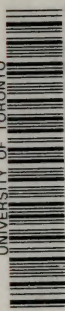
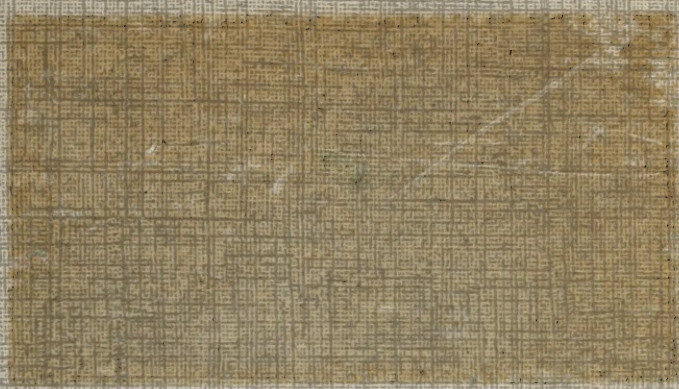


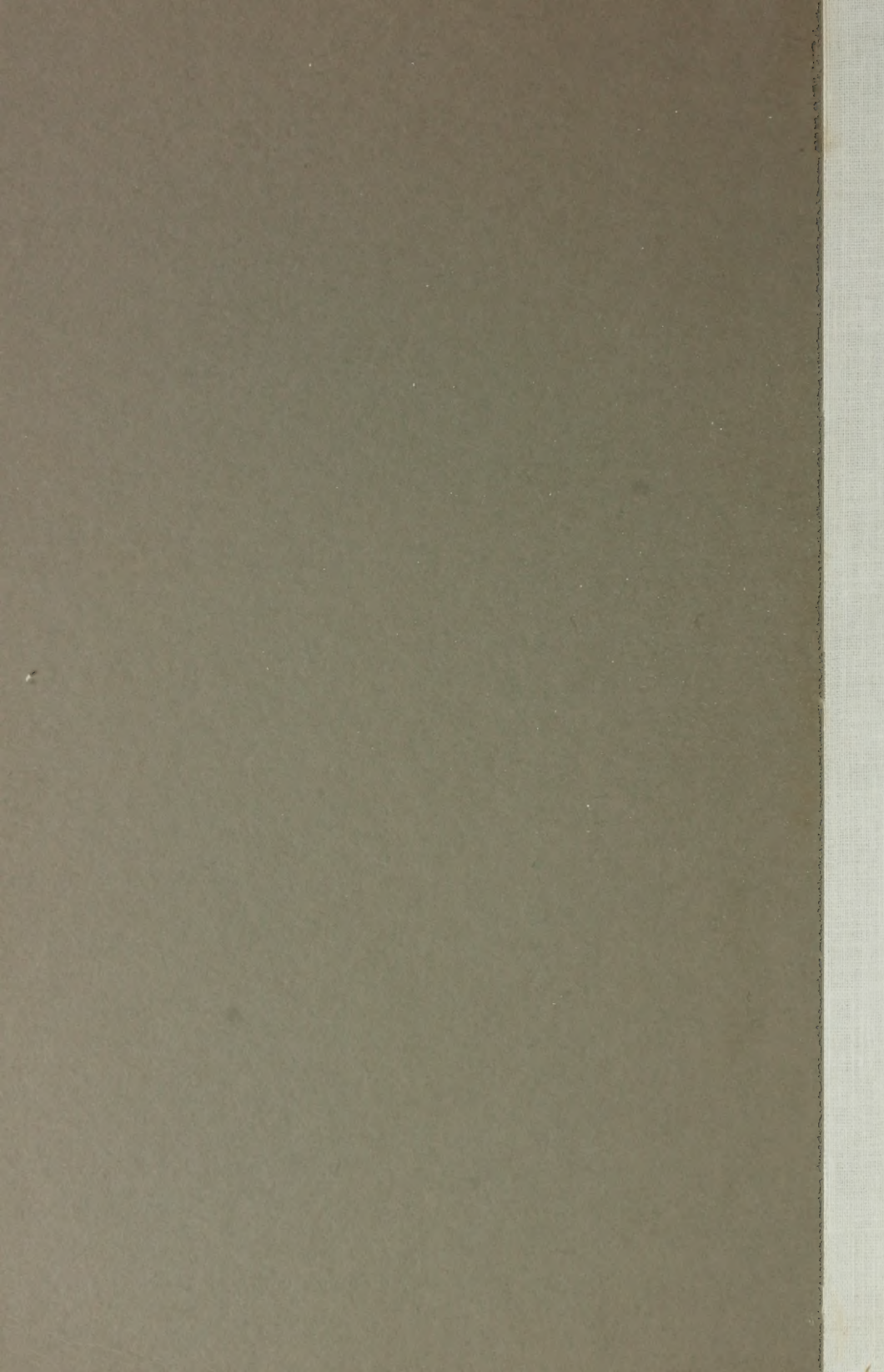
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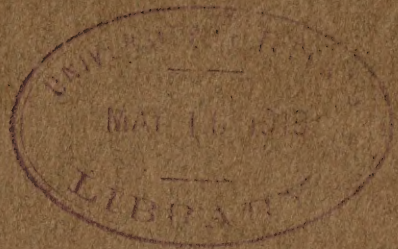
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**Joseph Howe and the Anti-Confederation
League**

edited
by

Lawrence J. Burpee, F.R.S.C.



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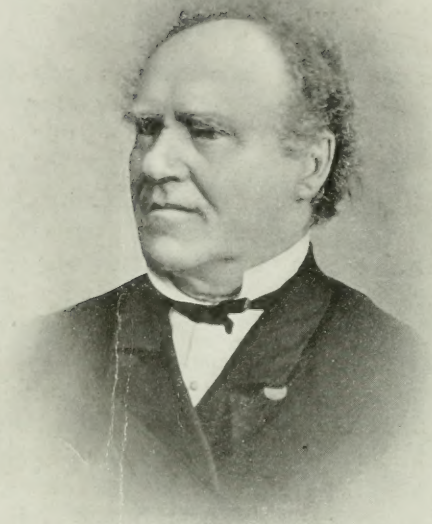
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Joseph Howe

Transactions of The Royal Society of Canada
SECTION II

SERIES III

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VOL. X

Joseph Howe and the Anti-Confederation League.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY BY
LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

INTRODUCTION.

Shortly before his death Sir Robert Weatherbe wrote the present writer that he had in his possession a series of letters addressed by Joseph Howe to William J. Stairs, relating to the Anti-Confederation Movement. He thought of editing these letters, and asked advice as to the most suitable means of publication. It was suggested that they might be submitted as a paper to The Royal Society, and published in the Transactions. Unfortunately Sir Robert Weatherbe did not live to carry out his idea. As one who had been Joint Secretary of the League of the Maritime Provinces, of which Howe was President and Stairs one of the Vice-Presidents, and who had been on terms of intimacy with all the principal actors in the Anti-Confederation Movement, he would have been an ideal editor of such a series of letters. The present writer, with Lady Weatherbe's consent, undertook the task. Although conscious enough that at best he could offer only a very poor substitute for the paper Sir Robert Weatherbe would have produced, he felt that these letters of Joseph Howe were too important to remain in obscurity, particularly at a time when Canadians were preparing to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Dominion. In the notes appended to the letters an effort has been made to identify names and incidents that were more familiar to Howe's contemporaries than they are to Canadians of the present generation.

So far as the life of Joseph Howe is concerned, nothing need be said here that does not relate to his connection with the movement in Nova Scotia to defeat the Confederation project, at least so far as that province was concerned. Nothing approaching a complete biography of the great Nova Scotian has yet been written; but the main facts of his life, and at least some ideas as to his complex character, may be

gleaned from the biographical sketches written by the late Principal Grant, his son William Lawson Grant, and J. W. Longley, and from the *Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe* edited by William Anand in 1858, and republished with many additions under the editorship of J. A. Chisholm in 1909.

Howe was over sixty years of age when he accepted the leadership of the party in Nova Scotia organized to fight Confederation. His motives in taking such a step at first seem inexplicable. In 1849, in 1861, and even in 1864, he had supported with all his fiery eloquence the principle of Confederation. He was still an advocate of Maritime union, and of Imperial union—and yet in 1865 we find him waging a furious battle against the union of all the British North American colonies, or at any rate against any such union as was proposed by the Quebec Conference. The objections he professed to find on public grounds to the terms of the Quebec Resolutions are sufficiently set forth in these letters to Stairs, and in his published Speeches. But no careful student of the character of Joseph Howe can avoid the conclusion that there were personal as well as public reasons for his extraordinary change of front. Howe was a man of brilliant parts, one of the few really great public speakers that British America has produced, and a born leader of men. He was a man of generous sympathies, a delightful companion, and a warm friend—as long as he was allowed to have things his own way. There lies the key to the puzzle. Howe was a supreme egoist. He had unlimited faith in his own judgment, and would brook no opposition. He would put every ounce of strength into a fight, if his place was at the front. He was content that anyone else should have the tangible rewards, but his must be the glory. He was a splendid captain, but an utterly impossible lieutenant.

Unfortunately circumstances made it difficult or impossible for him to attend either the Charlottetown Conference or the Quebec Conference. Had he been there he would probably have thrown himself heart and soul into the Confederation project. But he was not there, and in his place sat his one great rival in Nova Scotian politics, Charles Tupper. The scheme of Confederation probably owed more to the shrewd common sense, political sagacity and indomitable courage of Charles Tupper than to the qualities of any other of its fathers. So far at least as Nova Scotia was concerned, Tupper was the very embodiment of the movement. There remained in 1865 only one place in that movement for Howe, and that place he would rather perish than accept. In his own forcible language, he would “not play second fiddle to that damned Tupper.” But if he could not lead the forces of Confederation, and would not follow Tupper, there was still

room for a brilliant and resourceful general in the army opposed to Confederation. With characteristic energy and convincing eloquence he threw himself into the fight, and might in the end have defeated the cause of union had there not been opposed to him an overwhelming body of public opinion, or at any rate of the leaders of public opinion, on both sides of the Atlantic, determined to unite the scattered colonies of British North America. ✓

The League of the Maritime Provinces was organized at Halifax in the summer of 1866. The name is something of a misnomer, as the membership of the League was confined to Nova Scotia, and largely to Halifax. The Constitution is interesting as setting forth the grounds of opposition to Confederation. Its language suggests pretty conclusively that it was the work of Joseph Howe. The text will be found in the Appendix.

Joseph Howe, Hugh McDonald and William Annand were appointed delegates of the League, to oppose in England the passage of the Imperial statute sanctioning the proposed union of the Colonies. ✓ Howe and Annand sailed early in July. McDonald followed later. The Confederation delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick reached London about the end of July. Their colleagues from Canada did not, however, arrive until the middle of November. Howe therefore had at least five months in which to work up public sentiment in England against the union, and he used his opportunity to the best possible advantage, as his letters show. Annand seconded his efforts in every way, and when McDonald arrived he too threw himself into the fight. Their principal opponents were Tupper and Jonathan McCully of the Nova Scotia delegation, and before long most of the great London and provincial newspapers were drawn into the controversy on one side or the other. In September Howe issued a pamphlet on "Confederation considered in relation to the Interests of the Empire." Tupper published a reply in which with telling effect he set Howe against Howe, quoting passage after passage from speeches in which Howe had urged the advantages of Confederation. Annand replied to Tupper's pamphlet, McCully did his best to demolish Annand's arguments, and McDonald attacked McCully. So the war of words went merrily forward, no doubt to the edification of the small group of Englishmen who at that time were mildly interested in the affairs of the Colonies.

The delegates of the League remained in England until April, 1867, when, having fought Confederation to the last ditch, and lost the battle, they returned to Halifax. The British North America Act had been finally passed on the 29th March.

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Howe was too shrewd a politician to have harbored any very great hopes of defeating the Confederation bill, after he had had an opportunity of studying the situation in England. Nevertheless he fought it with undiminished energy to the end. Confederation being then an accomplished fact, no one could fairly blame him if he decided to accept gracefully the situation. Howe, however, was essentially a fighter. He had no sooner returned to Nova Scotia than he threw himself into the local campaign to defeat Tupper and the Confederate party in Nova Scotia. The elections were held in September, and the Anti-Confederates swept the province, carrying thirty-six of the thirty-eight seats. In the elections for the new Dominion Parliament, eighteen out of nineteen constituencies returned Anti-Confederates. Howe carried Hants by an overwhelming majority, and led his almost solid phalanx of Anti-Confederates to Ottawa. The only fly in his ointment was the fact that his old enemy Tupper had been re-elected in Cumberland.

The opponents of Confederation having captured Nova Scotia, decided to agitate for a repeal of the British North America Act so far as their province was concerned. An address was adopted by the Assembly praying His Majesty to grant repeal; and at a public meeting held in Temperance Hall, Halifax, on January 13th, 1868, the following Resolutions were adopted:

“Whereas, owing to the great diversity of interests and feeling between the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Canada, the public sentiment of the people of Nova Scotia is distinctly opposed to the Confederation of this Province with the Province of Canada.

And whereas, the people of Nova Scotia never did become assenting parties to the Act of Union, the Legislature which sanctioned such Act having done so in direct opposition to the well understood wishes of the People, and by assuming a power never entrusted to them.

Therefore *Resolved* That in the opinion of this meeting the Act of Union, as passed and made law by the Imperial Parliament, has no claims upon the Loyalty of the People of Nova Scotia, any obedience yielded to such Act, being a matter of coercion and not given with the free assent of a free people.

And be it also *Resolved* That this meeting hails with much satisfaction the action of the members of the Nova Scotia Legislature and also of the Nova Scotia Members of the Dominion House of Commons who have signified their determination to use all constitutional means to bring about a Repeal of so much of the Act of Union as refers to the Province of Nova Scotia—and also express the hope that the Legislature of this Province immediately after assembling for despatch

of business will take the necessary steps to bring this subject before the government and Parliament of Great Britain."

Joseph Howe, William Annand, Jared C. Troop and W. H. Smith were appointed delegates, to bring the views of the repealers to the attention of the British Government. Howe sailed for England on February 14th, and the others followed later. Tupper was sent over by the Dominion Government to oppose the movement for repeal. Howe used all his tact and powers of persuasion to secure the release of his province, but without avail. In a despatch dated June 4th, 1868, from the Duke of Buckingham to Lord Monck, Governor General of Canada, the Colonial Minister says that he has had an interview with the delegates, and has laid before the Queen the address of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia praying for repeal. He discusses at some length the complaints of Nova Scotia that no appeal had been made to the people, and that the union had not been made subject to ratification by the provincial legislatures, and announces the decision of the Imperial Government that under all the circumstances it would not be warranted in advising the reversal of a measure not merely conducive to the strength and welfare of the Province but also important to the interests of the whole Empire.*

In London, Tupper, foreseeing the failure of Howe's mission, determined to win him if possible to the side of the Dominion. One gets interesting and rather amusing glimpses of the meetings between the two old political warriors, from both Tupper's and Howe's published correspondence.

Tupper writes Macdonald, April 9, 1868:†

"I called and left a card for Mr. Howe (who was not in) immediately after my arrival, and saw Annand and Smith, but made no reference to politics. Last Monday morning Howe came to see me here, and we spent two hours in the most friendly, I may say unreserved, discussion of the whole question. He met me with the observation that he would not say that he was glad to see me here, but that he expected me, as he knew that under the circumstances I must come. He said that if the Government and Parliament refused to do anything, he intended to tell the people of Nova Scotia that he was ready to adopt any course they might decide upon. I told him that I considered it due to my own character as a public man, as well as to the interests of my country, to obtain the approval of Nova Scotia to the union; that I had, after careful consideration, decided that it could be done despite all opposition, and had refused the chairmanship of the Railway Commission in order to leave myself untrammelled, and strengthen my hands for the work, but that I was tired of fighting, and knew the struggle would

*Campbell, *Nova Scotia*, 460-61.

†*Recollections of Sixty Years*, 73-4.

be most injurious to all concerned. I told him I expected him to do all in his power to obtain repeal, both with the Government and Parliament; but that in case he failed he must see that persisting in a course of antagonism to the Dominion and Imperial Governments would only end in the ruin of himself and his party, and be the cause of immense mischief to the country. I told him if, on the other hand, he went back to Nova Scotia and told them that before entering upon any further antagonism they had better give the union a fair trial, he would find the Government and Parliament of the Dominion not only ready to make any practical concession to the interests of Nova Scotia, but to give the public sentiment of the people, as expressed at the election, the fullest weight; that a seat in the Government and the position declined by myself would afford the means of doing justice to the claims of the Nova Scotia party; and that I would unite my fortunes with theirs and give them the most cordial support.

He appeared deeply impressed by my statements, and said a great many civil things, but expressed his fears that if he took that course his party would abandon him. I told him that between us we could rally to his support three-fourths of the wealth, education and influence of the country, and that I could assure him that he would thus entitle himself to the most favourable consideration of the Crown. The duke (Buckingham) has entered warmly into my views, and has invited Howe and myself to visit him at Stowe Park.

Howe suggested, although he said he could not propose it, that a Commission of three English gentlemen should be appointed to report upon Confederation for the information of Parliament, etc. This could, I think, only be done without compromising the Dominion by being suggested, or rather challenged, by the Canadian Government in answer to the attacks on it. The effect in case of a struggle, *i.e.*, if nothing can be done with Howe, would be to gain time and let us in N. S. down easily. I told Howe that, of course, I could not suggest it, and said it was, besides, open to the great objection that it would keep up agitation, and prevent him and his friends availing themselves of the present favourable opportunity of acquiring a position and influence to serve the province."

Howe's version of this interview is contained in a letter dated April 9th:*

"We were honoured by a visit from Tupper, immediately on his arrival in London. He never called last year. I returned his visit four or five days after, and had an hour's talk with him. . . . Of course he assumes that we will be beaten here, and is most anxious about what is to come after, and desirous that we shall *then* lay down our arms. He thinks the Canadians will offer us any terms, and that he and I combined might rule the Dominion. Of course I gave him no satisfaction."

Again on April 18th, Tupper writes Macdonald:†

"After a very pleasant visit at Stowe and the most friendly intercourse with Mr. and Mrs. Howe for three days, he and I had a long

* *Speeches and Public Letters*, 534.

† *Recollections of Sixty Years*, 80-1.

and confidential conversation the night before he left. He expressed again his fears that if he took the course I suggested he would be abandoned by the people and defeated, but I have pledged him, in case he takes the patriotic course, my most loyal support, and I think satisfied his scruples on that point. He suggested that it would materially aid him in reconciling the Nova Scotia party if the Government here would throw upon your Administration the duty of dealing with the question, and I undertook to aid in that matter. If there is any faith in men I think I may consider the matter, if judiciously managed by you, *settled*. I have assured him of a seat in the Cabinet, and at the Intercolonial Railway Board for Nova Scotia members, and the fullest and most favourable consideration, financially and otherwise, for the province from your Government.

The matter was more serious than we supposed. The duke told me that five of his colleagues, until they heard my explanations, were satisfied that N. S. had strong grounds of complaint, and the effect of keeping up the impression *here*, and in the U. S., that the union is not to be permanent, has a most injurious effect. After talking the matter over with the duke after Howe had left, he requested me to give him my suggestions as to a despatch in answer to Howe and Co., and I sat down and hurriedly wrote the paper of which you have here a copy.* The duke said it entirely agreed with his own views. I hope the course I have taken will be approved."

