canadian debt, is correct. They have stated that the debt of Canada is $62,500,000. Now, I am prepared to prove that this is a misrepresentation; for I hold in my hand the auditors' statement of the liabilities of that country, showing the net amount to be $67,263,994; the debts of that Colony to be $5,000,000 more than the Convention guaranteed them to be. I am well aware of the explanations that have been offered by Mr. Galt, the mouthpiece of the Union, viz., that these five millions of dollars ought not to be charged, because the Government lent this sum out to the municipalities. That is very fine, very liberal; but it will not reduce the Bonds. The total amount of the Debt of Canada is set down at $75,578,022; and I see a credit set down in that account of $4,883,177, as a Sinking Fund—a small amount I am told in a public point of view in Canada. Now, I want to know where this Sinking Fund is secured and what it consists. Is it of Specie, Bonds, Stocks, or is it imaginary? I wish to have this explained; to have it made to appear, if possible, that there is such a sum placed to the credit of Canada, and for the purpose, as I should suppose, of paying off, in time the Debt of that country. Yes, Mr. Mayor, an explanation, if it can be offered, would, I am sure, be satisfactory to this meeting. By-the-by, while I am speaking on this subject, I would refer your Honor to the state of the public credit of Canada, in London, in July last, just previous to the meeting of the Convention. The *Times* states that the 5 per cent Debentures of that country have fallen to 75. That is, that Canadian Debentures for £100 sterling were offered at £75 for a hundred, carrying 5 per cent interest, which is considered a large return in the old country. The Hon. Mr. Galt, in speaking of the impetus advance which the prospect of a Union with the Lower Colonies had had in England, says, "Our five per cents, which were selling at 75 are now quoted at 90 and 91." Well might the announcement be received with applause. But we must remember that the cause of the advance of Canadian credit, is owing to the fact, that we are about to be mortgaged to support it. To shew that I am supported by authority in my opinion of the low state of the morality of the Canadian public, I would refer your honour to a public despatch, from the Lieut. Governor of New Brunswick, to the Governor-General of Canada, published in the leading Provincial papers, some years ago, upbraiding the Governor's administration with a want of faith in carrying out certain propositions on the part of the Canadians which had been accepted on the part of New Brunswick. That is a very strong document, and ought to teach us not to place much reliance on the faith of the leading politicians of that country.

I shall now, Sir, pass on from Finance, to shew a glaring inconsistency, which exhibits itself in the new Constitution, I do not intend to wade through the programme, but merely to touch on a certain part that has been overlooked or passed by the gentlemen who have preceded me. It is declared that representation by population shall be the basis for the return of members to the Union House of Commons. Now, no delegate can deny this; it was the understanding, and an important decision; but, mark Mr. Mayor, the inconsistency which follows and governs it, and the gross injustice and violation of the principle in relation to the Lower Provinces; for it is laid down that no increase of members shall take place in any of the Provinces until they shall exceed that of Lower Canada. Now, the population of that Province, is estimated at 1,200,000 and that of this Island at 80,000; therefore, if we should increase to 13 times our present numbers, we would not be entitled to an additional Representative. If a disregard to principle, as respects the Maritime Provinces, has been shewn at the Conference of Delegates, affecting the representation of the Union, what may Prince Edward Island expect after it is consummated? Well may Mr. Palmer exclaim that he was astonished at the ruthless extravagance and want of principle in the leading politicians of Canada.

While I am on my feet, I would say a few words about defences. Several gentlemen have expressed themselves favorably towards the Union, because they argue it would be the means by which the Central Government could concentrate the powers for defence of all the Colonies, at a given point. Now, I ask these gentlemen, is not that power possessed by Her Majesty under the present Constitution? If, unfortunately, a foreign foe should invade our soil, have not the Imperial authorities power to assemble our loyal militia for repelling aggression? And does not the history of the early Colonies exemplify the readiness with which they responded to the call to arms, and do not the gallant actions which they performed, form the proudest part of Colonial History? And, when that call is made, shall we not be ready to serve our country? With respect to the advantages which, it is said by some, a free trade would confer on the Lower Provinces, I, for one, feel confident no such benefits as they speak of would accrue from it. Canada requires nothing that we can afford to export. Her object is to establish manufactures in her own towns and territories, and to compel us to become her customers, in the same way in which the Southern had to purchase from the Northern States. Even with a high protective duty of 30 per cent., the manufacturers of the North found it up hill work to be able to compete with those of the old country. Sir, this is purely an agricultural country; and it ought to be our chief aim to support the farmer, and to cultivate a friendly feeling with those countries which want, and give the highest prices for our exports, as well as to be able to purchase our goods in the cheapest markets. Now the Union does not offer the facilities which we now enjoy; but, on the contrary, the amount of tax, levied by the Government, would, in a few years, bring us to poverty. This, taken with the amount of tax which would have to be laid on the agriculturist, confirms me in the opinion that the Union ought to be opposed.

