General Meade was present on the field all day, but was not wounded, as was at first reported. Some of his staff had narrow escapes. Major Pease's horse was shot under him.

The 1st brigade of the 2d Division of the Fifth Corps is spoken of as having particularly distinguished itself during the fight. Brevet Maj.-Gen. Winthrop was its commander, and had two horses shot under him.

Brig General Irwin Gregg, commanding a brigade of cavalry, was wounded in the ankle. Gen. Davis was also wounded severely in the shoulder. Major Lumaine of Gregg's staff was badly wounded in the foot. Col. Bankhead of Gen. Warren's staff was wounded in the hand. Brevet Brg.-Gen. Morrow, commanding 3d Brigade, 3d Division, Fifth Corps, was wounded in the shoulder. Capt. Cowdray, Ass't Adjt.-Gen. on Gen. Baxter's staff, was mortally wounded. Col. Tilden of the 20th Maine Vols., wounded in the leg.

About 150 prisoners were taken, among whom was Col. Allen of the 24th N. C. Regiment, formerly an officer in the U. S. Regulars.

The correspondent captured yesterday was Mr. Tremblay of the N. Y. Herald. The party of cavalry which captured him subsequently came in contact with our men in a slight skirmish, during which the correspondent made his escape.

Col. Herring of the 18th Pa. Vols. was wounded in the ankle.

TOWN MEETING

ON THE QUESTION OF

CONFEDERATION,

FEBRUARY 10, 1865.

[*Hon. Mr. Heath Haviland's Speech continued.*]

The difficulties with which the Canadians have had to contend among themselves are *nothing whatever to us.* If the principles of the proposed Confederation be sound, I care not what may have induced the Statesmen of Canada to endeavour to accomplish it. I will, however, endeavour briefly to shew what these difficulties are, or rather have been. They originated in the Union between Upper and Lower Canada. They arose from a want of foresight on the part of British statesmen. By a leading provision of the Union Act, the two Provinces were entitled *to equal representation in the Legislature;* the number of representatives for each being 65. Now this fixed equality of representation in *Parliament* was a very great error. All the best lands are in Upper Canada; and, consequently, the increase in population in that Province has far exceeded that of the Lower Province. And not only does Upper Canada exceed Lower Canada in population and the quality of her lands, but she greatly exceeds her also in the extent of her territory and in wealth. The excess of the population of the Upper Province over that of the Lower is some 300,000, and of the entire revenue she paid three-fourths; and yet, owing to the Lower Province having the same number of representatives in the Legislature as the Upper Province, when in any session of Parliament, the appropriations for local improvements and other purposes in each came to be made, the Lower Province obtained as large a share of "the spoils" as the Upper Province. The injustice to which the Upper Province was thus subjected had—in proportion to her greater material progress in all respects over that of the Lower Province—become greater and more irritating from year to year; and at length she came to the determination that she would no longer submit to it. She resolved that either representation in the Legislature should be based on population, or that, should she not be able to accomplish that reform, she would seek, with all her energies, to obtain a repeal of the Union Act. With this view they sent the Hon. George Brown to Parliament, and his first endeavours were to be directed to the effecting of such a change in the representation as would place it on the basis of population. Owing to the existing equality of representation, the accomplishment of this object was a difficulty which no means could be found to overcome; and then it appeared to the leading men that the only mode by which they could hope to extricate the country from the most inauspicious position in which it was placed, was either to repeal the Union Act of 1840, or to form one Grand Federation of the whole of British America. They had pledged themselves to separation. The Conference of the Delegates of the Maritime Provinces being held here seemed likely to afford them a most desirable opportunity for putting into operation such machinery as might be needful for the effecting of so great an object; and they came down to Charlottetown accordingly. They came here with truly patriotic intentions. Their object was to form one Grand Federation under the Flag of Old England: a Federation with the same laws, with the same commercial regulations, and with one Tariff and one Customhouse, instead of six or seven, as if these British Provinces, instead of being, as they are, only so many members of one great national family, with common interests, were so many different nationalities, all jealous one of another, and each seeking to benefit itself at the expense of the others. It was unjust to say they came down to Charlottetown, influenced solely by selfish motives. No, they were not actuated by merely selfish motives. I give them credit for more patriotism, a patriotism which includes the whole of British America, and which urges them to seek a Union for the common well-being and protection of the several peoples, and for the furtherance of the best interests of each and all of these Provinces. I know that it is said at the East Point, and, indeed, in every other quarter of the Island, that the Report of the Conference is the work of the Canadian Government. But this I can fully disprove. At the very commencement of the discussion of the great question by the Convention of Delegates, we agreed that Upper Canada should have one vote, Lower Canada one vote, Nova Scotia one vote, New Brunswick one vote, P. E. Island, and Newfoundland one vote. The number of our Delegates was seven. Our one vote, therefore, must have, on all occasions, been that of a majority consisting of four or more of our number. You will also see that, voting according to this arrangement, it was impossible for Canada to carry any Resolution, how much soever she might be bent upon it, without the concurrence of at least two of the Maritime Provinces. Therefore, however unjust our anti-unionists may think any of the terms of the Report agreed to by the Convention, they act most unfairly in pouring their vials of wrath upon the heads of the Canadian Delegates, as if they by their own votes, unsupported by those of the Maritime Delegates, had carried the resolutions fixing the obnoxious terms. The Maritime Provinces had the majority, and nothing was agreed to without their consent. It is also said by our anti-unionists that the Canadian statesmen, who were Delegates to the Convention, were too wily, too astute for our Delegates; that they possessed too much *save* for them; that on any point, when they wished it, they were able to deceive and beguile them; and that, in fact, as respects our financial interests and representation in the Federal Parliament, they have completely outwitted and entrapped them. To this estimate of the political talents, foresight and general abilities of the statesmen of Canada, as so greatly superior to that of the foremost public men of the Maritime Provinces, I think many amongst us anti-Unionists, as well as Unionists, must strongly demur. What! will it be admitted that Tilly, the great Financier, Tupper, Archibald, McCully, New Brunswick Gray, Fisher, and I say, excepting myself, the Prince Edward Island Delegates, had not sufficient talent and integrity to hold *their* own when brought face to face with the statesmen of Canada? Will George Coles, the champion of Responsible Government and the boasted originator of Free Education in this Island, and Edward Palmer, the old and tried leader of Conservatism, under whom I have served for so many years as a political Lieutenant, confess that Galt, Brown, McDonald and Cartier exercised an undue and mesmeric influence over them, whilst in Canada, which made them speak in favor of Confederation at Ottawa and Toronto, whilst in their consciences they intended to oppose it in every shape and form so soon as they returned to their Island home? I know there are many opponents of the Quebec Report who say, if a Legislative Union was advocated, they would support the measure. But such a Union is impossible; Lower Canada will not consent to a Legislative Union. We all know when Wolfe conquered Canada the French Canadians were guaranteed their religion, their language, and their laws and customs, and they do not wish their valuable privileges to be endangered by being united in a Legislative Union with the Anglo-Britons. The French Canadians are thoroughly monarchial in their principles of Government, and they have a great horror of Republican Institutions. We must lay aside all thoughts of a Legislative Union. If we remain out of the Confederacy, what will be our destiny? What will be the prospects of the future prosperity of a small Island, with only 80,000 inhabitants, with an independent Government and a hostile tariff, when put in competition with four millions of their fellow countrymen, united under one Government and without a Custom-house, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. I am happy to say that the first article in the Quebec Report, relative to a Confederate Union of all the British North American Colonies, was carried unanimously, with cheers, and *not one* solitary voice was raised in the Conference Chamber in opposition to the principle. But now a change has come o'er the spirit of the dreams of certain Island Delegates, who say there was no unanimity in the Conference for the first three or four days, until it was decided that the Lieutenant Governors of the various Provinces were to be appointed by the Federal Government. I have no selfish object to gratify in advocating the cause of Confederation. We are told some Delegates have been offered Governorships, Legislative Councillorships, Secretaryships, &c. As I am not a member of the Government, I should stand a very slight chance of being appointed a Lieutenant Governor. I could not qualify for a Legislative Councillor, therefore my only hope of promotion would be by appealing to the people of this Colony to elect me as one of the five members to the Federal House of Commons.