On May 26th Tupper again writes Macdonald:†

"Howe drove me home in his cab from the Lyceum last Thursday evening, and invited me to breakfast with Mrs. Howe and himself the next morning, when we had two hours' conversation in her presence and went fully into the whole matter. She goes with me strongly, and I have no doubt that his mind is quite made up. I put it to him strongly that with the course you had taken I would now be able to take the platform and carry the country against any opposition he could bring, but preferred, as the province had pronounced in his favour, to stand aside myself and let them have the legitimate fruit of their popular triumph, and thus bring all into complete harmony at once. I am satisfied that he is fully convinced that the interests of his country, his party, and himself all require him to take hold with us, but both he and I feel that we must handle the subject with great delicacy."

Three days earlier Howe had written:‡

"Tupper is here, and we are very civil to each other, but we must fight our battle out. We are both too old soldiers to play tricks on each other."

* Compare the draft given by Tupper to Buckingham, *Ibid.*, 82-3, with Buckingham's despatch to Monck, in Campbell's *Nova Scotia*, 460-61.

† *Recollections*, 91-2.

‡ *Speeches*, 534.

On the 16th June Mr. Bright moved in the Imperial House of Commons for a commission to inquire into the causes of discontent in Nova Scotia. The motion was voted down by an overwhelming majority. Howe had shot his last bolt, and missed the target. Before returning to Nova Scotia he and his associates published a formal protest, the substance of which is given in Campbell's *Nova Scotia*, 462-63. Tupper sailed for Halifax on the same boat with Howe, Annand and the other members of the Repeal delegation, and they forgot their political differences in a series of rubbers of whist. The subsequent negotiations between Macdonald and Howe, leading up to the Better Terms Arrangement and Howe's acceptance of a seat in the Dominion Government, and the consequent break between Howe and many of his former associates in Nova Scotia, who clung obstinately to their Repeal principles and would accept no compromise, are matters of history that have been quite fully set forth in the published correspondence and biographies of Howe, Tupper and Macdonald. See particularly chapters 33, 34, and 35 of Howe's *Speeches and Public Letters*, and the *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald*, II, 27-37 and Appendix xviii.

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72. Letter addressed to the Earl of Carnarvon by Mr. Joseph Howe, Mr. William Annand, and Mr. Hugh McDonald, stating their objections to the proposed scheme of Union of the British North American Provinces. London. 1867. Folio, 31 pp.
73. The Proposed British North American Confederation: Why it should not be imposed upon the Colonies by Imperial Legislation. By Edward Goff Penny. Montreal, Herald Steam Press. 1867. 8vo., 24 pp.
74. The Proposed B.N.A. Confederation: A Reply to Mr. Penny's Reasons "why it should not be imposed upon the Colonies by Imperial Legislation." From the Montreal "Daily News." Montreal. 1867. 8vo., 13 pp.
75. An Enquiry into the Merits of Confederation, and the Duty of the Hour. By one of the people. Halifax, Hall. 1867. 8vo., 31 pp.
76. Confederation Considered on its Merits; being an examination into the Principle, Capabilities, and Terms of Union as applicable to Nova Scotia. By a Nova Scotian. (Judge Marshall). Halifax. Muir. 1867. 12mo., 16 pp.

79. A Letter to the Electors of Nova Scotia, being a reply to "Confederation Considered on its Merits." By an Acadian. Halifax. Muir. 1867. 12mo., 16 pp.
80. Manual or Explanatory Development of the Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in one Dominion under the Name of Canada, synthetical and analytical: with the text of the Act, etc., and index to the Act and the Treatises. By John Gooch. Ottawa. Desbarats. 1867. 8vo., 123 pp.
81. Confederation examined in the light of reason and common sense: and The British North America Act shown to be unconstitutional. By Martin I. Wilkins. Halifax. Hall. 1867. 12mo., 47 pp.
82. Report of the Delegation to England to arrange a Union of the British North American Provinces. G. E. Fenety, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. 1867. 8vo., 48 pp.
83. A Plea for the Confederation of the Colonies of British North America; Addressed to the People and Parliament of Prince Edward Island. By Matthew Richey. Charlottetown. Bremner. 1867. 12mo., 24 pp.
84. La Confederation Couronnement de Dix Années de Mauvais Administration. Montreal. 1867. 8vo., 48 pp.
85. British America. Arguments against a Union of the Provinces Reviewed; with Further Reasons for Confederation. By the Hon. J. McCully, Q.C., Member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia and one of the Delegates. London. Algar. 1867. 8vo., 32 pp.
86. Has the country been sold? A letter to the Electors of Nova Scotia, in which certain people and pamphlets are reviewed, and certain facts and arguments stated. By a Cosmopolitan. Halifax. July, 1867. 8vo., 29 pp.
87. Copies of Despatches from Viscount Monck forwarding representations from Nova Scotia against the Union, and the answer. London. 1868. Folio. 10 pp.
88. Prince Edward Island. Correspondence respecting the complaint of the Legislature that the terms of Confederation have not been carried out. Ottawa. 1886. 8vo., 40 pp.

Halifax, Nova Scotia.

July 5, 1866.

The Hon^{ble}. Joseph Howe.
Sir,

You are aware that at the last general Election in Nova Scotia the subject of a Union of the Provinces was never discussed either in the Newspapers or at the Hustings, and that the opinions of the people in any legal form were not collected either upon the abstract question or upon any form of Union.

You are aware that it has been announced in the organs of the Provincial Government that delegates are to be sent to England¹ in the Steamer of the 19th July, with power to arrange in conjunction with Delegates from some of the other Colonies, a new Scheme of Government for British America, which it is designed to embody in an Act of the Imperial Parliament, to be passed if those Delegates can induce Her Majesty's Government to assume the responsibility of such a measure.

The people of Nova Scotia are naturally very anxious to know whether Her Majesty's Government will seriously entertain this proposition, and if so what time will be allowed after the measure is prepared and printed, for them to review, and should it appear objectionable, petition against it. We have therefore to request that you will at once proceed to England and put yourself in communication with Her Majesty's Government in order to ascertain these facts that if necessary steps may be taken without delay to prevent the two Houses of Parliament being misled.

The Scheme of Government arranged at Quebec in 1864, you are aware was distasteful to all the Maritime Provinces and could not be presented and carried in any one of the four Legislatures then existing. Though Elections have since been held in New Brunswick and Newfoundland, the undersigned believe that that Scheme could not in either of those Provinces be carried now, and yet they remember with grave apprehensions for the future that if they had had the power that most unjust and injurious measure would have been forced upon all the Provinces by its framers.² A new one is promised now, and it may be better than the last, but whatever it is the undersigned believe that it should be most carefully matured and only presented

¹ The Nova Scotia delegates to the London Conference were Charles Tupper, W. A. Henry, Jonathan McCully, Adams G. Archibald, and J. W. Ritchie. Howe refers to these elsewhere as "four lawyers and a doctor undertaking to annex Nova Scotia to Canada." Sir Charles Tupper, Bart. (1821-1915), need not be otherwise described. Henry (1816-1888), became a member of the Government of Nova Scotia in 1852, Solicitor-General 1854, Provincial Secretary 1856, Solicitor-General 1859, and again in 1863, Attorney-General 1866. McCully (1809-1877) was Solicitor-General in 1860, member Legislative Council 1866, appointed Supreme Court of N.S. 1870. Archibald (1814-1892) was Attorney General 1860-63, Secretary of State in Dominion Cabinet 1867, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba 1870-72, and of Nova Scotia 1873-83, knighted 1885. Ritchie was a member of the Legislative Council and Solicitor General in 1866, appointed to Senate at Confederation, and in 1870 to Supreme Court of N. S., died 1890. New Brunswick was represented by S. L. Tilley (1818-1896), John Johnson (1818-1868), Peter Mitchell, (1824-1899), Charles Fisher (1808-1880), and R. D. Wilmot (1809-1891). Canada sent John A. Macdonald (1815-1891), G. E. Cartier (1814-1873), A. T. Galt (1817-1893), William McDougall (1822-1905), H. L. Langevin (1826-1906), and W. P. Howland (1811-1907).

² In New Brunswick, Tilley appealed to the people on the Confederation issue in 1865 and was defeated. Albert Smith, who succeeded him, held office for only a short time, and was followed by Peter Mitchell. Mitchell went to the country on the question of union with Canada, and was sustained. The legislature endorsed Confederation by a large majority. In Nova Scotia, Tupper took advantage of the favourable action of New Brunswick, and without appealing to the people, secured the approval of the legislature. In both provinces the Lieutenant-Governors, under instruction from the Imperial Government, threw all their influence on the side of union. In Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island both legislature and people were, for various reasons, unalterably opposed to Confederation. Hannay, *New Brunswick*, II, 229-264; Tupper, *Recollections*, 66-71; Pope, *Memoirs of Macdonald*, I, 295-298, 358-360. Macdonald, *Confederation Movement in Prince Edward Island*.

to the Imperial Parliament after the most full and ample discussion in all the Provinces whose Institutions it is proposed to revolutionize and whose revenues are to be swept away.

Two years ago the public mind was tranquil and our people mutually respecting and prepared to help each other, contrasted the blessings they enjoyed with the disturbed state of things across the frontier,³ and were content. All this is changed and the undersigned venture to assert that there has been more distrust, animosity and bitter feeling generated of this Quebec Conference and pervading all the Provinces, than has disturbed Society since their first foundation.

The undersigned have seen at a moment when the Provinces were threatened with invasion⁴, the public mind disturbed by rash attempts at innovation, and they see now propositions seriously made by prominent legislators in the Congress of the United States who are publicly entering the field in competition with Canada, for the possession of the Provinces and for a formal transfer of the allegiance of British Subjects.⁵

All this is strange in British America and the people of Nova Scotia, sincerely believe that if any attempt is made in the interests of Canada for her territorial aggrandizement or to relieve her from political perplexities⁶; to break down without the consent of their inhabitants, the system under which all the Provinces have prospered in peace and loyalty, the bitter feuds which now disturb society may culminate in changes which none of us desire to contemplate and all of us will deplore. In view of a future so full of peril the people of Nova Scotia desire to discharge their duty to their Sovereign, to Her Majesty's Ministers and to the two Houses of Parliament, and before they are committed to changes which they foresee will be disastrous, claim at least the opportunity to review the contemplated measure and to put their opinions upon record.

The undersigned cannot believe that Statesmen whose lives are guarantees for the liberality of their sentiments and who rightly appreciate the Keen sense of justice which distinguishes the great Nation over whose counsels they preside will ever countenance the policy proposed. If the elected Aldermen of any English City were in violation of their trust to attempt to transfer the control of its Government and of its Revenues to any other Corporation without the consent of their constituents they would have to look elsewhere than to Ministers of the Crown and to Members of the British Parliament for aid to consummate such a bargain, and the undersigned do not believe that the Act will be regarded as less reprehensible when the Government of a noble Province, inhabited by a spirited and loyal people who have committed no fault, is attempted to be transferred to a distant authority by those who were mere tenants for a limited term and had no right to alienate the trusts committed to their care.

³ The United States were in the throes of the Reconstruction Period, with President Johnson and Congress at daggers drawn, and the country in a turmoil.

⁴ In the plan of operation given out by Genera Sweeny, the Fenian War Secretary, in March, 1866, Portland was named as the general place of embarkation for "Expeditions against the capitals of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia." In April of the same year, the Fenians made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the island of Campobello, in the Bay of Fundy. Macdonald, *Troublous Times in Canada*, 14, 22-24.

⁵ On July 2nd, 1866, a Bill was introduced in Congress entitled "A Bill for the admission of the States of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and Canada West, and for the organization of the Territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia." The text of this Bill is given in Macdonald's *Troublous Times in Canada*, 146-48. At the time of the Annexation movement in Canada in 1849 the Vermont Senate adopted an Annexation resolution, and the New York Legislature took similar action the following year. Allin and Jones, *Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity*, 378-79.

⁶ Racial and political rivalries had produced a deadlock in the government of Canada. Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 195-98.

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121. That this Act shall be
published in all the Provinces
it is intended to visit, but the
Queen's Proclamation shall
not be issued till the existing
legislature of New Brunswick
and the legislatures of Canada
and Nova Scotia,
and New Brunswick convened
after the General Elections, now
in progress, have expressed their
opinion of it in Address to
the Crown.

You will endeavour to make Her Majesty's Government sensible that the people of this Province are contented and happy as they are, but that if changes for which they see no necessity are to be discussed, then those changes should be matured with great deliberation, propounded in clear and explicit terms, and that before any measure is submitted to the Imperial Parliament it ought to be accepted by the people whose future it is to affect.

Should Her Majesty's Government, as we cannot doubt they will, acquiesce in the reasonableness of this policy, you will inform us at your earliest convenience.

Should we be disappointed you will then take whatever steps you may consider prudent and legitimate to have the true interests of our country understood by the people and parliament at home.

Should it appear desirable other gentlemen will be sent home to assist you⁷ and Petitions to the House of Commons, now being extensively signed⁸ will be forwarded by the next and subsequent mails.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Yours truly,

(Signed by the officers of the League of the Maritime Provinces).

probable enough they will I suppose dissolve.

Europe is in a blaze of warlike excitement. The Prussians have won a great battle¹² and are carrying everything before them.

My impression is that the Colonial Delegates will still come over and by force of numbers try to get the New Ministry pledged and carry everything before them. But they may not. At all events the change gives us unpledged men to deal with and increases our chances of fair play. I know Sir John Pakington¹³ who is at the head

⁷ The other delegates of the League sent to London were William Annand and Hugh McDonald.

⁸ These petitions are referred to later in Howe's letters to Stairs.

⁹ William J. Stairs, born at Halifax about 1820, died 1897. Son of William Stairs, a famous Halifax merchant of the first half of the last century. One of the founders of the League of the Maritime Provinces, of which he became vice-president. Appointed to Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, 1867. His son, John F. Stairs, represented Halifax in the House of Commons, 1883-1896.

¹⁰ 14th Earl of Derby (1799-1869). Succeeded Earl Russell in 1866 on the defeat of the Reform Bill.

¹¹ 4th Earl of Carnarvon (1831-1890). Resigned from the Cabinet the following year as he could not agree with his colleagues on the question of Parliamentary Reform.

¹² The battle of Königgratz, ending the Austro-Prussian War.

¹³ Sir John Pakington, Baron Hampton (1799-1880).

171. That this Act shall be published in all the Provinces it is intended to unite, but the Queen's Proclamation shall not be issued till the existing

ADDENDA

Add to Note 65, p. 438:

T. C. Kinnear was a partner of A. G. Jones. H. H. Cogswell and James C. Cogswell were well-known Halifax lawyers of the period. James A. Moren and William Pryor, as well as T. C. Kinnear, belonged to the group of prominent merchants on Water Street, Halifax, engaged in the West Indian trade.

171
The Queen

You will endeavour to make Her Majesty's Government sensible that the people of this Province are contented and happy as they are, but that if changes for which they see no necessity are to be discussed, then those changes should be matured with great deliberation, propounded in clear and explicit terms, and that before any measure is submitted to the Imperial Parliament it ought to be accepted by the people whose future it is to affect.

Should Her Majesty's Government, as we cannot doubt they will, acquiesce in the reasonableness of this policy, you will inform us at your earliest convenience.

Should we be disappointed you will then take whatever steps you may consider prudent and legitimate to have the true interests of our country understood by the people and parliament at home.

Should it appear desirable other gentlemen will be sent home to assist you⁷ and Petitions to the House of Commons, now being extensively signed⁸ will be forwarded by the next and subsequent mails.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Yours truly,

(Signed by the officers of the League of the Maritime Provinces).

Cork, July 13, 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,⁹

I landed here this morning after a charming passage of seven days and a half, and was startled by the News which must have reached you by this time of the retirement of the Whigs and of the formation of a new Ministry under Lord Derby.¹⁰ Under those circumstances it is fortunate that I am on this side, as I know his Lordship personally and will put myself at once in communication with him and with the new Colonial Secretary the Earl of Carnarvon.¹¹ The Departmental elections are nearly over. I presume that the new Ministers will wind up the Parliamentary business as rapidly as possible, so as to get breathing time. If not sustained, which is probable enough they will I suppose dissolve.

Europe is in a blaze of warlike excitement. The Prussians have won a great battle¹² and are carrying everything before them.

My impression is that the Colonial Delegates will still come over and by force of numbers try to get the New Ministry pledged and carry everything before them. But they may not. At all events the change gives us unpledged men to deal with and increases our chances of fair play. I know Sir John Pakington¹³ who is at the head

⁷ The other delegates of the League sent to London were William Annand and Hugh McDonald.

⁸ These petitions are referred to later in Howe's letters to Stairs.

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¹² The battle of Königgratz, ending the Austro-Prussian War.

¹³ Sir John Pakington, Baron Hampton (1799-1880).

of the Admiralty and may be disposed to hear us on the Naval and Military part of the question, particularly as he has an old grudge against the Canadians.¹⁴

Kind regards to all and

Believe me

Sincerely Yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

London,

43 Sackville St.,

July 20, 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

I have just had an interview with the New Under Secretary Mr. Adderley,¹⁵ and left with him my Letter of instructions. I am to see Lord Carnarvon whenever I wish an interview which I shall ask for next week.

I spent two days looking for Mr. O'Brien in Ireland and when I got to his place found that he had gone on a visit to the Bishop of Kerry. I shall write and post him up if he does not come to London which I rather hope he will.

The change of Ministry so far works in our favor. The new men, uncertain of a majority on any question, are naturally desirous to see the end of the Session that they may have a six months lease of power, with a chance to strengthen themselves in the chapter of accidents.

The Whigs appear to have wrecked themselves by bad steering and by the want of that amalgum of which Palmerstone had so much,¹⁶ and by which all sorts of elements are bound together for common objects. There is no great excitement in the Country, consequent upon their fall. People talk about the War, the heat and the Bank rate of interest but very little about the Reform Bill.

It is not possible for any Bill of Confederation to be passed during this Session. If the Delegates leave on the 19th they cannot get here before the 29th¹⁷ and as the 4th of Aug. has been named for the close of the Session it would be quite out of the question to expect that Parliament would entertain a measure of such importance even if the Delegates and the Ministry were united in a policy and disposed to press it on.

I shall wait the arrival of the Delegations and then be governed by their action and by the circumstances that grow out of their Mission, and in the meantime shall make what friends I can should help by and bye be required.

With kind regards to all friends.

Believe me,

Yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

¹⁴ Pakington as Colonial Secretary in the previous Derby Administration had strongly opposed the action of the Canadian Government in the matter of the secularization of the Clergy Reserves.

¹⁵ Sir Charles B. Adderley, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

¹⁶ Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865). He has been described as an unrivalled political tactician.

¹⁷ The Canadian delegates did not actually reach London until the middle of November, 1866, although their Maritime Province colleagues had arrived in July. The delay is partly explained in the following telegram from Lord Monck to Sir Fenwick Williams, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, July 14th, 1866: "I have seen Dr. Tupper's telegram to Mr. Macdonald. In the present condition of political affairs in England, it is simply absurd to send delegates home until we have some communication with the new Secretary of State. I have a letter from a political friend in England to-day to say that the general impression there is that the session will be immediately wound up whatever ministry is in office. Please keep your people quiet if you can and all will be right." See also Macdonald's letter to Tilley, October 8th, 1866, and Report of Committee of Executive Council of Canada, September 24th, 1866. Pope, *Memoirs*, 1, 305-9, 374-76.

43 Sackville Street.

3rd August, 1866.

The Most Honorable

The Marquis of Normanby.

My Dear Lord Normanby,

I now send you Copies of the Newfoundland Petitions¹⁸ to the Lords and Commons and of our own.¹⁹

The Newfoundlanders have put their case with clearness and decision. To transfer the government of that Island to Ottawa would be as absurd as to allow Michigan to govern Jamaica, and yet the Delegates would have done it last year if they had been able, and would tomorrow commit the Government and Parliament of England to this act of cruelty and injustice. The Petition is signed by the principal Merchants of St. John, and by the mass of its male population.