HENRY HASZARD, Esquire, said—Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, with your permission, I beg leave to offer a few remarks, touching briefly on some of the leading points of the Union scheme, or Confederation, or whatever you may please to call it; and, sir, let me observe that I deem the subject one of more importance than has ever before engaged the attention of the citizens of this city or the people of this Island—a measure deeply affecting the best interests of our country for all coming time, both socially, politically and religiously. A constitution has been given to us by the British Government as good, as free and as liberal as any under the sun; no restraint is imposed upon us in the management of our affairs more than is beneficial to us; but, Mr. Chairman, should we enter the Union, we lose our identity, our independence; we surrender all our rights, our privileges, our property, into the hands of the General Government, even the very building we now occupy passes out of our hands; we become subject to two powers, and I have learned from unerring authority that we cannot serve two masters.

I will now say a few words on the financial part of the scheme, and, in doing so, I shall, for the sake of argument, adopt the figures given us by the Hon. Colonial Secretary the correctness of which is extremely problematical, and I think, as respects what we are to receive, much over-rated. The Colonial Secretary stated, if I recollect aright, (I quote from memory, and if I am wrong, I have no doubt he will correct me,) that £55,000 would be the largest sum we could receive under the Union from all sources; and this, it must be borne in mind, is a fixed revenue, not progressive as at present. The Col. Secretary's figures have reference to the revenue of 1864. He also stated the revenue of that year under the Canadian tariff would have given us £27,000 over what we received. Let it be borne in mind it would be £27,000 additional taxation, to be taken from the pockets of the consumers. I shall now speak of the revenue of 1861, which shows a large increase over that of the year previous, the receipts being (I omit hundreds) £66,000; this by the same ratio of increase would, under the Canadian tariff, give £30,000 more. Thus our revenue would have been, by the Col. Secretary's own shewing, £96,000, from which deduct the £55,000—this leaving a balance of £41,000 per year to be paid to the General Government for the benefit of the General Government; and this would not include the yearly increase of our receipts. I now pause, Mr. Chairman, to ask what we are to receive, what are the benefits we will get in return for the great sacrifices we are called upon to make. I think those who advocate Union have failed most signally to point them out. The Island is different from all the other Provinces, from its isolated position. The gigantic public works intended to be carried out by them, at an enormous expense, will not be of any more advantage to us by our remaining as we are; and would unquestionably increase taxation.

With respect to representation, I shall offer a few remarks. We have been told by one of the delegates and advocates of Union, that, if we do not rush into the Union, we shall be like the little State of Rhode Island that declined to enter the Confederation with the other States of the neighbouring Republic, but which, in the course of 18 months or two years, went knocking at the door, seeking for admission; but, sir, if we can gain the same advantage by remaining out "in the cold," as it is termed, as she did, I think we shall reap no small advantage by doing so. She entered the Union with a representation in the Senate the same as that of the State of New York, at that time having six times and now twenty times her population. If we go into the Union, I contend that each Colony should have an equal number of representatives in the Upper House. With respect to the Lower Branch, our number there is far too small; one member would be just of as much service to the Island. We have been told we must enter the Union on the score of economy. The same reason was assigned for the Union of the Canadian Provinces, but what has been the result? In the year 1840 they entered with a debt of a little more than one million, and now they have increased it to more than £15,000,000, so much for Union on the score of economy. Mr. Chairman, I would ask how does this extravagance arise? In answering it, I shall quote from a speech which appeared in the Halifax *Morning Chronicle*, under the date of Dec. 29th, 1864, to this effect:—

"In the period which has elapsed since the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were united, the public debt has been increased from one million to fifteen millions sterling. Meanwhile the expenditure of this money has been lavished in every description of loans and advances on colonial credit, made to the municipalities and for public works. The members of the House of Assembly being returned by the municipalities, gave their support to the ministry on condition of the advance of some loan to their district or for a speculative object of local improvement. The loan is sanctioned out of money which has been raised under public guarantee. It thus happens, not unfrequently, that the money so easily obtained is wasted in an unprofitable purpose. The inhabitants cannot or will not pay the rates imposed to defray the interest, and the public treasury is hence called upon on the guarantee.

