

HENRY GESNER PINEO, Sr. & Jr.

by

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PINEOS IN THE HOUSE

My first's an article of Lady's dress,
Tho' sometimes used by people to express
Regard so small it cannot well be less.

To form my second, add the letter E,
And I become a stately forest tree,
A valuable one as you may see.

Now at your leisure, add the letter O
And with this acquisition I will show
A name familiar to you all, I know.

This "poetical charade" appeared in the first edition of Pugwash's novel literary experiment, The Night Blooming Cereus, late in 1869. The solution?

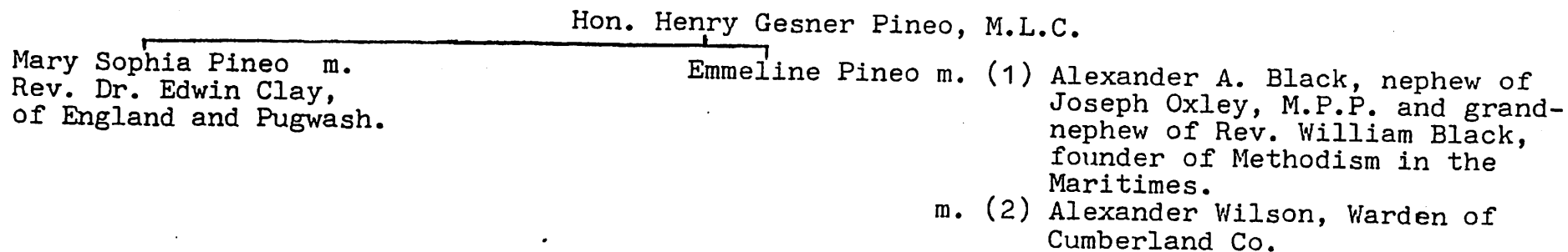
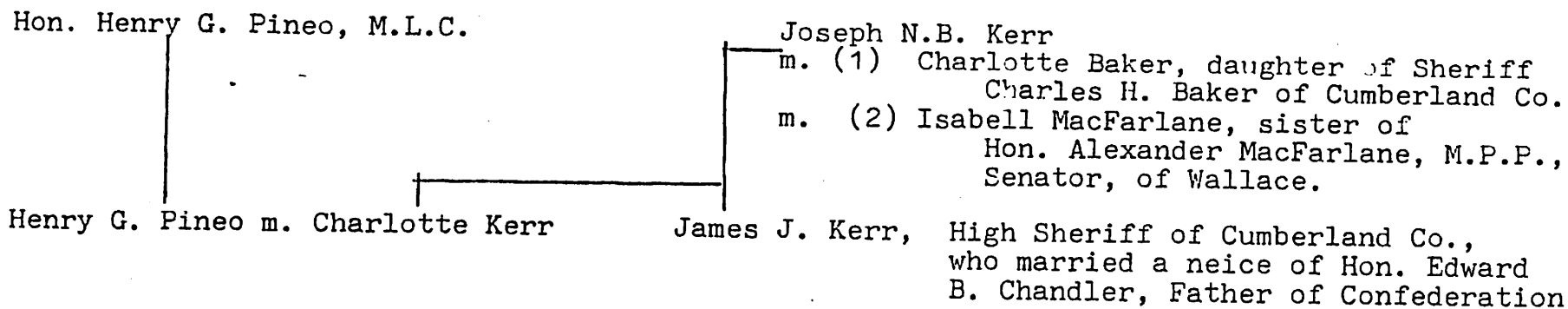
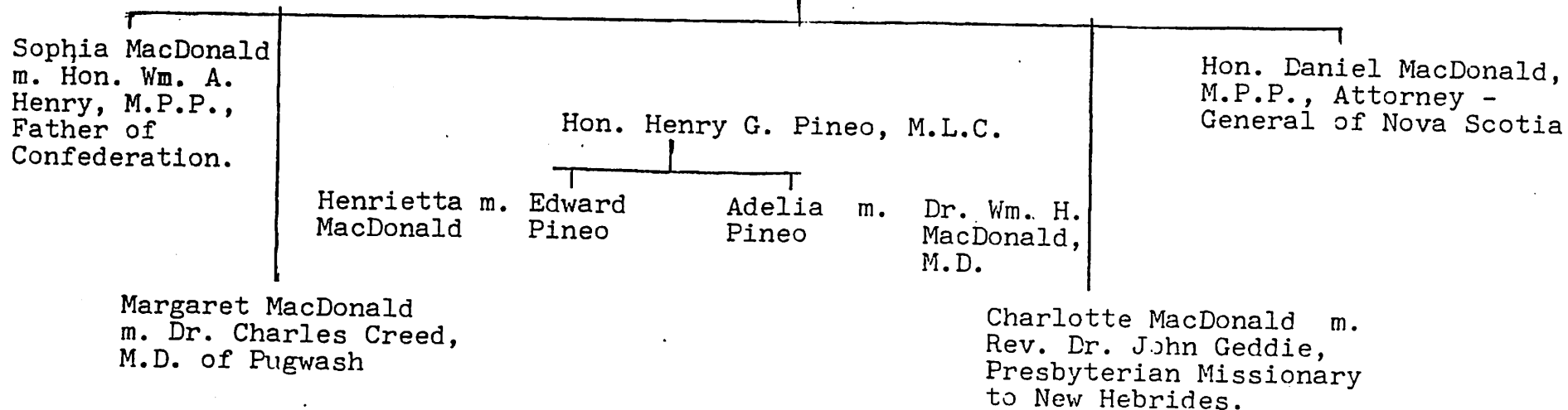
No lady's toilette is complete
Without a PIN to make it neat,
Nor can we any love permit
If not a PIN we care for it.
Add now to PIN the letter E,
And PINE results, a lofty tree.
To PINE we put the letter O,
And straightway, therefore, we will show
The well-known name - 'tis PINEO.

Well known, indeed! For decades, the Pineos managed financial and commercial affairs in and around Pugwash, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. Their control was absolute and the effects, long-lasting. More importantly, their business affluence earned them entry into provincial politics where, on occasion, they flexed their partisan muscles with sometimes startling results. The father arranged a nearly-successful effort to unseat the mighty Charles Tupper in 1859, and then destroyed the Government of Joseph Howe in 1863. The son was the only pro-Confederation candidate to win and hold a Legislature seat in anti-Confederate Nova Scotia, 1867-1871.

Who were these men, father and son? They were the Hon. Henry Gesner Pineo, Sr., M.L.C., and Henry Gesner Pineo, Jr., M.P.P. for Cumberland.

A measure of the father's material and social success is reflected in the marriages of several of his children. These alliances connected the political Pineos with some prominent men of affairs in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia, as the following charts illustrate.

Dr. Alexander MacDonald of Antigonish



IN POLITICS

Henry Gesner Pineo's entry into the world of public service dates back to 1817 when, at the age of 18, he was named a constable at Pugwash. Somebody later noted in the Cumberland Quarter Sessions records that he was "under age." In 1818, Henry was appointed a surveyor of hay and lumber. His name next appears in the 1821 list, again as a constable. Records for the succeeding ten years are missing, but, during the 1820's, Henry's personal ambition aided by his commercial success raised him into the sphere of the Hon. Alexander Stewart, the man who preceded Sir Charles Tupper as the leader of Cumberland County politics. Stewart was an Amherst lawyer who sat in the House of Assembly for Cumberland County for 12 years, spent 8 more years in the Legislative Council, was a member of the Executive Council for 6 years, inherited the position of Master of the Rolls, and died in 1865 while still a Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty. For years he was a strongman in the provincial Tory party.

Just when or why Stewart and Henry Pineo first met is not known. As early as 1827, Stewart had investigated a dispute in his capacity as a Commissioner of the Cumberland County Land Board. The dispute was over ownership of several hundred acres of land in what might now be called downtown Pugwash. Among the several claimants was David S. Pineo who was frequently represented by his son, Henry. Although Stewart did not find in favor of the Pineos, the affair brought him into conflict with Thomas Roach and James Shannon Morse, M.P.P., with whom Pineo was also at loggerheads.

It was probably around this time that Pineo sought a modest place in the county's Tory party structure. His first work on behalf of the Tories was likely at election time when he might have shepherded the faithful (and not-so-faithful) to the polls. It was a profitable move to attach himself to the Stewart coattails as that gentleman's star was on the rise. Therefore, when county records resume in 1832, it comes as no surprise to find that Henry Pineo had won promotion from village constable to a seat at the General Sessions of the Peace for Cumberland (the ancestor of today's County Council). In 1833, he served as foreman of the Grand Jury and one finds that he now was addressed as Henry G. Pineo, ESQUIRE. In 1835, he was named a surveyor of the Highways; in 1838, he held appointments as assessor for Pugwash and as the inspector of Weights and Measures. Moreover, he was named a Justice of the Peace, which dignity he retained for life.

Thus, by 1840, HENRY GESNER PINEO, ESQ., J.P., had banished financial stress from his life, had embarked on a so-far modest career in the Tory party, and had established himself at the center of commercial affairs at Pugwash. The earliest record of his active participation in a political campaign arises from the election of 1843. Voting was held late in the autumn when, for Cumberland, two Tories were elected. They were R. McGowan Dickey and Stephen Fulton. (Hon. Alexander Stewart was, at this time, a member of the Legislative Council.) Following the election, there was staged what was called Declaration Day when victorious and defeated candidates, along with their supporters, spoke to a public gathering after the announcement of official voting results.

In 1843, Cumberland's Declaration Day occurred at Wallace and one of the speakers was Henry Pineo. His speech has been preserved for us by a correspondent named "Nantucket," writing for THE TIMES of Halifax on 12 December 1843.

It appeared in course of the contest that Mr. Lewis (a vanquished Liberal) had challenged H.G. Pineo, Esq., who had taken an active part in the election with making use of ledger influence to which that gentleman felt himself bound to reply and refute such malicious and uncalled for statements which he did in the following manner verbatim.

'Gentlemen, freeholders of the county of Cumberland - with much pleasure I take the present opportunity of congratulating you on the choice that you have made in selecting your Representatives. Much credit is due to you for the quietness, sobriety and good order that you have kept during the present contest. Gentlemen, at the commencement of the canvass for the Election, my business unavoidably called me from home, where I was obliged to stay until within a few days; but I do assure you it was with deep regret that I could not return earlier. Gentlemen, on my arrival I was informed, that our opposing generals at the opening of the poll at Amherst, boldly asserted, that our friends, Messrs. Dickey and Fulton, would not get to exceed four votes from the district of Pugwash, and that they had little or no support at Wallace: but gentlemen, the conclusion of this contest has proved their statements to be false and groundless; instead of only four votes from Pugwash, they have polled twenty-nine, and in Wallace they have been unanimously and independently supported. - (Cheers.) Gentlemen, Mr. Lewis has had the hardihood to say, that I made use of ledger influence. I call that assertion unmanly, I deny the charge; and I now challenge any man in this assembly, to say that

I made use of ledger influence at this election (cheers). But, gentlemen, I well know of many instances where ledger influence has been used in favor of the opposing party, and for the benefit of him who dared to make such an assumption (cheers). But, gentlemen, I have no wish to trample on a fallen foe, and I therefore forego making any further remarks in reply to insulting, disappointed aspirants. Gentlemen, the Representatives which you have this day chosen, have represented you heretofore in General Assembly, and I am satisfied they have used every exertion to serve your best interest. - I trust they have given satisfaction, and I sincerely hope they will satisfy you again. I feel confident they will do so, and if such be the case, I flatter myself that the same independent support which they have received at the present time, will be given to them again on a future and similar occasion; and now, gentlemen, accept my best thanks for the cause you have espoused, and the course you have taken, and may my best wishes attend you.' To which the assembly gave three hearty cheers.