The Nova Scotian Petition expresses, a little too elaborately perhaps the views of our people. It is signed by 18,000 of them which is equal to 1,600,000 of them.²⁰ If the populations are contrasted. If, as my friends assure me they will be, the signatures are swelled to 40,000, these, being 2/3ds of the enrolled Militia of the Province, ought to count for four millions over here.

The question was very fairly treated in the House of Lords.

Believe me,

My Lord,

Very sincerely Yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

London,

43 Sackville Street,

18 Aug., 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

A day or two before Parliament rose I addressed to the Earl of Carnarvon the letter of the 6th of August which I enclose. It was answered yesterday by Elliot's Letter of the 17th, a copy of which I send, with our reply and Memo. about the Railway which went to the Colonial Office yesterday. These papers will show you exactly how matters stand.

On the 16th an extraordinary article appeared in the Money column of the Times²¹ which startled us a good deal and for the moment created the suspicion that Carnarvon was playing us false. I went at once to Sampson, the financial Editor, explained to him that it was full of errors, and in my judgement had no foundation. He is an old friend, and promised at once to publish any explanation or correct any errors that I might point out. Before writing I wanted to satisfy myself that the main statement was false and that C. had not been such a fool as to commit himself so egregiously. This morning one of the Delegates has been compelled to clear the matter up and it is now apparent that the Colonial Secretary has committed himself to nothing and will not till the Canadians arrive. I had today a very long

¹⁸ Printed in *Correspondence respecting the proposed union of the British North American Provinces*. See Bibliography, No. 71.

¹⁹ See Bibliography, No. 65.

²⁰ "Of them" evidently should read "over here."

²¹ See Appendix.

and interesting interview with Lord Stanley.²² Some of the Delegates have been down to Lord Carnarvon's place, and others or all of them are to visit the Duke of Buckingham's place at Stowe next week. We were not invited but have friends enough and keep our eyes steadily on the game, and hope to win it.

Do not neglect the petitions. It is all important that we shall be able to show that the manhood of our country is adverse. 1,500 names out of 30,000 are too few for Halifax. Pray see that the work goes on. We must have the 40,000.

I send you the two articles from the Times,²³ which with our Memo. will explain themselves.

It is not quite clear here whether the Times Article originated in a bit of blundering brag on the part of some of the Delegates, or in a desire to puff up the Grand Trunk Stock. In either case it must damage the fellows and has given us a capital chance to put in a few words of caution that can do no harm.

We do not intend to expand our views on the general subject just yet. We think it better policy to wait till we have something tangible to deal with, and make the fellows propound their scheme before we uncover our batteries.

Believe me, with kind regards to all friends.

Yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

See Editorial in the Times of today and my explanation in letter to Mrs. Howe.

London,

No. 43 Sackville Street,

Aug. 6, 1866.

The Right Hon.

The Earl of Carnarvon.

My Lord,

As the pressure of public business, when I reached London, left Your Lordship but little leisure I was reluctant to occupy your time till after the close of the Session, and thought it better, before asking for an interview, that the gentlemen who seek to disturb the existing order of things should first be heard.

When Your Lordship can spare time to peruse the papers which I have the honor to enclose Mr. Annand and myself will be happy to pay our personal respects to your Lordship and to discuss with you the views of those we represent.

I have the honor to be

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient

Very humble Servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

ENCLOSURES

1. Constitution of League of the Mar. Provinces.²⁴
2. Letters of Instructions.
3. Petitions to the Queen.
4. Petition to the H. of Commons, Nova Scotia.
5. Do. Newfoundland.

²² Afterwards 15th Earl of Derby (1826-1893). He was in 1866 Foreign Secretary in his father's third ministry.

²³ Established in 1788. Edited in 1866 by John Thaddeus Delane.

²⁴ See Appendix.

Downing Street,
16 August, 1866.

The Honorable Joseph Howe.
Sir,

I am directed by the Earl of Carnarvon to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter with its enclosures dated the 6th instant, relative to the proposed Confederation of the British North American Provinces.

I am to acquaint you in reply that Lord Carnarvon will be ready to receive at once any written communication from you on the subject to which these documents refer, or, if you and Mr. Annand should prefer to see His Lordship, he will be happy to appoint a day for that purpose about a fortnight hence.

I am at the same time to observe to you that His Lordship will shortly be called upon to enter upon the consideration of the question of Confederation with Delegates deputed by the Governments and Legislatures of their several Provinces to treat with the Imperial Government, and that His Lordship whilst very happy to receive any communication from yourself and Mr. Annand would not consider himself at liberty to anticipate the discussion of this important subject with the gentlemen who have been so accredited to Her Majesty's Government.

I am
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
P. F. ELLIOT.

43 Sackville Street,
17 August, 1866.

P. F. Elliot, Esq.
Sir,

Referring to your Letter of yesterday, Mr. Annand and myself have to request you to convey to the Earl of Carnarvon our thanks for the Message which you were directed to communicate.

We have no desire to "anticipate" the discussion of Confederation. On the contrary, entirely satisfied with the Manner in which His Lordship treated the subject in his place in Parliament, we are content, having submitted the documents with which we were entrusted and placed ourselves in official communication with the Department, to wait His Lordship's pleasure, sincerely anxious to afford all the information in our power, and cause the least embarrassment.

Will you kindly assure the Earl of Carnarvon that we gave no credence to the statement made in a Morning Paper that His Lordship had already arranged the details of a new scheme of Confederation with the Delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick without notice and without discussion. We have no desire to enter prematurely even on that branch of the general subject which touches the Inter Colonial Railway, but as a very imperfect account of the real state of that question has been put before the public, we have prepared a brief Memorandum for the Colonial Secretary which is enclosed.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient Servant
JOSEPH HOWE.

*Memorandum.**Inter Colonial Railway.*

Referring to the Statement made in the Money Article of the Times of the 16th instant, the undersigned desire to explain that neither by Earl Grey in 1851 nor by the Duke of Newcastle in 1862 was the guarantee for the Inter Colonial Railway made dependent on the acceptance by the Provinces of Confederation.²⁵ Mr. Howe conducted the first negotiation alone, and was a party to the second, and had the proposition to surrender the revenues and government of Nova Scotia to the Canadians as the price of the guarantee been made, it would have been instantly rejected. The guarantee was yielded as a favor to the Provinces, without any stipulation, and if the terms were afterwards changed to enable Canada to carry by Imperial pressure what public opinion condemned it was a great mistake, which the undersigned would respectfully suggest, ought not to be repeated.

The writer conceals the facts that since 1862 Nova Scotia has provided for the whole of the Inter Colonial Road within her territory which is now under Contract and in course of construction, and that the Report of Mr. Flemming²⁶, the Canadian Engineer, swelled the cost of the work from £3,000,000 to £4,000,000.

No steamers have yet been placed on the route between Portland and Halifax.

The undersigned have always been advocates and friends of the Inter Colonial Railway. They are yet, but there is a time for every thing, and they doubt whether when the people of England are considering how their supremacy upon the sea, seriously endangered if not lost, can be recovered, and how, the Empire is to be defended without breech loaders is just the time for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to go down and ask Parliament for four Millions to be expended in a country which we really have at this moment no assurance can be successfully defended. Turret ships and needle guns first and the Inter Colonial Railway afterwards would seem to be the natural order in which to consider these subjects, and the Colonial Secretary ought not to be asked hastily to bind himself by any pledge on a financial question like this of which, when Parliament meets, views, not quite in accordance with those of the Delegates may be taken. |

London, 43 Sackville,
17 August, 1866.

JOSEPH HOWE
WILLIAM ANNAND.

London,
43 Sackville Street,
Aug. 30, 1866.

Private.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

James Duffus goes by this Boat and will give you all the News. John Tobin also returns home, and you will probably have his version of things in general through some of his friends. I yesterday met him at dinner with the Archbishop. He does not say much about Confederation, but we are under the impression that he is very much mortified at being left out in the cold, while his quandom friends have been visiting the great folks. He certainly has been scurvily treated, and would, I think,

²⁵ The officers of the League were at this time: President, Joseph Howe; Vice-Presidents, W. J. Stairs and Patrick Power; Secretaries, William Garvie and Robert J. Weatherbe; Treasurer, Robert Boak.

²⁶ Sir Sandford Fleming (1827-1915).

deeply resent it but for the influence of His Grace, with whom I had a long conversation yesterday. He is prepared to demand large concessions from the Canadians, and is determined to throw up the game and go home if they are not yielded. I read him last night the four declarations, made in a string, by the Canadian Ministers and their friends in which they say that nothing shall be changed. We shall see who will yield. It is quite clear that both sides are committed to directly opposite policies.

I sent last week to Lord Stanley two papers on subjects which I know would interest him. He thanked me promptly under his own hand and said he had sent the "interesting Papers to the Earl of Derby."

Going down for four days to Gravesend I have prepared a paper on the "pretensions of Canada," embracing general and Imperial views of Confederation. Annand and I have been at work at it since, and we have sent 60 pages of MS. to the printer this morning. We have some more to do but hope to have the whole in a readable shape next week. The exact mode of publication and procedure we have not quite determined on but these will be governed by the state of the board when the proofs are ready.

I learn from reliable quarters that the treatment the fellows here have received from the Canadians has produced among the more outspoken and irritable a feeling of great annoyance and disgust.

Be careful in using the contents of this, and be assured that, up to this moment the situation is unchanged, and that nothing whatever has been done.

Yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

London,

Sept. 10, 1866.

25 Saville Row.

My dear Stairs,

Thanks for your Note. After a long survey of the field of operations here and much reflection on the course to be pursued, Annand²⁶ and I determined that we would strike a bold stroke for the Provinces which might startle the government and influence the public opinion of this country. Had we noticed the articles in the Times we might have frittered away our case and been drawn into small wars with the Delegates with no decisive result. We determined therefore to reserve our fire till we could deliver a broadside, of heavy metal. I went down to Gravesend and shut myself up for a week and prepared the paper, copies of which are enclosed.²⁷ We were doubtful at first whether to try and get this into one of the papers under an anonymous signature. We concluded, however, that the bold course was the best, and I have put my name on the title page and published in pamphlet form. An edition of 500 has been ordered, and as we propose to send it to every Member of both Houses and to all the Newspapers 1,000 more may be wanted, as a good many should go to New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. This operation will cost our friends some money, but I know they will not grudge the expense.

Though I have written this paper it embodies our joint suggestions and Annand has aided me much by discussing with me the various points and by corrections.

²⁶ William Annand. Born Halifax 1808. Elected to N. S. Assembly, 1836. Financial Secretary in Howe's Ministry, 1860-63. Founded Halifax *Chronicle* and for some time edited both that and the *Nova Scotian*. Head of Anti-Confederate Government, Nova Scotia, 1867. Died in London, 1892.

²⁷ See Bibliography, No. 55. The pamphlet is reprinted in the *Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe*, II, 468-92.

On Friday last I sent proof sheets to Lord Stanley, and received from him a kind note. Mrs. Howe has the correspondence and will show it to yourself, Power²⁸ and Jerry.²⁹ It should go no further at present, and must be regarded as strictly confidential.

The paper had better be republished at length in our Halifax and country papers. I will send some copies direct to Newfoundland and P.E.I. and have written to the Editors of the *New York Albion*³⁰ who I hope will give it at large.

I shall now send Copies to the Members of the Cabinet and write enclosing it to such leading Members of both Houses as I happen to know.

Remember us to all friends and believe me,

Sincerely Yours,
JOSEPH HOWE.

We have been driven out of our old lodgings by repairs going on in the rear

Byron, when in town, lived in this house and I suppose wrote here his English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.³¹ We breakfasted this morning in his study.

London,
25 Saville Row,
Sept. 28, 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.
My dear Stairs,

By the last mail I sent you copies of our Pamphlet and forwarded copies to many of our friends at home and in the other Provinces, and wrote a few lines of explanation or recognition to forty or fifty people who might be gratified to hear from me.

Within the fortnight we have sent Pamphlets to all the Ministers and leading Members of both Houses of Parliament—to the principal Newspapers and periodicals in England, Ireland and Scotland, accompanied by 48 letters to persons who we know personally or with whom we could fairly take the liberty. We sent a circular to all the Scotch Editors reminding that old Scotland should stand by her namesake and see that she got fair play. Many of the answers received from persons written to are very satisfactory and prove that our labor will not be lost. We have nearly exhausted an edition of 500 in these operations, but 500 more are being struck off which we will send to Members of both houses, Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, and Reading Rooms. We shall ruin you all I fear with printing, and postage, but there was no other way to reach the governing classes here and to change the stream of public opinion.

²⁸ Patrick Power, (1815-1881) one of the Vice-Presidents of the League. Represented Halifax in the first Parliament of Canada, 1867. Re-elected 1874.

²⁹ Jeremiah Northup, one of the leaders in the Anti-Confederation Movement. Born 1815. He was Commissioner for issuing Provincial Notes in 1866, and represented Halifax in the Assembly 1867. Appointed to the Senate 1870. Died 1879.

³⁰ A weekly newspaper published in New York, chiefly for British readers in the United States. Peter Brown, father of George Brown, and founder of the *Toronto Banner*, was a contributor to the *Albion* in 1838. Howe was offered the editorial management of the paper in 1866. See Longley, *Joseph Howe*, 182-84.

³¹ Published in 1808.

So far, we have every reason to be satisfied with the result. The *Daily News*³² has given two articles and the *Star* (Bright's organ)³³ one to the subject and we are promised others from other quarters in good time.

The Delegates here were evidently taken by surprise by this movement. We did not let a soul of them know what we were about and by selling no copies till they were sowed broadcast over the three Kingdoms and in the Provinces we have taken a rise out of them.

Tupper has rushed into print³⁴ but Annand answers him in the next No. of the *Star*³⁵ and he will find he has taken nothing by that motion.

Annand has been very active and very useful in personally visiting and discussing the question with leading men connected with the London Press. Even where we could not get them to suddenly change previously expressed opinions they have been modified, or the parties have promised that they would see that we were not unfairly expressed.

From present appearances I should think that some if not all the Delegates are preparing for a homeward flight. The Canadians are not coming till January if they come then,³⁶ and John A. McDonald expressly tells them that they should arrange their local Constitutions before asking for an Act of Parliament.³⁷

It is quite evident that, in coming here at all, they made an egregious blunder. They do not look very happy but we keep our own Secrets and do not enquire into theirs.

Though anxious to get home I cannot yet determine whether I can get away by next Boat or not. As soon as I am satisfied that no further good can be done here I will go out and see what is necessary to complete the work at home.

They must have a Session, and if we manage right we may get the Resolution³⁸ reversed.

Annand will write and send the papers and in the meantime

Believe me,

Truly Yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

29th

Since writing to you Jonathan³⁹ has rushed into print and has got an admirable dressing down from the Editor of the *Daily News*, and John A. McDonald and his drunken crew have got a fearful castigation from the Editors of the *Telegraph*.⁴⁰ Annand will mail both papers.

I fear it will not be possible for us to leave here by next boat, but we shall try hard to get away by the end of the month.

³² Founded by Charles Dickens in 1846, and edited by him for a short time. Edited by Thomas Walker 1858-69. Radical in politics.

³³ Founded 1856. Radical of the Manchester School. Edited by Samuel Lucas 1856-65; and by Justin McCarthy 1865-68. The *Evening Star* ceased publication 1869, and the same year the *Morning Star* was absorbed in the *Daily News*.

³⁴ Tupper's letter, which appeared in the *Star*, September 26th, is reprinted in his *Recollections*, 46-50.

³⁵ September 27th.

³⁶ As already mentioned they arrived in November.

³⁷ A somewhat different attitude is revealed in Macdonald's letter to Tilley of Oct. 8, 1866. Pope, *Memoirs*, I, 305-9.

³⁸ See Campbell, *Nova Scotia*, 445.

³⁹ Jonathan McCully. See Note 1.

⁴⁰ Founded 1855. First editor, Thornton Leigh Hunt, son of the poet. George Augustus Sala joined staff 1857, and Edwin Arnold in 1861. Liberal in politics.

London,
25 Saville Row,
Oct. 12, 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.
My dear Stairs,

I was glad to learn, by letters from home that the Pamphlet had been well received by our friends. It would have been issued earlier but it takes some time to survey a wide field like this and measure the forces to be overcome. Annand and I were for a time much perplexed as to the line to be taken and it required some self restraint to keep from rushing into the Newspapers when we first came over. But we determined, I think wisely, to reserve our fire till we could send a shot heavy enough to go straight to the highest ranges in this country and to break down a good deal of ignorance and prejudice beyond the Sea. So far we have been rewarded for our patience and our labor. Judging by what our friends say good will be done in the Provinces and among our own people, and here the results of the explosion have been most satisfactory.

We sent you by last Mail articles from the Daily News, Star and other papers. Tupper and Jonathan have kept out of print since the former was answered by Annand and the latter snubbed and silenced by the Editor of the Daily News.

In the meantime the Pamphlet has been noticed and the subject discussed in other London Papers, and I presume has been aired in Scotch and Provincial ones which we do not see.

Annand will send you articles from the Express,⁴¹ a moderate paper usually in a quiet way, taking its tone from Government, The Athenaeum,⁴² the principal Literary organ of the Metropolis which rarely meddles with mere political questions, from Lloyds' Weekly,⁴³ which has an extensive English and Colonial circulation. From the Patriot⁴⁴, the organ of the Independents, which is read by twenty odd Members of Parliament who sympathize with their Congregations. All these Notices are decidedly favorable, and taken in connexion with the articles in the Star and Daily News, show that our case has made a most favorable impression, particularly when it is remembered, that, until we came here not a single London paper had expressed an opinion except on the other side. The article from the London Review,⁴⁵ which Annand also sends and another from the Spectator,⁴⁶ are the only ones we have yet seen that are hostile. Both can be easily answered, and we may do this but are a little doubtful about the policy of entangling ourselves in small wars with particular Newspapers. It is more dignified and in the end will produce a finer effort in this country, to take high ground and enlarge rather than narrow the boundaries of discussion. With this view I have prepared another paper on the "Organization of the Empire"⁴⁷ which is now ready for the Press, and which we hope to have ready to go out by the next mail. It is more calm and moderate in tone, and develops a

⁴¹ Established 1846. Started as an afternoon supplement to the *Daily News*. John R. Robinson editor, 1855. Paper discontinued 1869.

⁴² Founded 1827 by J. S. Buckingham. Edited by Hepworth Dixon 1853-69.

⁴³ Founded 1842. Radical in politics. Douglas Jerrold editor 1852-57; succeeded by his son, Blanchard. It had reached about this time the then enormous circulation of 400,000.

⁴⁴ Established 1833. Edited by Joseph Condor for twenty-two years.

⁴⁵ Established by Charles Mackay in 1860. Laurence Oliphant was associated with him. See Mackay *Through the Long Day*, II, 201-12.

⁴⁶ Founded 1828. First editor R. S. Rintoul 1828-58; succeeded by Meredith Townsend and R. H. Hutton, the former as political editor and the latter as literary editor.

⁴⁷ See Bibliography No. 51. The pamphlet is reprinted in his *Speeches* II, 492-506.

scheme of government for the whole Empire. ✓ Whether or not the views propounded meet with general favor it will excite discussion on a subject of the highest National importance and as I have to some extent got the ears of the British public I hope to lose no credit by this second attempt to instruct the governing classes of this country. I wish I was rich enough to go into Parliament and I should then have little fear that in five years we should have a scheme of Government sufficiently expansive to include the whole Empire.

From many private letters I am every day more and more convinced that we are making progress here.