This question is the most important, the most absorbing that has ever been mooted by Colonists since the days of the American Revolution. As many speakers are waiting to express their opinions upon this great subject, I will proceed at once to make a few hurried observations upon some of the leading features of the Quebec Report, which Report I am happy to say meets with the approval and commendation of Mr. Cardwell, our Colonial Minister, with the exception of the paragraphs restricting the number of Legislative Councillors, and granting the prerogative of pardon to the Lieutenant Governors. A great out-cry has been raised in some of our local newspapers against those Delegates who signed the Report on a Sunday. I plead guilty to the charge of having affixed my name to it on a Sunday, as I had no other opportunity of signing it, and am now prepared to receive the first stone that may be thrown by any individual who has never committed a greater breach of propriety upon the Sabbath.

The Legislative Council is to be constructed by having 76 life members, divided in the following proportions: 24 members for Upper Canada, 24 members for Lower Canada, and 28 members for the Maritime Colonies, to be subdivided so that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall each have 10 members, and Newfoundland and this Island each 4 members. I know there are many present here to night who object to this principle of division, and who contend that each Colony, whether large or small, should have an equal number of Legislative Councillors, according to the Constitution of the United States of America; but bear in mind that it is much easier to pull down a political edifice than to build or construct one. I was an advocate for equality of representation in the Upper Chamber, so that this Island should have the same weight and influence as Rhode Island, in the neighbouring Republic; but I was over-ruled in the Conference, not by Canada alone, but by the whole of the Maritime Colonies. Even as it is, Newfoundland was very displeased at not being allowed a greater number of members in the Legislative Council than we are entitled to, upon the ground of her population exceeding ours by 50,000. We shall find it very difficult to oppose going into the Union, if all our sister Colonies consent to do so, particularly as the Imperial Government has approved of the Report, with only two exceptions, namely, the fixed number of members in the Upper Chamber, and the power of pardon being vested in the Lieutenant Governors. I think the Imperial Government was right in objecting to the fixed number in the Legislative Council, for if a conflict took place between the two branches of the Legislature there would be no remedy for the evil but a revolution; and as to the question of the prerogative of pardon, I imagine every Delegate will at once give way and consent to carry out the suggestion of Mr. Cardwell. In the Conference, I was an advocate for an Elective Legislative Council, but the rest of the Conference, with the exception of Messiers Coles and McDonald, were opposed to the principle. Anti-Unionists oppose the terms of the Quebec Report, because, they say, no public works can be constructed in this Colony out of the revenues of the General Government; and that all our taxes will be drained from us to Canada in hard specie. I should like any Anti-Unionist to point out the clause in *the Report which prohibits or prevents* public works being built in this Island by the General Government, provided they are for general advantage. Why should not a Canal be cut from Savage Harbor to the Hillsborough River; it would be a great advantage to the shipping in the Gulf to avail themselves of it, instead of being obliged to sail round either Cape North or the East Point to come to Charlottetown and other ports on the South side of the Gulf? Gentlemen may laugh at the idea of this Canal being constructed. But members of our House of Assembly laughed several years ago when Mr. Beer introduced a Bill to encourage Steam Navigation on the Hillsborough River; and in the present day it is looked upon, as a matter of course, to have a Steamer running on Market days to Mount Stewart Bridge. George Stephenson was laughed at when he first attempted his Railway from Liverpool to Manchester; and now we have 2,500 miles of Railway in British America alone. Steam navigation between England and America, was proved by the scientific Dr. Lardner to be an *impossibility*, and yet England sends her mails by steam across the Atlantic, every week, by a line of Steamers, whose arrival can be calculated to the day, if not to the hour. We all recollect when Mr. Tremain's first Team-boat, across our Ferry, was thought a great step in advance; now we have a Steam Ferry boat plying every half hour. The growth of Colonies is different from that of old Countries; the Colonies progress as fast as giants, and old Countries as slow as dwarfs; a *Colony is a child to-day* and a man to-morrow. The Report provides for general Bankruptcy and Insolvency Laws. How many mercantile men have been paralyzed and ruined *in our midst* for the want of a proper system of such laws?