It sounds almost as if Pineo had been the campaign manager for the successful candidates. Perhaps he was.

Whatever labors were completed for the Tories by Pineo, and they must have been numerous, the party was grateful. All public appointments were political at this time and the party faithful were rewarded therewith. Consequently, Henry Pineo was made a Commissioner of Schools for Cumberland County in 1845, but the greatest reward of his career was to come the next year.

A death in 1846 initiated a chain of events. It was that of the Hon. S.G.W. Archibald on 28 January. The Hon. Mr. Archibald, an immensely popular gentleman, had held the high judicial office of Master of the Rolls at the time of his death. In April, the immensely unpopular Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Lord Falkland, offered the post to Cumberland's Alexander Stewart. Stewart accepted, thereby creating a vacancy in the Legislative Council. The Council, a miniature version of the current Senate of Canada, and even more so of the British House of Lords, was a body which still had some clout in the 1840's. It was a singular testimony to Henry G. Pineo's services to his county and party that he was offered Stewart's seat on the Council. Of course, he responded in the affirmative. The anti-Government newspaper, THE NOVASCOTIAN, noted sarcastically:

MORE NO-PARTY APPOINTMENTS

The Government Organ of Saturday says that Messrs. John E. Fairbanks, of Halifax, David Crichton, of Pictou, and H.G. Pineo, of Pugwash, have been appointed to the Legislative Council, - all good Conservatives and true.

- May 11, 1846.

THE NOVASCOTIAN had no intention of letting the appointments slip past that gently. Both Lord Falkland and Alexander Stewart were the favorite targets of the opposition press, and Henry Pineo, being a disciple of Stewart, was now included in their sights. On May 18th, THE NOVASCOTIAN attacked Lord Falkland for creating more peers before leaving office.

Knowing that he dare not face the indignant population he has deceived, and seeing that the men he sought to crush will come back at the head of a triumphant majority, to give the lie to every declaration he has put forth, and every slander he has written, he hopes, by cramming the Legislative Council with inveterate Tory tools to onstruct the beneficial labours of a Liberal majority. Three new Peers are, we are informed by the Post, to be created forthwith -

John E. Fairbanks

David Crichton

Henry G. Pineo.

Queer reasons are given for the appointment of the first. We shall not allude to them further, than by confessing that the HONOR is hardly worth the SACRIFICE. The second is about as bigotted a Tory as there is in Nova Scotia, and the third has been for years a ready and servile follower of Sandy Stewart's. Not one of these men have ever represented the people of Nova Scotia, and it is but fair to assume, that, were our Senate elective, scarcely one of the six persons appointed within the present year by Lord Falkland would ever have cast their shadows upon its walls. The Liberals of Halifax, Cumberland, and Pictou will see in these appointments only further incitements to union, courage and determination.

The Tory Government was deaf to such words and Queen Victoria's approval of Pineo's appointment was gazetted on May 16th. But the Hon. Mr. Pineo had to wait until the following year to experience his first taste of legislative activity. He travelled to Halifax for the January 21st, 1847, opening of the Council and Assembly by the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Harvey. The ceremony was probably much like that witnessed about five years earlier by famed novelist Charles Dickens.

It happened to be the opening of the Legislative Council and General Assembly, at which ceremonial the forms observed on the commencement of a new Session of Parliament in England were so closely copied, and so gravely presented on a small scale, that it was like looking at Westminster through the wrong end of a telescope. The Governor, as her Majesty's representative, delivered what may be called the Speech from the Throne. He said what he had to say manfully and well. The military band outside the building struck up "God Save the Queen" with great vigour before his Excellency had quite finished; the people shouted; the in's rubbed their hands; the out's shook their heads; the Government party said there never was such a good speech; the opposition declared there never was such a bad one,...

American Notes, 1931 edition, p. 21.

After the reading of the Governor's speech, Pineo was sworn into office.

From the Minutes of the Legislative Council

THURSDAY, 21st JANUARY, 1847.

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Henry G. Pineo, Esquire, was introduced and presented his Mandamus—the same was read; whereupon the Oath of Allegiance and the Oath of Office were administered to him, and after giving and receiving salutations to and from the Members present, his seat was assigned to him next to Mr. Crichton. Mr. Pineo takes Oaths.

John E. Fairbanks, Esquire, was introduced and presented his Mandamus—the same was read; whereupon the Oath of Allegiance and the Oath of Office were administered to him, and after giving and receiving salutations to and from the Members present, his seat was assigned to him next to Mr. Pineo. Mr. Fairbanks takes Oaths.

The Address of this House to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor in answer to His Excellency's Speech at the opening of the Session, was by order of the President

Pineo's first official activity in the Legislative Council was to serve, with the Hon. Michael Tobin, Jr., of Halifax, and the Hon. Staley Brown of Yarmouth, on the Committee of Public Accounts. At the same time, January 27th, he was named to a select committee on "A Bill entitled, An Act relating to the Burial Ground near the Town Plot of Cornwallis." This was the modest beginning of 28 years' legislative service in Nova Scotia.

A month later, Pineo presented the petition of James Chappell seeking aid in the running of a "Packet between the Bay of Verte and Prince Edward's Island." Then, on March 11th, he was granted a leave of absence from the Council "to return home

on urgent private business," along with the Hon. Alexander Campbell of Tatamagouche.

During the first decade of Pineo's active political career, events followed much the same course as in 1847. He supported the Tory party in the Council. He fought on their behalf through three election campaigns (1847, '51, '55) and two by-elections (1852, '57). He became a life member of the exclusive Halifax Club. He procured official favors for his family: his son Henry, Jr., became United-States Consular Agent in Halifax (1853) while Mrs. Pineo's brother-in-law, Levi Borden, was made Postmaster at Pugwash in 1847, an office filled by him and his son Stanley into the present century. He dismissed plans for provincial railway construction as a "railroad bubble" (1854) but gave a boost to women's rights in 1858 by declaring his belief in a deserted female's right to own property. He supported the monetary change from the British pound to decimal currency, yet he had only contempt for universal suffrage.

It was this last subject that brought Pineo to the brink of political disaster and prominence. His continual support of the Tories had made him an instant enemy of the great Joseph Howe. As the leader of the reform-minded Liberals, Howe despised the old Tory Establishment with which Pineo, the one-time poor man, felt so comfortable. In 1851, Howe visited Pugwash for a political meeting. His supporters greeted him with flags while the local Tories (with Pineo's knowledge and perhaps even support) burnt him in effigy.

Nevertheless, in 1859, Pineo and Howe became unusual allies, and universal suffrage was their common ground. Charles Tupper of Cumberland was now a power in the colonial Government. Shortly before the calling of an election in 1859, Tupper had persuaded the Tory Administration to push through a measure that brought about universal male suffrage in Nova Scotia. Pineo had held the party line and voted for the bill but it caused him no end of agony to do so. He could never accept the idea that two of his own landless laborers should be entitled to outvote him, a self-made man who was contributing to the economy of the province. He said later:

...the universal suffrage act was the worst law that ever passed this Legislature.

(Legislative Council Debates, 1860, p. .)

Is it right to allow Tom, Dick, or Harry, who are the next thing to transient paupers, to swamp all the influence of men of property and standing in the community at elections?

(Ibid., p. 50.)

Is it right and just that a man who is a beggar should have as much influence at elections as a man worth 10,000, thereby nullifying a respectable freeholder's vote? I think not.

(Ibid., p. 53.)

Pineo appears to have chafed under the heavy hand of the youthful Charles Tupper who had assumed Alexander Stewart's control of the Tory party in Cumberland County. Pineo was, after all, the county's senior active politician. This, coupled with his hatred of universal suffrage, led him into a risky course of action that he somehow managed to survive. His annoyance with Tupper became so acute that he decided the man had to go. Accordingly, when an election was called in 1859, Pineo caused local eyes to blink when he bolted to the Liberal side. Those eyes nearly popped at Pineo's next move; he invited the former premier, William Young of Inverness, to contest Cumberland County against Tupper in the hope that Tupper might be unseated. Therein lay Pineo's revenge.

Mr. Young welcomed the invitation to run in Cumberland. The Liberals were in great disfavor with the Roman Catholics of Nova Scotia just then and Young, a Protestant, had represented the predominantly Catholic constituency of Inverness for 23 years. His chances for re-election there looked slim. With Pineo as his chief advocate, Young tackled the Cumberland electorate with whom Tory Tupper was so popular. But, Liberal spirits were high. A party poet penned this warning to Tupper.

Oh, doctor! oh, doctor! beware of the day
 When the Cumberland Liberals rush to the fray -
 When the blood of the Morses wild courses the vein,
 And the war-cry, just vengeance, is raised by McLean;
 When the Pineos marshal their foes to the fight,
 And the disfranchised answer, that Might is not Right,
 And the very roads bellow, give, give us our due,
 Your hopes, my dear Doctor, look wonderful blue. *

(NOVASCOTIAN, 20 June 1859.)

The campaign roared on. Pineo found himself the subject of bitter attacks by his former Tory friends. A writer in the MORNING

* Morse and McLean were well-known Cumberland Liberals.

CHRONICLE recalled the mood after the passage of several years.

Charles Tupper said of you (Pineo), during the election contest of 1859, when you deserted him and united with Chief Justice Young, that "you had abandoned the Conservative Party; that you were a despot desirous of ruling the county; and that because he (Tupper) would not consent to become your tool, and would not do as you desired him to do, therefore you abandoned his party." And over the county of Cumberland, during the contest of '59, Tupper was your assailant, and you were depicted by him as the autocratic and self-constituted demigod of Pugwash.

(Sept. 2, 1867.)

After the totals had been tallied on Election Day, and protests had been heard, it was found that Cumberland had elected two Tories and one Liberal. Both Young and Tupper won seats, with the former receiving the greatest share of the votes. Pineo had failed to engineer the unseating of Tupper, but his efforts to do so had at least this effect: it was the only time in his political career that Tupper did not stand first on the poll. Moreover, Young assumed office as premier of a new Liberal Government. Because he had "arranged" Young's personal election, Pineo was elevated to a position of influence in both Cumberland and the Legislative Council.