Acting on the policy with which we set out that it would be wise to leave the Colonial Secretary free from all suspicion of being influenced by us, while keeping open channels of communication in other directions we have refrained from writing to him since the official correspondence passed that we sent you some time ago. But the general charges of drunkenness and neglect brought against John A. Macdonald and the Canadian Ministers coming over, and the London Telegraph having scourged them in a capital article we thought the matter might be improved, and accordingly addressed to Earl Carnarvon on the⁴⁸

London,
25 Saville Row,
Nov. 8, 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

By this mail you will receive Annand's answer⁴⁹ to Tupper's Pamphlet⁵⁰ which I trust our friends will like. It will be widely circulated here early in the week. Instead of confining himself to a mere criticism of the Doctor's text you will find a good deal of new matter on various branches of the subject very hard to be got over.

So far, we have seen no notice of the Dr.'s Pamphlet in any paper, but the Canadian News. There may have been others but if there were we have not happened to buy the papers. His paper will not do much harm when Annand's gets into the right hands.

You will find in yesterday's Daily News another capital column of fun poked at our friends by the Editor, and a long letter from Montreal in which our views of the indefensibility of Canada are freely admitted.

I met at dinner last night a Member of Parliament, a friend of Carnarvon's, and a supporter of the Government. He says that C. is doing nothing and is yet unpledged about Confederation, and that Parliament will not be asked to ratify any scheme that has not been approved by the Colonial Legislatures. This would be a great point gained, as it would remove the Controversy to the Colonies again and multiply the chances in our favor. Of course a dissolution would be better but that may come.

We shall do nothing further now till the Canadian men are here. Things must then take some shape that will enable us to determine our future movements.

⁴⁸ Remainder of letter missing. See Note 108. Howe refers here to two long letters sent to Carnarvon.

⁴⁹ See Bibliography No. 59. Summarized in Campbell, *Nova Scotia*, 447-48. Campbell says of it, "His defence of Mr. Howe was as adroit and skilful as in the circumstances it could be, but Dr. Tupper had so effectively used the *argumentum ad hominem* in dealing with Mr. Howe that no defence could repair the temporary damage done to the reputation for political consistency of the Anti-Confederate champion."

⁵⁰ See Bibliography No. 58. Campbell *Nova Scotia* 446-47; Tupper, *Reminiscences*, 33-35; Grant, *Tribune of Nova Scotia*, 144.

A great deal of the work will have been done by the publication of the Pamphlets, and I am in great hopes that we may be able to leave by the end of the month unless some unforeseen necessity for a longer stay arises.

I fear that there is some mistake about the Petitions. McDonald⁶¹ and Garvie⁶² write as though 40,000 Signatures have been sent. There may be that number but we have not received them. We have only received two batches since Annand came over about 34 or 35,000 in all. If there are any more we should have them without delay.

You will see that a writer in the Diplomatic Review has hit the nail square on the head, and accuses Lord Monk of Treason for attempting to make new nations out of the Empire.⁶³

With kind regards to all friends.

Believe me,
Sincerely Yours,
JOSEPH HOWE.

London,
25 Saville Row,
Nov. 9, 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.
My dear Stairs,

After I wrote you yesterday we discovered that the Standard⁶⁴ (the organ of the Government) had a long article endorsing my views of the Organization of the Empire. We have other indications that the subject is received with favor in influential quarters. The Receiver General of Victoria, who is here and who is much with Carnarvon, wrote to me to say that he entirely approved of my policy. The Canadian News, though opposed to us stoutly on Confederation, does the same. If no other good comes of it a diversion will be made that may be fatal to Confederation, at all events till we get an election, and perhaps lead to the whole subject being referred to a Committee of the House of Commons which could not collect evidence and report under two years.

The Daily News of yesterday contains another spirited and damaging assault on the Canadians and in this morning's number there is an article signed a "Tax Payer" which gives them some home truths.

In the London Examiner⁶⁵ of this morning there is a long letter from Montreal in which the writer makes some curious revelations anent the Canadian School ques-

⁶¹ Hugh McDonald, born Antigonish, N.S., 1827. Represented Inverness in N. S. Legislature Sat in House of Commons 1867-73. President of Privy Council 1873. Judge of Supreme Court of N. S., 1873-93. Died 1899.

⁶² William Garvie, one of the Secretaries of the League. Died 1872.

⁶³ Howe in his pamphlet *Confederation considered in Relation to the Interests of the Empire*, quotes Lord Monck's speech on closing the last session of the Canadian Parliament: "Referring to the proposed confederacy, His Lordship describes it as 'that new nationality of which you will form a part, and the dimensions of which will entitle it to a first place amongst the powers of the world.'" Lord Monck (1819-1894) was the last Governor of Canada before Confederation, and the first Governor-General of the new Dominion. His deep interest in the Confederation movement is revealed in his correspondence with Macdonald. Pope, *Memoirs*, I. 299-303; 372, 373.

⁶⁴ Founded 1827. Changed from morning to evening paper in 1857, when it was acquired by James Johnson. Tory in politics.

⁶⁵ Founded 1808 by John and Leigh Hunt. The latter edited the paper for several years. He was fined five hundred pounds in 1813, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, for describing the Prince Regent as "a corpulent Adonis of fifty." John Morley was editor of the *Examiner* between 1859 and 1864. It ceased publication in 1880.

tion,⁵⁶ and the religious rivalries and antagonisms of the two Provinces. Annand will mail all these papers that our friends may see exactly how the game stands.

On the other side you will find a sharp article, pitching into me, in this morning's Star, founded on Tupper's views of my inconsistencies. All this will be set right by Annands' Pamphlet which will be circulated on Monday.

The Star is said to be Bright's organ, and as the franchise is the great question with them, they have shifted their ground since the publication of the first article, and are evidently disposed to back Tupper because they have been told that he opposed the limitation of the franchise in Nova Scotia.⁵⁷ Of course, in such a battle as we are fighting we must be prepared for blows and fortunately I have had so many that another thump or two makes but little odds. I may by and by, if it is worth while, review the criticisms of the Press, but if we can turn the rascals' flanks by a Parliamentary enquiry into the whole subject we shall have carried our point.⁵⁸ We send the Star that you may see both sides.

In my letter of yesterday I expressed a hope that we might be able to get home by the end of the month. We shall work to accomplish this, but it is by no means certain. The subject is assuming such proportions that I may have to visit the large towns and do much work should the fellows happen to agree⁵⁸ and things take an unfavorable turn. We hope this may be avoided, but nobody just now can tell what may turn up in all this month.

Believe me

Yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

Private.

25 Saville Row,
12th Nov., 1866.

Sir John C. D. Hay, Bart.

My dear Sir John,⁵⁹

I send you Tupper's pamphlet with Annand's answer to it and Botten and Webber's Book.⁶⁰

Referring to our conversation of Thursday evening I wish to call your attention to two or three points.

1. (The opposition to Confederation in Nova Scotia did not originate with me.) For weeks after the convention broke up at Quebec I took no part in the controversy, nor did I express any opinion, even to my personal friends, until the delegates set systematically to work to make the people of the Provinces believe that I was in favour of their scheme.⁶¹ I then wrote just what was necessary to disabuse the

⁵⁶ On the Separate School Question in Canada before Confederation, see Lewis, *George Brown*, 121-23, 144-45, and Pope, *Memoirs*, I, 138, 170-72, II, 248.

⁵⁷ See Tupper, *Recollections*, 46, 51.

⁵⁸ There were at the time some differences of opinion between the Maritime Provinces delegates and those from Canada, as to the Intercolonial, and provincial subsidies. The delicate situation during the London Conference has been described by Lord Blachford. Parkin, *Macdonald*, 126-7.

⁵⁹ Rt. Hon. Sir John Charles Dalrymple-Hay, born 1821, rear-admiral 1866, vice-admiral 1875, admiral 1878, Lord of the Admiralty 1866-68, represented Stamford in Parliament, 1866-80.

⁶⁰ See Bibliography No. 52.

⁶¹ Such a statement was not without justification. Howe had advocated Confederation as early as 1849. Grant, *Tribune of Nova Scotia*, 137. As leader of the Government of N. S. he had moved a resolution in the Legislature in the session of 1861 looking to a conference on the question of union of the provinces. Campbell, *Nova Scotia*, 435. On August 13, 1864, he made a speech at Halifax in which he said: "I have always been in favour of uniting any two, three, four or the whole five of the provinces. . . . I am pleased to think the day is rapidly approaching when the Provinces will be united, with one flag above our heads, one thought in all our bosoms, with one Sovereign and one constitution." *Speeches*, II, 433-34. "Nova Scotia," says Munro, "was the first province to propose confederation." *Constitution of Canada*, 25.

public mind upon that point.⁶² I was absent from Nova Scotia seven months in 1865, and ten weeks of last winter was at Washington.⁶³ On returning home this Spring I found the Lieutenant-Governors acting like partizans,⁶⁴ and violating all constitutional principle in order to carry the policy of the convention. I was reluctant to go back into political controversies and asked my old friend Archibald to relieve me from the necessity by giving me an assurance that any measure that might be proposed should be sent for ratification or rejection by the people. He declined to do this and it was, only, when satisfied that the gentlemen who had prepared this scheme intended to seek shelter from all responsibility under an act of parliament, that I took the field in opposition.

2. You know Halifax well and know what weight to attach to the fact when I tell you that, along a mercantile frontage of more than two miles of Wharfs and Stores, hardly seven merchants are in favour of the Scheme. That in Yarmouth the second Seaport in the Province, there are not twenty persons of any position in business or social life who approve of it—that, so strong is the feeling, that Enos Collins^{64a} who is now ninety years of age, and the wealthiest man in British America, declares that, if he was twenty years younger, he would take up his rifle and resist it—that, in all parts of the Province, political parties are broken up and a new one formed the sole object of which is to protect the interests and institutions of the Country.

3. You know that Mather Almon, Andrew Uniacke, Alfred Jones, T. C. Kinnear, James Moren, Wm. Prior, the Cogswell's⁶⁵ and men of that Stamp were conservatives. They are now co-operating with the leading liberals bankers and merchants to defeat this measure.

4. You seemed to think that four millions of people would make a respectable nation and that fear of taxation would keep us from joining the United States. But balance this matter fairly and you will see that our only chance of remaining British is to preserve our old institutions and stay within the Empire. You would not take a Ten Gun Brig into action against an Eighty Gun Ship and you would be dismissed the service, for wasting men's lives, if you did. Yet it seems to be thought fair to launch us into a hopeless national life that England, by the sacrifice, may buy her peace with the Republic. When this is done do not call us Cowards if we refuse to fight and do not suppose, for a moment, that fear of American taxation will ever induce us to attempt to maintain a position in which we must be crushed and financially ruined by three months of war. I am a dear lover of old England and to save her would blow Nova Scotia into the air or scuttle her like an old ship. But when driven out of the Empire, absolved from my allegiance, and told that the Mother Country will run no risk to maintain old relations, how can it be supposed that when a peaceful frontier and full fraternity with a great British Community, who have an army and navy and are afraid of nobody, are offered to me that I would be such an

⁶² He contributed a series of letters to the *Morning Chronicle*, Halifax, in January, 1865, entitled "The Botheration Scheme." See also his letter to Lord John Russell, January 19, 1865, *Speeches*, II.

⁶³ He was then Fishery Commissioner for the Imperial Government.

⁶⁴ Sir-William Fenwick Williams in Nova Scotia; Arthur Hamilton Gordon in New Brunswick. Gordon was a son of the Earl of Aberdeen. Both were acting under instructions from the Imperial Government. Pope, *Memoirs*, I, 298.

^{64a} Enos Collins was born about 1776; had stirring adventures as a privateersman; made a fortune in New York real estate; added to it in Nova Scotia; and died about 1870.

⁶⁵ Mather Byles Almon. Delegate for Nova Scotia with James W. Johnston, James B. Uniacke, and William Young, to confer with Lord Durham at Quebec in 1838. Appointed to Executive and Legislative Councils, 1843. He was still a member of the Legislative Council in 1866. Andrew M. Uniacke represented Halifax in N. S. Legislature in 1845. Alfred Gilpin Jones (1824-1906) represented Halifax in the House of Commons 1867-72, 1874-78; 1887-91, Minister of Militia, 1878; Lieutenant-Governor Nova Scotia, 1900-6.

idiot as to embark in this crazy Confederacy with a mongrel crew half French and half English and certain to be sent to the bottom at the first broadside.

With an enormous amount of shipping at sea Nova Scotia must belong to a great Naval Power. When England throws her off her destiny is inevitable, and nobody with the eye of a statesman in his head, can suppose that she will choose Ottawa for a Capital when she has lost London and can have New York, no further off than Ottawa; or that, with the Arsenals and Dockyards of Boston and Portsmouth at her very doors, she will commit the care of her commerce to the Canadians who have one paltry steamer in the Gulf in Summer and are frozen up for half the year. We go in for the Empire one and indivisible but when the old ship is broken up we are not such fools as to trust our lives in a crazy craft in which we are certain to be drowned.⁶⁶

You kindly offer to bring Lord Carnarvon and I together. If you do we shall not talk Confederation, as it was arranged that we should not, till after the Canadians had arrived; and besides his Lordship is the best judge of when we should meet or whether we should meet at all. So far as I can discover, by his published speeches, Lord Carnarvon is dealing frankly and circumspectly with the subject, and if he does his duty by the Provinces I shall give him credit for it, even if I should never add the light of his countenance to my pleasant recollections of English social life.

Believe me my dear Sir John,

Sincerely yours,
JOSEPH HOWE.

Private.

London,
25 Saville Row
Nov. 22, 1866.

The Most Honorable

The Marquis of Normanby.

My dear Lord Normanby⁶⁷

I have read your letter, with the care and interest it naturally challenges from an old friend who will ever attach great weight to your Lordship's opinions on any subject. Perhaps you will pardon me for troubling you with a few observations in reply.

1. Any attempt to improve the Quebec Scheme, from the first, opposed by all the parties who prepared it. In Canada, the Ministry refused to allow it to be debated or amended, clause by clause—Carried it en bloc and declined to submit it to the constituencies.⁶⁸ As late as the 27th of July last, the Ministers and their supporters, as you will see by the extract given in Mr. Annand's pamphlet, declared that it should be rigidly adhered to.

In New Brunswick, Mr. Tilly took the same line and only changed his tone when the scheme was rejected.

In Nova Scotia, the Delegates attempted to bully every body who offered criticisms or improvements, and when I resented the attempt to make our people

⁶⁶ For some reason—he may have made himself believe it at the time—Howe's arguments against Confederation seem to rest on the extraordinary idea that union of the colonies involved dis-union of the Empire.

⁶⁷ Second Marquis of Normanby (1819–1890).

⁶⁸ Macdonald wrote Tilley, October 8th, 1866, "It was agreed at Quebec that the resolutions then agreed to should be submitted by the several governments to their respective legislatures at the then next session, and if possible carried *en bloc*, and without alteration lest any chance should create the necessity for a new conference. Canada carried the resolutions according to promise." Pope, *Memories*, I, 305. See also *Debates on Confederation*, 15; Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 210–11.

believe that I approved of the policy, they attempted to silence or coerce me by threats of the Queen's displeasure, if I dared to express an independent opinion. Compelled to think and act for myself I took the ground on which I now stand,—*that any scheme forced upon the Provinces, by an arbitrary act of Parliament, must be a failure, and that the first condition of Success for any plan of government must be its deliberate acceptance by the populations whose Institutions it was proposed to change.*

As matters stand, of four millions in the five provinces, but four hundred thousand have had an opportunity to express their opinions. Of these, a hundred and fifty thousand had decided against,⁶⁹ and two hundred and fifty thousand once for and once against.⁷⁰ When left to their own judgment the latter were opposed. When a partizan Governor⁷¹ had overthrown the Cabinet and used and abused the Queen's name, while the Fenians were on the frontier, a decision in favour of some sort of Union, which nobody understood, was obtained—which really is not worth a rush. The reaction was pretty prompt, and when Mr. Gordon left the Province there was hardly any body to see him off or say God bless him.

An attempt is now being made to buy the Constituencies of P. E. Island, by an offer of two hundred thousand pounds to purchase out the proprietors.⁷² If the people of the Island chose to do this with their own money I can see no objection to it, but the offer to purchase their vote in favor of Confederation, is characteristic of the corrupt and unscrupulous spirit which Canadian politicians have infused into the whole transaction. When Parliament has taken the money of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to purchase and distribute the lands of P. E. Island how can they refuse Mr. Bright's proposition to buy up the large Estates in Ireland, and when that is done why should not the large Estates in England be bought up and distributed among the Tenant Farmers?

2. At present the Colonies *enjoy self government and belong to the greatest confederacy that the world ever saw.* This Scheme reverses the policy of the Colonial office, for a quarter of a century so successful. It transfers to John McDonald or Darcy McGee, resting upon a purely Canadian majority, powers which no Colonial Secretary ever claimed. When Downing Street appointed our Governors and controlled our casual revenues, they rarely interfered with inferior patronage, could levy no new taxes, and the casual Revenue seldom exceeded £10 or £12,000. The Downing Street at Ottawa will appoint our Governors, Councillors, and Judges,—will have unlimited powers of external and internal taxation—At the start, will con-

⁶⁹ The electors of Prince Edward Island had voted overwhelmingly against Confederation. The P. E. I. Assembly in 1866 resolved that: "This House cannot admit that a Federal union of the North American provinces and Colonies which would include Prince Edward's Island, could ever be accomplished on terms that would prove advantageous to the interests and well-being of the people of this island, separated, as it is and must ever remain, from the neighbouring provinces by an immovable barrier of ice for many months in the year." In March, 1866, the Assembly of Newfoundland adopted the following Resolution: "That while duly regardful of the momentous character of the subject and of the promise to His Excellency to give it attention, yet as no information has been received demanding its immediate reconsideration, the House does not deem it expedient to enter upon its discussion with a view to any decision thereon."

⁷⁰ Refers to the two New Brunswick elections, in 1865 and 1866. The *St. John Telegraph* published a statement showing that the N. B. elections of 1866 resulted in 55,065 votes for and 33,767 against Confederation. Hannay, *New Brunswick*, II, 254. The resolution in the Assembly for the appointment of delegates was adopted by a vote of 30 to 8.

⁷¹ Arthur Hamilton Gordon.

⁷² The offer of \$800,000 to extinguish proprietary rights was made by the Confederation delegates to Mr. James C. Pope, Leader of the Prince Edward Island Government, who happened to be in London at the time. Pope, *Memiors*, II, 146-7. Pope had already published his views on the subject of Confederation. See Bibliography No. 62.

trol and dispense a surplus revenue, drawn from Nova Scotia alone, of £234,000 or nearly twenty times the highest amount that the Colonial Secretary ever dispensed. And besides Downing Street never took a pound out of the Country. If sometimes lavishly expended, the Casual revenue was all spent in the Country which raised it, but the Finance Minister of Canada may, annually, draw out of Nova Scotia an enormous sum and spend it where he likes. That our nineteen members will afford us any protection it is in vain to hope.⁷³

The modern history of Canada warns us what is coming when our revenues are transferred to those who have earned so unenviable a reputation in the distribution of their own.

3. Just now, my plan for the Organization of the Empire may seem visionary and impracticable, because there is nobody who will grapple with the question of how it is to be kept together and defended. But I can afford to wait. All I hope now is to set people thinking in the right direction. We should all go for the Empire, one and indivisible, as opposed to the policy of dismemberment. If my plan is not the best let us have a better, but let us all work and think in the right direction.

I say I can afford to wait. Responsible Government was denounced as visionary in the House of Commons, and voted down by resolutions, long after we had recommended it, in North America, as the key to a sound Colonial policy.