[Hon. George Beer,—we can have a Bankruptcy Law of our own.]

That is impossible, we cannot pass a law to bind Nova Scotia, neither can New Brunswick enact a statute to bind us. I want a Bankruptcy Law, passed by the Federal Legislature, binding throughout the length and breadth of British North America, so that every honest but unfortunate trader may be enabled to obtain relief, and to commence the world afresh, without having a millstone of debts, which he cannot pay, hanging about his neck for life, in consequence of some unavoidable casualty in his business or trade. Again, as a lawyer, I should like to see our Statute Law similar in all the Colonies: at present they are conflicting; in one Colony you may arrest for debt, in another you cannot; in one Colony you may arrest the body of the debtor in execution, and in another you can only levy on his property. Instead of diversity, I should like *uniformity.* By the Report, the Federal and Local Legislatures are to have a concurrent jurisdiction in all matters relating to *Agriculture* and Immigration; therefore, if the Federal Government does not properly encourage immigration into this Island, we have the power in our hands, if we think we are not increasing as fast as our Sister Colonies, and that our lands are remaining too long unsettled and uncultivated, and can vote money for the purpose of encouraging emigrants to settle amongst us. If Governments, both Liberal and Conservative, had taken a greater interest in the matter of immigration, we should, in all probability, have been entitled to that great bone of contention the *sixth member in the* House of Commons at Ottawa. This question of representation in the House of Commons has been pretty well ventilated through the papers and at public meetings; and two of our Island Delegates, at various meetings, have pronounced against entering the Confederation with so small a representation as five members. Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are in favor of the principle of representation by population; and, in fact, it is useless to expect or imagine that Upper Canada will surrender the principle for which she has been struggling and contending so many long years. The appeal against the principle of representation by population can only be made to the Imperial Parliament, and I think that body will be more likely to confirm the views of the great majority of the Conference than to reverse their decision upon the subject. I believe all the Delegates at the Quebec Conference were fully aware before they went to Canada, that the House of Commons for the Federal Legislature was to be constructed upon the principle of representation by population. We went there with our eyes open. We knew the want of that principle was the chief cause of the difficulties between the two Canadas. The same principle is carried out in the construction of the House of Representatives under the American Constitution. But the anti-Unionists who are so very anxious for the American principle in the formation of the Upper Branch of the Legislature, by a singular inconsistency, are opposed to applying the American principle of representation by population to the House of Commons. I contend that the Quebec Report gives us more members, in proportion to our population, than England allowed to Scotland at the Union in 1707, or than England yielded to Ireland at the Union in 1801. In 1707 the population of England was 6,000,000, with 513 members in her House of Commons. Scotland's population was 1,000,000, and she was only allowed 45 members on entering the Union, whereas she was entitled to 90 members if the principle of representation by population had been granted to her. In 1801, the population of Great Britain was 8,000,000, and the number of Members 553. The population of Ireland at the same time was 5,000,000, yet Ireland was only permitted 100 Members in the United House of Commons, so that the liberal principles of representation by population was entirely ignored. Next comes the question of the appointment of Governors by the Confederate Government for the several Colonies. I must confess I was in favor of this part of the Report at the Conference, and am still of the same opinion. Surely as eligible men for Governors can be found in the Colonies, as in Great Britain. We have men as able, as honest, and more experienced in Colonial matters, and in the every day working of Colonial Governments, than the average of Governors sent from Downing Street to rule over us. I have heard it rumored that the Quebec Conference was nearly coming to a dead lock until the third day of its sitting, when the question of Colonial Governors was settled to the satisfaction of the ambitious members of the Conference, and that, subsequently, all was peace and harmony, and everything went as smooth as a marriage bell. I never heard the subject of the appointment mooted at the Conference until the 20th of October, after we had been in Session ten days, and then the question was introduced and carried the same sitting without a dissentinent voice.

Some of the opponents of Confederation object to the expense of the Local Legislatures. But the expenses under Confederation, need not be half as great as heretofore; we could dispense with a local Legislative Council, and the House of Assembly safely invested with the powers of local legislation for education, roads, bridges, Acts of Incorporation of companies and other matters within this jurisdiction, as their statutes would be reviewed by the General Government. I am aware that Anti-Unionists are very indignant at the idea of the Acts of our Local Legislature being submitted to the Federal Government for approval; but surely they forget that our Acts are all sent across the Atlantic to Downing Street; and whether they shall go into operation or not, often depends upon the word or the opinion of a Clerk in the Colonial Office.

It is said by Anti-Unionists that the Intercolonial Railway, if built by the Confederation, will be the erection of a high way by which Canada will send her oats to Halifax, and thereby injure the Agricultural interests of this Island. There would be some reason in these parties opposing the Union if our staying out would prevent the Railroads being built. But if the other Colonies enter the Confederation, the Railroad will be constructed in spite of all the opposition we can bring to bear against it. I do not believe it will prove injurious to the interests of our farmers, but quite the reverse. If the United States persists in repealing the Reciprocity Treaty, we must find other markets for our agricultural produce; we must ship large quantities of oats to England in our new vessels, and what we cannot find shipping for here, will find a market at Halifax, which will soon become the Empire City of British America, and all our grain will concentrate there for exportation to Europe. Some are jealous of the probable destiny of Halifax, if she becomes the terminus of the great Intercolonial Railway, but I am not. I sincerely hope she will grow rapidly in population and wealth, for the more mouths she will have to feed, the better for us as an agricultural country. We need not fear Canadian oats entering into competition with ours, when they can realize from 38 to 40 cents a bushel for them at home, even in the winter season; and at any rate our oats are much heavier than theirs, and when offered in competition, upon equal terms, will always command a higher price in any market. Our farmers, I say again, need not be afraid of the great Railroad, even if it should bring the grain of Canada to St. John and Halifax; it is impossible to foretell the great benefits and advantages they will reap from the construction of that public work, which is to unite the British Colonies together, both politically and commercially, with an iron band so strong that it will be impossible for any nation to sever it. Another bug-a-boo, that has been raised to frighten us, is the ruinous expense of opening up the great West and widening the locks of the Canadian Canals. Surely this is jumping before coming to the style; but on reference to the report, it will be seen that these undertakings are not to be prosecuted until the state of the finances will permit. The opponents of Union have resolved in their own minds that Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick are determined to conspire together and ruin us by taxation, if we join them. We were once called the garden of Canada, and, I believe, she will receive us as a pet child, and will do all in her power to advance our interests and to give life and energy to our agriculture, our commerce, and our fisheries. We know that the soldiers of Montcalm were fed with rations of Salmon caught off our own St. Peter's. Mr. Cartier, the descendant of the great discoverer of Canada, is too fond of the Maritime element to consent to any legislation that would tend to injure us as a people. The rivalry and jealously will be between Upper and Lower Canada; they are antagonistic in religion, race, and interests, and, I believe, the Maritime Provinces will hold the balance wheel between them, and thereby become the voting power in the Legislature and the Government of the Confederacy.