In 1860, at the first session of the Legislative Council under the Young Administration, Pineo tried unsuccessfully to use his new power to repeal the universal suffrage act. On March 13th, he presented for debate a bill that would reintroduce a property qualification for voters. On April 7th, he discussed what he saw as the evils of universal suffrage and, when a Tory member accused him of being two-faced because he had supported the universal suffrage act, Pineo responded, in part:

The hon. gentleman opposite (hon. Mr. Dickey) has said that I voted for the universal suffrage bill. It is true I did vote for it, but I have repented it ever since. I was not aware when I gave my vote in its favor that it would become so obnoxious and would carry with it so many evils. Am I to be told therefore that because I did wrong once, that I am to be prohibited from doing what is right now? I acknowledge that I did wrong in the first instance; but by now introducing another bill and voting for it I intend to rectify the evil occasioned by it. Do not let it be considered that we have no right to retrace our steps, and pass a bill to remedy the evils under which seven-eighths of the population of this country are now groaning.

(Legislative Council Debates, 1860, p. 53.)

Pineo's arguments failed to sway the Tory majority in the Council. Members there finally divided along party lines (10 Tories vs. 9 Government supporters, including Pineo) and voted to shelve the bill until after the Council was adjourned! Thus, the measure died.

So did Pineo's brief claim on power. Premier Young had his eye on another job. In July, 1860, Chief Justice Sir Brenton Halliburton passed away; in August, Young - at his own wish - succeeded while the premiership passed to the Liberal party's torchbearer, Joseph Howe. Under a Howe Administration, there was little promise of power for an old political foe like Henry Pineo.

Throughout 1861 and 1862, Pineo maintained a quiet, restrained support of the Howe Government. He described himself at this time as an independent member of the Legislative Council. He attempted to have Cumberland County exempted from the Statute Labor Law which required people to provide for the improvement of public roads running past their properties. He argued for a measure that would free Justices of the Peace from pre-trial communication with plaintives and defendants. Then, 1863 broke and Pineo found himself at the center of a fierce political controversy.

As noted before, Joseph Howe, for all of his reform and liberal ideas, agreed with Pineo's stand against universal suffrage. Therefore, during the last legislative session before an 1863 election, he introduced a measure similar to the unsuccessful bill pushed by Pineo in 1860. There was just one difference; where the Tories had been in control of the Council, the Liberals now held a one-vote majority that depended upon Pineo's support.

Howe's measure was referred to as the new Franchise Bill. By its terms, a properly qualification or its equivalent would be necessary before a man could claim the right to the franchise. If it passed, hundreds would lose their right to vote. This bill was coupled with another one called the Representation Bill which would alter membership in the House of Assembly and with which Pineo was not in agreement.

Getting his franchise measure through the House of Assembly posed little trouble for Howe. The Legislative Council was where things looked ugly, and Charles Tupper, for the Tories, was fighting the bill on all fronts.

The Government had only a narrow majority in the House, but sufficient to carry this measure. It had a majority of only one in the Legislative Council, but this was enough, inasmuch as each supporter had been carefully canvassed upon the franchise question and his support pledged. Tupper violently inveighed against this measure as shutting out from the exercise of the rights of citizenship young men of intelligence, including college students, teachers, and apprentices. He realized that he could not defeat the measure in the House, so he directed his attention to the Council.

Sir Charles Tupper, Hon. J.W. Longley,
Oxford University Press, London & Toronto, 1928,
pp. 26-27.

To ensure the Liberals of Pineo's vote, party officials invited the honorable member from Cumberland (his official designation was Wallace) to private meetings and consulted him on a number of matters concerning the county. Personal attention was to be Howe's tactic. After two years of cool relations, Pineo found himself swept into Howe's circle on a red carpet.

But Tupper also had plans for Pineo. With the help of Alfred G. Jones, a prominent Halifax businessman, Tupper tried to woo his fellow Cumberlandian back to the Tory fold. Success in doing so would tip the Council majority in that party's favor, and Howe's measure would be defeated.

Pineo had given his word to the Liberals that he would support the change in the universal suffrage act and, in private meetings, Tupper could not persuade him to renege on that promise. However, Pineo was by nature and by fact a conservative; he belonged in the Tory party. Tupper played upon this point and, using his abundant energy and magnetism, he encouraged Pineo to return to the Tory side of the Council. More importantly, he elicited from Pineo a pledge to support an amendment to Howe's Franchise Bill that would postpone its coming into operation until after the pending election. Thereby, those people who were about to be disfranchised could still express their disapproval of Howe at the polls, the Tories would pick up those votes, and thus would form the next Government.

All of these deliberations were carried out in the strictest secrecy. Howe and the Liberals had little reason to suspect what was about to happen to them. Indeed, events began as the Liberals had programmed them. On Friday, April 17, 1863, with all councillors present, the second reading of the Franchise Bill was

was voted by the Legislative Council; Pineo backed the Liberals as he had promised so that they carried the decision by a count of 11 to 10.

It was on Saturday that Pineo dropped his bomb. Another M.L.C. from Cumberland County, Hon. R. Barry Dickey, moved Tupper's amendment to delay the effect of the new Franchise Bill until after the approaching election. Ten councillors voted for the motion:

Hon. Messrs. Mather B. Almon, of Halifax,
 William A. Black, of Halifax,
 Staley Brown, of Yarmouth,
 John Creighton, of Lunenburg,
 R. Barry Dickey, of Anherst,
 John Holmes, of Pictou,
 Alexander Keith, of Halifax,
 Edward Kenny, of Halifax,
 President of the Legislative Council,
 and HENRY G. PINEO, of Wallace.

Ten voted against the amendment:

Hon. Messrs. John H. Anderson, of Halifax,
 Receiver General,
 Thomas D. Archibald, of Sydney,
 Anselm F. Coneau, of Clare,
 Charles Dickie, of Cornwallis,
 Jonathan McCully, of Halifax,
 Solicitor General,
 Richard A. McHeffey, of Windsor,
 William McKeen, of Mabou,
 Archibald Patterson, of Tatanagouche,
 Freeman Tupper, of Liverpool,
 and William C. Whitnan, of Annapolis.

Committee chairman, Hon. Robert M. Cutler, of Guysborough, broke the tie by casting the deciding vote in favor of the amendment. Solicitor General McCully tried to have the Council adjourn before second reading of the amendment, but was voted down, 11 to 10. Finally, by the same count, the amendment received second reading approval. With that, the Liberals went into shock.

Sunday was the calm before the storm. One can imagine frantic closed-door meetings between Premier Howe and his Cabinet. When the Council met on Monday, the 20th, the Solicitor General moved for reconsideration of the amendment but was again defeated by an 11-10 vote.

The furious editor of the Liberal party organ, the MORNING CHRONICLE, initiated Tuesday's activity. In that day's paper, he attacked the wayward Pineo with an energy as stinging as it was blunt.

Hon. Mr. Dickey then moved a clause to prevent the (Franchise) Bill coming into operation previous to June, 1864: this was seconded by Hon.

Mr. Almon, and upon the division being taken, Hon. MR. PINEO LEFT THE GOVERNMENT PARTY AND VOTED WITH THE OPPOSITION. This, it seems, was rather unexpected to the Government. For we are informed that he again and again verbally promised, nay, had VOLUNTEERED AN ASSURANCE IN WRITING, but a day or two previously, to a leading member of the Government, that he WOULD SUSTAIN THE FRANCHISE BILL, although he should feel it his duty to act a neutral part as regarded the Representation Bill. The President of the Council also voted against the Government in committee. The amendment was thus carried by the casting vote of Mr. Cutler, the chairman.

.....
 It appears that Mr. Pineo has throughout the session attended the confidential meetings of the Government and assisted in preparing and perfecting these two Bills as Government measures, and as regards the Franchise Bill, up to the moment of his voting with the opposition, never so much as hinted to a member of the administration his intentions. As may easily be imagined, his conduct has brought down upon him the attention of men of all parties in this city as it will that of thousands in the country who knew little of his previous career. He has not volunteered a word or a syllable of explanation, and for the best of all reasons probably - for it would be difficult to imagine what a man placed in such circumstances can say.

Whether the House will accept or reject this amendment, we are unable to say; but most assuredly, the party who sustain the Government throughout this Province will not readily forget the action of one who, uninvited, came to them a few years ago, who has shared their confidence up to the very hour when his vote might have saved the measures of the Administration in the Legislative Council, and then, without a hint or a warning, betrays the trust. Nay, more - the friends of the Government, and the friends of the country, will not lower their flag, nor bate their breath a whit, for this. We never saw the party in better spirits, nor more cheerful, in our lives, than they were all day yesterday. They had a meeting in the morning, and decided upon the policy to be adopted - and, so far as we can learn, the respective members declare that their prospects for success were never better than at this moment. Now that the Opposition have adopted the principle of the new Franchise Act, whether it pass, or whether it do not, they are equally committed to it. By the bill, as it stood, the first elections would have been run under; as it stands now, if rejected by the House, it is the bill as the Opposition are willing to have it; if accepted, it will be the law, by their action, from and after June, 1864. Whether accepted or rejected, alike, every body can probably give a reason for the course

pursued, but ONE MAN, one only. We have no desire to attract towards him more public attention than his conduct will necessarily provoke. We have no wish to make more pungent the self-inflicted torture, which his sad career is already too readily producing. Perhaps he is rather to be pitied now, than censured. His own reflections, if a spark of manly generous emotion remains unextinguished within his bosom - his own future reflections in all time coming, will constitute enough, ay, more than enough, of the severest of all punishments. He has gone to the place from whence he came. Hist, and silence! One thing is clear - difficulties never discourage the party who act with us - they but nerve them to deeds of higher daring. It will be so in this instance. Look to it, friends, and determine that it shall be so - and it will be so.

A copy of this paper came into Pineo's hands shortly after the MORNING CHRONICLE appeared on the street. Within hours he rose in the Legislative Council, paper in hand, to make an angry retort. His speech was accorded the rare distinction of being given front page coverage by the BRITISH COLONIST in an age when the front page of a newspaper was usually devoted to advertising.

Members of the Council had been discussing the Franchise Bill and their dialogue was preserved by the BRITISH COLONIST (9 May 1863).

(The debate has been printed on the following colored pages. The story of Pineo's controversial move in 1863 continues on the next white page.)

The bill was taken up to be read as finally amended when HON. MR. PINEO said: - I beg leave to make a few observations before the bill is finally passed. I observe in the "Morning Chronicle," which I presume is the Government organ, that my name is made use of in reference to this bill. I suppose I cannot complain much of this as public men are public property. There are, however, one or two remarks, in the paper to which I refer, which require some explanation. I beg leave in the first place to say that I am not making these observations to elicit any discussion, but merely to set myself right as to the course I have taken in reference to that bill. I voted for the bill, assisted to carry it through this house, and also voted for the last amendment, and I think I have been borne out in voting for that amendment by the manner in which the House of Assembly have received it. It seems that whatever course we have taken in this house has been unanimously agreed to by the lower house without a division. I am quite willing to let my conduct be scrutinized by the public, and to leave them to judge me by my acts.