"The municipality, being in this unpleasant condition, is now appealing to the Provincial Parliament for aid, upon the ground that, having given them these large powers, they are equally culpable. Such disclosures do not give us a favourable estimate of Canadian public morality, and it must be evident that the system is a fruitful source of corruption in the constituencies, corruption in the representatives, and no immediate check between the demands of the constituencies and the public exchequer."

This says but little in favour of the purity or morality of the Canadian Government or representatives, with whom we are asked to cast in our lot. View the subject from any stand point you please, we shall be the losers if we enter the Confederation. Again, sir, we have been told we must enter the Union on the score of defence. I have yet to learn that the Power which has, up to the present time, fostered and protected us will not do so still. England has the power and the will to protect her Colonies while they remain loyal. I would much sooner hang on to the Old Flag for protection than trust to the tender mercies of Canada. But are told that if the other Colonies enter the Union we shall be forced in—that we are too small, too insignificant, to be allowed to remain a separate Government. We will be thrown off. That such will be the case the British Government have never intimated; and if we turn to the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man, we find each has been allowed to retain a separate Government, Legislature, laws and tariff, while lying so near the British coast that they may be said to be within the range of her guns; and with a population, in 1828, not averaging more than one fourth of the population of this Island at the present time. We will be thrown off! No such thing. England cannot do without her Colonies. She does not wish to throw them off or give them up. She knows too well that, if she should do so, the star of her glory would soon decline, and that from being a first rate power, she would soon become a second or third rate power. Her territory as a nation is too small to maintain her supremacy without them. For many years past the only cost this Island has been to the Imperial Government has been the payment of the Governor's salary, £1500; and I do not believe they would accept that amount if our Legislature offered to pay it. (Question, from Mr. Haviland.) My reason for taking this view of it, is simply this: When Sir Aretas William Young was Governor of this Island, the Legislature deemed the salary paid the Governor at that time, viz. £1000 sterling, insufficient, and voted £300 currency additional, but the Home Government would not allow him to receive it; and replied: We wish the Governor to be independent of the Legislature or any party politicians, and if the salary is not sufficient, we will give him £500 sterling additional, which they have done for 16 years past; and I have no doubt will continue to do; while in the other Colonies they are expending hundreds of thousands yearly. But to turn to our defences: How is it to be done? The Quebec Conference declared that we are indefensible by land. I grant we are, but by sea we are easily protected. Two or three gun boats would effectually protect the approaches to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and thus most effectually protect us. If the other Colonies enter the Union, in the event of a war they would take the means of defence I have indicated, and thus of necessity, while protecting themselves, secure us from invasion. Should they not adopt this course the whole north shore of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and all the seaboard that Canada possesses, will be exposed to the enemy. Should the Confederation not take place, the British Government will continue to us the same protection she has hitherto afforded us.

Mr. Chairman, reference has very frequently been made to Mr. Cardwell's celebrated despatch. There is just one point in it which I have not heard noticed, and which I deem one of the most important, if not the most important, it is this: "Her Majesty's Government are very desirous that the taxes on any of the Colonies should not be materially increased by Confederation." I think, Sir, this is a good and sufficient reason for our not entering the Union, as by doing so our taxes would be materially increased—yes, doubled. The general Government reserves to themselves the right of taxation, as appears by the 29th Article of the Report, a part of which I will now read. Mr. Haszard then read as follows:—

"29. The General Parliament shall have power to make Laws for the peace, welfare and good government of the Federated Provinces (saving the Sovereignty of England) and especially Laws respecting the following subjects:—

1. The Public Debt and Property.
2. The Regulation of Trade and Commerce.
3. The imposition or regulation of Duties of Customs on Imports and Exports, except on Exports of Timber, Logs, Masts, Spars, Deals, and Sawn Lumber and of Coal and other Minerals.
4. The imposition or regulation of Excise Duties.
5. The raising of money by all or any other modes or systems of Taxation.
6. The Borrowing of Money on the Public Credit."