Of all the objections which have been raised to the Confederation Scheme, by our anti-Unionists, those based upon our liability to be called upon for our quota of men and money for the defence of Canada, appear to me to be the most flimsy. If fortifications be required for the defence of Canada, it will be perfectly just to call upon the people of P. E. Island to pay their proportion, according to population, of the cost of constructing those fortifications; and equally so would it be to call upon them, for the same purpose—the defence of Canada—for their quota of men, on the same scale—that of population; for both would be for the defence of our common country. Our anti-Unionists, who base their objections to Confederation on these grounds, are labouring to present to the country the most affecting pictures of the afflictions, the deprivations, and misery which would have to be endured, in such case, in the homes of the Island, in having our militia — fathers, sons, brothers and lovers—drafted away to shed their blood and lay down their lives in defence of the Canadas. All the noble sentiments of the lovers of freedom—all attachment to the principles *of our glorious* Constitution, and desire for its preservation—all ties of common interests and common ancestry—all these entirely out of the question, however, and wholly disregarded, do these men, I ask, altogether forget or disregard the fact that the safety of Canada, or of Nova Scotia, or of New Brunswick, is the safety of Prince Edward Island; or that, if Canada should fall under the power of American invaders, we should fall with her? Or, is their feeling of loyalty and attachment to the Mother Country so weak, that, in case of even only a warlike demonstration on the part of the United States, against British America—not actual invasion of our territories—they would be ready basely to submit and seek refuge under the Stars and Stripes? An hon. gentleman, one of our Delegates, said the other evening, in his speech upon this great question, at the Temperance Hall, that, in case the United States of America should make a warlike *demonstration against the British* American Colonies, our wisest course would be to succumb to them at once; for all the resistance we would be able to make would be in vain. A sentiment such as this cannot, I trust, find much acceptance among the loyal, brave, and patriotic peoples of British America. No! Rather inspirited by the remembrance of the glorious deeds of their ancestors, they will be ready and eager, should the dire necessity arrive, to encounter the invaders of *our soil*—how imposing soever their aspect—how numerous, well appointed, and disciplined soever they may be—and bravely, even cheerfully, to shed their blood, and lay down their lives for the preservation of their rich inheritance, the priceless treasure of British freedom. No! Never, I trust, will even the small population of Prince Edward Island listen to such base, such cowardly, such ungenerous suggestions Let us rather refer to the spirit-inspiring records of history—let us there read and learn what great deeds have been performed, what great victories have been obtained, what formidable invasions have been repelled by simply a few hundreds of brave and patriotic men, inspired by a love of freedom and detestation of tyranny and oppression, even when opposed to all the warlike pride, pomp, and confidence of apparently overwhelming numbers. Rather than listen to the counsels of those who would advise cowardly submission to the enemy of Britain, let us, with stout and true hearts, hold ourselves prepared nobly and loyally to perform our part in the defence of our common country, whether the assault may be commenced on the borders of Canada, of New Brunswick, or elsewhere. Should our Republican neighbors attempt to subjugate these Provinces to their rule, if the peoples thereof are true to themselves—if the spirit and blood of the sires have descended to their sons—they will be found able to defend every inch of their territories. If they possess the spirit which animated their sires, which animated the Greeks of old, they will not yield their soil to the invaders, nor allow the sanctity of their homes to be desecrated by the presence and ruthless deeds of a ruffian soldiery. I do not say that these Provinces can, at present, raise such an army as would enable them, were they so disposed, to become successful invaders of another country; but I do say, that they can raise such bodies of troops, for their defence, as, if animated—as I am convinced they would be—by the valorous spirit of the races from which they are descended, would render them invincible in repelling foreign invasion.