In 1838, Crane of New Brunswick and myself memorialized Her Majesty's Government to subsidize and Establish lines of ocean Steamers.⁷⁴ The policy was adopted and our great lines now connecting these Islands with all the world are the result.

In 1851 I advised Systematic and regulated plantation of the poor, in our own provinces, in connection with the construction of Public Works.⁷⁵ This was not done. In fifteen years, nearly two millions of British Subjects have been allowed to drift into the United States, to become Fenians and Enemies, and one fourth of them have been killed or wounded in the American Civil War. The poor rates consume about 7,000,000 per annum, and the questions of poverty and crime still press upon every body's thoughts; and, besides, Ten Millions of British Capital, which need not have been risked at all, have been hopelessly thrown away on Canadian Railroads. My policy was thrown aside and this is what came of Canadian schemes and contrivances.

In 1855 I sent to the Secretary of War a breech loading Rifle, out of which I could fire nine shots per minute, while an expert could fire 12. My letter was never answered. Breech Loaders were considered "Visionary." I then implored Sir Gaspard Le Marchant⁷⁶ to use his influence to have these guns adopted. The answer was unfavourable. We went through the Indian Mutiny and several Small wars without them, and it was only when the Austrian Empire went down before the Breech loaders that any body here would think out of the old departmental grooves.

So it will be with this Imperial policy. Having thought for ten years upon it I know I am right. My interests are all the other way. There is no position in this Confederacy, if it is formed, that I cannot win. There is none that would not

⁷³ A rather remarkable argument, coming from the champion of responsible government. Compare his letter to Francis Hincks on the Organization of the Empire. *Speeches*, II, 311-27. It seems incredible that Howe could have expected a well-informed English statesman to swallow such an obvious fallacy.

⁷⁴ *Speeches*, I, 188-91. William Crane, was a member of the New Brunswick Government in 1840.

⁷⁵ *Speeches*, II, 132, *et seq.*

⁷⁶ Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant (1803-1874). He was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1855.

be given to me tomorrow if I would degrade myself by abandoning the path of duty,⁷⁷ but I believe that the honor of the Crown and diffusion of British Civilization can only be secured, for any long period, by preserving the Unity of the Empire. When we begin to break it up where are we to stop? And what will the fragments be? Republics and nothing else.

Does it never occur to you, My Lord, that now by our Colonial System, as it stands, we are diffusing all over the world respect for Monarchical principles of Government, for British Order, usages, and laws. But, whenever the Colonies are formed into new Nations, the old ties will be severed,⁷⁸ the old respect for mixed classes and orders will die out, and that having within themselves neither kings nor Peers the respect for both will give place to the contempt and opposition to their existence any where, so prevalent in the United States. To me it is apparent that all the fragments broken off the Empire must be Republics. How will it stand with England when all the English Speaking people, outside these two Small Islands, are Republicans, in close Sympathy with the millions of Democrats who are rising pretty near the Surface here, just now. Pray think of all this, My Lord, before it is too late, and let us get upon some more solid ground than this Catamaran of a Confederacy, which even if successful as a British American measure, gives us no policy for the Empire.

I admit that our Colonial Legislatures might be improved, and they will improve as Population and wealth increase. Your Lordship may remember what the Parliament of England was, in Walpoles time, when "every man had his price," and that a good many Vulgar and ignorant people get into the House of Commons now, and that all the corruption and fraud, ever brought to the surface in all our small Parliaments, since their origin, are as nothing when compared to the huge delinquencies charged, at this moment, on a single Railway Contractor in the Imperial Parliament. We have had Scenes not creditable in our House, but have we ever had any so disgraceful as those, described in late Canadian papers, where Ministers of the Crown were day after day rolling drunk in their seats, and another in which a Mr. Chambers⁷⁹ was assailed by pamphlets and other Missiles flung in his face, while trying to address the Speaker, during the last session of the Ottawa Parliament. Depend upon it our manners will not be much improved by association with Canadian politicians.

As to British America being able to stand alone, while the United States hold together, that idea may as well be dismissed from all our minds. I have bet four

⁷⁷ A little over two years later Howe accepted a seat in the Government of Sir John Macdonald.

⁷⁸ In this and other similar statements, Howe, as elsewhere noted, seems to have been possessed of the idea that Confederation implied separation from the Empire. It is true that this idea was more or less openly expressed by many English politicians and writers of the period. Even such a far-seeing Colonial as Haliburton wrote of the Federal Union proposed by Lord Durham: "Most people think, and all reflecting men know, it would ripen the colonies into premature independence in less than ten years." *Bubbles of Canada* (1839) 253. And yet Howe himself had been able to see on previous occasions that Confederation was a logical step toward that Imperial Federation which he had so much at heart. Had he lived half a century later he would probably have accepted unreservedly these words of a later Imperialist, Viscount Milner: "In answer to those who hold that the growth of that Canadian spirit of Canadian patriotism in which I rejoice is incompatible with the Imperial idea, I try to point out how decisively the history of this country (Canada) itself belies such fears. There are no greater contrasts within the British Empire to-day, or at any rate within the self-governing states, than existed in Canada before Confederation and indeed still exist. You had physical distances and inaccessibility. Nova Scotia is farther from British Columbia than from Great Britain, and the then unbridged prairies and Rocky Mountains were out and away a greater obstacle to intercourse than the Atlantic Ocean. You had likewise differences of race. But in spite of all this United Canada is a great accomplished fact to-day. And it has become so without loss of individuality in the several and very diverse states which compose it, and without violence being done to their distinctive character and traditions." *Speeches in Canada*, 15-16.

⁷⁹ F. H. Chambers, Member for Brockville. He took part in the Debate on Confederation in 1865. *Confederation Debates*, 770-75.

baskets of Champagne—one that Confederation will not be carried—another that, if it should be carried, in a Year after we shall elect our own President and send our Minister to Washington—and two that, in less than five Years after this new Nationality is set up, the frontier will be rubbed out, and British America will be incorporated with the Republic. I hope Sincerely that I may win the first but, if not, I am sure to win the other two.⁸⁰

But assuming the Policy of Confederation to be sound surely I cannot be mistaken in this that the measure ought to be perfect, in all its parts, before any ministry should be asked to sanction it, or present it to the Imperial Parliament.

If the Quebec Scheme be modified, the Parliament of Canada must accept the modifications, and, as up to this moment, not one of the Maritime Provinces has arranged the local Institutions under which they are to live, when those they have are swept away, is it too much to ask that this work shall be done and that the Scheme shall be presented perfect in all its details, before there is any attempt at Imperial Legislation. But, besides, why should there be haste? When, by law, the people of Canada and Nova Scotia will, next summer, have an opportunity to pronounce their opinions, would it not be a most unprecedented and extraordinary thing for the Imperial Parliament to deny them this privilege, and would not such an arbitrary act engender bitter feelings of resentment, and go far to accumulate obstacles to the working even of a good measure. You do not sanction a Railway or Turnpike without an investigation by Committee. Would You overthrow the Institutions and transfer the Revenues of four great Provinces without exhausting the ordinary means of investigation, which you consider indispensable to the security of inferior interests.

The whole subject of Colonial policy and defence should be referred to a mixed Commission of Military and Naval officers and Civilians. A report, founded on evidence, carefully collected by such a commission, would be of great authority and high Value, and I think, My Lord, that you will, upon reflection, so far modify your opinions as to recommend this dignified and safe course.⁸¹

Believe me, my dear Lord Normanby,

Sincerely Yours,
JOSEPH HOWE.

London,
25 Saville Row,
Nov. 23, 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

I have been for sometime satisfied that something confidentially communicated to you was known to the Delegates here, and that the knowledge had been used against us. I was very much surprized to learn, in conversation with Mr. Garvie⁸² that copies of my letters had been allowed to go out of your possession. I trust this will not occur again. You have no idea of the delicacy and secrecy required in conducting such operations as we are engaged in, and how much mischief may be done by the slightest imprudence. I have thought it due to you all that you should be kept regularly informed of the progress of affairs but I must make my reports very brief and general unless assured that they will be confined to the smallest number of persons and never go out of your hands.

⁸⁰ There is no record as to who got the champagne. It certainly was not Howe.

⁸¹ Howe's object in this suggestion of a Commission was obviously to shelve the Confederation scheme for at least a couple of years. See his letter to Stairs of November 9th.

⁸² William Garvie. He was in London on private business.

The situation has not much changed since last mail, certainly not for the worse. Annand's Pamphlet has rubbed out Tupper's case, and mine on the Organization of the Empire is attracting a good deal of attention. You will find in the *Pall Mall Gazette*⁸³, which circulates much among the higher classes and all over London, a very handsome notice of it, while my old friend the *Hampshire Independent* which goes all over the Southern Counties gives us a brave lift in a series of articles.

You will find in the *Examiner* two Capital letters from Montreal and in *Public Opinion* of to-day a rather pointed article copied from the *Montreal Herald*.⁸⁴

You will see in the papers notices of the dinner given to Mr. Verdon^{84a} of Victoria. Before leaving he wrote to me to say that he entirely approved of my views. He had been staying some days with Earl Carnarvon. In the *Times*, *Telegraph* and other leading papers, though the Pamphlet has not been directly referred to it is evident that they have suddenly awakened to a conviction that something more than Confederation is wanted.

Of Mr. Hamilton's Pamphlet⁸⁵ I shall probably take no notice, as I presume he has been sufficiently answered by Annand.

The Memorial from Lower Canada⁸⁶ is spirited, able and will do good. You will find the substance of it in the *Daily News* and other papers.

One of the objects I had in view in the second Pamphlet was to show that something broader and more National than Confederation was wanted—to thus draw attention off to the greater subject, and if possible to get the whole question of Colonial policy and defence referred to a Commission of Military and Naval Officers and Civilians, or to a Parliamentary Committee. It has been suggested through two or three highly influential quarters that this would be the best solution of the difficulties.

Believe me,

Yours Very truly,
JOSEPH HOWE.

25 Saville Row,

London, December 8, 1866.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

Mr. McDonald⁸⁷ arrived by the last boat, and joined us on Saturday night. He has taken a room in this house so we are all together which gives greater facilities for work and consultation than we should have if scattered about the town. Garvie has been with us until a few days ago, but has taken a lodging nearer to Lincoln's Inn, and to the lectures he has to attend.

The Delegates whose wives are here have taken a house in Oxford Terrace, and live I believe, together—the rest remain at the Alexandra. The Canadians have

⁸³ Founded in 1865. Independent Liberal. Edited by Frederick Greenwood. One of its early contributors was Anthony Trollope.

⁸⁴ Established 1811. Edited by Edward Goff Penny in 1866. The following year Penny published a pamphlet against Confederation. See Bibliography No. 73.

^{84a} Referred to in his letter of Nov. 9 as the Receiver General of Victoria.

⁸⁵ See Bibliography No. 56.

⁸⁶ See Bibliography No. 53. The opponents of Confederation in Canada East were also making themselves heard in the Canadian Legislature. Dorion, in his speech on March 6, 1865, pointed out that "petitions with more than twenty thousand signatures attached to them have already been presented to this House against the scheme of confederation." Boyd, *Cartier*, 246.

⁸⁷ Hugh McDonald. He had followed Howe and Annand to London.

taken rooms at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and the Archbishop⁸⁸ has a lodging in Charles Street. This is the position of the two hostile camps.

The operations of the fortnight have not been very decisive. For a week every body thought and talked and wrote of little else than the monster procession of Working People who were expected to march through London.⁸⁹ As I know that the two armies who marched through Washington took two days of seven hours each, and being 60 files deep, and less than 200,000 men, I felt some curiosity to see how 250,000 marching six abreast, were to get through London in one day. Fortunately no such numbers came. The procession marched past the point from which McDonald and I saw it in something over an hour and a half, so that there could not have been more than 20 or 25,000. Of course great crowds of people turned out to see the show but everything passed off in an orderly manner, which was a great relief to every body.

There have been rumors of a split in the Cabinet but they have been contradicted in the Standard by authority. It is not yet known whether there is or is not to be a Reform Bill.⁹⁰

The state of Ireland gives a good deal of uneasiness. Troops are pouring in, and Ships of War watch the sea coast. Last year it was assumed that Fenianism was confined to a very small class. It seems now to be admitted that sympathy with the movement is very wide spread.⁹¹

I met Henry, Mitchell, Ritchey and Fisher⁹² at a Festival given by the Scottish Hospital Association on the 30th Nov. The dinner, the loyal and National toasts and ordinary business of the Society, occupied the time till past 11. At the request of the Chairman I then gave one of their annual toasts "Scottish Literature," and, without touching the subject of Confederation, wove into a speech of half an hour pictures of the Empire as a whole and of Nova Scotia in particular, all calculated to impress the idea that organization and not dismemberment should be the policy. Of course I did my best—how it was done Annand may give you some account. The Chairman and Lord Elcho⁹³ came personally to congratulate me, and to invite me to their houses. I go to the seat of Lord Overstone⁹⁴ with Colonel Lyndsays⁹⁵ on the 17th, and shall cultivate the acquaintance of Lord Elcho too as both are Members of Parliament. All the reporters had left before I rose, but the one on the Standard. You will see what he says of the speech. There are so many of these Dinners in London that the practice of the Press is to condemn them into a short space. In this case that was done by the only reporter who remained. About 12 "Our Colonial Guests" was given from the chair. We all stood up, and of course as I had said my say, we left the speaking to the other fellows. Before Peter Mitchell had spoken ten minutes half the Company dispersed. Henry followed in his lumbering way, and soon cleared the room. Ritchey appearing to be very much mortified and annoyed. We stood till Henry was done, and when Fisher rose as there were only

⁸⁸ Thomas Connolly, Archbishop of Halifax (1814-1876). He was a warm personal friend of D'Arcy McGee, and a strong supporter of Confederation.

⁸⁹ See "The Reform Agitation," in McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, ch. 51.

⁹⁰ Gladstone had introduced his Reform Bill in March of this year. His Government was defeated in June. Disraeli's Reform Bill was not brought down until February, 1867, and passed in August.

⁹¹ The Fenian Rebellion did not break out until February, 1867. It was finally crushed in March. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, ch. 53.

⁹² See Note 1.

⁹³ Afterwards Earl of Wemyss.

⁹⁴ Samuel Jones Loyd, Baron Overstone (1796-1883) economist and financier. Had been Whig member for Hythe; raised to peerage, 1850.

⁹⁵ Charles H. Lindsay, born 1815. Entered the Army 1835. Served in the Crimea. Elected for Abingdon, 1865. A Liberal-Conservative.

a dozen or two left at the table, we went off with the rest to have our Coffee and a Cigar. Even if it had been worth while to answer anything they said there was nobody reporting and no audience. We were content to let the Scotchmen draw the contrast between the two sides without disturbing the harmony of a benevolent and convivial meeting by the intrusion of our Colonial politics. This is a picture of the scene as Annand and I saw it. Of course I had not the bad taste to write out my speech and publish it on my own account. Our friends were not content to have their light hid under a bushel, and by this mail you will receive the *Canadian News* for which they have written out all they said and much that they did not say, with an editorial attributing to Lord Elcho, Colonel Lyndsay, and Dr. McKay, sentiments and opinions which none of them ever uttered. All this is mean and contemptible enough. My speech has been omitted altogether. We shall put the affair right on this side of the water and our papers must do the same on the other.

On Tuesday the Confederates got to work. Galt and Tilly and I suppose Archibald were yesterday engaged on a Finance Committee, from which we infer that in view of the increasing revenues of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick both Tilly and Tupper feel the necessity for having the 80 cents increased.⁹⁶ We hear, indirectly that the Canadians are prepared to make modifications but to what extent remains to be seen. Of course until they have agreed upon something we have nothing to attack, but we keep, through every channel that we can occupy, operating in the meantime on public opinion.

You will receive by this mail the *Hampshire Independent* with a friendly article on the Organization—*Lloyd's Weekly* which has a circulation of half a million a week with a condensed statement of our case by Annand—the *Morning Post*⁹⁷ in which Garvie has broken good ground and the *Weekly Despatch*⁹⁸ of this morning in which there is an admirable article, written by the Senior Editor, with whom Annand and I spent an hour last week. We are promised the insertion of articles, already written for the *Telegraph* and *Spectator*.

We also send you the *Saturday Review*⁹⁹, which has an article against us but even that paper is assuming a more moderate tone. The *Globe*¹⁰⁰ has an article in favor of Confederation, but the Editor admitted in a conversation with Annand that no Cabinet could bring down a measure that had not been sanctioned at least by the Colonial Legislatures.

⁹⁶ "An increased subsidy, in addition to the 80 cents per head, of \$80,000, \$70,000, \$60,000, and \$50,000 was made severally to Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the capitation subsidy of 80 cents in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia extended until the population reached 400,000." Gray. *Confederation*, 386. In January, 1869, Howe himself secured for Nova Scotia, by the so-called Better Terms Arrangement, a substantial addition to the amount provided by the B. N. A. Act. *Speeches*, II, 583, *et seq.*

⁹⁷ Established 1772. Southey, Lamb, Coleridge, and Wordsworth were among its contributors in the early part of the last century. Algernon Borthwick, afterwards Lord Glensesk, was editor from 1852 to 1898.

⁹⁸ Founded 1801 by John Bell. Edited by William Johnson Fox for many years. Acquired in 1875 by Ashton Wentworth Dilke. Radical in politics.

⁹⁹ Founded 1855. John Douglas Cooke first editor, 1855-68. Succeeded by Philip Harwood. Among its more notable contributors were Andrew Lang, John Morley, E. A. Freeman, William Vernon Harcourt, and Lord Robert Cecil, afterward Lord Salisbury. In its early years the *Saturday Review* made it its business to systematically attack *The Times*.

¹⁰⁰ Established 1803. George Lane was first editor. In 1823 the *Globe* absorbed the *Traveler*, and Walter Coulson became editor. Succeeded by Gibbons Merle. Started as a Whig paper, but turned Conservative after 1869.

A question, not raised by us, but one which is calculated to have an important bearing on our affairs, has arisen out of the Lamerand Case.¹⁰¹ You will see in the *Times* of yesterday and in the *Star* of this morning, articles in which Cartier is accused of Conspiring with the Bank of France and the Grand Trunk Officials to deceive Lord Monk and violate British Law. The language used is of unusual severity. This is rather a hot welcome for the little Frenchman on his arrival here. What is to come out of all this we cannot yet tell, but it is a serious thing to be charged with "infamous" conduct by the leading journals of this great metropolis.

We shall probably reopen communication with Carnarvon early next week. He may not wish to do this till the Delegates have formally presented their scheme, but we shall let him know that we are on hand.

Annand has not been very well for a few days and will not probably write much. He is much better and he, McDonald & Garvie send kind regards to all our friends.

Believe me,
Yours truly,
JOSEPH HOWE.

London,

Dec. 21, 1866.

William J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

On the 10th instant I addressed to Lord Carnarvon's Private Secretary the Letter a copy of which is enclosed. His Lordship was out of town but a few days after we received an answer through Sir Frederick Rogers¹⁰² which is also enclosed. We of course kept the appointment, and His Lordship came to town to meet us. Nothing could be more gracious and kindly than our reception. There was no asking for credentials or exceptions taken to our position. We had already presented our credentials to the people of England and our position, fairly won, could not be ignored, even had the disposition existed, which I am quite sure it did not.

We discussed the subject with His Lordship in presence of Sir Frederick Rogers, the Permanent Under Secretary for an hour and a half. As we had been nearly six months thinking of little else you may be sure that we condensed into that hour and a half as vividly as we could all the main points of our case. We did our best. McDonald's presence, representing a large interest, and being able to speak for the Eastern Counties was timely and very useful.¹⁰³

Before leaving he gave me permission to send him two long private letters which had been addressed to persons in high positions here, and in which a good many new views had been presented with the utmost freedom. These have been enclosed this morning with a note intimating that when the Confederates have completed their Act of Parliament we shall be prepared to review it and perhaps to suggest some safe and easy solution of existing complications.