The editorial of this paper refers to the bill in the first place, and then to me, and does not speak in very pleasant tones as regards the honorable President. I think, however, that he is quite able to take care of himself, and I know that he is so much more capable of defending himself than I am, that I shall limit myself to a few remarks in justification of my own position. This editorial says: - "Hon. Mr. Dickey then moved a clause to prevent the bill coming into operation previous to June 1864; this was seconded by Hon. Mr. Almon and the division being taken, Hon. MR. PINEO LEFT THE GOVERNMENT PARTY AND VOTED WITH THE OPPOSITION. This, it seems, was rather unexpected to the Government. For we are informed that he again and again verbally promised, nay, had volunteered an assurance in writing, but a day or two previously, to a leading member of the Government, that he would sustain the Franchise Bill, although he should feel it his duty to act a neutral part as regarded the Representation Bill."

Now, let us see how far I have deviated from that promise. Will any hon. gentleman say that I have not supported that bill, that I have not fulfilled that promise? This article says that I promised a day or two before that I would support the bill. I did so, and supported it to the very last. The reason I voted for the last clause

was because I observed as the bill went through Committee, that in place of having a general aspect it disfranchised some hundreds of persons - about 1728 - who were independent men, freeholders, and men of property, besides the others whom it was intended to disfranchise. When I found out that it had such a baneful influence, I thought it but just and right that its operation should be suspended, until everyone should become acquainted with it.

Another objection I had to its going into immediate operation was because it contained two franchises. Complaints came in that the bill disfranchised many more than was anticipated. When my hon. colleague produced those documents and proved this fact, could I vote for the bill going into immediate operation? I promised to support the bill, but I never promised to vote for its having an immediate effect, before I could become acquainted with its practical working. It appeared, as the bill went through committee, that it established one franchise to govern the first election, and another to govern at the next. I thought it fair for one party as the other, that the operation of the bill should be delayed until matters could be arranged so that both parties would have a fair chance. On that principle I voted for the amendment, and it appears that it was not so unacceptable, for it has been endorsed in the Lower House. The amendment, therefore, having been accepted by the Assembly, I think the editor of this paper might have saved himself the trouble of making these remarks.

The editor says, "Mr. Pineo left the Government party and voted with the Opposition." I want to know on what grounds this assertion is made. I want to know when I was ever with them, to vote otherwise than as an honest and independent member. I have yet to learn that I was ever tied to any mortal man or government. I have always acted fearlessly and independently of any party or government. (Hear, hear, from the Opposition.) I have had the honor of a seat here, sir, for about 17 years, and I think I can refer to every vote I have given up to the present moment, and can ask any hon. gentleman to point out one in which I have not been consistent. I have endeavored to act on my own privileges, and have voted in all cases, as bills commended themselves to my judgment, fearless and regardless of consequences. I have endeavored to protect the interests of the people I represent, first of those of my own county, and then of the Province at large.

In this case when I made the discoveries I did, I felt it to be my duty to vote for the amendment. I found that the bill disqualified 96 men in the county of Cumberland - all free-born electors. I will explain briefly how I arrived at this conclusion. In the three districts to which my hon. colleague referred, the following number of persons of that description would be disfranchised by the bill: in No. 1 District, 13, - in No. 3, 4, - in No. 4, 7, - in all 24. As there are 12 polling districts in the county, and the average number disfranchised in each of these three districts is 8, multiplying the 8 by 12, you have 96, as the total number of such persons disfranchised in the whole county. Supposing the same average to exist in other counties I found that the bill would disqualify in all 1728 honest, industrious men. In the Province of Nova Scotia, of those who had cleared the land in the first instance, and were now living comfortably with the children. Many of these men had divided their property among their children, and therefore would have no votes under the bill. For this reason I found it was necessary to defer the bill until all should have a fair chance.

There is another remark in this paper to which I shall call attention. This writer says:

"It appears that Mr. Pineo has throughout the session attended the confidential meetings of the Government, and assisted in preparing and perfecting these two Bills as Government measures, and as regards the Franchise Bill, up to the moment of his voting with the Opposition never so much as hinted to a member of the administration his intentions. As may easily be imagined, his conduct has brought down upon him the attention of men of all parties in this city, as it will that of thousands in the country who knew little of his previous career. He has not volunteered a word or a syllable of explanation, and for the best of all reasons probably - for it would be difficult to imagine what a man placed in such circumstances can say."

Now, I am going to say to the editor, as well as to hon. gentlemen here, that I am not in that enviable position that I cannot make an explanation. I think I can give that explanation, and that he will be induced to take my account of it, and if I do not state facts here, I shall be ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ answerable for it hereafter.

This article says that I assisted in perfecting these two bills. I had nothing to do with perfecting them. They never came under discussion before me, and for the best of all reasons because I never went where I knew they would be discussed. I have been at meetings of the Government party, but when these measures were talked of I always left, because I was satisfied that one of them at least would be injurious.

I could say something more than that, only I think it unnecessary. I was requested - I will not say by whom, but I was requested before I left home to come down a little sooner than I did. Unforeseen circumstances prevented my coming then, but on my way down I picked up a paper, and read the opening speech of His Excellency. In that I observed that a bill of this nature was to be introduced, also, a Representation Bill and a Railway Bill. I did not ask any questions about these bills. I was not in the Government secrets, and was never consulted on the matter. I was present on one occasion when the Representation Bill was talked of, and I was shown two lines and asked which had better be adopted. I pointed out one line and said that line would give the fairest division, if the county is to be divided. That is all I know respecting that bill.

I was present at one of the meetings of the Government parties in regard to the Franchise Bill, but only just in time to be asked one question. I was asked in reference to the Volunteers, whether I thought any difference should be made between them and others with regard to the franchise. My answer was that I thought it better that they should be treated in the same way as other electors.

In reference to the Railway Bills I felt satisfied that I could not support them.

The Franchise Bill came up here. I was anxious to get rid of universal suffrage. A motion was made to throw out the bill on its second reading. I opposed it and spoke in favor of the bill. The observations I then made will come under the notice of the public hereafter. I contended that the bill should go to committee.

It will be recollected that the debate on that occasion was adjourned. The day after the adjournment I observed that the Representation Bill was in progress, and had been laid on the table of the other house. I made myself acquainted with the object of that bill, and began to think a little about its practical working, and

why it was brought in at this particular time. I would not go to the meetings of the Government party where the bill was discussed, and I had to consider whether I could stand here an independent man to do that which is right between man and man, and support a bill intended to cut and carve Counties to suit party purposes. I said no, and I sat down and wrote the following letter to the Attorney General: -

April 15, 1863.

My dear Sir, - The Franchise Bill now before the House has my support.

On the grounds of consistency, I cannot support the Representation Bill. I opposed the last one introduced by Dr. Tupper, and to support the present one would place me in a stultifying position before the public. The most I can do for it, if it comes before the Legislative Council, is to observe neutrality.

As for the Railway Bills, I am bound to observe consistency with my former votes on such matters, and therefore I cannot support the present Bills.

I mention this for your information, and remain,

Your obedient servant,
H.G. Pineo.

To the Hon. Attorney-General.

That was the first step. I found that the Government were still pressing the bill on, and as I did not wish to deceive them, I wrote them the following second letter: -

April 16, 1863.

My Dear Sir, -

In case you should be of opinion from my remarks yesterday in reference to the Representation Bill, that I should observe neutrality, I beg to say that I have given the matter my serious consideration, and on the ground of consistency, I shall feel bound to record my vote against it, if it comes before the Legislative Council, on the same principle that I voted against one of a similar character introduced by the late Government on the eve of the last General Election.

I remain, your obedient servant,
H.G. Pineo

To Hon. Attorney General.

On the 16th April, after writing this letter, I had an interview with the Attorney General, and I asked him if he had got my note. He said that he had, and regretted that I had not informed him sooner that I would oppose the Representation Bill. He said, I suppose you will support the Franchise Bill? I said, Yes, according to my

promise. I make these observations that the people of this country may know that in place of deviating from anything that I promised, I have acted on a fair, independent principle, and am prepared to meet any charge of inconsistency both here and elsewhere.

The only question eventually to be considered is whether I am to act with the independence which has characterized my conduct for 17 years, or whether I am to act as if I had been bereft of my senses, and be dragged into the mire and quicksands to play the game of "Follow my leader."

I owe no man in the world. Not a living soul can claim anything of me neither in the shape of money, property, friendship, nor liabilities.

I stand here independent of the world to support that which is ~~wrongy and I trust~~ right, and to denounce that which is wrong, and I trust that the same principles will guide me in legislative matters during my few remaining days as has done hitherto.

As this editor says, I have offered no explanation nor given any reasons for recording my vote in favor of the suspending clause. I trust the facts I have now stated will convince him and a discerning public that I had just reasons to act on my own independence, exercising my own deliberate judgment irrespective of any government or party.

HON. SOL. GEN. - The course, which the hon. gentleman who has just addressed the House has taken, imposes on me one of the most painful duties I have been called upon to discharge in my place in this Legislature, and I have no doubt, as I regard the countenances of hon. gentlemen on both sides, that they quite agree with me in the remark which I have just made. There are delicate ties, which control men of honorable minds, that are not in harmony with this kind of discussion. I intend to reply to this address in a cool, and dispassionate manner. As the hon. gentleman has undertaken to define his position with regard to two measures, it devolves on me as a member of the Government to make certain explanations. With some things that he said I quite agree. As regards a large portion of the facts I am content that the country should judge him by his own statement.

The hon. gentleman has informed us that he is independent of the world - independent in a money point of view, independent as regards the friendship of any man in it. I do not envy him his

position. A man that -

HON. MR. PINEO. - Perhaps the hon. Sol. Gen. has misunderstood me. I did not mean to say that I was independent of any man's friendship, and, if I said so, I beg leave to correct myself. I intended to say that I was independent of the fear of any body. I am ready to reciprocate every honest man's friendship.

HON. SOL. GEN. - I am free to give the hon. gentleman the benefit of any explanation he can make. He stands in need of it as all must admit.

But I will state here what cannot be gainsaid by him, that as regards these two measures he has been in the entire confidence of the administration, has all along affected to be friendly and reciprocate their friendship, and that he has been invited to attend at all their private meetings and discussions.

HON. MR. PINEO - I never saw the bill till it came here.

HON. SOL. GEN. - I affirm what every gentleman in political life well knows, that there is in this country a Government party and an Opposition party.

The Government of a free country like ours cannot be conducted without such an arrangement. These gentlemen in their respective spheres are free to act. This Government is conducted on the same principles that prevail wherever British Institutions exist.

In order to prepare their measures for the Legislature, it is the duty, and becomes the necessity on the part of the Government, to consult that class of politicians, who confide in them, and for which they receive in exchange the confidence, and advise in disposing of the patronage of the government. The hon. gentleman has for the last four years to the knowledge of every public man, and as far as I know up to within the last three days, acted with the government party, and sustained them in their public policy. There is no use trying to disguise what is fact, and that cannot be contradicted or denied. He has himself given the proof of this, for he has told us that he was invited by the leader of the Government to attend here, in order that he might be consulted with regard to that class of measures which it is the duty of the government to submit to the Legislature. The invitation was extended to him, because he possessed the confidence of the government, and the government were led to believe they possessed his, and therefore rested on him for support -

not for a slavish support - but for his advice and assistance to carry their measures.

HON. MR. PINEO - Allow me to ask one question. You say I was invited to attend here. Was that the time to insult me before the country, after you had prepared the measures yourselves?