Should this threatened invasion of British America take place—should it commence by an invasion of Canadian territory, we, *in* Prince Edward Island, will not, it is true, be exposed to the awful calamities, the dreadful horrors, and fearful ravages which it will bring upon the Canadians But shall we lend them no assistance? Shall we in a manner stand still, the unfeeling passive spectators of their miseries? Shall we, because it is our good fortune not to have to defend our own hearthstones, or to fight at our own doors, to prevent the plundering of our property, the *burning of our dwellings*, the murder and—worse than murder—the violation of our wives, our daughters, and our sisters—shall we, I say, because we are happily exempt from all the horrors of war ourselves, in the spirit of the most base, the most cowardly selfishness, rejoice in our exemption from these calamities, and at the same time, refuse to aid our brethren who are exposed to them? The man who would counsel such conduct—the man who would consent to act *so unpatriotic*, so cowardly a part, is wholly unworthy of his birth-right as a British subject. Were we, in the event of an invasion of Canada by the armies of the United States, to remain, as it were, passive spectators of the calamities and horrors which the Canadians would have to endure in consequence of it, the finger of universal scorn would be pointed at us, and the records of history would be memorials to our lasting disgrace. But no! We will never act so ungenerous, so dastardly a part. We will remember what history informs us a few brave, loyal, and patriotic men can accomplish, even when opposed to the most fearful odds; and, shoulder to shoulder with our brethren of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, in the day of danger and conflict, we will emulate the spirit and the deeds of those who, of old, bravely and successfully fought for the protection of their homes and the preservation of their freedom. Let us remember and be inspirited by the records of the glorious triumphs of the little States of Greece in the cause of freedom. In those records, we read how bravely and successfully the Athenians, with only about 10,000 men opposed the invasion of Attica, by the generals of Darius, king of Persia, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men. Again, we find there, how with equal bravery and success, when, ten years afterwards, Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius upon the Persian throne, invaded Greece, leading on, for his purposed conquest, an army which amounted to upwards of two millions of men, he was bravely withstood, and successfully repelled by a handful of Athenian and Spartan troops, not amounting to more than eleven thousand two hundred men, commanded by the Athenian general, Themistocles; and, in those records, we also read the inspiriting relation of the death of Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans, at the Straits of Thermopylæ, in their glorious attempt to check the progress of the invaders of their country. The jealousies which subsisted between the rival States of Athens and Sparta were very great; but we find that, in the time of their common danger, they forgot their animosities, and united their powers for the protection of their common liberties and freedom. We also find that, when the army of Darius invaded Attica, the Platæans, although hundreds of miles distant from the scene of danger, nobly and generously sent one thousand soldiers, to assist their Athenian brethren; and so, I trust—when the hour of *trial shall arrive*—will the people of Prince Edward Island assist the Canadians to resist the invasion of the common enemy. As to the numbers of their inhabitants and the extent of their territories, the States of Athens and Sparta were both comparatively insignificant powers: yet these States, with very little assistance from the inferior republics, were not only able *to resist*, but even to baffle and defeat all the attempts of the Persian monarch upon their liberties; affording a memorable *instance* of what acts of heroism may be performed by men animated by a love of *freedom* and the institutions of their country

The courage, the patriotism, the bonds of union among the people of these Provinces. will not, in the day of danger and trial, I confidently trust, be found inferior to those of the heroic *Grecians* of whom I have just spoken; and our own people, scorning the counsel of those who are unworthy of their birthright as British subjects, will, I proudly hope, be found as ready and willing to assist their brethren of Canada, in their hour of need, as were the Platæans to assist their brethren of Athens against the *invading* army of Persia. Yes: when the dark days of Canada come, the sons of Prince Edward Island, will not "sit down by the waters of Babylon and weep." *Theirs, in those days*, will be a nobler, a more spirited, a more truly patriotic part. They will cheerfully go up to Canada: and be found amongst the foremost in the battle, nobly and bravely contending for the preservation of the rights, the privileges, and the freedom of the united peoples of British America. With their rifles, with deadly aim, they will do successful battle with tyranny and oppression; and, though some may nobly fall, yet many of them, I trust, will live to issue unscathed from the bloody strife, to return to their Island homes rejoicing, and around their own hearths to sing the song of victory.

What I desire is to see the peoples of British North America elevated to a common level with their brethren at home; for when they shall once have attained to that position, I am confident they will be found to have the ability to maintain it; and I shall then have a country of my own, possessing all the rights of citizenship of the great empire of which we are a part—a country of which I shall feel I have every reason to be proud. That the contest between the United States, on the one hand, and Great Britain and the British American Provinces, on the other, will not, if it take place—as there is but too much reason to believe it will—be carried on upon the soil of Prince Edward Island, ought, however, to be a matter of the greatest thankfulness to us all; and, for which, rich and poor, high and low, married and unmarried, ought to go upon their knees and fervently to thank the Almighty. Much as we read in the papers concerning the suicidal war at present being carried on in the United States, we can form but feeble conceptions of the blood, the havoc, the ravages, the devastation, and cruelties which mark the tracks of the contending armies: and never, I trust, will such awful and heart-rendering pictures as they present be realized upon the soil of Prince Edward Island.

With these remarks, Mr. Chairman, I conclude; and shall be happy to resign my position, as a speaker, in favour of any other individual who may wish to address the meeting on the momentuous question concerning which I have so freely spoken, and for the discussion of which we have assembled this evening. Before I sit down, however, I feel it right to say that I am very sensible of the patient, courteous, and impartial hearing which has been accorded me, by this very large and most respectable meeting, notwithstanding that the majority are—so at least I believe—opposed to the views and sentiments which I entertain with respect to the subject of my remarks. For the very fair and courteous hearing which they have given me, I, therefore, beg they will be pleased to accept my most respectful acknowledgments.

The honorable and learned gentleman was repeatedly cheered during the delivery of his Speech, and, at its conclusion, he was greeted with a very hearty round of applause.

[A letter from the Hon. Mr. Whelan to his Worship the Mayor, accounting for, and apologising for his absence, and containing briefly his views on the question of Confederation, was then read, and received with many manifestions of respect and applause. The letter appeared in our last No. in the summary account of the proceedings of the Meeting. The Hon. Mr. Coles was the next speaker, and his speech is as follows:—]