¹⁰¹ Lamorand, a criminal, had fled to Canada from France. His extradition had been demanded, and Cartier was interested in the case as Attorney General.

¹⁰² Afterwards Baron Blachford (1811-1899). Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1860-71.

¹⁰³ Hugh McDonald sat for Inverness County in the N. S. Legislature, and in a general way represented the interests of Cape Breton.

Earl Carnarvon gave us distinctly to understand, that, as yet no measure had been prepared or presented. In fact that nothing had been done, and that it was not likely that any thing would be until after the Christmas Holidays.¹⁰⁴

This interview came very opportunely, as it enabled us to contradict another lying financial puff which the Grand Trunk people or some of the Delegates had palmed off on the *Daily News* and gave the answer to McCully who had labored in his pamphlet, recently published,¹⁰⁶ to persuade the government and public that we had no official standing that could be recognized.

Mac's Pamphlet is not very formidable. All that is worth notice will probably be answered by McDonald.

You will find in the *London Sun*¹⁰⁶ of the 12th and 19th, elaborate articles on Organization and a friendly notice of the Pamphlet in the *Athenaeum*. It is not likely that any body will think of anything but Plumb Puddings and Pantomimes for the next ten days, but we shall still work on and let no occasion slip to put in a word in season.

McDonald and I dined with the Royal London Yacht Club on the 10th. They placed us next the Chair and asked me to propose the Press. The reporters had gone before my time came but I made what they were pleased to call the speech of the evening. The Sheriffs of London who sat on the other side of the Chairman complimented me highly and asked me to dine at the Old Baily this week to meet the Judges, an invitation which I had to decline with all others this week in consequence of inflammation of the eyes. I am getting better, and hope soon to be all right.

Wishing you all a merry Christmas, I remain,

Very truly Yours,
JOSEPH HOWE.

25 Saville Row,
Dec. 10, 1866.

Cyril C. Graham,¹⁰⁷ Esq.

Sir,

Will you be kind enough to acquaint the Earl of Carnarvon that Hugh McDonald Esq., came over by the last boat delegated to aid Mr. Annand and myself in representing to Her Majesty's Ministers the views of those who desire that no measure shall be sanctioned by The Imperial Government for changing the relations of the North American Provinces to each other and to the Mother Country which has not been submitted to and accepted by the populations whose highest interests it may involve.

Though Mr. Annand and myself have been detained in this country nearly five months by the failure of the Canadian Delegates to appear we have felt that the Colonial Secretary was in no condition to enter officially upon the object of our mission until those gentlemen had arrived. The papers inform us that delegates from three of the Provinces are now sitting in conference and are in communication with the Colonial Office. We are therefore naturally desirous to learn when Earl Carnar-

¹⁰⁴ The London Conference opened in the Westminster Palace Hotel on Tuesday, Dec. 4th. The delegates considered the Quebec Resolutions, with intervals, from the 4th to the 24th. On the latter date a series of Resolutions were adopted. The first draft of the Confederation Bill was adopted Jan. 23rd, 1867. The Bill in its final form was adopted March 29th, 1867. Pope, *Confederation Documents*.

¹⁰⁶ See Bibliography No. 86.

¹⁰⁶ Founded 1792. At first violently Tory, but turned Whig about 1825.

¹⁰⁷ Lord Carnarvon's Private Secretary.

von thinks it probable that he can receive us and permit us to submit the views of those we represent.

We have no wish to press prematurely for an interview or to involve His Lordship in any irregular discussion but would be very glad to know if His Lordship is able to inform us at what time we ought to be in town.

I have the honor to be Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
JOSEPH HOWE.

Downing Street,
14th December, 1866.

Honble. Joseph Howe.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 10th Instant I am directed by the Earl of Carnarvon to inform you that His Lordship will be ready to receive you together with Mr. Annand and Mr. McDonald at his office on Tuesday next the 18th Instant at 12.30.

I am to add that if that day be not convenient to you, Lord Carnarvon will be happy to receive you after Christmas.

I am Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
FREDERICK ROGERS.

London,
25 Saville Row,
Jany. 5, 1867.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

I have but a short report to make. During the Christmas Holidays every body who has friends or a home to go to gets out of town and business is not expected to be resumed till Twelfth Night is over. I spent my Christmas with Lord Overstone, but was too ill to enjoy it much, my bronchital tubes were stuffed with cold and my voice completely gone. I am now all right again, but for five or six weeks have suffered a good deal with cold and inflammation of the eyes, very much aggravated by the dense atmosphere and darkness of London. I am writing now (12 oclock) by gas light and although the frost is unusually severe, the atmosphere is dense and heavy. Keeping one's eyes and throat all right under such conditions is no easy task, but by simple remedies to which I am accustomed, I am now quite well again without the necessity of calling in the Doctor.

I wrote you that I had, after our interview, sent to Earl Carnarvon two long private letters which had been prepared for others but bore strongly on the question¹⁰⁸ His acknowledgement of this communication, written after he had read the letters, was very kind and complimentary. This gave an opening for another note which I addressed to him on New Year's Day. This reached him at his Country Seat where he was ill, but was acknowledged in very kind language. He is to communicate with me again, which I presume he will do either when he comes to town on the 7th or after the Cabinet Meeting which is announced for the 8th.

¹⁰⁸ This is the letter to Carnarvon referred to in his letter to Stairs of Oct. 12th, the concluding page of which is missing. See Note 48.

The Delegates, it is said, have prepared their scheme, and it was announced in the Canada News that Earl Carnarvon had directed a Bill to be prepared. This cannot be true for we know that the three Attornies General were at work at the Bill yesterday at the Alexandra. If done by the Imperial Government the English Crown Officers would prepare it. So matters rest, but it is satisfactory to know that they are approaching a crisis, and that we cannot be kept much longer in suspense. It is six months, today, since I left home, and as you may easily conceive I often weary to see it again. This is no time for such thoughts, however, and I put them aside. I cannot desert my post till the fight is over.

Mr. Annand, and Mr. McDonald are both well and actively and usefully employed every day at something that aids the good cause. Garvie is doing us good service as a volunteer, and his ready pen tells where he gets an opening.

It is satisfactory to know that the public mind is waking up in a manner before unknown here, in respect to Colonial subjects generally, and the consolidation and defence of the Empire in particular whatever Mr. Archibald and Dr. Tupper may say the broad views propounded by your Delegates are meeting with very general favor.

You will find that Colburn's *New Monthly*¹⁰⁹ has an article of 15 pages. The writer favors Confederation but admits that the Colonies should not be coerced and goes strongly for Organization. The new *Imperial Review* (the new organ of the Conservatives, got up in opposition to the *Saturday Reviler*, as Bright called it) has a long and excellent article on the Consolidation of the Empire. The *Independent* gives a column to British America, taking our side. Annand will send you the *Examiner* in which a good article, written by him, also appears. The *Spectator* has a spirited article against us but it is followed by a solid one on our side. So the war rages, and there being only four Needle guns on our side to eighteen on the other, we contrive to return their fire pretty well.

The *Canadian News* contains a sort of rehash of the Quebec Resolutions, which it was at first assumed were those adapted by the Conference. This was an error. The same paper announces that the Lord Mayor will entertain the Delegates. He could do no less without being inhospitable. Do not let these things frighten you. Watkin¹¹⁰ has been active and in communication with the Mayor about the Quebec Subscription and the dinner comes of his suggestions no doubt.

Parliament meets on the 5th Feb. A series of Cabinet Councils will be held in the meantime and we shall soon learn something of the Ministerial programme.

The day after New Year we had a fall of snow covering London and the country for miles around to the depth of eight inches. The weather has been since severely cold. Yesterday it was said to be 10 below zero. The Railroads every where were much impeded. On the evening of the 2d no omnibus or Cab could be got. There were not 20 Sleighs in all London and you can imagine the difficulty with which its immense traffic has been carried on upon wheels during the week. The weather is still cold, with no signs of a thaw.

Wishing you all many happy returns of the gay season that will be past before this reaches you I am ever

Sincerely Yours

JOSEPH HOWE.

See Letter and Article in today's *Spectator*. Also article on "political positivism" in *Imperial Review* as an indication of the Colonial policy of the present Cabinet.

¹⁰⁹ The *New Monthly Magazine* was established by Henry Colburn, a London publisher, in 1814.

¹¹⁰ Sir Edwin William Watkin, Bart. (1819-1901) Represented Yarmouth in the Imperial Parliament. President of the Grand Trunk Railway, 1862-68, and financially interested in several of the English railways.

London,

25 Saville Row,

Jany. 19, 1867.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.

My dear Stairs,

Your letter, by the last mail, came to hand, and the Petitions, which were welcome, all right.

We are now approaching a crisis, and within the next fortnight the question must be determined, so far as the action of the Government is concerned.

As soon as the last Mail had gone I went down to Gravesend to prepare our case. Before going Annand, McDonald, Garvie and myself held a Council of war, and came to these conclusions that, whether with a view to stagger and convince the Ministry or to instruct Parliament should the question go before the two Houses, our paper should be elaborate, covering the whole ground and contain within itself a full argument of the case. It was also determined to arrange the topics under different heads, for easier reference, and to relieve the heaviness of a long paper.

Taking with me what material had been accumulating, and every body's suggestions, I went down to Gravesend where I shut myself up for ten days, Sending forward to our friends, everyday, for revision and correction, the MS. as it was produced. They scanned it carefully and meanwhile were engaged in preparing the Appendices. I came up on Thursday night, as you may suppose weary enough, as I had scarcely walked a mile or been in the air an hour in the ten days. The whole affair is now in the hands of the Scrivener, and we shall send a copy to Earl Carnarvon to-night. We were in hopes to have been able to send you a Copy by this Mail, but are reluctantly compelled to deny ourselves that pleasure.

On returning to town I found that the Canadian News had announced that the assent of Her Majesty's Government to the Plans of the Delegates had been "informally" communicated to them, yet in the same article it was stated that *at the next* meeting of the "Privy Council," not the Cabinet, the Resolutions would be confirmed, &c. As I had promised our paper early in the week, I wrote to Lord Carnarvon to say it should be sent in this evening, or, if a day's further delay would make no difference, I should prefer to keep it till Monday. In his Note, last night received, he says "I can only say that the subject of Confederation *is now being considered by me*, and that the sooner that all objections and counter proposals are before me the better." Of course we consider this as rather more authentic than the announcement of the Canadian News. We shall do our own duty and leave the issue to Providence.

As a mere literary performance I am hardly satisfied with our paper, and yet I trust that our friends will not consider it unworthy of their cause. As so much had been written upon the subject of Confederation the great difficulty was to write at all without repeating what had been already said, and yet to include all the arguments which it was important to place before persons who might have to consider the subject for a first time. This has been done with some success I trust, and it will be an awkward document for the Ministry to take down to Parliament should they decide against us. Though of course one hand can only write such a paper as this, it would be doing our friends here great injustice not to acknowledge that it embodies the thoughts of all, and that I am aided and strengthened every day by their friendly co-operation and suggestion.

It is probable that by next Boat we shall be able to advise you as to our Movements. We assume that our House will meet at about the usual time, and that,

by next Boat some of the Delegates will go home. When our papers have gone in our labors will have closed so far as concerns the Cabinets deliberations, and it is not probable that we shall all be required here to watch those of Parliament out of which it is impossible to foresee what may come within the next three months. One thing we know that, while keeping fair with Carnarvon the Delegates are praying for the downfall of the present Government. This leads us to suspect that all has not gone so smoothly as they wished. However, we are prepared for the worst, and if it comes, the consciousness that we have done our best to avoid it will always console us.

You will see that a gentleman named Ludlow¹¹¹ has taken up the "Organization" policy with great spirit, in the London Spectator. That an able writer, in the Imperial Review, endorses the policy in two elaborate articles, while even the Saturday Review has become a Convert, as you will see by its article of today in which will¹¹² professing to explain the proceedings of the Conference it admits that "Organization" must follow Confederation. Having thus roused the shrewd thinkers of England to the consideration of a great National subject of course I am not much disturbed by Archibald's and Tupper's passionate attempts to mystify and mislead the people of Nova Scotia.¹¹³ It will be time enough to answer their letters when we get back before our own countrymen who will, in the meantime, remember that by my plan *no duty would be imposed, and not a shilling would be taken except under laws which had been voluntarily passed by our own Parliaments with the assent of our electors.* I do not propose to tax any body or march any body, by an arbitrary Imperial Statute which Nova Scotians have never¹¹⁴ seen or never approved. As to the Company I keep it is quite as good as that in which Mr. Archibald has been found for some time.¹¹⁵ I shall give him a Bill of particulars some fine day, and, in the meantime am content to leave him in the hands of Judge Marshall¹¹⁶ and my old friend Morrison,¹¹⁷ whose letters I have read with infinite pleasure.

Annand, McDonald, Garvie send kind regards to all hands. As for myself I feel like a soldier singing with natural longings for home, "when will this cruel war be over" and yet not able to leave his post.

God bless you all, and believe me

Sincerely Yours,
JOSEPH HOWE.

Lloyds Weekly, which has an enormous circulation had a Capital Article on our side a fortnight ago. We did not discover it till after the mail had gone. Tupper, like a fool replied to this article under his own signature to which McDonald replied in a long letter under his own name. The Editor using Mac's letter as a base has replied to Tupper in an Editorial a column long in today's paper. Annand will send you the papers with Spectators and Imperial Reviews.

¹¹¹ John Malcolm Forbes Ludlow, born 1821, an English writer of the period on economical and historical questions. Edited *The Reader*, 1863. Contributed to the *Spectator* and other London reviews.

¹¹² Should read "while."

¹¹³ See Bibliography Nos. 64 and 60.

¹¹⁴ This characteristic fling at the forthcoming British North America Act is hardly borne out by the facts. Five eminent Nova Scotians, duly appointed by the Lieutenant Governor of the province, on the formal request of the House of Assembly, took an active part in the preparation of the Bill, and discussed every amendment. A Bill drafted by the delegates of the four provinces, and accepted by the British Parliament to meet the wishes of these representatives of the Colonial Legislatures, can hardly with justice be described as "an arbitrary Imperial statute."

¹¹⁵ Howe was evidently smarting under certain personal comments in Archibald's article.

¹¹⁶ See Bibliography No. 66 also No. 78.

¹¹⁷ See Bibliography No. 77.

London,
25 Saville Row,
Feb. 2, 1867.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.
My dear Stairs

On the Saturday night, after the last mail for Halifax left, the case which I informed you we were preparing was sent to Earl Carnarvon. He was ill at the time, and two Cabinet Councils were held during the following week which he did not attend. On the 29th His Lordship sent me a note in which he informed me that "feeling the importance of it, and of the subject to which it referred" he had "given it his careful consideration and brought it under the attention of his Colleagues individually." He thought it "only fair to say, that, after weighing the arguments against the measure, and "especially those in our very able paper" he was "not shaken in his conviction of the advantages to be obtained by a union of the Provinces."

Upon the main point, that the Government have decided to take down the Delegates Bill to Parliament this is decisive.

On the point of reference to the people the note is silent. As I had to send a fair copy of our paper today, I took the opportunity to express a hope that that might be left open. It is now of course the only one we care about. "A touch of nature makes the whole world kin," and a case of injustice or oppression, thrilling through the House of Commons, sometimes upsets all calculations and combinations. This is our only chance. If I could get to the Bar of either House I would be very hopeful. We cannot tell whether or not this can be done, and until the men get together we can as little know what friends we are likely to have. You will perceive that until informed that the measure was to be brought down we could say nothing definite to the Members we talked to, and until the avowal is made that the people are not to be consulted we have no grievance. The debates will soon give us definite information upon all these points. In the meantime our Case is being printed,¹¹⁸ for private circulation among leading Members, which we hope to have done on Monday before the debate on the Address begins.

You will receive with this a copy of our Remonstrance, and we trust the people of Nova Scotia will not disapprove of the earnestness and even boldness with which we have expressed their sentiments and advocated their interests. They must bear in mind that this is no ordinary struggle, but a revolution with which we are threatened. If you think it expedient to do so, you can publish the paper at once, as it can make no difference here as it must go down to Parliament with the other papers soon.

Annand thought of going out by this Boat, but as we learned that the others all intended to remain, we concluded to detain him till the next. He will consult and cooperate with us while he stays, and then will return to aid our friends if any thing is to be done, to share their disappointment if there is not. McDonald and I will watch the proceedings and supply friendly Members with arguments till there is no further hope, and then, conscious that we have all done our best, leave the issues in the hand of Providence.

Mac has been busy during the past fortnight. Lloyds Weekly published a month ago an Article against Confederation. Tupper rushed into print in reply and got served out by the Editor, who availed himself of the information sent him in a letter from Mac (published today) and a private letter from Annand to handle the Dr in good style. Not satisfied the Doctor broke out in the Star, but Mac was down

¹¹⁸ See Bibliography No. 72.

upon him there the next morning. This brought out Henry and Mac knocked him off his pins in a letter which appeared yesterday morning. All the papers with any others which touch our intérésts, are sent.

You will see the Speeches at the Portsmouth Dinner to Lord Monk in the Times an Article, describing the measure itself in the Pall Mall Gazette. You will find a Canadian version in an Article from the Ottawa Times,¹¹⁹ in Public Opinion which will reach you by this mail. From the best information we can gather the New Nation has shrunk a good deal. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Islands are not to be coerced and are struck out. British Columbia and the Hudson's Bay territory are struck out, so that the New Nationality has shrunk from 4,000,000 of square miles to 447,000, only 3,553,000 having been knocked out by the opposition.¹²⁰ Another point is settled that it is not treason to oppose this scheme even in sight of the Queen's Palace, and a third, that, as little Prince Edward Islands has not been coerced, and is left out neither would Nova Scotia if a parcel of Sheep had not been terrified out of their wits. Halifax, it is said, is to be relieved of the Railway Debt which it would never have paid, and there may be a few other trifling Concessions, but we believe, as the Ottawa Times asserts, the Quebec Scheme has not been changed in any important particular.

Believe me

Yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

25 Saville Row,

Feb. 1867.

Private.

The Right Hon.

Earl Russell.

My Lord

I was sent over to this country in the summer to urge upon Your Lordship's Government the propriety of permitting the people of Nova Scotia to decide their own future at the Polls before any Scheme of Confederation should be sanctioned by Parliament.

¹¹⁹ Established 1844.

¹²⁰ In the Quebec Resolutions provision was made for the union of the Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and for the future admission of Newfoundland, the North West Territory, British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Pope, *Confederation Documents*, 39-40. The Resolutions as adopted by the delegates to the London Conference in Dec. 1866, provided for the union of the Canadas, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the admission of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, the North West Territory and British Columbia. *Ibid.* 98. The draft Confederation Bill of Jan 23, 1867, made provision for the union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and for the admission of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. *Ibid.* 142, 156. The draft Bill of Feb. 2, 1867, confined the union to the same three Colonies or Provinces, and provided for the admission of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, the North-Western Territory and British Columbia. In this draft the new dominion is named the Kingdom of Canada, and for the first time the two divisions of old Canada are called Ontario and Quebec. *Ibid.* 159, 176. The so-called Fourth Draft makes the same provisions, except that to the colonies whose future admission is provided for is added Rupert's Land. *Ibid.* 177, 210. The Final Draft Bill, of Feb. 9, 1867, agrees with the Fourth Draft. The name of the confederation is changed from Kingdom of Canada to Dominion of Canada. *Ibid.* 212, 246. Howe's statement is therefore incorrect. From the Quebec Resolutions to the British North America Act as finally adopted by the Imperial Parliament, the only real change in the proposed confederation is the dropping of Prince Edward Island. On the interesting points as to who proposed the name "Kingdom of Canada," and who was responsible for its abandonment, see Pope, *Memoirs*, I, 312-13; Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 215.