HON. SOL. GEN. - I have not sought this discussion. The hon. gentleman himself has introduced it. I do not want to press on him. I say that he received the confidence of the government and that he was invited to be here before the House opened to assist in maturing the measures of the government. I am prepared to say that he enjoyed the confidence of the government in the preparation of their measures, emphatically so with regard to the Franchise bill and the Representation bill.

I may add here in passing that but for what the hon. gentleman has just said, I should not feel myself at liberty to state here what I should have always considered as strictly confidential between him and the government.

He informed the leader of the government that he could not sustain his Railway policy, and I ask him if the leader of the government pressed on him the weight of one feather for support to that policy. I have the authority of the leader of the government to say that he never did, but without complaint or remonstrance of any kind left him to act out his own free will and pleasure.

He was consulted with regard to the Franchise bill, and invited to the consultations of the government party respecting it. The measure was prepared after grave deliberation, and not until he had pledged himself to support it, was it laid before the Legislature. The Government had the fullest confidence from his own statements, that he would sustain both the Franchise and the Representation bills. That being the case, I ask ought it to be a matter of surprise that his conduct on Saturday last should be the subject of public comment - not of coarse invective, but of fair remarks and criticism? Ought not the people to know why and how it has come to pass, that the measures of the government have been partially defeated by a gentleman who had been attending their private and confidential meetings, and voting with them up to the last hour?

Now, sir, the hon. gentleman has brought here and read letters, and while I am sorry in one respect that he has done so, I am

glad in another. He treated the Attorney General but fairly, when, if having changed his mind, he told him that he would not support the Representation bill. I have not so much fault to find with him on that ground, and I do not think that any member of the administration would have found much fault with him, if that had been all, and yet he was in our confidence - sat in our councils when that bill was under discussion, knew the course which was to be taken, and after it had been laid on the table of the House of Assembly, then for the first time he informs the Attorney General that he must stand neutral. If the hon. gentleman was going to tell what occurred, he should have told all. He should have told that he acted as a committee man to assist in preparing that very bill.

HON. MR. PINEO - I ask when, where?

HON. SOL. GEN. - Does the hon. gentleman ask me when, where? I am sorry that he should ask such a question. Why, sir, I can produce him the minutes made in his own hand-writing, his own figures on the subject. He went out as one of a committee to report upon and prepare that very bill.

HON. MR. PINEO - I never went out on a committee on that bill. Mr. Blanchard asked me one day to step into your office -
(HON. PRESIDENT here called to order.)

HON. SOL. GEN. - What I was about to say was this: At the meeting of the Government party a committee was appointed to go out and prepare a representation bill. They went out and made a report, and I have the figures made by the hon. gentleman himself as member of that committee, and I saw them this very day, and can produce them if required.

He says the committee met at my office. I do not know where they met, but the broad facts which I have stated cannot be denied.

HON. MR. BROWN - Are you quite certain when that committee was appointed?

HON. SOL. GEN. - Yes, and I again say the committee went out to collect materials for a representation bill, and advise the Government as to its principles. I regret that I am compelled to disclose confidential matters, but as part has been told, all must be told now. The hon. gentleman was one of a committee with four or five others, and they brought in a report.

HON. MR. PINEO - Brought in a report - a report with my name to it!

HON. SOL. GEN. - I do not say a written report. The question referred to the committee was whether three member counties should be divided into three electoral divisions or into two. The committee decided against district representation, and in favor of one county and two district members, instead of three district members. The bill was accordingly prepared in accordance with that report, and submitted to the Legislature. On the 15th of April for the first time, and after the measure had been prepared and submitted, the hon. ~~xxxxxx~~ gentleman from Pugwash wrote a letter to the Attorney Gen. in which he states that he is prepared "to support the Franchise bill," but asks to stand neutral as regards the Representation bill. This was rather a startling announcement, but on the 16th April he changes his position a little, and writes the Attorney Gen. a second letter stating that "for fear he should be misunderstood," he should find it necessary "to oppose the bill." It then began to be suspected that he was not dealing honestly and fairly, and immediately after these facts came to the knowledge of the Government, the Attorney General waited on him personally, and he then stated that "although he would oppose the Representation Bill, he would support the Franchise Bill as it then was." I have the authority of the Attorney General to make this statement, and I have also the authority of the Leader of the Government to say, that he also waited upon the hon. gentleman after the receipt of his second letter, and that to him he also personally pledged himself to sustain the Franchise Bill as it then was.

I ask the people of this country then whether there is not just cause for complaint with such a course of conduct, - whether the hon. gentleman's action ought not to be subjected to an investigation, which even yet I feel so reluctant to inflict?

The hon. gentleman says that he has supported the bill. Has he? Is that then his defence? Perhaps the bill is better as it now is, but the hon. gentleman I regret to say, whether he did it intentionally or not, has deceived those who confided in him and in his plighted honor on this delicate and important matter. He gave the government to understand that he would sustain the bill in its integrity, as it had then come up from the other House. In addition to his personal assurances, I add, as authority for this, his own letter, in which, unless he designedly purposed to deceive, he surely would not have said that he intended to support the bill, if he at the same time

intended to vote for the amendment postponing its operation. If after he had been invited, and, as he says, had declined attending the meetings with regard to the bill, he had said, "I have changed my mind, I cannot support the bill," even then there would not be so much fault found with him. I have no hesitation, however, in saying that up to the moment that he recorded his vote for the amendment, there was not a single member of the government, who had the slightest hint from him that he did not intend to support the bill in all its integrity.

The country must now judge the hon. gentleman's conduct. I have very little more to say on the matter.

Nothing in all my public life has ever pained me so much as that the hon. gentleman should have placed himself in such a position before the country. There are ties so sacred, that a man feels himself humiliated by the mere suspicion of having done anything derogatory to his confidential associates. I ask him whether the people of this country who sustain the government have not a just right to require, at my hands, an explanation of how it happened that the government brought forward a measure, and failed to carry it at the last moment?

The hon. gentleman tells us that he is not going to be dragged at the heels of a party. But he will not pretend to say that any member of the Government has attempted to exert any unfair influence over him.

He tells us that he is prepared to take the responsibility of what he has done. I am glad that his responsibility is not mine.

During the speech of the hon. member, I heard a gentleman opposite (Hon. Mr. Dickey) cry "Hear, hear." I interpreted it as a note of applause. I trust that few will be found to sympathise with him.

If the country, after hearing the hon. gentleman's own version of the matter, can be satisfied with his course, - if he can satisfy the people of this Province on either side that he has done what a great political party had a right to expect from him, - that his course has been that of a high minded, honorable gentleman, - I shall not complain.

The hon. gentleman tells us that he has supported the Bill. He knows that the same clause moved by the hon. and learned member for Cumberland was moved in the other House and rejected there. If to vote for that clause was what he meant when he said he would support the Bill, then I say again his task will be to satisfy the public that he

was acting honorably and fairly by his late friends.

He says that the House of Assembly has sustained the amendment, and he brings that forward as a proof of the correctness of his course. He does not require to be told from me why the House of Assembly were satisfied with the amendment. They would rather accept it than lose the Bill altogether. That is quite another thing from the justification which he now attempts to make of having supported the Bill. If he had voted that the Bill should not go into operation until 1870, he would have supported it in the sense in which he now defines his language, - but he has not supported it, as he pledged himself to do - as it was on the table of the House. If there is any mistake here it is not my mistake. I put it on his own letter that he promised to support the measure as the Government had matured it.

Hon. gentlemen have a right to dispose of their votes as they think proper, but sorry should I be if any hon. gentleman could convince this House, or any member of it, that the conduct of the hon. gentleman from Pugwash has not been a gross breach of confidence - one not likely to meet any very cordial response from any respectable man of any party. After the bill had passed one Branch, was the government to be told that it was no breach of confidence that so important an alteration should be made in it by the action of a professed friend, when he knew that his single vote had the effect of carrying the measure which could not be carried without it. If the hon. gentleman can make people believe that, then I am under an entire misapprehension - a gross delusion. I do not mean to say that because a man has embarked on one side of politics, that therefore he is forever to remain there, but when he is about to take such a step, he should certainly abstain from accepting the confidence of the party to which he has been previously attached. He should give a proper and suitable notice.

In conclusion, I may say, that without breach of confidence which ought to be sacred among gentlemen, it is difficult to make this case as clear to the country as it ought to be made.

With these remarks I shall abstain from saying one word more. I could not have said less, and I trust I have not said a word that had better have remained unsaid.

HON. MR. PINEO. - The hon. gentleman is striving hard to put me in a wrong position. I ask the House, however, to say, if a company or government, or any persons conducting business, had a friend a hundred miles away, and they bring down their measures and say that they have matured them and do not take the trouble to consult that friend: when he is asked to endorse them, if he refuses, - whether they consider his conduct monstrous or not.

As regards the Bill before the House, I would not vote for taking away the franchise of electors without giving them due notice. I voted, however, for the principle of the bill. It is the principle and not the various clauses which are discussed on the second reading, and accordingly it was the principle I spoke to, and voted for. When I wrote to the Attorney-General "The Franchise Bill has my support," did it mean that after the bill went to committee, if I found that it contained clauses ever so absurd, I was still to vote for them? I was in favor of the principle of the bill, and wished to make it as perfect as possible. But when I found that, without a clause suspending its operation, it had a most obnoxious effect, that it deprived old settlers of that privilege which they were entitled to enjoy at the end of their days, it seemed reasonable to me to vote to suspend the operation of the bill, - particularly so when I found that some of my friends in Cumberland would be disfranchised by the bill. I have an old friend in Amherst, and his house I always make my home when there. He has two sons, one a merchant, and the other a young man lately of age, who at his death would be worth 4,000 each. Both these young men would be disfranchised by the bill, and how could I go to their father's house if I voted for the provisions of this infamous bill? Was I to turn a brother's sons out of doors by voting for any infamous measure concocted in my absence? I would suffer martyrdom first.

HON. MR. MCHEFFEY: I consider the hon. gentleman's explanation a very lame one. On Friday night after the bill had passed its second reading, and I thought it was all safe, I heard that there were suspicions of the hon. gentleman's course with regard to the Representation bill, and I said to him, there are rumours that you are going to oppose the Representation bill, are they correct? He replied, "I shall vote against it, and do all in my power to oppose it." I asked him his reasons. I said, you assisted in preparing

that bill, particularly as regards the County of Cumberland. He said, "yes, I did; some person showed me a map and asked me which would be the best line." I said, "how can you then go against that bill?" He said, "I am going with you on the Franchise bill." Now he calls it an infamous bill.

HON. MR. PINEO: I mean that it is an infamous bill without the suspending clause.

HON. MR. MCHEFFEY: You were well pleased with the bill then.

HON. MR. PINEO: When I was talking to you, the bill had not gone to committee. Now the hon. Solicitor General has said, that I was on a committee on the Representation bill. I never knew until this moment that I was a committee man on that bill. I was asked if the county of Cumberland was divided into three districts, how it should be divided, and I marked down the different districts in pencil. This was in the Solicitor General's office. I was not there ten minutes. Somebody said to me, "We want this information from you."