Hon. Mr. COLES.—Mr. Chairman, two gentlemen having now spoken in favor of Union, on the basis of the Report of the Quebec Conference—the Hon. Mr. Haviland in person and the Hon. Mr. Whelan by letter—I presume I may now fairly claim to be heard on the other side of the question. I must say that I quite agree with much that has just been said by the Hon. Mr. Haviland; and I may also observe that there was a general agreement between his views and my own, as expressed during the sitting of the Convention in Canada; but, perhaps, he is not disposed to adhere as strenuously to those views in which our sentiments at that time concurred as I am. The only two reasons especially adduced by him, as those by which he is influenced in his desire that Prince Edward Island should enter into the Union, are that, in the event of her doing so, he would have a nation of his own and that for the whole Union there would be but one code of Laws, instead of different ones, as is now the case, for the several seperate and distinct Provinces. He wishes to build up a nation for himself; he longs for a new state of political existence in a Federal Union of these Provinces, in order, no doubt, that he may obtain a larger field for his ambition; but, for my part, as a native of little Prince Edward Island, I shall be perfectly well satisfied if we are allowed merely to remain precisely as we are under the protection of Great Britain. We have a Constitution, unsurpassed, unequalled by that of any other in the world. We have not only full control over our own finances; but, with the exception of the Lieutenant Governor, the people have the power to select every public officer from one end of the Island to the other. The Lieut. Governor, it is true, is appointed by the Imperial Government; but, be it remembered that, whilst so appointed, his salary is also paid by the Imperial Government. We are, in our present position, as free as any people upon the face of the globe. We have—what they have not in Great Britain—universal suffrage; and we have in fact greater power over those who manage our affairs than is possessed by the people of the Mother Country. I believe that the existing colonial system, as it respects Prince Edward Island, is all that can be reasonably desired; and, therefore, I do not wish to see it changed on the terms proposed. In their desire for the formation of the proposed Confederation, the leading men of Canada are undoubtedly influenced by many good and weighty reasons. To the Canadians, both internally and externally, it would certainly be highly beneficial and advantageous. The advantages also, both immediate and prospective, which would be derived from it, by Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, on their entering into it on the terms proposed to them, are so obvious that I am not at all surprised that many of the leading public men in these Provinces are zealous and energetic in their advocacy of the measure.

But how advantageous soever it may be admitted it would be to the other Provinces, I am convinced that, upon the terms and conditions, on which it is proposed that Prince Edward Island shall be taken or admitted into it, the Federation, were she to enter into it, would be ruinous to her best interests. It has, indeed, been confidently asserted, again and again, that the principles laid down in the Report of the Quebec Convention are not only just to the several Provinces, but, moreover, that they are especially just and liberal to Prince Edward Island. Now, Sir, I hold, on the contrary, that instead of being just and liberal to Prince Edward Island, the Report is, in almost every respect the very reverse.

The hon. and learned gentleman, who has just addressed the meeting, seems to be inflated by the vain hope of the distinction to which some of the leading public men of Prince Edward Island would attain, should she become an integral part of the Great Federation so earnestly advocated by him. But I argue that we have, in discussing this question, to consider something of far more importance to the people than the vain hope of the personal aggrandizement of a few of our leading public men. The gratification of their ambition would be but a sorry consideration in exchange for the subverted independence of our Government. The Constitution under which we now live is, I contend, far superior to that which we would have to accept in lieu of it, should we consent to enter into the Confederation on the terms laid down for *our acceptance* in the Report of the Convention. We fought long and strenuously for the extinction of the old close and oligarchical system of government which was so long maintained in the Island, to the repression, not only of the honest and honourable aspirations *of* many for official positions of trust and honor in our little state, but to the positive social degradation and political enthralment of the great body of the people, held in slavish subjection to the will of a few, whom neither superior talents nor the rights *of birth*, but merely adventitious circumstances had given the power to rule over and oppress them. Yes, Sir, for the obolition of that system, so repugnant to the feelings of every true lover of his country, and so subversive of all those noble and generous sentiments which induce men to aspire to distinction in the service of their country, bravely and persistently we fought, and victory, at length was ours. The old worn out system of oligarchical rule and exclusiveness was completely set aside; and the establishment of Self or Responsible Government was the crowning act of our victory. By the concession to us of this form of Government, by the Imperial Authorities, the brand of inferiority was effaced from our brow; we were acknowledged as a people worthy to enjoy all the privileges of British Constitutional freedom, and capable of exercising them in a manner the most honorable and beneficial to ourselves, and satisfactory to the Imperial Powers. And that we were so, Sir, has, I think, been evidenced, most fully and satisfactorily by the progress which, since the inauguration of Self Government in the Island, we have made in every direction in which it is possible for a people to advance. Have we not improved with respect to commerce? Has not our trade been greatly and most beneficially extended? And have not our farmers been greatly and most materially *benefited by the extension of our trade?* More wealthy men in their station of life may be found in some other countries; but a more contented, intelligent, and respectable class of men, than are our own well-to-do farmers, are not, I firmly believe, to be found in any country; and, as their faithful friend and representative, I cannot, I will not, consent to any scheme of Union with the rest of the British North American Provinces which would be so fatally prejudicial to their interests as, I am convinced, such a Union would be, if based upon the terms laid down in the Report of the Quebec Conference. And not only, as respects trade and agriculture, have we made great and rapid progress, but the learning among the mass of the people under our Free Educational System, has been such as, I believe, has never been surpassed in any other country; and, as trained under it, the youth of this Island, at this day, cannot be excelled by those of similar standing in society, in any other country, either old or new, in the world. Politically also, our progress, under Self Government, has upon the whole, been highly beneficial, honorable, and satisfactory to the country. The machinery of the system may perhaps, occasionally get a little out of order; it may, at times, fail to work quite as smoothly and evenly, as some among us could wish; but whatever improvements may be required in it towards rendering it more certain and beneficial in its operations, let it be remembered we have it in our own power to make them, so long as we shall continue in our present separate and independent position. That power however would be taken from us the moment we became a member of the contemplated Colonial Confederation; and we should, thenceforth, be nothing but an appendage to Canada: our Constitution would be swamped and our independence forever gone. We are now a free and independent people, part and parcel of an empire, if not absolutely the greatest, certainly inferior to no other in the world; and, as part and parcel of that empire we are entitled to claim its protection, and to participate in all the advantages, which, in any other portion of it, are enjoyed by any community of British subjects. Whatever else we may lack, we have freedom to the fullest extent that it can be desirable. We have freedom of thought, of speech, and of public discussion. England has not more than this. What more then can we want as a people? Are we dissatisfied? do we undervalue all the blessings which, as a prosperous and free people under a Constitution and Government of our own, we enjoy, because we are not a nation? The aspiration of the Hon. Mr. Haviland, he has told us, is to have a nation of his own. Now, for my own part, I am quite as well satisfied—and so, I believe, are the vast majority of the people of Prince Edward Island—to remain as we are, under the shelter and protection of the glorious old Flag of England, without being subjected to enormous taxation, as we would be—not, indeed, as "a nation" but simply as a petty portion of a Federation of Provinces, in the Legislature of which our representative voice would have no weight or influence whatever, when raised on behalf of our own separate interests. We are certainly only a small Colony; but, as such, in our present isolated and independent position, we are not subject to taxation, either on account of an expensive system of national government, or for the support of a national navy or army, or for the erection of fortifications and other works for national defence. But were we to enter the contemplated Confederation, on the terms laid down for our acceptance in the Report of the Quebec Conference—to heavy taxation on all these accounts, and to many other disadvantages, without any fair or adequate equivalent, we would at once subject ourselves. That such would be the case with us, in the event of our entering the Union is now not only openly declared, but the necessity and justice of our being so are stoutly maintained by our leading Unionists, as well as for our share of the $200,000 which Mr. Gray says are to be laid out on the defences of New Brunswick, although not one word was said upon the subject during the sitting of the Conference.