I will now speak of the Report of the Conference. The Delegates were promised that the proceedings of the Convention should be in accordance with the established rules of the Canadian Legislature, which are the same as our own. But it appears a different course was pursued to cover their own intentions, and everything savoring of opposition was carefully omitted from the minutes of the Conference: thus making it appear that all were unanimous. No record was made of any resolution in amendment. The question of a Federal Union is quite a new thing and widely different from the subject the delegates were at first appointed to consider, viz: the Legislative Union of the three Maritime Provinces; and I would ask by what authority the Delegates took upon themselves such an all important mission of concocting for us a new Constitution? I have said the subject is a new one, although one of the delegates has said, "that union was the dream of his childhood and his youth." But, Sir, I think he has made a mistake, and that it was only the dream of the night before, or of his ripened manhood. But let me ask, why do the Canadians seek to benefit in drawing us into the Union? Was it not to serve their own purpose? Again I would ask why were the public shut out from the Conference in Charlottetown? Why conducted with so much secrecy? Who so deeply interested in the result as the public. But I do affirm that the Delegates cannot point to one instance where they have consulted for the best interests of the Colony and people. Let the Unionists shew me that the change will be a benefit to the Island. I am open to conviction; I will not oppose it, but I must confess that as yet I have heard no argument advanced to change my views on this subject. To do so it will require more logic and sounder argument than that of sending our produce to Halifax for reshipment to a market. I need hardly advert to it—a greater fallacy was never propounded. They must have lost sight of that part of the business, viz: the carrying trade? and incur an additional expense of at least 6d per bushel, and cause all our shipping to go in search of freights to other places. But as I have said, I am not given to change. I am not willing to give up a certainty for an uncertainty. I am quite satisfied with our present system of Government, particularly when we are told so much that is excellent in the representative of Majesty who now rules over us with such general acceptation and benefit to the Colony and people. I would like, then, to adhere to the old system until a better is more clearly defined than that proposed by the Union. I give it, as my calm conviction, that the Island cannot, and ought not, be benefitted by the Union.

Mr. Chairman, the question is a serious one. The results of a Union we may speculate on, but we cannot arrive at a certain conclusion, other than this—it will be to our disadvantage. If the step be once taken it will be fixed and irreversible. Then let us pause before we take that step. We shall be nothing in the Legislature of Ottawa. Let us remain as we are, a contented, happy, free, honest (if not) people. The more I think of, and consider the measure, the more am I disinclined to it. We cannot lose anything by not entering the Union now.—Terms more to our disadvantage cannot be offered. These gentlemen say so. Then let it be the unanimous response of the people of this Island—No! we will not accept them.

Hon. DANIEL DAVIES said—I am satisfied that we are drifting into Union, and in my opinion, it is better to meet the difficulty and grapple with it. I do not think that by holding Public Meetings and dogmatically resolving that we won't go into the Union, is the best way to prevent it. In my opinion, the British Government will require reasons from us for opposing it, or a good reason to go in to the terms of the Quebec Conference.

I am in favor of Union on fair and equitable terms. It has been asserted that by going into it we lose Self-Government. I deny it. At present our acts are referred to Downing street for approval, and we are all aware that, on the Land Question, a few Proprietors have more influence there than the Government of this Island. Under Union our local acts would have to be approved of by the Central Government. If we kept out of Union, our agricultural and other produce would probably be taxed in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Our vessels would be shut out from the coasting trade, (as they are at present in the United States); for instance, and Island vessel would not be allowed to carry a cargo between Pictou and Halifax. In making Commercial Treaties we would not be in as favourable a position as if in the Union. We would then have the privilege of being able to sell our ships in France under the Canadian Treaty. When our fisheries were prosecuted we would have the advantage of the Canadian market free. United, I believe, our progress would be much more rapid than if we remain as we are. The much more rapid material progress of the United States, since they obtained their independence, than as Colonies, or as contrasted with us, was proof of that. It has been asserted that the political deadlocks that occur so frequently in the Canadian Government, was the reason of their seeking for the Union; but it is well known that the British Government had been pressing them on the subject of defence, and the question could not any longer be starved off. Hence their anxiety to unite with us. There were many in England who proposed to get rid of the Colonies, or at least the North American Colonies, on the ground that they would be better customers to Great Britain if independent, than as Colonies, and that she would not then be under the necessity of defending them at an enormous expense, to which Canada did not seem willing to contribute.

His objections to the constitution framed by the Quebec Conference were that in the formation of the Upper House of the proposed Federal Legislature, they had departed widely from the principle that obtained in the formation of the Swiss and American Republics, viz: that small countries should have the same representation in that House as large ones. He was quite satisfied that population should be the basis of representation in the Lower House, and therefore with the number allotted to us of five; but in the Upper House, it had not been shewn why we should not have an equal representation with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