When I got here the Ministry had changed, and Parliament being, shortly after, prorogued I thought that some good might be done by a public discussion not only of the subject of Confederation but of our general Colonial policy. With this object in view I published the two Pamphlets marked 1 and 2 which I have the honor to enclose, and which in substance contain the arguments with which your Lordship is already familiar. The Pamphlet No. 3,¹²¹ was written by a friend in reply to one from the other side. With these and the Remonstrance sent last week, and which has since been laid before Parliament, in your hands Your Lordship will be in possession of all that has been written here on our side of the question.

I have discussed the subject so fully with Your Lordship last year, of course I do not expect to change the opinions deliberately formed but I am not without a hope that Your Lordship will see the justice and propriety of leaving the Bill on the table until after the May Elections in Nova Scotia. If the people then decide in favor of the measure there will still be two months of the Session left in which to pass it, and we will all help to work it successfully. If they decide against then a great error will have been avoided, and it can be put aside. Surely two months are not much for a fine people to ask of Parliament when all that is dear to them trembles in the balance, and I really cannot see how those who so highly prize the franchise and are seeking to extend it, can, after its peaceful and loyal exercise by a kindred people for more than a century, deny it to them, within two months of the period when their suffrages are to be collected by law, the name of their country is to be changed, its revenues are to be swept away and their institutions are to be overthrown.

For many years your Lordship has permitted me to approach you with the free expression of my opinions upon public questions, a privilege I have highly prized. Perhaps you will not take offense, if pleading for my country I ask, that even for your own sake, and that of the great party of which you are the Chief you will pause before committing yourself to an act which with all respect, will appear at variance with the whole current of your thoughts and with triumph of your long and honorable public life.

Believe me My Lord
With the great respect
Very sincerely Yours
JOSEPH HOWE.

London
25 Saville Row
Feb. 15, 1867.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.
My dear Stairs

Annand goes by this Boat and will give our friends all the news. I cannot spare McDonald just yet but hope he may be able to get away by the next.

The Bill, which we were told by the Private Secretary only reached Carnarvon and was sent to the Queen on Monday was brought in to the Lords on Tuesday the Colonial Secretary giving notice that he would explain his views on moving the second reading next Tuesday.

We were not prepared for the opening of the campaign in the Upper House, as it had been announced that the Bill, being a money Bill, would be introduced into the Commons by Adderley. We have no petitions to the Lords, except one from

¹²¹ See note 49.

Newfoundland which as the Island is not included would be useless. There are obvious reasons of convenience why Carnarvon should take this course. It saves time and gives the Upper House something to do, and it enables him to state his own views, which might not be so accurately given by the Under Secretary.

It is not etiquette to furnish any body with a Bill to be brought down by the Government till it has been laid before the Queen and presented to Parliament. We applied for copies as soon as we could and Annand takes out the Bill and the first part of the printed Correspondence. The other has been promised and if it can be got from the Printer in time will also go out.

We have held many anxious consultations upon the present aspect of affairs. The outlook at the Peers is discouraging. Carnarvon will of course be supported by Derby, and Russell can do no less. Then Monk¹²² will be there, and as the attendance will probably be thin two or three speeches from the leaders may be decisive. Annand will explain to you how we proposed to meet this state of things, and the reasons which rather incline us to depend more on our chances to obstruct the Bill in the Commons. We will decide on nothing till after Tuesday, and then act promptly if any good can be done in the Upper House. If not we shall prepare for the final fight below where we have been promised some powerful aid.

We shall confine ourselves now to this single point—*“let the Bill lie on the table till after the May elections in Nova Scotia. There will then be two months to pass it if they are favorable, and it ought not to pass if they are not.”*

I fear the copy of our case sent out by last mail contained some small errors. Annand takes Copies that are correct.

Believe me
Truly Yours,
JOSEPH HOWE.

London
25 Saville Row
March 15, 1867.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.
My dear Stairs

The prevalence of strong easterly winds delayed the China so that letters from home only reached me yesterday morning. I have yours of the 28th Feb. with letters from Boak and Northup.¹²³

The reports of Annand and McDonald will have prepared our friends for what has occurred here and be assured that I sympathize with you all in what I know will be a general and deep disappointment.

Until the determination of the Cabinet was declared we had well grounded hopes of defeating the enemy. You can hardly understand what these were till you have an opportunity to inspect the whole correspondence. From the time when Carnarvon communicated the decision of the Cabinet I saw that the difficulties would be greatly increased, as a measure supported by all the leading men on both sides, and actively promoted by the Grand Trunk people was almost sure to carry. I still hoped however for something like a fair examination of the question in one House

¹²² See note 53.

¹²³ Robert Boak and Jeremiah Northup. Boak was born 1822. He was a member of the Board of Review of Nova Scotia in 1866. Became member of N. S. Legislative Council 1872, president of that body 1878-1901, Treasurer of the province 1877-78. Knighted. Died 1904. For Northup see Note No. 29.

or the other with a chance that the plan of delay might be entertained, or that the peculiar state of parties might postpone the measure till after a dissolution. On all points circumstances which seemed favorable turned out otherwise. The question of the franchise, by repeated postponements, was got out of the way, and the Cabinet, having nothing else ready, were glad to make a show of doing something, by taking down the Confederation Bill and rushing it through both Houses. By taking the ground that it was a treaty and not to be amended or disturbed, all discussion of the thing as a Scheme of government was discountenanced, and being forced on almost before Members had had time to examine the papers, but few except those who were interested in its passage understood the question. The general, indeed the almost universal feeling appeared to be that *uniting the Provinces was an easy mode of getting rid of them*, and the wish, expressed by the Times, "that independence would speedily follow Confederation," was scarcely disguised by any body. All this is very sad, and will occasion a disruption of old ties and a revulsion of old feelings painful to contemplate.

The high duties of Canada and the failure of the Militia Bill¹²⁴ a few years ago created in this country distrust and dislike, pretty general in the Manufacturing towns, and with a portion of the Press, but this had scarcely reached the governing classes to the extent that a separation from North America was desired. On the return of the Guards from Canada the higher classes appear to have been convinced that the Canadian frontier was indefensible¹²⁵—that service there would be perillous ending in discomfiture and disgrace, and that this country, which can hardly raise troops enough to defend these Islands could never spare soldiers enough to keep in check the enormous armies that the United States could throw across the border if so inclined. This conviction, not openly avowed in all cases, underlay the action of all parties in both Houses on this Bill.

Lord Normanby told us to our faces that we might declare our independence or join the United States whenever we chose, and not a Peer contradicted him. In the Lower House Mr. Watkin was the only member who spoke with any warmth of a continuance of the connection and he was heard with chilling indifference. Indeed the impression left on my mind by all that took place in both Houses, is that the Provinces are a source of peril and expense, and that the sooner the responsibility of their relations with the Republic is shifted off the shoulders of John Bull the better.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ The Militia Bill of 1862, introduced by John A. Macdonald. It embodied the recommendations of a special commission appointed to report on the reorganization of the Militia, and provided an active force of 50,000 men and a reserve of the same strength, at an annual cost of something over a million dollars. The Bill was defeated by the defection of a number of the Lower Canadian members, and the government resigned. Pope, *Memoirs*, I, 236-37. This action of the Canadian Legislature was made the subject of severe comment by many of the leading English newspapers, in which it was very frankly stated that Canada should relieve the Mother Country of at least some of the burden of Canadian defence. Lewis, *Brown*, 147.

¹²⁵ There had been long and serious debates in the House of Lords, Feb. 20, 1865, and in the House of Commons, March 13, 1865, on the subject of Canadian defence, based on the report of Colonel Jervis. Lewis, *Brown*, 183-85.

¹²⁶ This was the day of the Little Englanders, and they had the field pretty much to themselves. What Sir Charles Dilke wrote in 1868 was what most Englishmen were thinking at that time. "At bottom," he says, "It would seem as though no-one gained by the retention of our hold on Canada. Were she independent her borders would never again be wasted by Fenian hordes, and she would escape the terrible danger of being the battlefield in which European quarrels are fought out. Canada once republican the Monroe Doctrine would be satisfied and its most violent partisans would cease to advocate the adoption of other than moral means to merge her territories in the Union. An independent Canada would not long delay the railway across the continent to Puget Sound which a British bureau calls impossible. England would be relieved from the fear of a certain defeat by America in the event of war—a fear always harmful even when war seems most unlikely; relief too from the cause of such panics as those of 1861 and 1866." *Greater Britain*, 66-67.

With all this feeling, however, there was no desire to coerce the Provinces into the arrangement. Newfoundland and even Prince Edwards Island were secure as we would have been had not the weak kneed fools and arrant knaves in our Legislature bound Nova Scotia by their resolution.¹²⁷ With that for a cover, and the strong desire to be rid of indefensible and perillous dependencies that yield no revenue and cost a good deal of money our fate was sealed, and we must now commence a new page of history without vain lamentations over the past.

McDonald will have explained how matters stood when he left. We could not present our Petitions to the House of Commons till the Bill was before it. It was brought down one day and the second reading fixed for the next. Acting upon the best advice I could get I applied to Mr. Horsman¹²⁸ to present the Petitions. He took two days to consider and then declined. Admiral Erskine,¹²⁹ an old friend kindly consented, and Mr. Hadfield¹³⁰ who had early protested against undue haste agreed to move the clause¹³¹ which I enclose, which Erskine had promised to second. Other business occupied the House till a late hour, and the next morning Erskine called to say that at the proper moment, overpersuaded by Cardwell¹³² and others Hadfield had funked and failed to move the clause. This so disgusted me that I wrote a note to Bright to say that he need take no more trouble about the matter.

I had often thought of asking to be heard at the Bar of one House or the other. There were difficulties in point of form which might have been got over had parties been so balanced as to render success probable, but with the leading men on both sides certain to resist the application, and the settled convictions of the two Houses so apparent, it seemed only courting defeat to make the application, and I gave up the idea, I must confess with some reluctance.

When the clause touching the Intercolonial Railway¹³³ came up several Members rose to oppose it and were only quieted by Adderly and Gladstone's Assurance that it merely expressed the views of the Delegates and bound them to each other, but did not pledge the House of Commons to advance the money. On this assurance opposition was withdrawn, and the clause passed. It is evident that on this point there is great distrust among the Delegates. The Bill, with the Amendments is now before the Lords, where it is to remain till a Resolution has been passed by the Commons giving the guarantee¹³⁴. It seems almost impossible that it should not pass, but it will be stoutly opposed and there is a fair chance of a spirited debate and perhaps a division before all is over. But guarantee or no guarantee the Canadians have now got the Bill complete, where it can be passed in five minutes and then the Proclamation would issue, guarantee or no guarantee.

¹²⁷ See Note 2.

¹²⁸ Rt. Hon. Edward Horsman (1807-1876). Irish Secretary, 1855-57. Represented Liskeard in Parliament. One of the "Adullamites" of 1866.

¹²⁹ John Elphinstone Erskine, born near Edinburgh, Scotland, 1806. Entered the Navy 1819. Rear-Admiral, 1864. Author of a journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific. Elected for Shropshire 1865. A Liberal.

¹³⁰ George Hadfield (1787-1879) radical M.P. for Sheffield. One of the founders of the Anti-Cornlaw League.

¹³¹ "That this Act shall be published in all the Provinces it is intended to unite, but the Queen's Proclamation shall not be issued till the existing Legislature of New Brunswick and the Legislature of Nova Scotia convened after the General Elections now impending have expressed their approval of it in Addresses to the Crown."

¹³² Edward (afterward Viscount) Cardwell (1813-1886). Colonial Secretary 1864-66; Secretary for War, 1868-74.

¹³³ The evolution of this clause may be traced in the various documents from the Quebec Conference Resolutions to the final Act. Pope, *Confederation Documents*, 52, 95, 110-11, 176, 211, 246, 282.

¹³⁴ The interest on three million pounds sterling was guaranteed by the Imperial Government. Pope, *Memoirs*, II, 6.

This report will probably close my labors, which for some months have not been light to say nothing of the responsibility. Success would have been a great joy to us all, but we have our consolations in a sense of duty performed—sound principles vindicated, and truthful words fearlessly spoken. We can look in each others faces and lay our bones beside those of our kindred with a consciousness that we have been true to the living and the dead.

With kind regards to all

Believe me

Sincerely Yours

JOSEPH HOWE

To the Hon Joseph Howe
25 Saville Row
London

Halifax, March 28, 1867.

Dearest Sir,

Your letter of the 15th inst. has been received—and read to those friends—who have been with you—so much interested in shewing the People of England, the state of Public feeling in Nova Scotia—I thought it right—to bring it to the notice of the anti Confederate members of the Legislature and it has elicited from them, jointly with your outside friends—a letter of thanks to you for your most devoted services—and shews if words can express it, their feeling of sympathy for you in this heavy disappointment.

Some say they never expected any other result—that they judged the House of Commons to be as it has proved—but I must say—I am disappointed—I never could have believed the House of Commons was so void of earnestness—and so purely selfish as to disregard the rights and wants of a Colonial People—when their case was clearly and distinctly put.

I must say that if to get rid of these Provinces is their idea, and I believe it is, They have shewn a very clear perception of the mode it is to be worked.

But all vain regrets must be buried and we must to repeat your words: “look to make a new page in the history of our Country.”

But my dear Mr. Howe this is easier for some than for others—

I am commissioned to convey to you the sense of a meeting of Friends held last evening. The names will be seen in another paper—the Sentiments they expressed—in regards yourself—were these—

1stly. That after the devotion and sacrifice you have made of your self on behalf of Nova Scotia—it is the wish of your friends and the friends of Nova Scotia, That you now—should cease from any course of Public action in the interests of Nova Scotia, which may be at a Sacrifice of your personal feelings and interests,
2ndly. Your friends—feel, that should you return and wish to join the Parliament at Ottawa—They will hail your aid as of most serious importance to the Party whose duty it will be to mould the Constitution of the new state—with regard to the interests of Nova Scotia.

3rdly. It was expressed by Mr. McHaffey¹³⁵ that the County of Hants would wether you were absent or present—return you—as a Member of the Parliament at Ottawa.¹³⁶

and now dear Sir—I have tried to convey to you the sense of the meeting—but I feel it has been most imperfectly put—the kindly words which expressed these

¹³⁵ R. A. McHaffey, a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, and of Annard's Anti-Confederate Government, 1867-68.

¹³⁶ The formal resolution is printed in *Speeches*, II, 507.

thoughts—I cannot reproduce. But of this be assured your Friends will now hail with pleasure, any words which may reach them of your being happily Employed in England¹³⁷—and should you return to continue your lot among us—you will ever have the first place among your Countrymen.

Our good friend Northup will write you the State of Public affairs here, as shewn by the Government over expenditures without sanction of law, equal a years revenue of ten years ago, is fearful. Public men and the Party innings have been going it blind, except to any interests of their own—

Yours sincerely
W. J. STAIRS

London
25 Saville Row
March 29, 1867.

Wm. J. Stairs, Esq.
My dear Stairs

Thanks for your letter by the last mail. I am not surprized at the indignation felt by our friends at the utter indifference shown in Parliament to our interests or our remonstrances. The fact is, they think here only of themselves, and having made up their minds that the Provinces are a source of peril and expense to them—the prevailing idea is to set them adrift, to gradually withdraw British troops from them—to have no quarrel with the United States on account of them, and to leave them to defend themselves if they can, or to pass into the Union if they prefer that solution of their difficulties. Of course we are powerless to do any thing but to punish if we can the rascals who have sold the country. If our people can they should clear them out both of the local and general representation—place the Provincial affairs in the hands of honest men and send to Canada a body of men who will command respect and give us some chance of fair play, leaving the future to the action of the general Legislature which, or I am much mistaken will soon be driven on by circumstances that cannot be controlled.

Every nerve will no doubt be strained by the Delegates and their friends to controll the elections and having in their hands ample means of intimidation, influence and corruption they may succeed. If they do not Nova Scotia may yet play an important part in the future. If they do we can only fold our arms and attend to our private affairs.

You will see in the Times of this morning the debate on the guarantee¹³⁸ which was carried by a large majority. I did not go down to the House or take any interest in the question. I would have thrown over the Railroad to defeat Confederation but as the measure had to pass we might as well have the road. The whole debate is interesting and suggestive, and the article in the Times is even more so. They do not disguise that the policy is to organize the Confederation and then withdraw all the garrisons so that instead of our defence depending on our Consent to Confederation, when once united we are to be left naked and without protection. Here they have great difficulty to recruit the Army, and everybody knows that if all the troops in England were sent to the Provinces they could be outnumbered five to one with slight effort by our neighbors. It is vain for us to look to this country for impos-

¹³⁷ Howe had some idea of entering public life in England, or accepting an office from the Crown, but felt that he could not desert his friends at such a critical juncture. See his reply to Stair's letter in the *Speeches*, II, 508.

¹³⁸ Of the Intercolonial loan.

sibilities. We must now look to the American Continent only for our future. If the Americans let us alone we may work on under Confederation for a few years, but will they let us alone. We shall see. I fear that they will use our fisheries which we cannot need long and will not defend, exclude our staples by high duties, harrass our frontiers with Fenian raids and vexed questions, till our resources are exhausted and our trade is cut up, and finally force us to buy peace and free trade by a sacrifice of our premature independence. This it appears to me is the future before us. I hope I may be mistaken, but whatever comes we have done our best to maintain the happy state of things which existed and our consciences are clear, however the changes which are inevitable may affect our feelings or our interests. With kind regards to all friends

Believe me Sincerely Yours
JOSEPH HOWE

London March 15
1867

I deeply regret that my news in respect of Confederation should be of the most unpleasant description.

As king Francis exclaimed after his disastrous defeat at Pavia, "All is lost except our honour."

Everything was done, that was possible to be done, be sure of that, but if one had come from the dead he would not have got the English Parliament even to look at both sides of the question.

The only people who really cared anything about the matter, were precisely the people whose interest it was to put it forward.

The Grand Trunk influence had a powerful effect on the Government, who being weak were glad enough to bargain about votes for a Reform Bill on condition of a Confederation policy.

More than that I find among English Politicians a growing fear of the United States which is really humiliating. English Statesmen have made up their mind not to fight a land battle on this continent for they know just as well as we do that they could never keep the Yankee troops on their own side of the frontier and that it would be one of the costliest campaigns into which Britain could drift.

They are under the impression that if they do not own a foot of soil in America the Yankees cannot come over to attack them without positive peril—and they are therefore willing upon any pretext to turn us adrift. "I would not care" said a member of Parliament to me "if Grant were in Montreal to-morrow so long as we were not bound to find soldiers to drive him out. He would not hurt you if you were not joined to us; and he could never hurt us there; while he would ruin himself by coming to us on board ship."

Mr. Oliphant¹³⁹ M.P., for Stirling who was Lord Elgin's secretary in Canada, and who ought to know British America well enough to distinguish the interests of the Maritime Provinces from Canada, in conversation with me declared that Confederation would have his support because it would take these Provinces off England's hands, on which they were a useless and dangerous incumbrance. As to our local losses he was perfectly indifferent. He admitted that our people seemed against the scheme, but he thought that an additional reason why the scheme should go for-

¹³⁹ Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888).

ward now, for it might be defeated and leave England in the awkward position of having to protect colonies she did not want, or make an open confession to the world that she could not protect them. Mr. Lefevre¹⁴⁰ son of Viscount Eversley and who was a Junior Lord of the Admiralty in the last Government, and is M.P. for Reading used similar language to me, and seemed to consider the loyal preference of Nova Scotia for British connection a bother, and that Confederation would be a relief to the Mother Country by forming a convenient excuse for letting us all go; and his language indicated further that Annexation to the United States if we did not get on with Canada would be the best and most natural destiny for us.