(As the report of this debate has already far exceeded the prescribed limits; the reporter is obliged largely to condense the remaining speeches.)

HON. MR. DICKEY addressed the House at some length. The hon. gentleman stated that he felt reluctant to say a word about this matter - a matter concerning private character, but it was the practice in the British Parliament that such discussion should never close without some gentleman, entirely unconnected with the matter, addressing the house. The reason for that was because the conduct of gentlemen in Parliament was the conduct of public men. His hon. colleague had done right in bringing the matter before the House, and the Solicitor General had also done right to express his views.

He considered the statement of the Solicitor General, with regard to party meetings, most extraordinary. He never had been a member of any government, and if he retained his present opinions he never would. He had never been in the habit of attending confidential meetings. It seemed strange to him to be told that there was a power outside the Legislature where matters were discussed and settled before they came here. The Solicitor General had laid down a rule. If there was such a rule he (Mr. D.) thought that it was to his colleague's credit that he had broken through it. He said this, supposing that everything was true that had been said by the Solicitor General, and

the hon. member from Windsor (Hon. Mr. McHeffey). Was a gentleman to be prevented from giving a vote, which according to his conscience he felt bound to give, because he had attended a private party meeting?

He (Sol. General) had said that his (Mr. D.'s) hon. colleague had misled the Government because he had not given them notice. The Solicitor General had, however, corrected that, because he himself stated that before the Session his honorable colleague had given notice to the leader of the Government that he could not support the railway bills, and yet the railway bills had been brought here. If a man was to be bound hand and foot by the acts of party meetings, Heaven help him (Mr. D.) from ever belonging to such a party on either side. He (Mr. D.) enjoyed, at all events, liberty of conscience, and freedom to vote as he pleased on measures as they passed through the House.

The Sol. Gen. had said that he could not understand what induced gentlemen to call out hear, hear. He (Mr. D.) did so, because he heard his hon. colleague say that he would not be dragged through the mud and mire to vote for any thing a party wished him to vote for. He (Mr. D.) only regretted that that sentiment did not approve itself to the minds of other gentlemen beside his honorable colleague.

HON. SOL. GENERAL trusted that what the hon. gentleman who had just sat down had said about high political morality would not find much favor. He (Mr. D.) had said that it was the first time he ever heard or knew of members of the Legislature meeting to prepare government measures. It might be possible that he was just so unsophisticated. He had never heard of such a thing as a caucus, and it was just possible that he might induce somebody to believe that. If he (Mr. D.) was the person - and he (Sol. Gen.) was not going to say that he was not - that had not a thorough knowledge of the manner in which the whole business of a government and an opposition was carried on, he probably enjoyed that high distinction solitary and alone. He (Sol. General) did not believe that there was another gentleman in political life, since responsible government was introduced, who did not know that it was absolutely necessary, in order to carry on a government, that gentlemen professing to hold political opinions in common should confer confidentially with each other, and mature their measures, before bringing them into the legislature. Did not every member in the legislature know, that the

* The BRITISH COLONIST'S coverage ended here but the balance of the debate was carried by the MORNING CHRONICLE.

Prime Minister in England always summoned his supporters to meet him a few days before the opening of the session? He would not take up time discussing this point; there was hardly a boy fifteen years of age in Nova Scotia that did not know it. A government could not exist unless it prepared its measures in this way. Had this defeat taken place in the other branch of the legislature, the next morning the leader of the government would have gone to Government House, and placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor. Yet the hon. and learned gentleman from Cumberland (Hon. Mr. Dickey) pretended that for a government to know its friends, and to consult with them, was something so new - so monstrous - so preposterous, that if it ever did exist, it never ought to exist. The hon. gentleman said that he never belonged to a government. He never would, if he held such views. He (Sol. Gen.) observed the hon. gentleman from Yarmouth (hon. Mr. Brown) and the hon. gentleman from Halifax (hon. Mr. Almon) smiling. He (Sol. Gen.) was satisfied that neither of them, while, perhaps, willing to throw the mantle of charity over the member for Pugwash, and cover his curious escapade, would subscribe to the doctrine of the hon. and learned member. If he (Mr. D.) was trying to place his new found hon. colleague before the house as pure and unsullied, he thought he had a difficult task to perform. He (Sol. Gen.) did not think that he had mended the matter in the least. (HON. MR. PINEO was about to speak, when he was interrupted by the HON. PRESIDENT, who reminded him that he had already addressed the House two or three times.)

HON. MR. DICKEY - The hon. Sol. General has said that he never had such a painful duty to perform as to address the House on the action of my hon. colleague on this bill in committee. I am afraid that the pain is not so much on behalf of my hon colleague as on account of its retaliation back on to himself. He has kindly stated that I am so ignorant of public affairs that I said I never heard of a caucus before. I never made such a statement as that. The Sol. General has a very convenient way, which may perhaps be useful at the bar, of stating part of an argument and replying to it as if it were the whole. I said that I had not been in the habit of attending confidential meetings, that it seemed strange to me that there was a power outside this House to control members, that because a gentleman attended one of these meetings that, therefore, he was

to come into this house, bound hand and foot, as a legislator.

HON. MR. WHITMAN - Are we not bound to carry out what we agreed to?

HON. MR. DICKEY - Here is an independent member! The secret is out now! We are here to do not what is best for the country, but to do, forsooth, what we agree to!

HON. MR. TUPPER - I ask the hon. gentleman if he never saw the shipping papers. (Laughter.)

HON. MR. DICKEY - I never saw shipping papers in this Legislature. I did not say that there were no caucuses. I ask if any hon. gentleman here is prepared to join in the statement of the hon. member from Annapolis (Mr. Whitman). If so, the sooner he leaves this house, the better for its free and independent action. Perhaps my surprise at this statement arises from my unacquaintance with these matters. I did not say that I did not know Lord Palmerston summons his supporters. Members meet to discuss and confer, but they do not thereby lose their independence of action.

HON. MR. WHITMAN - If I were asked to name a man who is more bound than any other member, I would name the hon. member who has last spoken. If there is a man in this House strongly bound by party ties, it is that individual. Every man who meets in caucus is bound by the strongest ties - his sacred honor - to carry out what he there agrees to. Complaint of the bill disfranchising certain persons sounds a little laughable, coming from an individual who moved a forty shilling freehold and a ten pound rental qualification, a qualification that would have disfranchised ten for one of those disfranchised by the present bill. That qualification would have disqualified the sons of ^{the} gentleman in Amherst to whom reference has been made. That story is long enough. I would not have spoken at all, if I had not been struck by the idea of the hon. and learned member from Cumberland, not knowing that there was such a thing as a caucus. Though the member from Annapolis cannot boast a wealth, if he does not bring as much independence to the Legislature as either of the hon. gentlemen from Cumberland, I pity him.

HON. MR. HOLMES - Do we represent caucus meetings? If we are put here to represent any thing, we represent the House of Lords. We are placed here as a wall of partition between the Commons and the Crown. As regards the man who has been attacked, he found that the

bill would press unfairly on men in his own county, and I would rather give credit to the man who would act as he did.

The discussion then ceased, and the bill was then read as amended, finally passed, and returned to the House of Assembly with a message acquainting them therewith.

The House then adjourned until 2½ P.M. tomorrow.

The participants in the preceding debate all had their own claim to fame. Firstly, it must be noted that the three major combatants were from Cumberland; thus, this was very much a "Cumberland affair." Hon. Henry Gesner Pineo, whose action provoked the debate, came from Pugwash; Hon. Jonathan McCully, Solicitor General and future Father of Confederation, whose job was to defend the Government side, was a native of the county and had begun his political career there; Hon. Robert Barry Dickey, a future Senator and Father of Confederation, belonged to Amherst. (A fourth Cumberlandian, Charles Tupper, M.P.P., of Amherst, was the man who persuaded Pineo to do what he did. Needless to say, Tupper became provincial Premier and federal Prime Minister.)

The other participants included Hon. Freeman Tupper of Liverpool, Hon. William C. Whitman of Annapolis, Hon. Richard A. McHeffey of Windsor, and Hon. John Holmes of Pictou, father of future Premier Simon Hugh Holmes.

There were no papers published on Wednesday, April 22nd, but Pineo continued to embarrass the Howe Government. He sided with the Tories once more to defeat the Representation Bill by the now familiar count of 11 - 10.

When Thursday's newspapers appeared, they were filled with articles, pro and con, about Pineo's retreat from support of the Liberal party. The MORNING CHRONICLE's editor, William Annand, ridiculed the member from Cumberland County under the heading, "Honorable Mr. Pineo's Attempted Explanation."

...He became exceedingly nervous as he progressed, seemed terribly embarrassed, and said that he was not to be dragged through mud and mire by any party. He proclaimed his independence of every man, - said that he owed no man anything, and that he cared for nobody's friendship.

The Solicitor General arose amid the profoundest silence, and prefaced by saying that he had never risen under more painful circumstances to address the House, than on the present occasion.

On the opposite side, the BRITISH COLONIST heaped praise upon Pineo through its editorial column.

The organ of the Government has given vent to a bitter wail on the defeat of the nefarious scheme of the Government to disfranchise an immense body of the electors at the ensuing general election, in consequence of the Hon. H.G. Pineo voting against them. When Mr. Shaw abandoned his party and voted in the teeth of the electors of Annapolis, in favor of a Government whom Mr. Shaw had condemned by his own vote again and again illegal and unprincipled usurpers, - nay, more, when he added insult to injury by betraying on the floors of the House private and confidential communications with his party and his venerable colleague, Mr. Johnston, and falsifying what had taken place, - the MORNING CHRONICLE and Radical party received him with open arms, and declared that his conduct was that of a statesman and a gentleman. When however, Mr. Pineo, unpledged to any constituency, independent of any party, refuses to be dragged through the mire and made the instrument of disfranchising, without an hour's notice, thousands of the most intelligent electors of Nova Scotia, the organ of the Government weeps like a child, and denounces his conduct as most unjustifiable. Mr. Pineo was placed in the Council many years ago by the Conservative party, and gave it an independent support generally on questions of public policy. Dissatisfied with the action of the late Government, he withdrew his confidence, and opposed it on the Representation Bill and some other questions in 1859. The withdrawal of his confidence enabled Mr. Young to succeed and cost

us the Government, but we did not complain. We believed then, as we have ascertained now, that a more intimate acquaintance with the policy of the Radical party would ere long disgust and drive every independent man out of their ranks.