With regard to the financial part of the scheme, he was strongly opposed to it. He was in favor of free trade. The Canadian tariff, if adopted, would compel us to buy beyond our local wants; because, being shut out from other markets for six months, would we be thought, prevent that. Under such a tariff many English goods would be shut out. We would be forced to buy in the Union. The adjustment of the public debts of the Colonies was fair. We were all allowed 25 dollars a-head, according to population for that purpose. Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, being in debt to about the full amount they would have to receive under that arrangement, would have *nothing* to get; but this Island, being comparatively clear of debt, would get half a million of dollars. With respect to the future, we were treated most unfairly. We had no Crown Lands, mines or minerals, to be handed over to the Local Government as was the case in the other Colonies. We were isolated for six months during the winter, and could not send our produce to market. Our people were already heavily taxed to pay rents for their lands. In the other Colonies, he believed their farmers were freeholders, and yet they asked us to contribute pro rata with them towards the great public works they proposed entering upon, such as the inter-Colonial Railway, making ship canals to Lake Huron, &c., &c. In his opinion the Central Government ought to be double the sum allowed the other Colonies. The principle had been departed from by allowing New Brunswick $63,000, and Newfoundland $150,000 per annum, over the general allowance. It was well known that the advantage of Railways in opening up a country were quite equal to the interest paid on the cost of construction, and therefore they had no claims upon us. Before concluding he would say that he thought the Island Delegates who were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Quebec Conference ought to have withdrawn from it, and not have made speeches at Toronto and Ottowa altogether in favor of it, after the proceedings of the Conference had been concluded. He thought it was the policy of the Imperial Government to unite us, but hoped we would not be forced into Union on unfair terms.

[The sentiments of all the gentlemen who spoke against Union were heartily applauded by, apparently, a large majority of the meeting.—R. B. IRVING, Reporter.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EXAMINER.

DEAR SIR;

As almost every person has something to say about Confederation, and as the saying is, it is as well to be out of the world as out of the fashion, I have availed myself of a spare hour to give to the public with your permission some of my own views on the subject. And in the first place I cannot agree with you that Mr. Whelan's constituents are prepared to pass *any* resolution the subject which he might submit to them, although prepared to submit to all measures he deservedly enjoys of their confidence and esteem. They feel that the question is one which will materially affect the prosperity of generations yet unborn, and ought to be dealt with apart from all personal and party considerations. I have thought that a Federal Union of the British North American Colonies would benefit the whole; but when I came to look at the report of the Conference at Quebec, I saw, or fancied I saw, that the arrangements entered into there were not such as would do justice to Prince Edward Island, inasmuch as, whilst they have made provision for the expenses already incurred by the other Provinces, as well as for their future extravagance, allowing that of Prince Edward Island, no provision that it might reasonably be supposed that if we had lived more economically for the time past, we should not receive compensation for it. In other words, from our geographical position we would not receive our share of, or participate in, the benefits from the amount voted for public works. To remedy this injustice, I would propose that there should be a proportionate amount of the money annually expended for public works voted for the use of Prince Edward Island, after deducting the amount required for fortifications, of which I think we should pay a share, to be expended by our local Legislature in such manner as this Island should deem best. I would also propose to the 29th resolution, as to allow each Legislature or Province to impose all taxes excepting import duties and postal dues, only requiring each Colony to provide its fair proportion of the amount required for the support of the general Government. I believe the above amendment might be made without any injustice to any of the Colonies, and without destroying the proposed plan of Confederation. That a union on such terms as these would be for the benefit of the Island, I think is quite clear; and while it would not be in the power of Prince Edward Island to prevent it; and I believe it to be the duty of those to whose charge is committed the management of the political interests of this Island, to lay aside all personal and party considerations, and earnestly to study how to obtain admission on such terms as will be most conducive to the prosperity of the Colony. I am aware that, at present, the movement is an unpopular one in this Island, and that it would require popular suffrages for their opinion, to stem the tide of public opinion; nevertheless, it is a duty they owe to their country and one they should not shrink from. For my part, I have no hesitation in saying that if a union takes place on terms affording us financial justice, the Colony would be the gainer, and I cannot imagine who would advocate a return to the old system of separation. It has been urged that, with a representation of only five members we would have no influence in a Parliament consisting of nearly two hundred. I do not see this. If there is any injustice done to Prince Edward Island, if we have our full share according to population; and each electoral district on the Island might, with equal reason, say that it would have no influence in a House consisting of thirty members. But the members of the Colonies were combined against Prince Edward Island; but when we consider that we should have no influence in a House consisting of nearly two hundred members, if we could add to the prosperity of the general government, and that they cannot pass laws to oppress us without oppressing all the Colonies, it does not appear that we have any just cause for complaint on this head. Perhaps the constitution of the Upper House might have been arranged on more equitable terms, but if Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are satisfied, I don't think we should be the first to complain. It is evident that Great Britain considers the time has arrived that she can only retain her connexion with her colonial possessions in North America by them being united under one Government. She is willing and anxious to leave the arrangement of the terms of that Union, as far as is compatible with justice to us and her own dignity, to ourselves. So far all the Colonies have agreed to a Constitution which only awaits the sanction of the different Colonial Legislatures to render the duty of the Imperial Parliament an easy and agreeable one in framing and passing an act in accordance with those resolutions, but in the event of any of the Colonies, through their representatives, proposing by resolution any amendment to any of the resolutions passed at the Quebec Conference, such proposed amendment would be considered by the British Parliament, and if deemed just and equitable, would doubtless be adopted in the framing and passing of the Imperial Act. If, on the other hand, through a misconception of our true position, or from the force of public opinion, as moulded by the opponents of Confederation, our Legislature should reject the adoption of the resolutions of the Quebec Conference, without proposing any equitable terms for our admission, I do not believe that Prince Edward Island would be allowed to remain a stumbling block to British Colonial policy, but would be included on terms that have been deemed equitable to all the other Colonies, and by her own ablest and impartially selected statesmen; and although nearly all the opponents of Confederation on the terms agreed upon at the Conference admit that a Union must take place, I have not seen that they proposed any equitable terms for which we are willing to unite, although the time is fast approaching when it will be too late to seek amendment. On the contrary, all the eloquence and talent of many of our public men are employed in bolstering up our fears with visions of oppressive taxes, ruined trade, and our sons on the Canadian frontier in arms for the defence of a country not their own, whilst admitting the necessity of a Union. That such may be turned from the error of their ways, and strive for the advancement of the true interests of this our Island, is the sincere wish of