Others held the same views so that you see there was a deep undercurrent; which any logic or loyalty we could appeal to could not stem, it was melancholy to discover how utterly ignorant the majority of English Editors and politicians are concerning us, they did not know the first thing about us and they did not care to know.

None of them ventured to deny the Justice of our case, but then nobody could spare a thought from the questions at home to waste time on us. John Stuart Mill who has written such great things about the liberty of the people, and representative government, and who is so anxious to have even women entitled to vote on public affairs, admitted in my presence that he thought Confederation was being pushed through with disgraceful haste and disregard of Nova Scotia wishes, but he added he could not spare a moment to fight our battle. He thinks no doubt Nova Scotian men are of less importance to him as voters, than the Orange women in Westminster, upon whose right to the franchise he insists so strongly. Mr. Lowe¹⁴¹ was also against Confederation on principles of right but then Mr. Lowe had done enough already to destroy his chances with both parties, and I heard him tell Howe that it was of no use to speak at all in a cause which would be lost through both sides following their leaders. Bright thought Confederation would be remedied by Annexation. And so did Mr. Hadfield M.P. for Sheffield whom I interested in our case, so far that he agreed to move an amendment, which Mr. Howe drew up for him, but Cardwell got at him and cajoled him to withdraw it, after he had expressly promised to proceed with it and after I had given him his "brief" of facts and figures on the subject. The great body of the House was utterly indifferent, even the delegates seemed chagrined at the lazy contempt with which a thin House suffered their bill to pass unnoticed through Committee.

A clerk at the table gabbled on *not* the clauses even but the *numbers* of the clauses and as if that were not, a quick enough mode of rushing through a disagreeably dull measure which did not affect anybody's seat, and which therefore could not be listened to, he used to read a whole batch of numbers at once, for example saying "Moved that clauses 73, 74, 75 pass and they passed sure enough, without anybody worrying himself about their contents."¹⁴² One member who had been in Australia and therefore wanted to drag himself into notice as a great Colonial authority asked some solemnly absurd questions about the Governor General's duties and so forth, and got equally solemn and absurd replies, from Adderley, who stood with Cardwell, as if both were wet nurses for a foundling bill.

¹⁴⁰ George John Shaw-Lefevre, afterward Baron Eversley, born 1832. He was a son of Sir George Shaw-Lefevre, not of Viscount Eversley, as Garvie states. Member of Parliament for Reading 1863-85; Civil Lord of Admiralty 1856; Secretary to Admiralty 1871-74; Postmaster-General 1883-84; President Local Government Board 1894-95.

¹⁴¹ Robert Lowe, afterward Viscount Sherbrooke (1811-1892). He was Member of Parliament for Calne in 1867. Chancellor of the Exchequer 1868-73; Home Secretary 1873-74.

¹⁴² A graphic and sufficiently mortifying picture of the birth of the Canadian Constitution.

The House got livelier and better filled when a dog tax bill came up—for you see the country gentlemen who could not maybe point out Nova Scotia on the map keep fox hounds subject to a tax which interests them more keenly than a Canadian tariff.

I confess this utter indifference was more mortifying to me than positive opposition. I could allow for the action of Watkin, Kinnaid,¹⁴³ and other Grand Trunk members but when I saw English gentlemen sitting where Burke once sat framing his indignant sentences against the Government's disregard for the popular wish in the old American colonies I felt that their changed policy, contrasting so remarkably with his was one of the worst signs of the time. It showed that they considered Colonists beings as little related to them as the inhabitants of some nameless Chinese mud village, and it showed that the complaint so general now in England that this Parliament is utterly indifferent to a proper sense or share of responsibility, and utterly devoid of the quick sympathies with popular rights which used to ennoble the name of the House of Commons is correct.

This is a fair statement of the case, and I have been thus particular for I wish you to form as correct a view of the situation as possible. Poor Nova Scotia! her loyalty deserved a better recognition. What will come of it all I would rather try not to conjecture—my only hope is that Providence which has so highly endowed her with natural resources, and has animated her people with a true spirit of freedom will yet deliver Nova Scotia from her present difficulties into a destiny worthy of his gifts to her.

Poor Howe! the disaster tried his spirit very hard—very, very hard. I had to do my best to condeole with him, but when ever we thought of the noble hand who had so materially and generously done their best to assist in the defeat of this iniquitous policy, the anticipation of the regret you will all feel deepened ours.

WM. GARVIE.

Halifax, April 11, 1867.

Dear Sir—

Your letter of the 29 March, has been recd the conclusions you have arrived at—That England will leave us to a "North American Fate" is what we have all pretty much realized. The "Dominion Govt" will only be an affair ad interim—You name it as a "premature independence" but I am not sure if we will only first be independent when we become part of the United States—No one would venture to name the State of New York as not independent and yet if we drift into an alliance with that State among others, we will have full share of her independence. It may yet be, that it is best for us that in this case we have not had our own way. But it is very hard while the head may reason, upon political good or national benefit—for the heart to suffer its strong ties Severed, and we who thought we were loyal British Subjects to find, we might have been with as much thanks, preachers of Yankee annexation, or any other doctrine which would have lauded American Progress—against British Power.

How our children will laugh at the idea of independent Nova Scotians having been governed by such men as Earl Carnarvon and other sprigs of English aristocracy when the time comes that Nova Scotia as the Seaboard part of North America shares in the Power which dominates over the North Atlantic.

But dear Sir as regards beating the Delegates and sending men to the Local and General Parliament the troubles we have is not in the will of the People but to find

¹⁴³ Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaid, afterward tenth Baron Kinnaid (1814-1887). Member of Parliament for Perth 1852-78.

men who can go into the Legislatures. I have to thank our friends for urgent solicitation to accept a nomination to one or other of these places but have declined—the strongest reason is I have not the physical strength to take up the load. Annand and Power should take the county¹⁴⁴ for Ottawa—But Annand refuses and Power is not over willing. Tupper and John Tobin will try for Halifax and with the Archbishop's help hope to be elected. Tupper is such a pertinacious canvasser that large personality is wanted to meet him. We are all anxious to hear if you are coming this May.

But whether you come or do not I will feel you have a perfect right to mark out your own path. I trust you will not hesitate to let me know if I can serve you.

Mrs. Howe spent yesterday with us. Seems quite recovered of the indisposition she suffered from in Winter.

With best regards

Believe me yours

truly

WM. J. STAIRS.

London

126 Brompton Road

June 20 1868.

My dear Robertson,¹⁴⁵

Our official report to Vail¹⁴⁶ with the London papers and documents sent out by this mail will convey to you the results of our application to Her Majesty's Government and to the House of Commons.¹⁴⁷

The debate in the Lords will not come off till next week but cannot materially vary the position of affairs as most of the leading men in that House may be assumed to be against us, and we cannot count upon any conspicuous person to advocate our cause. Under these circumstances we may consider the labours of the Delegation over. Nothing more can be done in this country till some movement is made on the other side. It will now become a matter of anxious solicitude to us all as to what course is to be taken. The Government here assumes, from Tupper's representations and the correspondence with Lord Monck that the Canadians are willing and able, nay most anxious to allay all discontent and give us entire satisfaction without any interference of theirs. I do not believe in their ability or inclination to do any such thing. No doubt the Duke of Buckingham¹⁴⁸ would be well pleased if they could and would, and if they did the decision of Parliament might turn out to be a wise one.

But, as I have said, I doubt both their ability and inclination and assuming that I am not far wrong the question arises what are we, left to our own resources to do.

¹⁴⁴ Halifax County.

¹⁴⁵ Robert Robertson, Commissioner of Mines in the Nova Scotia Government, 1867–68. This letter is printed in the *Speeches*, II, 534–36, but is included here to complete the story of Howe's connection with the Anti-Confederate Movement.

¹⁴⁶ W. B. Vail, then Provincial Secretary in the Nova Scotia Government. Born 1823. Represented Digby in Dominion Parliament 1874–78, 1882–87. Minister of Militia and Defence 1874–78. Died 1904.

¹⁴⁷ In February, 1868, Howe sailed for England as a delegate on behalf of the Nova Scotia Government to demand repeal of the Union so far as that province was concerned. Associated with him were William Annand, J. C. Troop, and W. H. Smith. The latter, Tupper describes as "the ablest lawyer on the Anti side in the N. S. House." *Recollections*, 85.

¹⁴⁸ The Duke of Buckingham (1823–1889). Colonial Secretary 1867–68. Afterward Governor of Madras.

I at first thought of addressing a public letter to my constituents, in which, after discussing all possible modes of proceeding, I might indicate the best line of action to be taken. If this were done a key note would be struck and our people be set thinking in the right direction before they give way to despair or commit any indiscretion. But on the other hand if it were, the enemy would at once be made as wise as ourselves and we might lose the advantage of a fortnight's quiet consultation and preparation before they know what we are at. There are various modes by which we may confront our difficulties.

1. We may confess to final defeat, lay down our arms, and accept the best terms we can get from the Canadians. If this were done I have no doubt they would make large sacrifices personal and pecuniary, large enough to justify our resistance down to the point of surrender. We may be driven to this capitulation, and if we were I would lay down my arms without mental reservations and give the system a fair trial in good faith. But I have an invincible objection to this capitulation and I assume that all our friends will share the feeling if anything better can be done.

2. The Executive Council might resign, and as the Governor could not, if our friends stuck together, form another, a sensation might be created by the deadlock and confusion. This would be a very hazardous line to take as our own people would suffer from the public business not being done. You could not stop the supplies as you have no revenue laws under your control and you might split the party and play into the hands of your enemies.

3. We may commence a course of passive resistance, refusing to train or pay duties, and to these alternatives we may, ultimately be driven, but they are hazardous, and if they led to collisions before our people were prepared by close organization and other preparations, would easily be put down and make our cause ridiculous.

4. Open insurrection or intrigues with Foreign Countries I put aside. I am not prepared for them nor do I think our own people are. We may be driven out of our accustomed lines of thought and expression by and bye, and despairing of all other redress may be compelled to take up arms, but this should not be done till all lawful modes of procedure are exhausted and until we have laid the grounds of reasonable hopes of success.

5. Now there is another mode of procedure which if our people can keep their ranks unbroken for six months longer appears to me after long and anxious thought to offer the best chance of a solution to our difficulties.

Last year we had no Party in England. Now though beaten two to one in a House of Commons which is about to expire, 87 men have voted that we have a just cause and nearly all the leading Daily Papers and many of the weeklies have espoused it. The minority includes Mill, Hughes, Fawcett, Aytoun,¹⁴⁹ and many of the leading Scotch and Irish members. Lord Amberley,¹⁵⁰ Earl Russell's son voted for us, and Bright's name, on both continents is a tower of strength. It is safe to assume that millions of people will hear for the first time of the grievances of Nova Scotia when they read his speech of Monday last.¹⁵¹ If our people can maintain their organization and with their spirit unbroken and with the sympathy and assistance of their neighbours in the other Provinces can come before a reformed Parliament six months hence in which the combination between Cardwell and Adderley is broken up and where Bright if the Liberals win, is sure of a seat in the Cabinet we may yet have a reason-

¹⁴⁹ John Stuart Mill, then Member of Parliament for Westminster; Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, then Member of Parliament for Lambeth; Henry Fawcett, Member of Parliament for Brighton, and author of the *Manual of Political Economy*.

¹⁵⁰ John Russell, Viscount Amberley (1842-1876). M.P. for Nottingham 1866-68.

¹⁵¹ Tupper gives the result of the vote on Bright's motion for an inquiry into Nova Scotia's case against Confederation as 183 against to 87 for, a majority of 96 against the inquiry. *Recollections*, 95.

able chance to win the game. The general opinion here is that Bright will take the office of Colonial Minister. If so we are pretty safe to win.

If our friends think this experiment worth trying then I would suggest that the Executive Council hold their places, meet the locals and transact the public business in August under any form of protest they choose to adopt.

They had better be summoned a day or two before the 6th. The Dominion men should be invited to meet them, and if we could get influential Delegations from New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island to come over we might not only be able to present a most imposing front to the enemy, but to lay the foundation of a Maritime Union and to open Negotiations in a public and legitimate manner with the Government at Washington for the restoration of our trade.

If we can do all this, and if in the meantime the Colonial Office breaks down (as it is sure to do if we are firm) with its pledges of Canadian Conciliation we may come triumphantly out of the struggle. If all fails there are but six months more of life lost and we can either submit or fight when we are that much older.

This is the best counsel I can give and I do not offer it without many anxious surveys of the field and grave reflection. If it is approved let my boys make copies of this letter to be shown to Stairs, Power, Jones, Gibson, Boak, Northup, McDonald¹⁵² and any other of our friends in town on whose discretion we are accustomed to rely and you might enclose copies to McLelan, Hugh McDonald, Killam¹⁵³ and any other of our friends whom it may be prudent to consult in the country. If it is thought wise to seek the Co-operation of the other Provinces, then special messengers should be sent to explain the policy and report the prospects of aid, that we may be ready to move on the arrival of the next Boat.

I have read this letter to Annand, Troop, & Smith and am happy to report that they all concur in the advice given. Let Sydenham¹⁵⁴ keep a copy of this letter as I have no time to make one before the mail goes.

Yours truly
JOSEPH HOWE

APPENDIX.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES of British America now enjoy all the blessings of self-government, controlling their own revenues, forming, controlling and removing their own Cabinets; appointing their own Judges, Councillors, and Public Officers; regulating her own Trade, training their own Militia, and discharging all the duties of loyal British Subjects in due subordination and steadfast allegiance to the Crown.

The people of these Provinces have lived in harmony with each other—have no disputes with neighboring States—no controversies with the Mother Country, have ever been prone to mutual sympathy and protection, and are ready to uphold the honor of the national flag, and the integrity of the Empire.

They are willing to promote well-considered measures for the joint construction of railways, and the establishment of Inter colonial lines of steamers—for the inter-

¹⁵² W. J. Stairs, Patrick Power, A. G. Jones, John Gibson, Robert Boak, Jeremiah Northup, Edward McDonald.

¹⁵³ A. W. McLelan (1824–1890) Senator 1869–81, M.P. for Colchester County (1881–87) successively President of the Council, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Minister of Finance, and Postmaster General, in the Dominion Cabinet, 1881–88; Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia 1888–1890. Thomas Killam, member of Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia; M.P. for Yarmouth 1867–69. Died 1868.

¹⁵⁴ His son, Sydenham Howe.

change of staple and of domestic manufactures; for the adjustment of a uniform currency; the general extension of Free Trade, and for the arrangement of such measures of mutual defence as shall place, in time of war, all the physical force of the Provinces under the control of the Military and Naval Commanders-in-chief appointed by the Queen.

But they are opposed to rash innovation and revolutionary changes. They are specially opposed to the Scheme of Confederation arranged by certain gentlemen at Quebec in 1864, without any authority from the people they profess to represent; and they are equally opposed to the measure now in contemplation, by which it is intended to overthrow the established institutions of these Provinces by an Act of Parliament prepared by a secret committee, without the sanction of the loyal People, whose future it is intended to bind, and whose interests and wishes it is designed, in a most high-handed and unconstitutional manner, to override and disregard.

This LEAGUE is formed to protect the institutions of the Maritime Provinces from such rash innovation—to assert the right of the people to be consulted before their revenues are swept away; and a distant authority, which they can never influence, is invested with powers of dictation and control which the Queen's Government, for a quarter of a century, has not pretended to exercise.

The undersigned pledge themselves, each to the other, to protect the Maritime Provinces from radical changes by all lawful means and agencies, and, with this simple end in view, enroll themselves as members of this LEAGUE.

London Times, 16 Aug. 1866.

It is understood that an arrangement has been come to between the British Government and the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Commissioners, with the concurrence of the Canadian Government and Legislature, on the details of the Confederation of British North America, and of the Imperial guarantee of the sum required by the Inter-Colonial Railway. This guarantee has been promised successively by Lord Grey in 1851, by the Duke of Newcastle in his despatch of the 12th of April, 1862; and by Mr. Cardwell, in a despatch of the 17th of June, 1865 but it was made dependent on the assent of the provinces to the Confederation, which Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had until now withheld, and also on further evidence that the sum of 3,000,000*l.* originally stipulated for should suffice for the purpose. All the Provinces have now agreed to the Confederation, and it is said to have been conceded that a contingent fourth million shall, if found necessary, be further guaranteed. Canada, however, having already constructed 120 miles of railway, from Quebec to Trois Pistoles, and Nova Scotia 60 miles, from Halifax to Truro, there remain but 360 miles to construct, and, at the official estimate, of 7,000*l.* per mile, probably the 3,000,000*l.* will suffice. The Halifax and Truro line has cost under 500,000*l.*, or about 8,000*l.* per mile. The primary guarantee is to be given by the Provincial Legislatures in the following proportions:—five-twelfths by Canada, three and a half twelfths by New Brunswick, and the same proportion by Nova Scotia. Certain securities are to be hypothecated in return for the supplementary Imperial guarantee, which is calculated to enable the colonies to borrow at about 4 per cent. The Canadian Commissioners have just arrived; but their business is now reduced to little more than the form of signing the convention for the Confederation and the railway guarantee, which Lord Carnarvon, it is understood, is remaining in town to complete. The nature of the country to be traversed is not such as to render the Intercolonial Railway, which will not be commenced immediately, a very tedious affair. It is

calculated to bring Quebec within 18 hours of Halifax. Meanwhile, it appears that Mr. Brydges, the managing director of the Grand Trunk Railway, with the view of doing as much as possible during the interval, has given an immediate impetus to the intercolonial traffic of the Grand Trunk by placing two lines of steamers from its terminus at Portland, the one to St. John's, New Brunswick, and the other to Halifax. In a pamphlet lately published at Montreal, Mr. Brydges asserts that a large trade is likely to be carried on from Canada, and from Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, through the Grand Trunk line to Portland, with the aid of these steamers, pending the construction of the Inter-colonial Railway.

London Times, 17 Aug. 1866.

The following relates to the question of the Inter-colonial Railway through the British American provinces and the contemplated Imperial guarantee:—

"Sir,—In your Money Article of this morning reference is made to the subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, and a guarantee on the part of the Imperial Government of the required funds for constructing the proposed intercolonial railway. Several errors have unintentionally crept into this statement.

"In the first place, although the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Commissioners or delegates have arrived in London with plenipotentiary power to arrange with the British Government the draught of an Act of Parliament to confederate the provinces they represent, the Canadian Commissioners have not arrived. It is expected, however, that they will arrive early in September, and it is understood that the Earl of Carnarvon will meet with the delegates from the provinces represented as soon as they have settled among themselves the basis of arrangements more immediately affecting their respective positions and interests.

"By the terms of what is known as the Quebec scheme, and which it is expected will still constitute the basis of Confederation, the loan to be guaranteed by the Imperial Parliament is not to be upon a 'primary guarantee to be given by the Provincial Legislature, five-fifths by Canada, and three-and-a-half-twelfths by New Brunswick, and the same proportion by Nova Scotia;' that was the arrangement of 1862, which has been abandoned. The amount, say 4,000,000*l.* which it is proposed to raise by means of an Imperial guarantee to construct the Intercolonial Railway, is to have for its basis an Act of the Confederated Provinces pledging their entire revenues for payment of this loan.

"ONE OF THE DELEGATES."

Handwritten notes in blue ink:

44p!

$$\frac{12}{12} + \frac{36}{12} = 4$$

$$\frac{7}{12} + \frac{5}{12} = 1 \frac{2}{12}$$

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