The CHRONICLE cannot understand why Mr. Pineo has left them. We only wonder why he has remained so long in their company. Has not their conduct this Winter been sufficient to sever them from any public man who has the least regard for the character or best interests of the country? How could an independent man like Mr. Pineo defend such an outrage upon the constitution of the country as was exhibited by Mr. Howe holding the office of Fishery Commissioner, with 1,000 a year from the British Government, and remaining Provincial Secretary, with 700 a year, utterly irresponsible to the people of Nova Scotia? How could he support a Government with two of its members, Messrs. Annand and Wier, convicted of having swindled the English public out of 20,000, holding the office of directors in a Gold Mining Company, and declaring over their own signatures that they had granted to themselves public property within the last year, worth 20,000? How could he sustain a party whose Crown officers have been so incompetent and dishonest as to fasten improper claims upon our Treasury, to the amount of Forty thousand dollars, all of which has been incontrovertibly proved against them on the floors of the Assembly within the last few days. It is said that Mr. Pineo had pledged himself to support a Bill to do away with Universal Suffrage. He has done so; but when it was proved to him, beyond cavil or dispute that a clause was unnecessarily tacked onto that Bill by which a special franchise was created for one election, in order to maintain a party in power, by an unprecedented trick, Mr. Pineo refused to sanction so dishonest a proceeding. How could he do otherwise when that same Govt. were at that very hour as a party pressing a Railway scheme upon the Assembly, which Mr. Pineo had declared to them would, in his opinion, irretrievably ruin the Province?

Had Mr. Pineo down to that hour been bound and pledged to them, he would have been faithless to his duty as a public man if he had not abandoned them there and then, and preferred the interests of the whole people to that of any party. He has done so, and an immense majority of the people of Nova Scotia will not soon forget the service he has thus rendered to his country.

Henry Pineo himself put pen to paper on Friday, the 24th, in an open letter to the people of Nova Scotia. The events and publicity of the preceding days had put his name on the lips of the public as no other event in his career had or ever would do. The letter was sent to the office of the hostile MORNING CHRONICLE, an action that dared them to print it. The paper took up the challenge and the letter was

published on Saturday, the 25th, but not without an editorial introduction.

Mr. Pineo's Letter

We publish a letter just received from the Hon. Mr. Pineo, in which he complains that he has been mis-represented. Now, we have looked carefully over our leaders to which he refers, and we must say that we are utterly unable to discover upon what grounds he rests his complaint. To pretend that he conscientiously changed his mind after assisting to mature this measure, and after his repeated assurances, written and verbal, neither of which he denies, is too much for any man's credulity. That he had betrayed the Government several days before the vote of the 18th was taken, is now beyond all doubt, because, East and West, tidings arrived from the country, bearing date two or three days before he accomplished the exploit, founded upon information sent out by the Opposition members to their friends, acquainting them that the Franchise Bill was to be defeated in the Council, and preparing them for telegrams; more - it was in one or two cases hinted how it was to be done.

Mr. Pineo has brought calamity upon himself. We furnish room for his letter at great inconvenience. No such favour, we know, would be granted by the Opposition Press to any friend of the Government. Mr. McCully, we understand, refused to consent that the order of the debates on the Franchise Bill should be disturbed and violated, and for the best of reasons - they would be unintelligible. To publish a debate of Monday in advance of the debate of the previous Friday, as Mr. Pineo desired, and another of Saturday on the same subject, would be to do injustice to all concerned. The Solicitor General as chairman of the reporting committee, stated, we learn, that he had no consent, no instructions of any kind to give the reporter. He was a public officer, and it was his duty to discharge his functions impartially, irrespective of one side or the other.

We shall see how much of the leader of this paper, to which Mr. Pineo's letter purports to be a reply, will now be given in the Opposition Press by way of reciprocity. But we can afford to be generous, even to a person who had not the fortitude nor the manliness to resist a temptation which, as an honest politician, he should have spurned and rejected.

Pineo's letter followed.

To the People of Nova Scotia

Gentlemen: -

The two last issues of the Morning Chronicle, the Government organ, have been filled with misrepresentations as to my conduct and motives in reference to the vote I gave in committee on the Franchise Bill. Not content with reporting himself

and misreporting me in the Chronicle, the Solicitor General, as Chairman of the reporting committee, most unfairly objects to the reporter allowing me to have, on any terms, a copy of the notes of my speech for the vindication of my public character, until it can come in its regular order a week hence; I therefore take this mode of appealing to the judgment of fair and impartial men of all parties. The facts are briefly these:

It is well known that in the first session of the present House, I brought in a Bill to go back to the old forty shilling freehold, intending, had it gone through committee, to extend it to leaseholders. That Bill was lost; had it passed, there would have been, as there was under the New Brunswick Act, ample notice given to every body. When the Government Bill to raise the Franchise came before the Legislative Council I made no secret of my intentions to support it, and wrote to the Attorney General the two letters of the 15th and 16th April, read in my place, because I wished to convey to him that I could not consistently support the Representation Bill. I redeemed that pledge; on the 17th, my vote carried the Bill to a second reading; on the 18th, after its 85 clauses had gone through committee, the Hon. Mr. Dickey moved a clause for postponing the operation of the Act till June, 1864, when the revising machinery could be perfected. He cited the New Brunswick Act on which this Bill was modelled, as a precedent; read letters from the County of Hants, showing circumstances of suspicion in connection with the present assessment rolls of Maitland, and gave the names of nearly thirty persons in three districts in Cumberland, men of property and standing, freeholders and merchants who would be disfranchised at the next election, because their names were not on the rate rolls, and he shewed that by the Act a whole County, Richmond, would be disfranchised from the next general election to June, 1865. When these facts were brought to my notice, I ask you, gentlemen, how could I, as an honest man, be a party to disfranchising for the next four years scores of men of property in my own County, amounting to between one and two thousand in the Province for mere party purposes.

I gave the only vote that I consistently and conscientiously could give in favor of my colleague's clause; the Solicitor General himself had moved a clause in committee to enable forty shilling freeholders to be candidates at the next election, and because I wished on the facts being brought to my notice to enable the same class to vote, I am to be villified and misrepresented every way that the malice of party can prompt.

It is some comfort to me to feel that my action has been endorsed by the unanimous vote of the Lower House in adopting the amendment, and I am satisfied it will commend itself to every right thinking man, be he of what party he may. Even had I thought fit after hearing both sides on the second reading to change my

views and reject the Bill, I would have had a perfect right to do so, notwithstanding my letter of the previous day; but I did not do so, because I was satisfied that the principle of the Bill to raise the Franchise was a good one; and because I became dissatisfied with some of the details in committee, was I not to give my vote on them as I thought proper - was I to be bound hand and foot to a party to do the bidding of a leader in every thing? I think not; and I know what the response of every independent mind must be. It is pretended that my course misled the Government - that this whining complaint is a mere pretense, is evident from the fact that notwithstanding my intimation months ago, that I should oppose the Railway Bill, it was brought in and is even now being pushed through the Legislature. I cannot in the compass of a letter advert to all the misstatements of the Chronicle's reporter, there is just one I should like to notice, because I am made to say, I disregarded everybody's friendship; the Reporter knew quite well that an expression of mine tortured into this meaning was instantly explained and the explanation accepted.

I could not conscientiously be a party to disfranchising without notice, hundreds of men of property throughout the Province and in taking this course I leave myself to the judgment of my countrymen.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,
H.G. Pineo

Halifax, 24th April 1863.

The BRITISH COLONIST, the Tory mouthpiece, came out on Saturday with another bouquet for Pineo.

The CHRONICLE of Tuesday last contains an article upon the fate of the Franchise Bill, in which the writer becomes almost merry in contemplating the position in which his party is placed by the action of the Legislative Council in tying up that Bill for a time. It is intimated that this check sustained by the Government acts like a charm on the party, stimulates them, nerves them up to a certainty of achieving great deeds. "We never saw the party in better spirits, nor more cheerful, in our lives, than they were all day yesterday," is the jolly declaration of the CHRONICLE. Well, we feel comparatively comfortable too, owing to the same cause. Consequently, Mr. Pineo, by his recent votes in the Council, has really made himself a public benefactor, and is not at all entitled to the storn of abuse which the CHRONICLE, even in the midst of its happiness, lets drive at him.

Finally, on Wednesday, April 29th, arguments at the legislative level were forced to a conclusion when Lieutenant-Governor Lord Mulgrave prorogued the Council and Assenbly, and made official what everyone

had known all along: an election would be held on May 28th.

In Cumberland, there was no contest. The Liberals were in such disarray there that the party decided against participating in what they felt would be a hopeless fight. Thus, three Tories were elected by acclamation. On Nomination Day at Amherst, the Liberals were represented by Solicitor General the Hon. Jonathan McCully, the man who had led the recent attack on Henry Pineo in the Council. "His address was entirely defensive. He...was silent as to Mr. Pineo, who was present on the hustings." (BRITISH COLONIST, 26 May 1863.)

Election results from Cumberland were reflected elsewhere in the province. The Liberal Government of Joseph Howe was soundly defeated, with Conservative victories outnumbering the Liberals' by three-to-one. Disgruntled voters used the election to express their disapproval of Howe's attempt to disfranchise them and it had been Henry Pineo who, by his action in the Legislative Council, had given them the chance to do so. Therefore, he can be called the instrument that brought down the Howe Government at the polls.

The new Tory Administration rewarded Pineo at once by dismissing a Liberal officeholder and appointing Pineo in his place as Immigration Agent for Nova Scotia. Pineo reformed and expanded his new office. Before his tenure, the agency had been run on a very restricted scale. Pineo's initial report to the Legislature, for the year 1863, was presented in the Legislative Council on March 1, 1864. It indicated the direction in which Pineo intended to move.

A detailed and interesting statement is given in this report of the demand and prospects for immigrants in the various counties of the province. Hon. Mr. Pineo states that the immigrant agent for New Brunswick recommends the laying off of 100 acre lots for immigrants, and the clearing by the government of 1 acre, and the erection thereon of a log-house, that the immigrant may have a shelter for himself and family immediately on landing on our shores. Mr. Pineo recommends the keeping at the immigration office of a book of registry of all properties for sale, the owners of properties registered to pay a small fee for each registration. He also recommends the dispatching of an agent annually from Halifax to spend three months in the mother country to aid, by lectures and personal representations and suggestions, immigration to this Province. He considers that the services of such an agent for three months would be of more actual benefit than those of any resident agent in a year.

(BRITISH COLONIST)

The report for 1865 described some of the results of Pineo's initiatives.

It appears that 176 immigrants came into the Province within the last 12 months, of whom 102 are Germans, from Mecklenburg farm laborers, hard working, and industrious, who came out in the DONAU in January last, which ship put in here on her way to New York. - Capt. F.A. Liebman has gone to Germany recently as Immigration Agent for Nova Scotia, and Henry Boggs, Esq., London, J.R. DeWolf, Esq., Liverpool, and Alexander Campbell, Esq., Glasgow, have been appointed such Agents in Great Britain. These Agents receive \$10 for each able-bodied immigrant landed in the Province.

(BRITISH COLONIST, March 14, 1866.)

BELCHER'S FARMER'S ALMANAC (1868) recorded the staff as it was in 1867.