Your Friend,
J. C. UNDERHAY.

King's County, Feb. 25th, 1865.

[FOR THE EXAMINER.]

THE UNION OF THE PROVINCES TO SETTLE THE LAND QUESTION.

Those questions having engaged the public attention for some time past, and various opinions having been published, and as I have given both subjects some consideration, I send my opinions for publication with the rest.

First, with regard to the prophesied excessive taxation, and where our taxes ought not to be applied: It is my opinion, that whoever can conquer and keep possession of the Canadas, will be masters of the Lower Provinces, and whoever can take and keep possession of the coal mines of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, will be masters of our sea coasts. Now, if the passes into the Canadas and outside sea coasts can be defended by fortifications and ships of war, they will be our defences, and we ought to be our duty to contribute our quota of men and money towards their maintenance. But I agree with the opinion of the British Ministry, that if there is any excessive taxation in consequence of the Union of the Provinces, it will be imposed by the local Legislatures, and especially that of this Island, where it required seven Delegates to be sent to Quebec to do the work of three or four, and thirty representatives to our House of Assembly to do the work of eighteen, with offices multiplied to suit men in proportion.

A Government founded by the free will of the people of the several Provinces, to be durable and permanent, must be free from all taint of favoritism or corruption, as a favor to one party would be as the expense of the rest. Therefore, the frame-work of the constitution for the government of the United Provinces appears to have been drawn up with circumspection, to allow equal rights to all parties; and consequently it has been received and the approval of the British Ministry. Then, what object had our Delegates in view to mar the work of the Conference by one demanding a special grant of £200,000, and another demanding an extra representative to the Federal Legislature? To me it looks like an ugly look. I must leave it to others to make their comments, and compare the work of our leading men with the work of statesmen—the Report of the Conference drawn up at Quebec.

In that Report they propose, in general terms applicable to the other Provinces, to settle our Land Question. They offer what I have agitated for, for upwards of thirty years, to place the holders of property in this Island on the same footing with the settlers in the other Provinces. See the twenty-ninth proposition in the Report of the Conference, as follows:—

"29. The General Parliament shall have power to make laws for the peace, welfare and good government of the Federated Provinces (saving the sovereignty of England,) and especially laws respecting the following subjects;

"23. Rendering uniform all or any of the laws relative to property and civil rights in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and rendering uniform the procedure of all or any of the Courts of these Provinces; but any statute for this purpose shall have no force or authority in any Province until sanctioned by the Legislature thereof."