Besides the objections, Sir, which I have already stated, I advanced at the Conference Board to the terms on which it is proposed that we shall *enter into the contemplated Confederation*, I have, since, seen further cause to be still more strongly opposed to the proposition—and that is on account of the unfairness practised by the Canadians with respect to the Report after its having been finally revised, corrected, and signed at Montreal. Since the breaking up of the Convention, they have taken upon themselves, without consulting the Delegates of the Maritime Provinces, to alter that Report. As it stood when finally agreed to—and signed, although, not by myself—the Local Governments were empowered to define the Electoral Districts for the Federal Parliament, and to rearrange them when necessary. But, by the alteration which the Canadians, of their own accord, have made in the Report, the Local Governments have been stripped of even that power; so that our Local Legislature would, if brought under the Constitution set forth in the Report, be a mere nonentity, and be possessed of less power than our City Corporation. The want of integrity evidenced in this tampering with the Report, affords us a proof of the unfair consideration which we might expect to receive, at the hands of the Canadians, were we once bound up with them, for the furtherance of their own interests, in the Confederation; and should, of itself, be sufficient to determine us to have nothing to do with it.

At the commencement of the Session of the *Conference*, it was agreed, and fully understood by us all, that our proceedings should, in all respects, be regulated and governed by the rules and *principles* which obtain in the Canadian Parliament—which are almost identical with those of our House of Assembly—by a due observance of which, every Delegate, on the resumption of the Chair, by the Chairman of the Convention, would have had an opportunity of again moving any and every Resolution which he had failed to carry in Committee; and of having it put to the vote, by the Chairman, and a division of the whole Convention *taken upon* it; by which means, exactly as in Parliament, his rejected Resolutions, with the divisions of the *Convention upon them, would have been duly* recorded. Had this agreement or understanding, Sir, been honestly adhered to, I certainly could have had *no reason to complain of the manner* in which the proceedings of the Convention were regulated. I should have been perfectly well *satisfied with it, because then my views, on which* I was outvoted, would have been fairly and fully recorded. But so far was this from being the case, that the agreement was completely set aside; the votes were taken one for each of the several six divisions of the contemplated Confederation; and in Committee dissentient Delegates were peremptorily denied an opportunity of placing either their lost Resolutions, or Protests expressive of them, upon record. No wonder, then, that, in the form in which the Report has been made public, it should appear to have been unanimously agreed to by all the Delegates. No wonder, then, that the Governor General should have regarded the Report as the embodiment of the unanimous decisions of the Conference, and that he should, in his Despatch to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Cardwell, have represented it as being so, and that the latter should have dealt with it as such—nothing having appeared on the Minutes of the Conference to the contrary.

The Hon. Mr. Haviland has said that we—the Delegates—were unanimous; but I say we were not. The representation claimed by us—the P. E. Island Delegates — in the Federal House of Commons, was six members—two for each of our three Counties. It is certainly true that we—the P. E. Island Delegates — were unanimous in requiring that we should be allowed six representatives in the Lower House of the Federal Parliament, but it is also true that five of the other Provinces, by their Delegates, voted against us; and, to our request, it was objected that, should we be allowed the number of representatives that we claimed as justly due to us in the Lower House, the Convention would be obliged to re-arrange the whole representative scale; and that in yielding us six, it would be necessary, in order to preserve a due observance of the principle of representation according to population, that Canada should be allowed nine or ten more, in addition to the number which had been already assigned to them on that principle. It was also further objected that such an increase to the number of representatives would necessarily occasion a serious increase to the annual expenses of the Federal Parliament. So they acted, so they reasoned, and so they decided against us on the score of representation; and this decision of theirs may be taken as a fair sample of the justice and sympathy which, should we enter into the Confederation, we might expect to experience on all occasions in which our interests should be found to conflict in any way with those either of Canada, of Nova Scotia, or of New Brunswick.

It is not my intention, Sir, to follow the hon. and *learned* gentleman, Mr. Haviland, over all the ground which he has traversed in his endeavours to *prove* that, were we to enter into the projected Union, the results would be conducive to the promotion *of our* best interests, and in his attempts to shew—what can be more ridiculous?—that the opening *up of* the far West would open up to us a greater, a *more certain*, and a more advantageous market for the *sale* of our agricultural produce. I shall content myself with shewing that the terms of Union set forth in the Report are so far from being simply fair to Prince Edward Island that they are *positively* most unjust.

[Owing to illness on the part of our Reporter, we regret to state that he has been unable to extend the whole of Mr. Coles's speech, and, we must, in consequence, reserve for our next No. the remainder of it.

Mr. Archibald McNeill followed Mr. Coles, whose speech is unreported for the same reason. The Hon. George Beer was the next to speak, and as he had committed his remarks to paper, we are enabled to give them in this connection.

The Rev. George Sutherland delivered a very excellent speech at one of the adjourned meetings, the report of which has been furnished to us, but want of space compels us to postpone its insertion.]

Hon. GEO. BEER.—Mr. Chairman, the subject now under consideration is fraught with consequences to the inhabitants of P. E. Island of such magnitude and importance as to demand from every intelligent individual among us the most serious investigation.

With propriety, the question may be put to me: Why did you interfere in the matter? Why not leave it in the hands of those who are much better able to grapple with such a gigantic subject than yourself? In reply, I would observe that, although having but the one talent, I know no reason why, at such a critical and dangerous time, that one talent should be wrapped in a napkin and hid.