DEPARTMENT.—*Chief Comm'r, Avar Longley, Alex McNab. Secretary and Chief Accountant, Thomas. Division Engineer, W. H. Tremain. Engineer Windsor and An. polis Railway, Jno B. Yonng. Traffic Superintendent, Geo Taylo. Locomotive Supt., Wm Johnston. Road Inspector, Wm Marshall.*

BOARD OF REVENUE.—*Commissioners, Hon. John W. Ritchie, Robt Boak, Geo P. Mitchell. Sec'y, B. H. Oxley.*

ISSUERS OF LICENSES TO AMERICAN FISHERMEN.—*Halifax, Edward Binney; Farmouth, T. E. Moberly; N. Sydney, Thomas M. Bown; Pictou, D. McCulloch; Port Moresby, Vincent J. Wallace; Port Hood, Ed. D. Tremain; Plaster Cove, Jas G. McKee; Port Hawkesbury, Alcom McDonald; and the Officer commanding the Government sloop, "The Daring."*

IMMIGRANT OFFICE.—*Agent, Hon. H. G. Pineo; Deputy Agent, Jos Ontram (46 Bedford Row), Halifax; Capt. F. A. Liebman, Germany; Henry Boggs, London; J. R. DeWolf, Liverpool; Alex Campbell, Glasgow.*

BOARD OF STATISTICS OF MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS.—*Sec'y, Jno Conley, Halifax. Issuers of Marriage Licenses and Dep'ty Sec'y's of Marriages Births and Deaths, the Dep. Postmasters in the different Counties, and Stephen Clarke, Halifax. Dep'ty Sec'y's of Marriages, Births and Deaths, the Way Office-keepers in the different Counties, and Henry Stamer, Rev R. Jamieson, Rev Jos Waddell, Rev Edw. Ansell, W. Clarke, M. D.*

Comm'r Indian Affairs, Saml P. Fairbank. Sec'y of Steamers carrying Passengers, Alex Moir.

Paine, Chace, Bussell (photos, qu)

With the change in government that occurred in 1867, Pineo was replaced by the same man he had superseded in 1863 - Thomas F. Morrison, M.P.P. Morrison criticized his predecessor in a House of Assembly debate in response to some remarks made by Henry Pineo, Jr., who was also an M.P.P.

He (Morrison) had been told by the gentleman in opposition (Pineo) that the office which the government had conferred on him accounted for his political leanings, and that he stood on a par with the Confederates who had sold their votes for office. He would give the house a short history of the matter. He was a member of the House when the bill passed creating the office and the government

THE NORTH CUMBERLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

of the day insisted on his taking the position, but it did not lie in the mouth of the member for Cumberland to talk about that officer - in 1863 a bill had been prepared to alter the franchise - a certain gentleman was foremost among its supporters but that gentleman when it went to the Council, stayed it for twelve months, - the elections were run, the party to which that gentleman then joined, was successful, and he (Mr. Morrison) was pitch-forked out of the office to make room for the convert. Had he, (Mr. M.) changed his principles? No. He was the first man in Nova Scotia who had taken a stand as an anti confederate, and his friends had re-instated him in his office. Perhaps the astonishment of the member for Cumberland had been awakened at the smallness of the vote of \$800, for reference to the journals would shew that not long ago \$20,000 was charged for immigration, and where were the immigrants? Not five of them in the Province to-day. The immigration office might not be continued - it was a mere experiment. He had to pay his clerk out of his salary, which was not the case with the other immigration officer. If the office was found useless, he (Mr. M.) would not stop long in it....Let the member for Cumberland then pluck the beam out of his own eye and the eyes of his very near friends before he presumed to talk about his, Mr. Morrison's, defects.

(Legislative Debates, Sept. 19, 1868)

As late as 1870, allusions were being made to Pineo's period as Immigration Agent. On this occasion, the remarks were prompted by Pineo's complaint that the Immigration Agent's report was late.

HON. MR. PINEO - ...When he held that office he had always handed in a report..

HON. TREASURER (Wm. Annand) apologised for not having handed in the report. It would be laid on the table to-morrow. With regard to the services of the present Local Immigration officer he must congratulate the country on the very valuable services rendered the country by the hon. gentleman who had just sat down, while he held the office of Immigration Agent. He supposed the value of his service might be estimated by the money he expended. He (Hon. Mr. Pineo) had expended thousands of dollars and the results might be stated as nil. He (Treas.) congratulated the country that the present Government had not expended thousands of dollars a year on immigration.

HON. MR. PINEO observed that whether his services were required or not, an honest report of all his expenditures was placed before the Government and passed by the committee of Public Accounts and approved. The country was satisfied with that report, and he was here in his place to answer any questions. The Immigration Agent appointed by the Local Government did nothing, and had not even an office.

When persons applied for information to him (Mr. Morrison) he sent them to the other office. The fact was that the Local Immigration Agency was a useless office got up for no other purpose than to give Mr. Morrison a berth.

HON. TREASURER - The hon. member says that the Local Immigration Agency is a worthless office. It is not more so than when he held it, and when he sat quietly in his home at Pugwash. He (Mr. Pineo) should come here with clean hands before he made any complaint.

HON. MR. PINEO would ask the hon. gentleman to refresh his memory by referring to the report of the Committee on Public Accounts. He (Mr. P.) had always had an office in Halifax which was constantly kept open, and a person there to attend to it.

(Council Debates, April 8, 1870)

To return to 1864 and the first session of the Legislature after the election that had been engineered to defeat the Howe Government, one finds that Henry Pineo became a more active debater. On only one occasion did he become involved in angry words that were a reflection upon his part in the 1863 Franchise fight. Members of the Legislative Council were discussing an amendment to the Registration Bill.

HON. MR. PINEO, in course of his remarks in favor of the amendment, observed that the arguments against the amendment were so frivolous that he thought gentlemen did not mean what they said.

HON. MR. MCCULLY - I should like to know whom the hon. gentleman means when he says that gentlemen do not mean what they say. I mean what I say, and in order to make my promise binding I do not consider it necessary to put it in writing either.

HON. MR. PINEO - If the coat suits the hon. and learned gentleman let him wear it, if he is so thin-skinned. I made a general remark calculated to convey the impression of my mind. The observations made against the amendment were so inappropriate that I do not understand them. If the hon. gentleman thinks that with his savage frowns he is going to put me down, he is very much mistaken. I tell him here in my place that I shall express my mind freely as I have done on other occasions. I disregard his frowns or his favors, and I treat him with contempt and defiance.

HON. MR. MCHEFFEY - I think that the hon. gentleman who has just sat down should be the last man in this house to lecture people on their conduct.

HON. MR. PINEO - One word to the hon. member from Hants. I am quite prepared to hear him speak for

or against the bill. If he is prepared to deal in personalities, I am prepared to meet him either in this house or out of it. (Council Debates, April 27, 1864)

These were strong words. Actually, the 1864 session drew several quotable remarks from Pineo. Council Debates recorded them.

There is always a pressure on governments, and they have more pretended friends than real ones.

(March 24, 1864)

If a subordinate had done wrong, was it right to censure the Government on that account, or condemn an individual without evidence.

(April 8, 1864)

He (Mr. P.) would like to understand what was the position of this branch of the legislature, whether it was to be a mere reflex of the opinions of the other house, or whether members of this house were to have a voice of their own, (hear! hear! from hon. Mr. Almon.)

If this house was only to be a reflex of the other house, then he agreed with the hon. gentleman that there was no necessity for this house at all.

(March 21, 1864)

But 1864 was also the year when Nova Scotians began to debate the Confederation question and it was this affair that heaved the Pineo family to the summit of its political prominence in Cumberland County and in Nova Scotia.

HENRY GESNER PINEO JR.

By: James F. Smith

Excerpted by John MacQuarrie, 1979.

HENRY GESNER PINEO JR. 1830-1874

Cumberland County contributed the major personality of Sir Charles Tupper to the Confederation of Canada.

However, Pugwash also contributed a figure to the Confederation story; he was Henry Gesner Pineo Jr., (1830-1874) but his name is virtually unknown. The unfairness of his fate is illustrated when one learns that he was the only supporter of Confederation in all of Nova Scotia to be permently elected to the Provincial Legislature in the general election of 1867.

Nevertheless, his unique position as the lone elected supporter of Confederation in the House of Assembly from 1868 to 1871 must surely be worthy of some recognition. His very presence was a thorn in the side of the Anti-Confederate Government of Premier William Annand. And, Nova Scotia remained in Confederation. Many weighty factors outside the Legislature contributed to this state, but there was only one factor within the Legislature itself to stand in support of Confederation, and that was Pugwash's Henry Gesner Pineo, Jr.

Young Pineo's father, Hon. Henry Gesner Pineo, Sr., M.L.C., was, like most Nova Scotians, an Anti-Confederate in the beginning. Yet, when Irish Fenians carried out a miniscule attack on New Brunswick from their American base in 1866, Councillor Pineo, seeing the need for a united defence of all British colonies, became a supporter of Canadian Confederation.

It came as no surprise, then, that the younger Pineo - who had been engaged in managing his father's business affairs at Pugwash - accepted the challenge of politics when called upon by the Conservative party.

Still, Pineo was new to the world of active politics so that one might wonder how he, alone, outdid all seasoned Tory politicians and servived the deluge of voter opposition to Confederation in 1867. The story of his success began at a nominating meeting in Pugwash in May, 1867. Pineo became the unanimous choice of his party to stand as Conservative

candidate for the eastern side of Cumberland County. In May 1867, his running mate, from the western side, was Edward Vickery, a Parrsboro merchant. Their Anti-Confederate opponents were Amos Purdy of Wallace River and Jesse Fullerton of Halfway River.

The Pineos, father and son, were attacked in the press. The father was described variously as a "poor old man," "the Judas that betrayed with a kiss," "a true highwayman," and one of some "reptiles, and two-footed venomous beasts."

Of the son, who had not had time to collect as many political enemies as his sire, remarks were more veiled.

The campaign was rough. Joseph Howe, the Anti-Confederate proponent swept through the province and spoke two hours in Pugwash. Then Charles Tupper spoke to the Pugwash crowd for three hours on that hot July day. Premier William Annand addressed the crowd. Both senior and junior Pineos were attacked in the press, but when the voting was over on Sept. 18, 1867, the young Pineo was victorious in the overall results: Pineo-1337; Purdy-1309; Fullerton-1291; Vickery-1284. It had been a close contest.

In the Legislature Pineo made only short addresses and involved himself in the study of public accounts. He was of a quiet nature but would react when pressed.

When the next provincial election was held in 1871, Pineo had a commanding lead. Pineo-1605; Edward Vickery-1584; George Hibbard-(LIB)-1043; Jonathan K. Elderkin-(LIB)-946.

His strongest speech was delivered Feb. 25, 1872. He said in part, "It is gratifying that, feeble as we were, we have been able to do something to show the world that we were right."

But illness in the form of Tuberculosis struck the Pineo family. The tragic story of 1874 has few parallels.

Henry Pineo Jr. left the Legislature April 2nd to come to his wife's bedside. On April 22nd the press reported that

H.G. Pineo Jr., himself, was not expected to recover. That day an Aunt died; on the 25th another Aunt died; and then on May 13th, 1874 the news came that Mr. Henry G. Pineo Jr. M.P.P. died at his Pugwash residence , a victim of galloping consumption.

Just three weeks later his widow, Charlotte Keer, died and Henry Sr. died Sept. 15th. The Pineo family, in six months was virtually wiped out, and an era in Pugwash ended; but Nova Scotia stayed in Confederation and Henry G. Pineo Jr. of Pugwash was the only elected proponent in the Legislature.