Although the above is made to apply to five Provinces, it is in this Island where it is especially required, where the agricultural inhabitants who have reclaimed the land, and supplied the first elements of commerce to the community, are driven to the necessity of associating to save their property from persons claiming to be land owners, and yet have no title, but the unconstitutional indulgence of Colonial Ministers, who have refused to allow the law to be put in operation for revesting forfeited lands in the Crown. And to show the necessity of reforming the proceedings of our courts of law, to constitute any person a proprietor of land in this Island requires no title; it is only necessary for him to procure some ignorant persons to attorn and execute leases. Then he is a proprietor according to our law, leaving the responsibility of such a gross imposition on the most ignorant and innocent persons. But in the other Provinces there are Courts for the investigation of titles, and for persons claiming to be proprietors by holding over forfeited lands, could be inquisited into by a proper Court, who would authorize them to impose a rent upon British subjects for wild land.

The 15 Years Purchase Bill raised no question of title, nor do I think the Tenants' Petition to quiet parties in possession of fishery reserves and liable to arrears of quit rent appears a concession to all parties, and to those who know little of the value of the Proprietors, claims, the offer of the freehold to the tenant, at 15 years purchase, was appear a concession from the Proprietor. But there is nothing in the Bill to prevent the Federal Government settling the Land Question. In the early settlement of America, persons of property obtained grants of large tracts of land, to settle with other persons. But the demands of the grantees were complained of as exorbitant, and British subjects refusing to be settled by the Crown without being left to be settled by a middle party, who is not responsible to them, and may favor some and oppress others. And this appears the reason the Conference at Quebec, requiring "a uniformity of the laws relative to property and civil rights," that the inhabitants shall have no cause for complaint or discontent.

But the title to the lands of this Island depends on its settlement with foreign Protestants, for it is declared in every Township grant that unless the lands are settled with such persons, within four years from the date of the grants, the lands shall revert to the Crown, and the grant shall be void and of no effect. This grant was made to British subjects, that if the land was not settled with foreigners it would be at the disposal of the Crown, and consequently for settlement with British subjects; and the refusal of the Government to resume the land for the settlement of the inhabitants is the wrong the tenants have to complain of. The Escheat of Townships 15 and 55, and settlement of the inhabitants in freehold, leaving all the rest of the tenants in bondage, sets the wrong in a stronger light; and allows the long agitation the wrong remains still unredressed.

The report drawn up by the Conference at Quebec shows its authors to be statesmen, fit to administer the Government of a nation. They know that to release the tenants from bondage will give a new impulse to industry, to increase property, and lead to prosperity; and they know that the more prosperous they can make a country the greater will be its resources and revenue. No man of sense will object to necessary taxation; and no man fit to be a statesman will impose an unnecessary tax. The prosperity of a country and welfare of its people, is an honor sought after by the statesmen who administer the Government; and the Federal Government can only have that object in view; but a proprietary Government and the inhabitants are two parties with opposite interests—the one pretending Proprietors without a title, and the other the men they have enslaved as tenants. And instead of a Government to give even handed justice to all parties, the state craft is a system of jugglery, to make believe that they are legislating to set the tenants free, while the object is to make believe they have gained a title for themselves, to bind the tenants for ever. Therefore, for the tenants to be placed on a footing with the settlers in the other Provinces, their safest course is to support the Union of this Island with the other Provinces.

WM. COOPER.

Sailors' Hope, Feb. 24, 1865.

MEETING AT CARDIGAN.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Newbridge, Cardigan, and vicinity, was held on Thursday, 23d of February, to take into consideration the advantage or disadvantage that would accrue to this Island from a Confederation of the Colonies.

Allen Campbell, Esquire, was appointed to take the Chair. After the meeting was duly organized, the Hon. A. A. McDonald was requested to give an account of his stewardship while a Delegate to the Conference. He responded to the invitation, and gave a detailed account of the labors of the delegation and Report in general.

Thomas Owen, Esquire, then requested the Representatives in Parliament, the Hon. E. Thornton and Ronald Walker, Esquire, to express their opinions on Confederation. The Hon. E. Thornton then rose and spoke at some length in opposition to Confederation.

Mr. W. P. Lewis requested Ronald Walker, Esquire, to express his views on the subject. He declined, saying that he thought that some of the Unionists ought now to address the meeting, as he was an anti-unionist, as was his colleague, the Hon. E. Thornton.

Thomas Owen, Esquire, then rose and addressed the meeting, expressing his views in favor of Confederation, and concluded by stating that the thanks of this meeting are due to the Hons. Col. Gray, T. Heath Haviland, W. H. Pope, Edward Whelan, and A. A. McDonald, for their straight-forward conduct while at the Conference.

Ronald Walker, Esquire, then rose and addressed the meeting in opposition to union, stating that P. E. Island was at present well enough.

Mr. W. P. Lewis then addressed the meeting, and spoke at considerable length in favor of Union.