Mr. Chairman, the inhabitants of P. E. Island were in a most dangerous position. It appeared, some few months since, that almost, if not every one of our leading politicians had had a glimpse at what Mr. Whelan calls the "golden prospect," and were about to hurry us into the Confederation, *nolens volens*. The *Islander*, with its leading articles in favour of Union, was labouring hard to bias the public mind in that direction, even before the meeting of the Delegates. The *Examiner*, that had, for months before, denounced every idea of Confederation as an "expensive absurdity," a "sham," &c. &c.,—the *Examiner*, I say, all at once grew tame on the subject, and got on the fence. I came out with my first letter. I thought I would sound an alarm, if I could do nothing more, and, if I remember correctly, the very week after that the editor of the *Examiner* got completely over the fence, and an interchange of compliments began with the editor of the *Examiner*, the editor of the *Islander*, and, I may say, the whole of the leading politicians of the Colony. In fact, they appeared nearly all to be riding along most triumphantly in the same coach. I thought we were sold, without even knowing the "terms" of sale. It was easy to imagine what a torrent of eloquence and declamation, what an amount of special pleading and sophistry (if necessary) would be brought to bear on the subject; the editors of the *Islander* and *Examiner* would laugh in their sleeve at the coalition that had taken place, and at the unquestionable prospect that, by their joint efforts, the public sentiment could be directed in just such a channel as would float it into the Union.

Mr. Chairman, I feel proud to think that my fears are not likely to be realized; for we have at least two of the Delegates to the Quebec Convention, two natives of P. E. Island, the Hon. Mr. Palmer and the Hon. Mr. Coles, who will not consent to sell the birthright of their fellow colonists for a mere mess of pottage.

The objection to our being absorbed in this Union, on the terms agreed on at Quebec, have been so clearly set forth by Mr. Laird, Hon. Mr. Coles and others as to obviate any necessity of my entering at large on the subject; but, with your permission, I will offer a few remarks on two or three points.

The question may well be asked, how came there to be any talk or negociation in reference to a Union with Canada, since the Legislature of P. E Island had no such measure before it, nor did it contemplate or authorise the sending of Delegates to Canada, nor has it been urged upon the Island by the British Government? Sir, it originated alone in the "political necessities" of Canada, in proof of which, I beg to quote from the Hon. A. T. Galt, the great Canadian financier, as follows: "In coming forward, as we were obliged to do from the necessities of the case, to consider a remedy for our own evils, &c., &c. Events, as they were aware had ripened rapidly during the last two or three years, and within the present year, they had seen the machine of government almost brought to a dead lock, &c., &c. In conclusion, he would remark that the political necessities of Canada seemed to render a measure of union of all the Provinces of British North America *necessary in itself.*" I ask, gentlemen, could any better proof be required that this Union is sought to be brought about for the especial benefit of Canada?

We are expected to surrender our constitution and revenue to the General Government, and to receive, for our local wants, a fixed sum for all time to come. Mr. Galt says, "The gentlemen from the Lower Provinces had been asked what reductions they could make in the Government of the several Colonies, etc. Prince Edward Island would reduce her expenditure from $170,000 to $121,000, etc., etc. It was proposed to take away from them every source of revenue they possessed, except minor local revenues, and then to give them, from the public chest, a sufficient subsidy to enable the machinery to work, etc., etc. If they increased their expenses in proportion to the growth of population, they would be obliged to resort to direct taxation." Gentlemen, this is pretty plain; and, I can assure you, it is a fact that, during the last fifteen years, our requirements and expenses have increased at the rate of about £2,000 a year; but, from henceforth, no matter how much we may need or how large our revenue may become—even if it increases to £150,000 a year—the balance over and above our allowance, is, for all time to come, to be remitted to the General Government; and even the power to levy a direct tax upon ourselves is not granted us without the special permission of the General Government. We are expected voluntarily to submit to the most humiliating subjection that can be conceived, and to become a mere appendage to Canada, being virtually if not actually, disfranchised

The annual loss that Confederation would entail upon the Colony, is variously estimated, at from £25,000 to £35,000 a year. I have little doubt that it will be nearer the 30 than 20; but, for the sake of argument, we will suppose it only £20,000 a year to commence with. Let us suppose the Island to have gone into Confederation some twelve months since, the financial year having ended a few days since, the officer of the General Government for the collection of revenue finds he has £20,000 on hand, after paying over to the Local Government their allowance, which he is instructed to remit immediately to Ottawa; consequently exchange to the value of £20,000, is required forthwith. I would ask the business men of P. E. Island, what would be the effect of such a demand upon the available resources of the Colony? Is it not a well known fact that scarcely a year passes—even now—without considerable difficulty being experienced in the obtaining of exchange for remittances? Confederation would not increase our exports, or sterling exchange; but the balance of revenue, received over and above our allowance, would have to be remitted to the General Government, and a keen competition would take place between the collector of revenue and the merchant in the purchase of exchange; and, if sterling bills could not be obtained, our specie would be taken away, and, as this new drain of the resources of the Colony would continue and increase, the further effect would be that exchange would become dearer, the merchants' goods would advance in price, the country would get completely drained of all its gold and silver coin, our Banks would have to close, and we would be thrown back to where we were a quarter of a century since. The only way to avoid this impending calamity, is politely to give a negative answer to the invitation to enter this one-sided partnership.

The above calculation is based on the supposition that, by the assimilation of our tariff to the present Canadian tariff, there would be a balance of at least £20,000 a year against the Colony but we have no ground whatever to suppose the Canadian tariff can be continued at so low a rate as 20 per cent. The present annual expenditure of Canada is about $10,000,000; and for a number of years past, their income has fallen short of expenditure, from one to two millions dollars per year. 1864 is, I believe, the only year out of the last ten, that they have been enabled to make the two ends meet. The estimated cost of the gigantic undertakings now in contemplation, is some $75,000,000. The interest alone on this amount, at 6 per cent, would be $4,500,000