Mr. Thomas Clay also addressed the meeting and expressed himself opposed to Union.

Mr. John Kaneen expressed himself in favor of Union.

It was then moved by Thomas Owen, Esq., seconded by W. Alley, Esq:

Resolved, That this meeting consider it premature to express any opinion on the Confederation of the North American Colonies until an appeal be made to the people through a general election, and the action taken by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia is known to the people of this Island.

Moved by Mr. W. P. Lewis, seconded by Donald Stewart, Esquire,

Whereas, the Legislature of this Island did in 186— reduce the Government allowance to Teachers of the First Class from £55 to £40, rendering it obligatory on the part of the trustees of each School District to raise £15, or more, to the deficiency of Teachers' Salary; and *whereas* it often happens that the School Trustee are put to a great deal of trouble and annoyance to compel many of their poorer neighbors to contribute their share of such deficiency, so that in many cases the teacher is poorly paid or not paid at all;

Resolved, therefore, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Legislature at its next Session should increase the Government allowance to School Masters to the same amount as formerly, and legislate a small additional public tax to meet the proposed increase of the teachers' salaries.

Moved by Mr. W. P. Lewis, seconded by T. Owen, Esquire,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to the Hons. A. A. McDonald, E. Thornton, and Ronald Walker, Esquire, for their attendance at this meeting.

After the usual votes of thanks were given to the Chairman and Secretary for their impartial conduct, the Hon. E. Thornton proposed three cheers for the Queen, which was heartily responded to.

W. P. Lewis then proposed that the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the *Examiner* for publication, and that the other papers be requested to copy.

C. A. ALLEY, Sec'y.

MEETING AT CASCUMPEC.

The very laudable course has been adopted by the representatives of the first Electoral district of Prince County, prior to the meeting of the Legislature, to call meetings in different localities in order to hear an expression of opinion from their constituents on the various questions of interest as may attract public attention. A large and influential meeting of this description took place at Cascumpec Temperance Hall on Thursday last, the 23rd Feb. After the meeting was duly organized, Messrs. Conroy and Howlan, by request, expressed their views at large on the, at present, all-important question of Confederation; the latter gentleman, in particular, made one of his most brilliant efforts, and exposed at some length, the unsoundness of the principal on which the Quebec basis of Confederation was founded. Various speakers on both sides of the question followed, expressing their opinion, the following resolutions were put, and with the exception of five nays to the second, were carried unanimously.

Resolved—That the thanks of this meeting are respectfully tendered to the Representatives of the District for calling and attending this meeting, and for the very able exposition of their views on the Confederation scheme.

The second was moved by Mr. William Montgomery:

Resolved—That however desirable it might be to enter the proposed Confederation of these British North American Provinces on terms just and equitable, it is the decided opinion of this meeting that the terms of Union contained in the Report of the Quebec Conference are neither just nor equitable to P. E. Island, and therefore such as we cannot accept.

Moved by John Clark, Esq.

Resolved, That it is the wish of this meeting that the Representatives of this District do not vote for the Union of the Colonies under the basis laid down at the Quebec Conference, should the matter be brought before the House of Assembly at the ensuing Session.

Matters of a merely local interest then occupied the attention of the meeting. After expressing their approval of the impartial manner in which the Chairman had performed his duties, and agreeing that the above resolutions be printed, the meeting finally closed.

The undersigned begs to apologize to the gentlemen who seconded the above resolutions, as the Secretary having left the meeting, a record of their names was not kept.

JAMES FORSYTH, Senr., Chairman.

[FOR THE EXAMINER.]

At a public meeting of the Inhabitants of Horse Head, Lot 1, held in the School House in the said place, on the 28th February, for the purpose of changing the name of the locality, Mr. Lochlin Shea being called to the chair, it was Proposed by William Shea, Senr. and carried unanimously that in future the name "Saint Andrew's, Lot 1," be used instead of "Horse Head" as heretofore.

Ordered that the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the *Examiner* and *Herald* newspapers for publication.

LOCHLIN SHEA, Chairman.

St. Andrew's, Lot 1, March 1st, 1865.

CHARLOTTETOWN LITERARY AND DEBATING SOCIETY.

The adjourned question of "Taxation, should it be direct or indirect," was discussed with lively interest on last Friday evening; but owing to the great importance of the subject, it was again adjourned, and will be resumed on next Friday evening, the 10th instant. The same spirited manner as the last, a very pleasant evening is anticipated by the Society.

F. LONGWORTH.

March 6th, 1865.

... Belshazzar | may fight or retreat with impunity.